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23 August 1983

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SOVIET SOURCES ON U.S. MIDEAST BASES VIEWED

LD081147 Kuwait KUNA in English 1029 GMT 8 Aug 83

[Text] Kuwait, Aug 8 (KUNA)--High ranking Soviet sources were quoted here today as warning that some Middle East countries which have granted the U.S. military facilities and bases were endangering their own security and peoples.

The unidentified sources, talking exclusively to the Kuwaiti AL-ANBA' daily (?newspaper), declined to specify whether the Gulf region is included in areas likely to receive retaliatory Soviet strikes to American attacks launched from these territories.

But the sources were further quoted as saying "those who have given the U.S. military facilities and bases are known," adding that these states will not be immuned to danger whether in the Gulf or elsewhere.

The Soviet Union, the sources went on, will find it impossible to exclude any of these bases in case war breaks out, "because it will be a matter of press-button to deal blows to focuses of danger against the Soviet Union."

They accused the U.S. and the West of threatening the security of their peoples by allowing deployment of nuclear missiles targeted at the Soviet Union.

"The Soviet Union will have no choice but to direct its missiles to sources of danger and will find it impossible to exclude any of them in any part of the world, (?they) emphasized.

The sources, however, stressed that the Soviet Union firmly supports keeping the Arab (?region) from international conflicts and is also serious in its efforts to reach global entente which would consolidate world peace.

But they indicated that Moscow is forced to enter the (?arms) race "because it is the only language the West can understand at present and there are no signs that the West has genuine desire in peace at the disarmament talks or in talks on arms reduction."

AL-ANBA' report came two days before the U.S. starts military maneuvers in such Middle East countries as Egypt, (?Somalia), Sudan and Oman.

Egypt denies the presence of American military bases on its territories [words indistinct] receiving U.S. military aid.

Omani foreign affairs minister told a press conference in Kuwait last Tuesday there were no American military bases in his country, but he indicated [words indistinct] to grant the U.S. naval forces facilities if these did not infringe Oman's [word indistinct].

Oman, on the southern tip of the Gulf with a long coastal front along the Indian Ocean, conducts routine military training with the U.S. in the Indian Ocean, the minister said.

He, however, noted that Oman "is not the only country in the region to give facilities to the big powers." He did not elaborate.

CSO: 4400/461

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

PRC-ISRAEL ACCORD DENIED--Kuwait, Jul 23 (KUNA)--People's China denied Saturday that it has concluded an agreement for military cooperation with Israel and reiterated its consistent stand of support to the Palestinian Arab cause. A press release issued by the Chinese Embassy here denied local press reports Saturday that Beijing has signed a secret military aid agreement with Israel. The reports, quoting an unidentified Paris-based weekly, alleged that some hundred Israeli instructors and armaments experts will help reequip and reorganise the Chinese army under the secret accord. "The embassy of the People's Republic of China," the release stated "wishes to assure that the report is unfounded and baseless allegation" and reiterated that "China's principled stand towards Israel is clear and known to all." Since foundation in 1949, the People's Socialist Republic of China refused to recognize the Zionist entity of Israel nor establish diplomatic ties with her, despite repeated Israeli approachments for the purpose. Kuwait and the Sultanate of Oman are the only states maintaining diplomatic relations with Beijing from among member-states of the Gulf Cooperation Council which also includes Saudi Arabia, UAE, Qatar and Bahrain. [Text] [LD232127 Kuwait KUNA in English 1706 GMT 23 Jul 83]

CSO: 4400/461

EGYPTIAN OPPOSITIONIST ON U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE

PM062119 Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 20 Jul 83 p 2

[Interview with Khalid Muhyi al-Din, secretary general of the National Progressive Unionist Grouping Party [NPUGP], by Sayyid Hasan in Cairo--date not given]

[Excerpts] Khalid Muhyi al-Din, together with a large delegation including representatives of all the Egyptian parties and political forces, recently participated in the meetings of the World Assembly for Peace and Life Against Nuclear War which was held in Prague. Khalid Muhyi al-Din is one of the well-known personalities in the world peace movement and is also deputy chairman of the WPC. AL-AHALI had the following interview with Khalid Muhyi al-Din on the international situation, the intensifying nuclear arms race, and the position of Egypt and the Arab world in relation to this race.

Question: How do you see the world situation in the light of increasing nuclear armament?

Answer: The United States is now trying to gather the Western world and the Atlantic group in particular under the U.S. umbrella using such slogans as Soviet threat and Soviet superiority. This is an old story because U.S. arming, especially nuclear arming greatly predated Soviet arming. The U.S. military buildup has specific objectives: dominating Europe and the world and then striking at the socialist countries. The interesting phenomenon these days is Reagan's policy and the placing of the NATO alliance under the U.S. umbrella.

We are now witnessing another change in U.S. strategy. It threatens to deal a first nuclear strike while in the past it used to allege that the Soviet Union would launch the first nuclear strike.

Yet, another development we are witnessing today is the extension of the NATO alliance's range beyond the threat to Europe so as to include Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, and South Asia. In implementing this policy the United States seeks the assistance of conservative heads of governments who have come to power in countries such as Britain, West Germany, and Japan. It is also exploiting the weakness of the socialist government in France and the fact that it is being forced to submit to U.S. influence.

All these factors sound a warning of the possibility of a nuclear war breaking out at any time. Also, the siting of U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe confronts the socialist countries with one of two options: either accepting U.S. quantitative and qualitative superiority, or countering with similar steps by deploying missiles in the European socialist countries and on the Asian side facing the United States. This would speed up the arms race and make it reach a critical stage, especially considering the tremendous funds that are spent on arming. This, of course, will affect the people's standard of living in the Soviet Union and the United States and indeed in the whole world. Peoples of the developing countries will certainly pay the greater price. Armaments expenditure last year was greater than the income of all the developing countries. If only 15 percent of this money had been allocated for development, economic miracles would have been achieved.

Question: Negotiations are currently taking place between the Soviet Union and the United States in Geneva in order to reach a solution to the problem of the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. Is there a possibility of a solution being reached that would save Europe and the world?

Answer: The United States and NATO are threatening the deployment of 572 Pershing and cruise missiles in five West European countries, thereby adding a new destructive power to that already existing. President Reagan's so-called "zero option" proposes that the United States would refrain from deploying these missiles in return for the Soviet Union's withdrawing its medium-range missiles from Eastern Europe. This means that those socialist countries would be deprived of any defense. It also disrupts the existing balance in Europe and the world, which is considered a safety guarantee. The United States insists on deploying these missiles and says so daily while the Geneva conference is in session as a means of exerting pressure on the Soviet Union which, for its part, has come out with several peace initiatives that would achieve a nuclear balance. This is in addition to the Warsaw Pact proposals on concluding a nonaggression treaty with the NATO alliance. Obviously so far the United States wants to ensure for itself and its allies nuclear superiority both in Europe and throughout the world.

Question: What about the Middle East and Egypt in particular? Are we remote from the danger of war and from the European nuclear missiles crisis?

Answer: First of all, U.S. missiles will be aimed at North Africa and the Middle East. These missiles will be sited on the Italian island of Sicily, specifically in Comiso. Also, U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger did not rule out the possibility of a limited nuclear war breaking out in the Middle East.

There is also what we see today in the increasing of U.S. arming of Israel which enables it to invade Lebanon and threaten Syria as it does now. We also see Israel's nuclear arming and strikes by Israel against any nuclear scientific progress as it did in the case of bombing the Iraqi nuclear reactor.

Israel is also threatening to strike at Pakistan's nuclear installations as President Ziaul Haq recently announced. Moreover, there is the increasing U.S. military presence in the Gulf, East Africa, Sudan, and Egypt and the attempts to obtain military facilities, all of which makes the Middle East a region of danger in any coming conflict.

Question: But how can we remove our country and the Middle East from explosive danger zones at a time when the Arab-Israeli conflict is still raging and the United States gives unlimited support to Israel?

Answer: In 1979 our party, in its program, linked the solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict to turning the Middle East, southwest Asia, and east Africa into peace zones of any superpower military presence and, therefore, free of any nuclear presence. If the Arab-Israeli conflict is solved within the framework of the growing U.S. military presence in the area then we would be solving it within the framework of the U.S. solution and, therefore, would be placing the area under the U.S. dominance and recognizing the legitimacy of Israel's existence. This is because the U.S. military presence lends legitimacy to Israeli existence. This is the lesson we have learned from the Egyptian-Israeli treaty and the Lebanese Israeli treaty. The Israeli military presence also lends legitimacy to the U.S. military presence and vice versa.

We are disturbed more than anything else by the U.S. attempt to establish a presence in Egypt or in the Arab territories under any pretext, be it facilities or temporary bases under construction to be used when necessary. This is because if we give the United States bases to be used in helping unspecified Arab countries, the Soviet Union will announce that there are in our country military bases hostile to the USSR. The natural thing would be for the Soviet Union to take these bases into consideration in the event of any worldwide nuclear clash, in which case Egypt and the security of the area would be in danger.

Therefore, those who really want their countries to be nonaligned and really have an independent will must fully protect them against the dangers of nuclear clash. Any linkage with U.S. strategy and its worldwide plans renders the country participating in such strategy the target of nuclear conflict. The nonaligned group at its conference in New Delhi has clearly defined the attitude toward foreign military presence on its territories, the nuclear conflict, and the need to stop it. Therefore, I am surprised and cannot imagine how a country belonging to the nonaligned group is not participating in the international efforts to stop war and arms race.

Question: What about the Egyptian-U.S. maneuvers that will take place next month?

Answer: Resisting U.S. plans that threaten our national independence and the independence of the Arab countries is a primary political task. Keeping the area free from international conflict and from superpower military presence is the ideal way to protect our independence and the primary target of

national struggle and of ensuring the security of the area. Our party places this target at the top of its priorities in its struggle, not because we are against the United States, but because we are against any foreign military presence on Egyptian territory. We do not want our country to become the scene of World War III operations. Moreover, a U.S. military presence on Egyptian territory by necessity involves U.S. interference in Egypt's political affairs. Otherwise, how can the United States ensure continuity in obtaining military facilities other than through a government that toes its political line? Therefore, the question of national independence is once again facing the Egyptian nationalist forces and parties both in the government and outside it. Otherwise, they will be historically responsible for the safety and security of the present generation and its future.

National independence is in danger unless clear stands are adopted and unless President Mubarak's announcement that he made on assuming power--that Egypt will not become part of the strategy of any big power--is put into effect.

CSO: 4500/251

CAIRO GOVERNOR DISCUSSES CITY'S INTERNAL, STRATEGIC PROBLEMS

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic No 2872, 27 Jun 83 pp 14-18

[Interview with Governor of Cairo Maj Gen Yusuf Sabri Abu Talib by Sa'd Al-Sayyid: "The Concerns of Cairo"]

[Text] Nine governors have succeeded one another in Cairo governorate since the issuance of the Local Government Law, and the deterioration of its utilities continues! Cairo is the seventh city in the world in terms of population size, after Tokyo, New York, Shanghai, London, Moscow and Bombay; in spite of that, the invasion of Cairo is not letting up.

Suffice it to say that Cairo takes in more than 3 million visitors a day!

Scientific research indicates that the small amount of green space is responsible for the high rate of anxiety and psychological illness. The facts state that the green space is declining year by year. Suffice it also to say that the per capita share of parks and playgrounds in Cairo is no more than a few [square] centimeters!

This, of course, is on top of the deterioration in housing, traffic and sewage and the other well known problems of Cairo.

It was essential that we open the file on Cairo with its ninth governor, Maj Gen Yusuf Sabri Abu Talib, and become acquainted with his method of acting in the face of these problems.

Between Sinai and Cairo

I asked Maj Gen Yusuf Sabri Abu Talib,

"You were a governor of North Sinai a number of months ago; how do you view the problems of Cairo, and to what extent has their picture changed since you assumed the new position?

[Answer] I viewed the problems of Cairo as being of a different nature from those of Sinai.

The problems of Sinai arose from the occupation and the suspension of development during that period, whether spontaneous or planned. However, Cairo's problems arose as a result of suffering from the periods of wars Egypt passed through. There was planned growth to some extent, and some spontaneous growth, which we call unlawful subdivisions, appropriation and so on.

In Sinai, we did not suffer from these problems, because it was easy for us to establish new towns in detail, as opposed to towns that grew in an unsound manner and from which problems of a specific type arose. All I am saying in this regard is that the nature of Cairo's problems arises from the terrific population, which amounts to more than 100 times that of North Sinai, the complexities of housing, traffic, street congestion, the environmental pollution and many other problems which arise from that.

[Question] Are the concerns of Cairo, from your point of view, the ones that ordinary people suffer from, or are there other problems which we ourselves do not see?

[Answer] Cairo's concerns are interrelated. There are some problems which the whole world is suffering from in the modern era, related to congestion, tension, and the fast pace of life, while there are other problems which the massive metropolises of the world suffer from, such as the traffic problem.

In spite of the severity of the traffic problems in Cairo, they are still much less than those in Tokyo or New York, for example, and, in spite of that I can say that there has been a difference in the ratio of cars to the population and there also has been a difference in comparative factors that give us hope of improving the shape of these problems, with God's permission.

[Question] In your first mass meeting after assuming the position of governor of Cairo, you said "We are now performing a study of the problems of the capital and are collecting and classifying them in order to draw up a schedule for solving them." What does that involve?

[Answer] In view of the proliferation and diversity of the problems, they must be tabulated in specific form. We have almost finished doing this tabulation. We will classify these problems and break them down into interrelated groups which affect one another.

That will help solve the problems simultaneously, because the time coordination of solutions is an important element in eliminating problems.

This will be applied in the case of traffic, sanitation, housing and other problems. This is what is meant by the classification, gathering and coordinated scheduling of solutions.

The Cairo of the Future

[Question] In your statement on the occasion of Workers' Day, you used the expression "the Cairo of the future." What are the features of this Cairo, in your view?

[Answer] My view of the Cairo of the future is that we should proceed on the basis of sound development planning, where population and services are distributed in a sound manner from which no clashes in interests or movement will arise.

In the Cairo of the future, there will be a solution to a problem that has outstripped the normal growth of the population, which we cannot specify because so far, in spite of the great efforts that are being made in the area of housing, the natural needs arising from administrative eviction, as a consequence of the normal collapses of housing units or the normal growth in the population, are not being met.

In addition, as far as utilities go, our utilities, which we have lived with for more than 80 years, since the beginning of the 20th century, will be transformed into utilities which will not present us with dangers. Traffic will have become smoothed out to a reasonable degree, and public means of conveyance will have become the basis of the citizens' movements. These means of conveyance will be rapid, clean and respectable, so that any citizen, of any level of society, will be encouraged to prefer these conveyances to the suffering of driving his own car.

There are many features in the Cairo of the future whose development planning and structural plans we have completed. These have been discussed on a broad scale.

The details in the study "Cairo of the Future" are numerous, and they will have to be applied in order for us to realize the goals that we hope for, which I have mentioned.

[Question] When will this beautiful dream be realized?

[Answer] As I envision it, it will take not less than 20 years before this dream is realized. Therefore, I can say that there are urgent plans. Indeed, there are sections in the urgent plans that are immediate. There also are 5-year plans for projects which need engineering facilities and massive allocations. After that, there are the long-term plans, which will go on until 2000 and beyond, God willing.

Cairo: The Only Connecting Link

I asked Maj Gen Yusuf Sabri Abu Talib, the Governor of Cairo:

"The problem of migration and the constant influx of people coming to live in Cairo is to be considered one of the most major problems. When will this constant flow stop conclusively? When will the movement of citizens into Cairo stop?"

[Answer] That depends on development planning in the whole country. When the other governorates become natural areas of attraction for citizens, naturally citizens will then emigrate from Cairo to the governorates.

In order for these governorates to become areas of attraction, they will have to provide services similar to those in Cairo, life in them will have to be cheaper, and there will have to be more extensive sources of livelihood and production than the opportunities for government and bureaucratic work that exist in Cairo. In addition, these governorates will have to be provided with means for entertainment and the other elements of attraction which encourage citizens to migrate to Cairo.

Cairo is unique among all the capitals of the world. It has been roughly the only connecting link between Upper and Lower Egypt since the days of the Pharaohs. People who want to go from Lower to Upper Egypt must pass through Cairo, and vice versa.

Therefore, the frequency of traffic across Cairo creates an area of interaction and intense movement which affords greater opportunity and likelihood for using Cairo as a base.

However, conversely, I can say that we are restricting the issuance of supply cards to all newly-arrived persons who are not resident in Cairo. We are also restricting the distribution of the housing units the government is erecting.

All these measures will slightly reduce migration into Cairo, but the basis for that, and its most important aspect, is to turn the rest of the governorates into natural areas of attraction.

Pollution of the Environment

[Question] In a scientific study prepared by National Research Center experts, it was stated that the "central city" area has the highest rate of pollution in the world. What is your view? What is the solution?

[Answer] I know that there is a [high] pollution rate in the central city area, but I have not read the National Research Center report. I would be very happy to do so and to review it objectively and in a scholarly manner, even though I am not a specialist.

However, I agree that the rate of pollution in the area of the center of the city is very high, as a result of high population density and traffic congestion, from which exhaust is emitted.

There also is the work on both sides of the Nile, which we are now trying to complete, as well as smokestacks and incinerators which increase the pollution of the environment. There is a decree banishing them from Cairo which we will try to carry out rapidly, and we have set aside a substitute area to which to move the incinerators, the al-Qitamayah area.

As far as traffic congestion goes, it is necessary to regulate traffic to a better degree, create new arteries, and eliminate the causes that prompt people to go into the center of the city.

This will all certainly help to alleviate the pollution in the central city area.

[Question] Housing, communications, sanitary drainage and so forth are problems which have been discussed a great deal. However, while not belittling their importance, are these Cairo's only concerns?

[Answer] Most certainly, there are many concerns and problems, but we start with the priority items, then proceed through all channels at the same time, concentrating on specific priority items while not neglecting the rest, so that those will not remain backward.

The fact that we are concentrating on sanitation and traffic, as the first step, does not mean that we are neglecting the problem of housing, for instance.

There also are many other problems, such as the social and environmental ones, areas of violations, acts of trespass and unlawful subdivisions, which are essentially not being served. All these problems have to be addressed.

A New Capital

I asked the Governor of Cairo, Maj Gen Yusuf Sabri Abu Talib:

"There is more than one recommendation for solving the problems of Cairo, such as drawing the government, with its ministries, departments and various companies, out of the center of the city to some other location, and another recommendation calling for the establishment of a new capital. What is your opinion on these solutions?"

[Answer] These recommendations are pertinent, but they involve many difficulties.

For example, the recommendation to draw the government and its authorities out of Cairo will have to be connected to housing for workers and the provision of complete services for them in the new area.

However, organized planning to transfer specific personnel, linking that to a housing plan for people working in the government in various areas, might solve much of the overcongestion in the center of Cairo.

As regards the construction of a new capital, one must think about that in the context of the structural plan of the republic, not just Cairo.

[Question] What solution is there to the problem of parking places, as a problem which touches upon public security and such public interests as the problem of firefighting and rescue work?

[Answer] The governorate's plan to solve this problem depends on a number of basic elements such as the provision of parking areas outside the central city area. Contracts have been made to build a multistory garage on a well known plot of land which will be able to accommodate 600 vehicles, and preparations are being made to build a project with two multistory garages on the Opera and al-'Atabah properties, which will accommodate 2,000 vehicles, a garage on al-Bustan Street which will accommodate 1,000 cars, then one in the area of

'Ishash al-Tarjuman which will accommodate about 3,000 cars. In addition, a study is now being made of proposed areas in Madinat Nasr and the point of entry to al-Azhar Street, alongside the al-Husayn University Hospital.

In addition to that, we will work to provide exceptional service for public transport in order to link up the areas in the center of the city and provide new services for long-distance public transport routes from the source to the center of the city, to prompt citizens to substitute public transport for private cars, as is the procedure in most countries of the world.

In addition, we will prohibit the grant of any permits to move existing garages to any other area, whatever it might be, and the grant of permits to build any administrative buildings and activities which will attract people to the center of the city.

A study is also being made now on the central city area to provide greater space for the system of roads and intersections, along with a study of the possibility for providing roads for pedestrians only.

In addition, work days and hours are now being regulated in government departments and other activities.

I believe that when these services are provided, along with discipline and the control of movement, there will be a great improvement, and that will be matched by the presence of security and shortened trips for fire and rescue service vehicles.

[Question] What is your opinion on the pilot experiments which other capitals and cities that suffer from population density as Cairo does have pursued elsewhere in the world, thereby solving traffic problems?

[Answer] The pilot experiments which major capitals and cities have followed elsewhere in the world are founded basically on the provision of exemplary service for public transportation, by underground subway, overhead vehicles or trains, the provision of parking spaces for private cars and decisive enforcement of the law.

In general, the traffic problem is extremely old, and still exists even in the most advanced cities of the world, since there still are hours in which traffic in the major capitals of the world is paralyzed. Even in America they call those the sluggish hours, and they are generally at the end of the week. Conversely, in Cairo, the end of the week is the happiest of times as far as traffic is concerned.

There is no question that we are always anxious to benefit from the expertise of advanced countries in this regard. We have sent a number of traffic policemen on missions to examine and study the most modern methods in these countries which are advanced in the scientific and practical sense, in order to start applying the results of this expertise in Cairo.

In spite of the traffic problem at rush hours in specific areas, which is of course dozens of times less severe than the problem in other major cities such

as Tokyo, New York, Paris, and London, the great lesson that has been learned from these countries is that a commitment to the enforcement of traffic instructions and an insistence on teaching drivers and the public the most modern expertise, while providing proper opportunities to carry it out, will produce better results.

The Problem of Migration to Cairo

[Question] In November 1974, Mamduh Salim, the prime minister at that time, said that it would be necessary to limit migration to Cairo and set out national planning for that, and that it would be necessary to work to reduce the elements that provoke migrants to flood into Cairo. This recommendation has not been carried out, although about 10 years have elapsed.

I am saying this on the occasion of the statement by a former official that thought was given to the subway starting in 1957, and it was embarked on a quarter of a century later. When will the immediate solution to our problems take place?

[Answer] The solution to the problem of migration to Cairo will not be solved by the issuance of administrative decrees, such as having people enter the city with special cards, although one could think of restricting the settlement of people coming from outside, in terms of supply cards, ineligibility for housing allocations, or the refusal to grant permits to itinerant peddlers. All this is a far cry from decrees which are to be considered restrictions on the citizens' freedom of movement.

It is clear that the reason for the population increase as it concerns the factor of migration to Cairo is the location of Cairo, with its influence as the country's capital, in which all kinds of major political, economic and social activity are concentrated. Therefore, Cairo and the surrounding area constitute the main area of attraction in the country.

There are recommendations in principle in the 5-year plan for dealing with the problem of limiting migration to Cairo:

To hasten to set forth a complete plan to rebuild the Egyptian village, which will address itself to the quality and form of rural life, so that that can be transformed into a civilized countryside.

To support the local government system and apply the principle of the decentralization of administration in the public and government sectors.

To review the location of ministries, organizations or companies, so that those will be in the areas where they actually perform the work.

To set forth an urgent policy to improve the road systems in the regions, while constructing new ones to redevelopment areas, provided that this system be used for direct contact among regions and not pass through Cairo.

Getting the Army To Take Part

I asked Maj Gen Yusuf Sabri Abu Talib, the Governor of Cairo:

"As a former army command officer, what is your opinion about getting the army to take part in solving some of our problems? Do you have any observations on that?

[Answer] Getting the army to take part in solving some problems is a general phenomenon which we can find in most countries of the world, in view of the quality of total discipline which characterizes armies and the available resources, which must be exploited in peacetime to train personnel or modernize equipment.

As far as Egypt is concerned, the armed forces, in addition to their total discipline, are distinguished by the presence of a workforce of trained skilled laborers who are not easily found in the civilian area, because of the migration to Arab countries in search of high wages, which is to be considered one of the major obstacles in the prompt execution of many projects, in addition to many other factors. Therefore, getting the armed forces to participate is a pressing need for solving certain problems, and their success in this has been proved in all the projects they have carried out.

These projects have proved the armed forces' ability to carry out civilian projects on schedule, which is something we miss a great deal in the projects which other organizations carry out.

The Sole Shortcoming

I asked the Governor of Cairo:

"Dr Faruq al-Baz once said 'The shortcoming I have noticed in Egypt is dependence on others,' that is, people depend on the state and the government for everything, which results from the fact that the government tells people, 'I am responsible for everything and I will do everything.' When will we make the ordinary citizen feel responsibility and participate in exercising it?"

[Answer] Perhaps that goes back to a time when the government was orienting itself toward the comprehensive planning which was being done at a time when there was a need to mobilize every effort toward the war. Perhaps this has left an effect on some individuals. In the current 5-year plan, we find as an example that 83 percent of the housing problem projects are being carried out by the private sector and the government is contributing just 17 percent.

That proves that the government is encouraging reliance on the individual and developing this tendency by giving him subsidized construction materials, facilities and cooperative interest ranging from 3 to 5 percent at a time when bank interest comes to 14 percent. In addition, we believe in getting the citizens to take part in bringing about major achievements in all areas, along with government efforts. The Egyptian people are aware and respond to the appeal with the utmost genuine Egyptian vigor.

Participation by the People

I asked Maj Gen Yusuf Sabri Abu Talib:

"Is there a place for participation by the people in solving problems? Is there organized thinking and mass mobilization to that end?"

[Answer] Yes, there certainly is a place for participation by the people in solving problems, and I consider that it is an important, vital place, especially since I always say, "The government and the masses are on the same side of problems; we are not pushing each other around. Indeed, we are contributing to seeking solutions to them." We must organize the people's efforts so that they can contribute to the most important problems that are facing the governorate, such as those of sanitation, traffic and the guidance of consumption, so that that can take place in the context of societies or clubs which are active in the field of public service, which are numerous, by the grace of God. We call upon the people and the landlords' federations to play an important, basic role in the sanitation process, which is considered a phenomenon of civilization for Cairo, in ways that will be in keeping with each society, which it will consider appropriate for itself and consonant with its goals and resources.

The governorate is most ready to offer whatever cooperation it can to any role or effort the people offer in these areas. I also welcome any scientific idea which might lead to the attainment of these goals.

11887

CSO: 4504/476

IMPACT OF DESERTIFICATION, DROUGHT ON MASALIT WOMEN

London AFRICA NOW in English No 28, Aug 83 pp 72, 73

[Article by John Edgar]

[Text]

The lorry wept, saying, I'm going to Kassala,
They all went off to find a living,
The fathers went off to find a living,
The uncles went off to find a living,
They all went off to find a living.
Kassala is a prosperous town east of Khartoum, to which many job-hunting men migrate. This song was composed by a Masalit woman, one of the many eking out a precarious living along the Sudanese border with Chad on the edge of the Sahara desert, almost 2000 km from Kassala. The word "living" here is idiomatic for water, illustrating its crucial importance for people whose land is slowly but noticeably drying up.

The rains, one hears, are less and less each year; the water-holes along the wadis which were once perennial are now dust-bowls long before the end of the dry season. The nightmare that haunts everyone's memory is of the early 70s, during the long Sahelian drought, when the Zaghawa herders who live to the north of the Masalit drove their emaciated cattle into Geneina, the main Masalit town, to sell them for a couple of piastres each to buy grain to eat; when there was famine

but the government would not admit it; when inter-tribal feuds were fuelled by hunger and merchants made large profits from the grain they had hoarded.

That horror has not yet returned, but no doubt it will. The Sudanese Government in co-ordination with relief agencies sent a German-trained Sudanese academic to Geneina at the end of last year to give a couple of lectures on desertification and its probable causes: damage by goats, over-grazing, inefficient farming and cutting down trees for firewood and charcoal.

The mainly urban audience applauded his speech, but there were no women present and few farmers, who might have told the academic the Masalit proverb: "The planter dies before the tree;" that perhaps would have explained the superstition and Masalit reluctance to plant new saplings.

It is on the women that the greatest burden of living — surviving — in this land lie: they are the sowers, the reapers, the hoers, the child-bearers and minders, and — in the towns and villages — the heavy labourers on building sites and sellers of farm produce. On them too lies the burden of the traditional respect due to men: if a Masalit woman crosses a

man's path she must give way unless she has a child on her back; when serving a man she must kneel as far as possible from him and stretch out to give him food; when greeting men in the street she must kneel while looking straight ahead. These rites are relaxing each year as the men, with the greater mobility afforded by their sex, leave to migrate to the Nile Valley and the east, many never returning.

The academic should have addressed his lectures to that audience of women. But even then, the women would probably have listened politely, with the respect due to men, and taken scant notice. For them there are no available alternatives to the harmful traditional methods of farming. No government or international aid or advice is forthcoming for individual women or women's farming co-operatives, which are encouraged by the migration of men, since the women are largely illiterate and unable to deal with cumbersome masculine bureaucracy. The women are well aware to a painful degree of the damage they are doing to their children's and their own land, but are faced with no option but to keep on chopping trees overusing poor land and keeping goats — the cheapest source of protein — just to keep alive from day to day.

A similar situation exists across the border in eastern Chad where there are many Masalit along with other groups. Their plight, however, is much worse, since at least on the Sudanese side there is little of the brigandage presently plaguing the more remote parts of Chad, with anti-government guerrillas and some government soldiers taking what they choose from the peasants.

Although the Habré government in N'djamena is officially committed to ending such excesses, it is largely powerless to implement such commitments while it has yet to restore to Chad an efficient working administrative infrastructure. It is the peasant women at the bottom of this heap who have borne the brunt of the situation, as well as the threat of drought, decreasing rains, the loss of men in the civil war, the loss of their staple crops and the theft of the marketable ones.

Coping with the encroaching desert, for the Masalit anyway, is as much a problem in communication between the sexes as anything else. It is the men who talk, plan, lecture to one another and applaud each other's theories about how to cope with the problem. But it is the women — the workforce with the practical experience — who would be largely responsible for carrying out the theories.

It is they who should hear the lectures — and to whom the men should listen ●

CSO: 4500/250

REDIVISION OF SOUTH EXAMINED

London AFRICA NOW in English No 28, Aug 83 pp 65-67

[Text]

After dissolving the executive and legislative branches of the former Southern Regional government, Sudanese President Gaafar Nimeiri has appointed three caretaker governors, each with a government and an Assembly, in Bahr El Ghazal, Upper Nile and Equatoria Regions, with capitals in Wau, Malakal and Juba respectively. They will hold power for 18 months, after which regional leaders will have to submit to elections.

The new appointments in Bahr El Ghazal and Upper Nile Regions came as a surprise, since most people in these regions were opposed to re-division, arguing that it would weaken the South in the face of a growing Northern Sudanese-Arab domination. In Bahr El Ghazal Region those opposed to re-division comprise 100% of the newly appointed Cabinet, while in Upper Nile Region the figure is 77%. In Equatoria Region the Cabinet is 100% re-divisionist — it was this region which spearheaded the re-division cause two years ago.

President Nimeiri appointed Dr Lawrence Wol Wol as Bahr El Ghazal's Governor. He is the former Anya-Nya guerrilla emissary to Europe and a man who held several Ministerial positions both in Khartoum and Juba. Dr Wol Wol's appointment, which he readily accepted, came as a surprise since he was bitterly opposed to the re-division of the South. Ironically, Aldo Ajou, the man who earlier proposed another civil war if the South was re-divided, became the Deputy Governor.

Also opposed were the following appointed Ministers: Isaiah Kulang Mabor, for Works and Communications; Anjelo Kwac Wol, for Services; Kornelio Koriom Mayiik, for Finance and Economic Affairs; Andrew Kwac Mayol, for Regional Affairs and Administration; and Anthony Achor, for Agriculture and Animal Production.

Also, the three new Commissioners of Bahr El Ghazal were opposed to re-division. Retired Brigadier Joseph Kuol is appointed Commissioner of Eastern Bahr El Ghazal Province, with its capital at Aweil; Ali Tamin Fartak heads Bahr El Ghazal Province with its capital at Raja; and Gabriel Mathiang heads Lakes

Province with its capital at Rumbek.

All the commissioners in Southern Sudan have been raised to the status of Regional Ministers, which enables them to attend Ministerial meetings in their respective regions. Also the provincial headquarters have been removed from the regional capitals, since past experience has shown that the regional governments often interfere and undermine the provincial authorities.

In Upper Nile Region the choice of the Governor and his Deputy went to the re-divisionists Daniel Kuot Matthews and Philip Obang respectively. But their Ministers were all opposed to re-division. They are Michael Wol Duang, for Finance and Economic Affairs; Dr Hassan Mobil Ban, for Agriculture and Animal Production; James Bol Kamal, for Services; David

Kuot, for Regional Affairs and Administration; and Michael Mario, for Works and Communications. Of the two new Commissioners, Luigi Adwok of Upper Nile Province was for, and Nikonora Manyok of Jonglei Province was against, re-division.

Meanwhile, in Equatoria Region, the situation is rather different. Every member of the Cabinet is a re-divisionist. This begins with Governor Joseph James Tombura, the former President of the High Executive Council (HEC) for the Southern Region, and his Deputy, Francis Wajo, who served under him as HEC Affairs Minister. The Ministers are Ajo Dedi Sei, for Finance and Economic Affairs; Habakuk Soro, for Regional Affairs and Administration; Dr Anjelo Lobale, for Works and Communications; Lawrence Modi Tombe, for Services; and Caesar Baye, for Agriculture and Animal Production. The Commissioners are retired police Major-General Nicola Obwoya for Eastern Province and Charles Ali Bilal for Western Equatoria Province.

The appointments in Bahr El Ghazal and Upper Nile regions have two underlying purposes. First, the appointees are expected to convince their people at home that re-division has developmental benefits, i.e. that the size of the South has been reduced to three "manageable" regions; secondly that services have been brought nearer to the masses who will be fully involved in decision-making and who can thus solve their problems without outside interference.

The formerly prominent argument that re-division would constitute a repeal of the peace agreement which ended the civil war is apparently no longer valid. Bahr El Ghazal's Governor, Dr Wol Wol, who took part in the 1972 peace negotiations, told *Africa Now* that re-division had instead strengthened the agreement by providing more power to Southern Sudanese, who would now benefit more in the sharing of the national wealth.

Moreover, although opposed to re-division, the new appointees remain the "trusted" allies of the Equatorians, who are led by Sudan's Vice-President, General Joseph Lagu, the former Anya-Nya guerrilla leader who spearheaded the latter part of the rebellion against the North, the former President of the HEC, and the author of re-division. Most of the appointees are former members of the Sudan African National Union (SANU) or of the Upper Nile group, whom Abel Alier's successive Southern Front (SF) governments did not accommodate.

In 1978 they united against Alier and brought in General Lagu as HEC President. During General Lagu's short-lived rule, he discovered that the Dinka-dominated SANU and the Nuer-Anuak-Shilluk Upper Nile group had joined hands with the SF opposition, also Dinka-dominated. This alliance was substantiated by unrest in most Southern schools, where Dinka, the largest ethnic group in the South, clashed with Equatorian students. A high level committee formed by the regional government to investigate the unrest, reported that politicians were behind the disturbances, with the purpose of showing that Lagu's government was unpopular in the South.

After a controversial constitutional crisis, General Lagu dismissed almost the entire SANU and Upper Nile allies from his government and accommodated Alier's men, a move which brought an end to his shortlived government. This error helped Alier to return to power in 1980, again with a predominance of former SF members in the government, keeping General Lagu's Equatorians and their allies out.

In 1981, during the Sudanese Socialist Union (SSU) central committee meeting, General Lagu, by then in the political wilderness, proposed the re-division of the South into three regions, drawn along the pre-1974 provincial borders of Bahr El Ghazal, Equatoria and Upper Nile.

The proposal backfired. The majority of the Southern members in the meeting rejected the move, and petitioned that the topic be dropped from the agenda and referred to discussion in the South. President Nimeiri accepted the petition and asked Alier to take the matter home for discussion.

Although Alier allowed the issue to be discussed, which led the Southern Assembly to reject re-division of the South, the re-divisionists, mostly Equatorians, questioned the fairness of Alier, a man himself opposed to re-division. This development coincided with the dismissal from the government of several Equatorians, who were alleged to be re-divisionist. The dismissed included the former Deputy Director of the Southern Region's Ministry of Culture and Information, Eliaba Surrur, and the former chairman of Nile Tourism Corporation, George Lomoro. Dr Luka Monoja was also recalled home from a course abroad. This led the Equatorians to form the so-called Equatoria Intellectuals Committee (EIC), to pressure President Nimeiri to grant Equatoria some form of autonomy.

Differences continued and intensified. "It is very difficult for the two groups to sit together at the same table. They are exactly like the warring Arabs and Israelis," commented General Gismalla Abdalla Rasas, after President Nimeiri appointed him to head the six-month provisional administration following the Sudanese leader's dissolution of Alier's government. Rasas' task was to prepare Southerners for a referendum, as provided for in the constitutional arrangement which granted the South local autonomy within a united Sudan.

Before the constitutional process could be carried out President Nimeiri, in a surprise move, suspended the issue from discussion in the National Assembly and called for new elections within the framework of the united South. He later disclosed that the re-division discussion had taken a different turn aimed against the unity of the country.

In fact, it so happened that a group of Southerners — SANU, SF and Upper Nile groups — formed the Council for the Unity of Southern Sudan (CUSS), a new political body aiming to appeal to the Sudanese public to reject re-division. As all political parties were banned in 1969 after the military coup, President Nimeiri saw in CUSS the emergence of a new party to challenge the state's only legal party, the Sudanese Socialist Union (SSU). He arrested its 21 members, who were detained without trial under the country's Security Act, but were later released.

After the elections, two Southern personalities who contributed much to the re-division issue assumed greater prominence. General Lagu replaced Alier as Sudan's Vice-President, a position of some importance as it influences the decisions of the central government on regional affairs. The appointment was particularly important in one way: it was General Lagu who initiated the re-division issue, and vowed to achieve it.

Another is Joseph James Tombura, an Equatorian and Lagu loyalist, who became the HEC President with the backing of the SANU and Upper Nile groups. Besides being allies, the SANU and Upper Nile groups supported Tombura for two reasons. Firstly, they wanted to keep out the SF, which they consider the cause of all political unrest in the South. (In fact when Alier was governing, prominent SF members contested elections on "We (the Dinka) are born to rule" and "Dinka unity" tickets, political slogans which polarized the Dinka and the non-Dinka communities.) Secondly, they wanted to effect a change from within after forming a government. To this group, the most important thing the south could afford was the decentralisation of power within a unitary Southern Sudan — but not re-division.

When they came to power in mid-1982, the loose coalition split and the region was heading toward a major crisis should re-division of the South not come. The former Southern Vice-President, Dhol Acuil, and the former Speaker of the Regional Assembly, both of whom are now in prison in Khartoum on security charges, undermined the Tombura regime. According to a reliable source, most Ministers did not attend Cabinet meetings, and even preferred not to give reasons for doing so. Those who came to Khartoum on routine follow-up always delayed their stay in luxurious hotels, thus exhausting the little resources that should have been used for the development of the South.

The proposed decentralisation of the South within a unitary Southern Sudan was even undermined. Ministers usually interfered in most civil service decisions. It was only in the organised forces — the police, prisons and game wardens — where decentralisation proceeded unimpeded.

Meanwhile in Equatoria, the youth were putting pressure on their elders, arguing that they were forgetting the Equatorian desire for an autonomous region. This put Tombura in a difficult position, especially when his government was disintegrating and he wanted to keep the balance of power. Presenting a Southern Region report before the Fourth SSU National Congress in Khartoum last March, Tombura said: "The people of the two provinces of Equatoria, as reported by their commissioners, unanimously demand an Equatorian Region, while the people of the four provinces of Bahr El Ghazal, Lakes, Upper Nile and Jonglei totally reject further regionalisation of the Southern Region. In the same Regional Congress the people of Western Bahr El Ghazal — the Fertit — came up with a demand for a province of their own."

The matter remained suspended as the Regional Congress felt it had no mandate to pass a decision on the matter. The Southern Region Congress, however, after lengthy discussion, resolved to endorse the policy of decentralisation as highlighted in the policy statement of Tombura's government, while the matter of re-division was left "in the hands of the President of the SSU and of the Republic."

Tombura explained to the SSU National Congress: "I have, on my part, assured the citizens in the Southern Region that a meaningful and lasting solution to this problem can only come about through serious, free and democratic dialogue among Southerners and in keeping with procedures of the permanent constitution of our country."

In fact no discussion took place. Instead, when President Nimeiri was re-elected for his third six-year term of office last May,

the re-division case was one of the first issues he implemented.

While re-division was going on a Southern military contingent mutinied at Bor and Pibor in Upper Nile Region after being refused transfer to the North. Colonel Dominic Cassiano, himself a Southerner, who led the loyal government troops from Juba to crush the rebellion, forced the leaders of the mutiny, Major Kerubino Kwany, Captain Bulen Alier and Staff-sergeant Yusif Kir, to flee into the bush to swell the number of the separatist "Any-Nya Two" who have been operating in the area since the early 1970s.

So when the mutiny was crushed, government sources in Khartoum claimed foreign involvement because loyal troops captured "many modern sophisticated weapons including seven Israeli Uzi guns." But in fact these weapons were left-overs from the 1955-1972 civil war — those not handed over to the government at the time of the 1972 peace agreement.

This is the third time that Southern troops have mutinied since peace returned in the area. The first incident occurred in 1975 when one Anya-Nya unit at Akobo in Jonglei province mutinied and killed its commander, Colonel Abel Chol, when told to leave for Malakal, now the capital of Upper Nile Region. The second also occurred in the same year when another Anya-Nya company stationed near Wau, left its quarters for the bush under captain Agwee after being told that it was being transferred to Kapoeta. When the soldiers were being persuaded to return to barracks their former commander in the bush, Col. Emmanuel Abur Nhial, and the other officers who accompanied him, were killed.

All three mutinies came as a result of misunderstanding about the military set-up in the South as provided for in the peace arrangements. Accordingly, 6,000 Southern troops with a similar number from the North would form the Southern command initially for five years. If there were any need for extension, it could be done with the consent of all concerned. But then there was already peace and therefore the former guerrillas — now integrated in the national army — could not understand why such a large Northern military presence was being maintained in the South. Southern leaders did not help matters by failing to explain the accord to their illiterate charges.

With re-division, many Dinka are

reported to be joining Anya-Nya Two. Moreover, the Nuer in Upper Nile Region have been in Anya-Nya Two since the formation of the movement. These were followers of Gordon Murtat, a Dinka politician, now in exile in London, who opposed the local autonomous status granted to the South in 1972. Anya-Nya Two, allegedly, gets support from Ethiopia, a reciprocal arrangement for the help Sudan accords to the secessionist Eritrean movement.

For Anya-Nya Two to get the support of the other Southern groups remains difficult. After all, Anya-Nya Two will not count on Equatoria, a region which has always championed the Southern cause. Equatoria, apparently reluctant for another war, appears satisfied with the present regional set-up.

In Bahr El Ghazal Region, the pre-dominant SANU area, the situation could be easily controlled because the bulk of the regional government is formed from SANU. The people of Western Bahr El Ghazal Province — the Fertit — who got their province, also appear satisfied within the Bahr El Ghazal Region.

In Upper Nile Region, the base of Anya-Nya Two, things will go better for the insurgents. Firstly, Alier's Bor Dinka, who used to dominate the former Southern Region government, have now been reduced to only one commissionership in the small Upper Nile Region. This will definitely make them un-cooperative in the region and lead some to join Anya-Nya Two. Secondly, the Nuer, the largest tribe in the region, are already divided between Governor D. K. Matthews and the former Southern Region's Vice-President, Peter Gatkuoth Gual, a Southern Front and Alier loyalist.

In the final analysis, the main problem will stem from Upper Nile, where there is already a guerrilla base. In Bahr El Ghazal Region, although the Dinka are the majority and in control, a few dissatisfied elements might pose a threat since their political (numerical) dominance has been restricted to the two regions of Bahr El Ghazal and Upper Nile, a move that they earlier vowed would never happen. The group which has lost most in the re-division of the South is the Southern Front, which failed to gain any position except that of Isaiah Kulang, Bahr El Ghazal's Minister of Works and Communications. ●

ARMS PURCHASE FROM FRANCE EXAMINED

Beirut ISTIRATIJIYA in Arabic No 17, Jun 83 p 16

[Article: "Many French Arms to Iraq Based on \$2 Billion Deal"]

[Text] The past few weeks have witnessed an important military deal between France and Iraq, on the basis of which Iraq is obtaining a large quantity of various French weapons. In spite of the fact that neither party has revealed details pertaining to the new deal, information about it which has become available through French industrial sources indicates that its total cost is about \$2 billion (13.5 billion francs). It is assumed that Saudi Arabia will take care of the payment to the French party. This deal includes the following major points:

- 29 additional Mirage F-1 fighters. Iraq has obtained 60 of these fighters on the basis of previous deals signed at the end of the seventies and the beginning of the eighties.

- 5 Super Etandard fighter-bombers armed with the Exocet antiship air-to-surface missile. It is worth mentioning that this is the first time that Iraq has obtained this type of fighter, in spite of the fact that its forces have been using Exocet missiles for a number of years mounted on Super Frelon helicopters. The Exocet missile launched from Super Etandard fighters has gained a special reputation in the wake of its effective utilization during the Falkland Islands war between Britain and Argentina, where by using it Argentina was able to sink a number of principal British ships which participated in this war.

- 20 Exocet antiship air-to-surface missiles, to arm the Super Etandard fighters mentioned above.

- An unspecified number of missile patrol boats. It is likely that these boats will be of the Combatant class and that they will be equipped with Exocet missiles of the ship-launched surface-to-surface type.

Alongside this \$2 billion deal, information currently making the rounds indicates that Iraq is currently negotiating with France in preparation for signing a final agreement with regard to supplying its air force with a number of new French Mirage 2000 fighters, which are in the process

of development at the present time. It is noted that Iraq has, on more than one occasion in the past, expressed interest in obtaining the Mirage 2000 fighter with the aim of using it as the primary model in its combat air forces during the eighties. It is likely that the Iraqi air force will shortly place an order for a number of these new aircraft, which the French source estimated will be between 60 and 80 aircraft, to be delivered during the 1984-1985 time frame. If this happens, Iraq will join the list of nations which have placed orders for this fighter. The list currently includes France, India, Egypt and Peru.

To indicate the current scope of military and arms cooperation between Iraq and France, it may be sufficient to point out some of the contents of the deals which have been signed by the two parties during the past few years. The size of the Iraqi--French arms exchange in 1981 amounted to a total of 14.5 billion French francs (about \$3 billion at the prices of that time). The French equipment which Iraq had ordered up to the end of that year included 36 Mirage F-1 fighters, 11 Super Frelon helicopters armed with Exocet antiship missiles, 50 Gazelle attack helicopters armed with HOT antitank missiles, 60 Alouette-3 surveillance and reconnaissance helicopters, and 13 Puma troop transport helicopters, in addition to 200 AMX-30 main battle tanks and Panhard-AML and Panhard-IRC armored vehicles.

In 1982 Iraq and France signed arms deals valued at about 13 billion French francs, which included supplying the Iraqi forces with 24 additional Mirage F-1 fighters, 10 Gazelle helicopters, 26 Puma helicopters, and many Exocet antiship missiles as well as Roland anti-aircraft missiles, in addition to 200 more AMX-30 tanks, armored vehicles, troop transports and 85 GCT-155 self-propelled 155 mm field guns.

French sources recently noted that at the present time Iraq alone is importing 40 percent of all French military exports to the various parts of the world.

9605

CSO: 4404/450

GOVERNMENT SAID DESTROYING ISLAMIC PROPERTIES

Jerusalem AL-FAJR in English 15 Jul 83 p 7

[Article by Awad Abdel Fattah]

[Text]

The 35-year long Israeli war against the Islamic *waqf* trustee property and Muslim holy places is still being waged. The Israelis, apparently, do not want a ceasefire or truce, although the Palestinian Muslims in Israel have organised intensified protest activities in the last few months to push for the liberation of the Islamic *waqf* from the control of the Israeli government and a halt to the desecration of Islamic holy sites.

The Israeli bulldozers, which levelled several Islamic cemeteries in Haifa and Jaffa in the past two years (Istiqlal cemetery was destroyed in 1981), levelled two dunums of Nabi Saleh cemetery in Ramle, June 16, obliterating 20 graves under mounds of plowed dirt.

This "odd activity" was carried out under the guise of broadening a dirt road passing through a small part of the cemetery. A brief examination of the site, however, prompted doubts in the minds of many local Muslims. The two dunums which were levelled do not extend along the road, but only touch it in one small area, making it look like a big pocket.

The vandalism of the cemetery culminated a four-year tug-of-war between the Jewish-dominated Ramle municipality and the local Muslim community. In 1979 the Israeli-appointed Islamic Trustees Committee applied for a permit to build a concrete protective wall around the cemetery. "But the municipality," said Muhammad Haddad,

an activist in the local Communist Party branch, "wanted to blackmail the committee." He explained that the Ramle municipality approved the building permit on condition the committee agrees to "allow" the municipality to "take a few metres" from the cemetery for the alleged road.

"Such blackmail," Haddad marked, "caused popular outcry and opposition from the whole Arab population of Ramle. They sent a petition to the concerned Israeli circles, and to the Muslim Qadi Farid Wajdi al-Tabari."

In the light of this protest, which prevented the Trustees Committee from giving an 'OK', the Israelis suspended their plan. The situation continued without a decision being taken by either the committee or the municipality until last month. Then the Trustees Committee, under pressure from the municipality and the office of the prime minister's

Advisor for Arab Affairs, got a *fatwa* (religiously binding decision) from Qadi Wajdi al-Tabari which permitted only two metres to be seized from the cemetery and stipulated that no grave should be touched. When the municipality took over, anger, bitterness and resentment among the Arab population intensified.

Local residents, who have no confidence in the Trustees Committee, believe that the municipality took over the

large section of the cemetery not to enlarge the road, but as "another step on the way to devouring the whole cemetery," said Thiab Abu Taban an elderly, religious man, as he sat in his dilapidated house. "All the members of the Trustees Committee are traitors," he said angrily in a loud voice.

Abdel Karim al-Jaafari, a Ramle resident active in local social affairs, charged that the Israelis have been using the Trustees Committee, "which they created as a tool for carrying out their conspiracies against the Islamic holy places and *waqf* property."

The members of the committee are viewed by residents as either collaborators or opportunists. The most striking example provided as proof by the Ramle Muslim community is that the former secretary of the committee, Abd al-Hamid Abu Laban, works as the main propagandist on the Israeli Arab-language radio against Arab countries. The fact that the committee was imposed on the community rather than elected, and that the only relationship that exists in the committee is with the Israeli circles, created total mistrust of it.

Other Islamic Sites Under Threat

In the heart of Ramle stands a statuesque tower built of old stones. According to the Muslim community in Ramle, the tower, whose summit can only be reached by a narrow, unlit staircase inside, was built by the Muslim leader Salah al-Din as a military observation post over nine centuries ago.

The historical importance and the architectural beauty of the tower have always been a subject of concern to the Israeli authorities, according to locals. In 1979, the Nabi Saleh tower, and half of the cemetery grounds — 55 dunums — were cordoned off by an iron fence. The Israelis said that the area is an archaeological site and therefore so-called state property. Since then the Ramle Muslim community has been prevented from burying their dead there. However, access to the place for organising rituals by the Muslim community is still available.

Nabi Saleh cemetery has not been the only target of control or destruction. Except for seven mosques still in use by the Muslim community, almost all *waqf* property (which amounts, according to local notables, to 5000 dunums of land and hundreds of old shops and houses) are controlled and used by the Israeli government. Only two percent of the total *waqf* property has been released since 1950. Abd al-Karim al-Jaafari told *Al Fajr* that it is not possible to know exactly how much property in Ramle is theirs, or how this property is being administered. Al-Jaafari attributes this to the fact that most of Ramle's Palestinian residents were forced to flee the town, and the Israeli government has refrained from giving any information on the subject. Several sacred places — *maqams* and *walies* (shrines) — were destroyed and their sites used by the Israeli government for various non-religious purposes, or just levelled and left. In fact several empty plots can be seen within the Arab quarter of the town. According to al-Jaafari, the Wali Sa'ad was destroyed 10 years ago by Israelis and on its 100 dunums of land buildings exclusively for Jews were built.

The income from the *waqf* property under trusteeship is not given over to the needed basic services of the Muslim community, whose most pressing problem is housing. According to the residents, the conditions of the Arab quarters where 10,000 Palestinians — 18 percent of the total population of Ramle — live has not been improved at all. Modern conveniences and additional rooms have not been permitted in the 50-year-old houses. Neither is the housing allowed to be destroyed and replaced. Consequently, the problem of overcrowding has gone from bad to worse. The Israeli company Amidar buys up and immediately destroys Arab property in the area. "The *waqf* property income, our own money," said Muhammad Hadad, "is being stolen and used for Israelis who receive subsidies from different bodies, while we are neglected completely, as if we were not human beings."

Palestinians in Ramle believe that there is a "dangerous" plan behind the deliberate neglect of the Arab quarters and the unconditional Israeli rejection of applications to build new houses. "It is very clear," Haddad remarked, "that the Israelis are determined to implement their racist and chauvinist plan, to remove the Arab quarters and transform Ramle into a purely Jewish town."

But the plan has been meeting strong opposition by the population. Only a small number of families have left the miserable housing conditions for other places. The majority are not thinking of leaving their homes. "We will continue to struggle to improve our conditions and to press for the liberation of the *waqf* property," concluded Haddad.

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POLITICAL STANCE OF COMMUNIST DAILY AL-ITTIHAD DISCUSSED

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 17 Jul 83 p 11

[Article by Ya'aqov Khruz! "Like a Piece of Glass in Your Throat"]

[Text] For the past 2 months a new Arab daily named AL-ITTIHAD, the organ of RAKAH, has been published in Israel. It used to come out twice a week and in the distant past it was a weekly. The present chief editor is Emil Habibi.

When it first came out--back in Mandate days in 1944--there was a tendency to convert it into a daily. But its circulation of 2000 did not justify the cost. Now, almost 40 years later, the wish has been fulfilled. The owners are aspiring to a circulation of 6000 per day. Even if this figure is reached, it is doubtful that the paper will be able to support itself by selling copies. Undoubtedly it has its angels--not necessarily rich--who underwrite the loss.

The paper reflects its editors. Only once has it had something good to say about Israel--in January 1944, after the IDF freed Palestinian communist activists who had been put in the prisoner camp at Abu Aguila by the Egyptians. The paper wrote that "those comrades welcomed the Israeli army as it entered the camp and looked upon it as a liberator."

This example of praising Israeli official action has not been repeated. It is well known that Arab communists have always considered their party--in its various transformation--a legal vehicle for their nationalistic activities. This tendency has risen and fallen according to circumstances. During the Arab riots of 1936-39 and later on during the War of Independence, Arab communists cooperated with the Grand Mufti. In 1958 the Arab leader of MAKI (Israeli Communist Party) held, without the knowledge of Jewish colleagues, secret discussions for clandestine organizing in order to form an "Algerian situation" (similar to the revolt against the French regime in Algeria, which reached its peak at that time). When some of the Jewish leaders of MAKI found out about it they were stunned and nipped the revolt in the bud. In time this affair caused the split in MAKI that took place in 1964, when all the Arab members quit, along with a small Jewish minority, and formed RAKAH.

Again, during the critical weeks preceding the Six Day War, when many around the world thought Israel was about to fall, I was told by one of the RAKAH leaders in a party activist meeting in Nazareth: "If a war breaks out, imperialism will be defeated forever; the Palestinian problem will find its solution according to the will of the Arab countries."

AL-ITTIHAD reflects, of course, the line of the heads of the Arab sector in the party. It is usually done by innuendo, double talk, cautiously. Lately things are being said more explicitly, with a radical nationalistic tone.

The renewal of the Arab nationalistic fervor in RAKAH stems not only from basic positions, but also from the need to explain the Soviet position which is not understood by the Arabs, when last year the USSR abandoned the PLO during the Peace for Galilee campaign and now has let the PLO be attacked by Syria.

At present, AL-ITTIHAD in content and style sounds more and more like the mouthpiece of the PLO. This applies to news, commentary and literary writing as well. The reports about the exploits of the Palestinian fighters against the Israeli invader are based on the Voice of Palestine. This station is known for its fertile imagination, not unlike the rest of the PLO propaganda machine, and seldom remains faithful to reality. Thus, for example, the disturbances in mid-June in the Ansar camp were described by the paper, based on "reliable sources," as a daring commando operation to free prisoners, carried out by Palestinian and Lebanese forces. Wishfulness is apparent in reports of IDF losses which are larger than the real ones.

The first issue of the new daily which appeared on 13 May, exemplifies the new kind of commentary. Salim Jibran, member of the central committee of RAKAH writes: "Revolution and culture are two sides--socio-political and spiritual-cultural--of Palestinian rebirth... If the murders wish--as is best symbolized by that iron cockroach (a reference to the words of Chief of Staff Etan at the Knesset committee of foreign affairs and security)--to liquidate the Palestinian revolution and the Palestinian culture in Beirut Grad (rhyming with Stalingrad), then that city of heroism is proof of the superiority of the Palestinian revolution and culture."

A literary expression of the ardent nationalistic line can be found in the poem published by the poet who is mayor of Nazareth and Knesset member, Tawfiq Ziyad, in February of this year. It says: "If twenty times were unacceptable in Lod, Ramleh and the Galilee, here we remain like a fence on your chest, like a piece of glass in your throat, like a cactus prickly in your eye... Even if we are naked, we will defy you, we will sing songs, demonstrate in streets, rage... distribute ideas

like yeast, like our nerves which are frozen, like fire and brimstone in our heart... let the oppressor take account, before the wheel breaks loose..."

Lies instead of factual reporting, commentary based on fantasy, literature reflecting abysmal hatred, such things are written and distributed not only in the Arab countries, not only in the territories, but also among Israeli citizens, on the west side of the green line. We should be aware of it.

9565

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ISRAEL

INDIVIDUAL POLITICIANS' RHETORIC, STYLISTIC APPEAL ANALYZED

Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 8 Jul 83 Supplement pp 5-9

[Article by Dr Yariv Ben-Eliezer, Etti Ronal, and Rubiq Rosental: "The Big Mouth of the Politicians"]

[Text] Minister of Health A. Shostak: ". . . Your hands spilled this blood and you are raising your hands for no confidence. Hands, they are raising their hands, no confidence in the government."

Shimon Peres: "What insolence. You are talking? Why you should have resigned long ago. You are spilling the blood of people in the hospitals."

Yossi Sarid: "I want to say that he is an absolute zero. . . He is simply a clear ministerial zero."

Minister of Health: "I can only answer you, Yossi Sarid, that you are utterly detested by everyone living in the State of Israel. Utterly detestable!"

Arik Nehamkin: "We have two -- an abomination and a zero."

Yossi Sarid: "You are loathsome."

Roni Milo: "Then MK Shahal is standing here and knowingly lying to the Knesset."

These are selected quotations from the stormy session in which the Alignment joined with the Democratic Front for Equality faction in a no-confidence motion against the government because of the doctors' strike. At this stage of the session the number of unparliamentary expressions reached an intolerable peak, and the speaker of the Knesset, Menahem Savidor, announced on 11 November, in accordance with the protocol, an end to the session. It was not resumed until 24 December after the Minister of Health, Yossi Sarid, and Roni Milo, retracted their statements.

Name-calling, shouting, and even raising a fist are not uncommon occurrences in the history of the Knesset. During his service as deputy speaker of the Knesset, MK Moshe Shahal collected 2,000 unparliamentary expressions. One of the Knesset publications, the KNESSETON, also reports on the juiciest expressions (see the separate box) that led to fisticuffs and the ejection of the members of Knesset who were involved.

Verbal and other violence in the Knesset are not new, and also take place in other parliaments. "However," maintains MK Yossi Sarid, the problem is not rooted in "the verbal aggression" but in the biting expressions, verbal crudeness, lack of refinement, [lack of] humor, and inelegance. Churchill in his speeches, says Sarid, was very aggressive; he would inundate his adversaries with streams of invective. But always with wit, brilliance, charm, and not in the "attacking" style as is done today.

Language of the Bank and the Market Place

Indeed, upon studying the speeches of the members of Knesset, it seems that the language used by them is far from proper. During the years there has been an erosion in the attitude of the people's representatives to the Hebrew language and it has become impoverished and a shallow, superficial, one-dimensional language without roots and without the rich cultural content that could be found in the speeches of the members of Knesset at one time. "They," remembers one of the senior editors of DIVREI HAKNESSET, "tried to revitalize the Hebrew language and were careful to use correct and rich language to the extent possible even if they exaggerated on more than one occasion with the use of flowery language. Today the vulgarity of the politicians is in the language which has become the language of the bank and the market place without the poetic aura that engulfed it at one time." Perhaps this is the place to relate that during the discussion of the "Hebrew Language Law" only two members of the Education and Culture Committee of the Knesset were present -- the committee chairman, Ora Namir, and MK Tawfiq Tubi of the Democratic Front for Equality.

The Qol Yisrael broadcaster, Yehudit Ben-Ya'aqov, has also complained about the mistakes prevalent in the language of the members of Knesset: "matosim" [airplanes] (with [the vowel] Qamatz under [the letter] mem) instead of "metosim," "hevrei haknesset" [members of Knesset] (with [the vowel] tzeire under [the letter] het), "metzia" [proposes] (with [the vowel] tzeire [under the letter mem]), "meikir" [recognizes] (with [the vowel] tzeire [under the letter mem]), "takhnit" [plan] (with [the vowel] patah [under the letter tav]), "adoni yoshev harosh" [Mr Speaker], erroneous use of numbers, and so forth. "Every person who is involved in public speaking, kindergarten teachers, teachers, and of course, members of Knesset, should be required to pass a course in language," says Yehudit Ben-Ya'aqov, who suggested to the speaker of the Knesset, Savidor, that a course in correct Hebrew be given there. To date, there has been no positive response to her suggestion. (The poet Moshe Dor comments in an article in MA'ARIV that the errors in Hebrew made by Speaker Savidor apparently symbolize the fate that has befallen the Hebrew language). It is interesting that it is precisely Savidor, who is so concerned about the "beauty" of the Knesset building, who frequently uses Anglicisms and various foreign expressions. Is the possible reason for this the fact that he speaks six additional languages and wants to boast about it?

"Throughout the world correct speech is a characteristic of the intellectual," adds Ben-Ya'aqov, "whereas here there is a kind of contempt in the use of the language. Recently I heard Yiddish expressions from Rabin. What has happened to this public that it has suddenly become Yiddishist? The language of the

members of Knesset at times borders on the grotesque, especially when they are speaking authoritatively -- and with shameless errors in Hebrew. No one is required to know all the rules of grammar, there are shortcuts, but one must learn and pay attention to them. This also applies to the principles of proper rhetoric. The members of the Knesset do not understand that they must use language designed for the ear and not for the eye. They are caught up in the myth that apparently originates in the European school, and they frequently use complex and long sentences that exhaust the listener. Frequently a member of Knesset begins with a long and complicated sentence that is cut off by his colleagues' interruptions, and he is left without an ending. A prototype of the member of Knesset who speaks in long and complex sentences is MK Abba Eban who really has not 'come across' to the public."

Truthfully, in a joint study with an expert linguist, we find members of Knesset who insert in their speeches, written on a very low language level, idioms and expressions that they do not fully understand. The result is completely erroneous and ludicrous, a kind of street language interspersed with flowery expressions. The one who is noted for her speeches that are poor also with respect to rhetoric is the deputy minister of education, Miriam Glazer-Ta'asa. For example: "I propose to direct the attention of the entire house, both of its wings, to a dirty work in newspaper 77 [sic] of a well-known literary supplement, page 17. I showed this to several of my friends. The subject of the work is phylacteries./ What a rutting animal the writer is. After I read it -- and I am a rather quiet person -- I want to say that had I seen her writing, I don't know how I would have reacted./ [Passage enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]. Is it true that every platform and every newspaper -- I am speaking about a public newspaper -- that is supported by institutions of the Ministry of Education and Culture can serve the darkest inclinations of a writer or an artist? (Emphasis mine -- A.R.).

In contrast to her, the poet MK Elazar Granot is noted for his Hebrew which is actually poetry in prose: "But you, Mr Minister, walk proudly, actually walk proudly, with agility and prudence -- I say this in praise -- between all the drops of intrigue and torrents of vilifications and the failed policy of the government and the fragments of your party. 'To your right is Mikhael, to your left is Gavriel, and above your head is the presence of God.' A perfect nirvana. It was peaceful, Mr Minister, in that it seemed that you had awakened. The entire country remembers with nostalgia that burning desire and creative activism that you displayed in everything involving the maintenance of the law regarding the selection of the chief rabbis. And even we were foolish to believe that all of that energy and extraordinary diligence that you had invested in your personal vendetta would stand you in good stead in improving the neglected affairs of your ministry. But we were foolish and we sobered up. We learned that such is life."

With the "Stream of Consciousness" Method

MK Tawfiq Tubi speaks a beautiful and rich Hebrew, not to mention Eitan Livni and Pinhas Goldstein of the Likud. Members of Knesset Mordekhai Virshuvski and Shulamit Aloni are among the most intelligent speakers in the Knesset, and it is only a pity that they do not bother to prepare their speeches beforehand.

Both of them use magnificent language, and they know their business. Ya'ir Tzaban has well-written speeches in purposeful and very clear Hebrew.

The Hebrew of Shimon Peres is very rhetorical, but his lyricism is not always appropriate, and the result at times is ludicrous and not authentic. Even with the humanistic attitude and the prevalent true sentiment, the incorrect use of the language creates a feeling of strangeness and distance similar to an actor in an inferior Israeli film. David Levi also plays with inappropriate expressions and creates the impression of one who does not feel comfortable with his own language. Another group of members of Knesset -- military men and businessmen -- speak a very purposeful, and poor, Hebrew. This is true of Yitzhaq Rabin and also of Ariel Sharon, especially in his speeches that are not written beforehand.

Most of the members of Knesset do not prepare their speeches beforehand, and this is evident. They jump from subject to subject, use the permission to speak, and speak about matters that are irrelevant, and the result is speeches that are a kind of illogical patchwork. This is also true of MK Geula Cohen who speaks with the "stream of consciousness," and her speeches are delivered with a somewhat hysterical voice, almost completely confused. However, even the members of Knesset who prepare their speeches beforehand often use banal, predictable, and frightfully boring language. It is no wonder that the members of Knesset themselves stay away from the Knesset chamber. Those who say something worthwhile are few in number, and then the chamber suddenly is filled with members of Knesset, and the balcony with journalists. This is what happens during the speeches of Begin, who is considered an outstanding orator who speaks a rhetorical and beautiful Hebrew. This also happens during the speeches of Yossi Sarid, Amnon Rubinstein, and several others. It also happens that a member of Knesset, whose speech was written by his parliamentary aide, stumbles when reading it, stammers, and finishes before the expiration of the time allotted to him because he does not know what to add.

The Danger in Demagoguery

The fact that there has been a deterioration in the language of the politicians is important and significant. More important than this is the introduction of elements of demagoguery from the public squares to the Knesset. An example of this is the following statement of Yigal Cohen. "Yesterday there was talk of a stabbing in the back, and tempers flared in the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. Mr Speaker, members of Knesset, here was a stabbing of a knife in the heart of the nation and in its most sacred values and purposes that are accepted by the overwhelming majority of members of the Knesset and the entire Jewish people. It is imperative that we condemn the sick phenomenon of self-hatred and put an end to it."

Prof Uzi Ornan believes that the true danger is in the demagoguery in language that appeals to the emotions and not the reason of the listener. This language abounds in similes and puns that have no basis in reality, but they arouse affection and pleasure or fear and hatred -- as the speaker desires. This language is used by the politicians who seek to influence an unaware and unsophisticated public not by appealing to their sense of judgment but rather by means of psychological techniques and verbal manipulations, in short -- demagoguery.

Prof Uzi Ornan is teaching today in the Hebrew University what he should have already taught in high school -- how to detect demagoguery in the language of advertising, the press, and the speeches of the politicians.

What is demagoguery? In contrast to the scientific language that describes various phenomena in the correct proportion, the demagogue tries to create a logical connection between things that have no realistic connection. Nurit Gertz, in an article entitled "With An Exclamation Mark," deals with the subject. She writes that in a campaign speech that Begin delivered in Lod he put the Alignment, the terrorists, and the murderers on one side -- with all of them apparently having a common denominator and with the third person plural -- and our military people and me on the opposite side. Moreover, when the atrocities committed by the enemy are so terrible, then the Alignment is also necessarily contaminated by them and guilty of them. It is not surprising then why shouts of anger and hatred erupt from all sides. The following quotations from Begin's remarks exemplify this thesis:

"Under the Alignment governments, the terrorists, the murderers would come, they would kill man, woman, and child, as in Ma'alot, Nahariyyah, Misgav 'Am, and the coastal highway, and then our military forces would go out after them and attack them. This was the retaliation. But what did we get from retaliation? It is impossible to avenge the blood of a little boy, of a little girl whose brain the murderous terrorists cut into in the presence of her father and afterward murdered the father. We used this method repeatedly. Now we no longer wait until they come to us, to our homes, to our cities, to our settlements, to our kibbutzim, but the IDF goes out to them, to their bases, and there it hits them, and the IDF knows how to hit: once from the land, once from the sea, once from the air. In this way, we have protected our people, our children, and our women."

The repetition of the verbs and the nouns creates a certain beat, like music, that hypnotizes the listener. This is also the case with the use of words that arouse the positive feelings of strength and identification: "This land is our land, the land of our fathers from ancient times, and the land of our children from generation to generation until the end of all the generations. (Applause) And for this reason, we have built it, Eretz Yisrael, its length and its breadth, and we will continue to build it. More buildings, more people, more Jews by the thousands and tens of thousands. And they will reside in Judea and Samaria and in the Golan Heights and in the Gaza Strip and in every other place." (Campaign speech in Malkhei Yisrael Square).

We and They

"The scenario is known," writes Nurit Gertz, "The few, the individuals, defeat the many and the strong. This struggle is taking place now not with the help of the power of the will, the belief, or the wisdom but with massive military power. During the course of it, the few do not vanquish the many but annihilate them and take their place. In order for the annihilation to be easy and simple, a sharp and clear contrast between the two forces must be created. For this purpose simple and clear contrasts are used: light and darkness, destruction and victory, the heights and the depths. This is how a collection

of insecure, problem-burdened persons in a square in Lod become a strong and numerous people including women, children, soldiers, tanks, pilots, cities, and settlements. "We," at the end of the speech, "this is the armed forces, the people, and the settlements -- we are the entire world, and 'they' are the Alignment, the terrorists, the Syrians, and the Iraqis who are plotting to destroy us and then, at the last moment, our soldiers or tanks strike out at them and hit them a double blow."

"We have built the length and breadth of Eretz Yisrael. On the mountains of Samaria there is a great light. It will never be extinguished. This is Eretz Yisrael -- our land, our birthplace, the land of our fathers and our children. What does the Alignment want? To turn over this high mountain, Samaria and Judea, to 'Arafat. And 'Arafat would deploy the Katyushas, and the range of the Katyushas includes Ramla and Lod." (Campaign speech in Lod).

Following Begin's example are the less charismatic Likud members of Knesset who are also trying to attract the attention of their community and the communications media. This is how there has been a recent coining of such expressions as "stabbers of a knife in the back of the nation," "poisoners of the wells," and "pogromchiks" (about the Peace Now people who demonstrated in Efrat).

The danger in these expressions stems from the authority of those who utter them, and they are accepted by a certain segment of the public as truth that requires no further examination," says the psychiatrist Dr Roberto Mittlepunkt who is in social psychology.

"The result is the dehumanization of the opponent who becomes a despicable thing or an object toward which no human responsibility is required. This mechanism of complete negation of the opponent is one of the most primitive elements in the psychological development of people. This is how it is possible for them in conditions of turmoil and confusion to distinguish between good and bad and darkness and light in a clear manner that gives them the feeling of security. In this way a comprehensive and more integrative view of the problems is avoided -- and from this, also the need to accept the responsibility for personal involvement in their solution."

Yossi Sarid: How Not To Write a Speech

Yossi Sarid, who is considered one of the best speakers in the Knesset, does not write his speeches -- he delivers them.

"Writing a speech is a proven recipe for the inability to soar. It will perhaps be a good and correct speech, but it will tie you to the prepared text and you will be afraid to depart from it. The greatest speakers in history never spoke from a prepared text. In the British Parliament speaking from a prepared text is prohibited. It is permissible for a member of Parliament to record for himself section headings or a beautiful paraphrase that he is afraid he will forget. However, a speech is not an abstract essay. Such an essay, regardless of how serious and interesting it is, will leave no impression on the listeners. A speech is a rhetorical structure in itself. In

such a structure the broad scope is a mistake. If you begin with the heaven and the earth and all the host of them, you will end with nothing. This is especially true in that the ordinary members of Knesset have a time limitation. After 5 minutes the light on his desk begins to flicker, the member of Knesset accelerates his rate of speech, he bickers with the speaker over the amount of time remaining -- and the speech will no longer be here. The good speaker will decide beforehand on which issue he wants to concentrate. In contrast to a written text, you repeat sentences that you want to emphasize -- otherwise, the words do not sink in. From then on it is a matter of talent. The success of the speech depends upon your command of the language, your voice, proper breathing, and your ability to express yourself in a clear and precise manner. Begin, for example, is an outstanding debater. He has the proper gestures, the correct pausing, and clear phrasing.

"In the previous generation the members of Knesset expressed themselves in a very flowery, pompous, unctuous, and abundant Hebrew. Today the standard language prevails. If you would program a computer, it would output most of the speeches heard today in the Knesset. These are speeches in which everything is predictable, there is no special inspiration, no use of similes that are not hackneyed and worn from overuse. Between these two poles the living, precise language is missing. The members of Knesset are unable to say what they mean in a clear, precise manner. In my visits to forums of developed nations I am always amazed when a member of the parliament says what he wants to say in 8 minutes."

The language of the politicians delivers a dual message. The first is structural: what the politician is saying. It is this that distinguishes the right and the left, the doves and the hawks, and the liberals and the socialists. The second message, with which we are concerned here, relates to the manner of speech, that which transcends the text, including the non-verbal messages that are given in the facial and body movements. In the Israel of today, in which lesser importance is given to the structural message of the parties, the importance of this type of message is considerable.

This subject has been treated from two points of departure. The first direction is the discernment of the message which the politician is delivering through his appearances on the communications media. The second direction is the inquiries of the various communications media and their nature and the extent to which the politicians respond to these inquiries. The first discernment is made in accordance with several criteria. The first is the criteria of /the authority/ [in boldface]: the extent to which the speaker imparts authority. It should be noted here that since we are speaking about leaders of the nation and its members of Knesset, for whom the authority is in actuality an important component of their profession, it can be said that most of the speakers convey authority. However, there is a difference between the quiet authority of a Burg of Arens and the vociferous and threatening authority such as that of Motta Gur of the "likely" authority by control of the communications media and in the artistry of the speech like that of Roni Milo.

The second criterion is the criterion of aggressiveness that is again conveyed through speech alone. There are aggressive politicians like Moda'i as opposed to politicians who convey a calm and non-aggressive message such as Peres or politicians who generally do not represent aggressiveness but "unsheathe" it tactically, a skill in which Menahem Begin specializes.

The third criterion is the nature of the arguments. Certain politicians transmit emotion and fervor such as Avraham Shapira, Geula Cohen, and to some extent also Begin. In contrast, Rabin and Arens draw their strength from the force of the rational argument and orderliness. Many politicians play a game -- at times measured and contrived and at times authentic -- between emotion and rationality.

The fourth criterion is the linguistic sophistication and the use of cultural elements to enrich the language. Burg, Sarid, and Peres, for example, are noted for a rich and sophisticated language. Arik Sharon and Rafi represent a primitive language. Yitzhak Navon speaks in a clear and smooth, but not primitive, language.

The fifth criterion: articulation. This is a unique Israeli criterion in that the multiplicity of countries of origin and mother tongues of the politicians creates a kaleidoscope of accents and articulations. In Israel the accent and the articulation convey a message. As such, for example, the Anglo-Saxon accent has the effect of considerable authenticity (Arens); the German accent has an authoritative effect (Burg), while the East European accent sounds somewhat humorous.

Other criteria such as the degree of folksiness, authenticity, humor, and so forth have combined in preparing the presentation of the politicians. These are done by the joint analysis and thinking of the writers and not by "academic research" that everyone knows is not done (to the extent that there are the means for doing it).

"The Communications Fields"

The second direction of the study concerns the communications media. The differences between the various communications fields (media) require the politicians to have various characteristics for each communications field (newspaper, radio, television, etc.). Therefore, Sarid, for example, can be excellent on the radio and in the press but falter on television while Roni Milo "goes over" on television but is vulnerable in a newspaper article. In order to understand the analysis, we are presenting here the important customary distinctions in the science of communications between the various categories of communications fields.

Newspaper -- constructed in a linear, layered, segmented form and with logical continuity. The reader can reexamine it, and therefore, he is influenced by the reading in the direction of rationality, abstraction, and profundity. The newspaper requires the speaker to take a logical approach and explain the arguments, but at the same time it permits verbal awkwardness and long sentences. The visual editing permits the correction of mistakes in phrasing, the addition of arguments and statistics, etc.

The radio -- immediate, rapid, and non-visual. Therefore, the listener visualizes in his imagination what he is hearing in accordance with the quality of the voice, its deepness, style of pronunciation, and so forth. In contrast to the newspaper, radio involves more of the sensitizing and excitement of the listener. The radio compels the speaker to simplify his arguments and present them in short and clear sentences. Awkward sentences that are tolerable in the newspaper because one can review them again and again sound forced on the radio, anger the listener, and are not well-received.

Television -- structured and simultaneous. The visual-pictorial dimension dominates it. This means that the "how" is more important than the "what." In that it is familiar and intimate, it dulls the senses of the viewer and anesthetizes him physically and intellectually. Television requires the speaker "to converse" intimately with the viewer in an open and direct manner while looking straight ahead and using a calm and business-like tone of voice. Flowery expressions and awkward sentences are not well-received, and the texts must be more simple than those of radio. On the other hand, the speaker's facial expression and pleasantness of speech have considerable importance.

In contrast to the newspaper, radio, and television, which do not permit an immediate reaction on the part of the listener/viewer/reader, the home circle and the mass meeting involve the participation of the public in the event.

Home circle -- It is intimate, permits the maintenance of eye contact with the speaker, interruptions and questions that require a quick reaction and at times a change in tactics on the part of the speaker.

Mass meeting -- The eye contact here is one-sided. Generally, the speaker is seen and does not see. Nevertheless, he hears and feels the reactions of the listeners, and in view of the fact that their number is large and packed together tightly, he can arouse them. While the home circle requires flexibility in tactics on the part of the speaker and imposes logical reasoning on him, the mass meeting requires him to use the language of slogans, and maintain in his speech a pace in which there are pauses, ups, and downs.

We have chosen to present 21 public figures, most of whom are members of Knesset or ministers, present and past. Seven of them are from the Alignment, seven from the Likud, and the rest from various parties and circles. Listing them under headings does not attest to clear categories but to a certain common denominator that we have found in each group. For each one there will be an exhaustive analysis of the manner of expression and estimates of the degree of success in the various categories of communications fields.

The Patrons

This group is noted for its natural authority that is conveyed in speech, an overall authority that does not need help from techniques. The persons in this category have a kind of charisma that has virtually disappeared from the Israeli leadership.

Menahem Begin

Emotional, fatherly, he gives the impression that he knows what he wants. He seems to be one who handles matters with inflexibility and nevertheless remains the good father. Simple language, enriched by Jewish verses from various periods. He is not aggressive, but he unsheathes his nails in a considered manner. A somewhat tearful articulation but not unbearably so. He sounds sensitive but not miserable. He has a good sense of humor. It should be noted that he has made virtually no appearance recently, and it appears that the image presented here is based primarily on the past.

His communications rating is high in all the fields in that he is able to adjust to the "language" imposed upon him by each communications medium. His most conspicuous limitation: the need for an immediate and sympathetic reaction by the public and his pleasure from extended talk. Therefore, he has difficulty in a studio confrontation in which there are no viewers and the time for the presentation of arguments is limited.

Yitzhaq Navon

A style of speech that tries to combine simplicity and intelligence. He succeeds in maintaining a balance between them without appearing ludicrous, but this has a price: The authority which he conveys is that of a "kindergarten teacher," and still not of a leader. It is possible that leaving the constraints of the presidency will enable him to display new characteristics. He employs a communicative language, uses mainly the second person (the singular and plural "you"), continually relates to the listeners, and minimizes the use of generalities. His articulation is refined eastern, and this creates an effect of deep-rootedness. He has a sense of humor and wit. Thanks to these and to his pleasant countenance, he gets high marks in all the communications fields.

Yosef Burg

Intelligent, fluent speech that integrates cultural elements, primarily Jewish (verses, analogies, etc.). A flowing, introspective pleasantness of speech that is based on enormous confidence in his status, as he says -- "I have no reason to shout." His weak point, paradoxically, is that he has no weak point. He conveys a message of insensitivity, in the category of "an observer who is not adversely affected." He is not aggressive but always creates an impression that he is engaged with his listeners (or his interviewers) in a verbal struggle and is managing to overcome them with his sharpness. The mild German accent magnifies his quiet authority. He gets high marks in the newspaper, radio, and television. It seems that his weaknesses are exposed at the mass meeting.

Ya'akov Hazan

Warm speech that radiates self-confidence. He has a unique ability to "intoxicate" his listeners, to generate empathy and pleasure from the very speech itself, and to transmit waves of warmth. His arguments in themselves are at times awkward, and the structure of his speeches is not always clear.

On television and radio and at mass meetings he gets outstanding marks. In addition to the intoxicating nature of his appearance, his prominent physical features in relation to his age stand him in good stead: a pleasant and calm appearance; confidence-inspiring gestures that integrate a feeling of pleasure from meeting the public with somewhat of a self-serving modesty; and primarily his strong and warm voice. The "field" that does not flatter him is the newspaper in that the awkwardness of his arguments and the tendency to verbosity are exposed.

The Analysts

This group characterizes the middle generation of the Israeli leadership. Their strength is not in a natural authority, but they have developed for themselves another source of strength: the in-depth exploration of an issue, intelligence, and rationality. You depend on the patron as you do on a father whereas the analysts give you a feeling that when put to the test, they will make the right judgment.

Moshe Arens

Cold, very rational, good command of the instruments of logic, and radiates confidence and authority although it is not clear what kind of authority: basic authority or that which is acquired by the instrument of rationality. Professional language, not too high a level, but absolutely precise. He is not aggressive, but there is a feeling that the latent aggressiveness is likely to erupt at any moment. A refined Anglo-Saxon accent that gives him considerable credibility. It seems that perhaps he has a sense of humor but that he will never use it.

His marks in the communications media are very high, but he is not the suitable man for mass meetings.

Yitzhaq Rabin

Yitzhaq Rabin is regarded as the "analyst" among the statesmen. And indeed his manner of speech is rational, his language is clear, his arguments are presented systematically and are appropriate for the particular speech, and it is clear what he is saying. However, the rationality does not conceal the "dark compartments": lowered eyes, huddled body, and an offended and at times angry facial expression that convey a message that the man is actually not with us, that he has been "sentenced to be a public figure." Rabin has a profound and slow manner of speaking that makes use of the IDF tradition of the two-dimensional speech, however there are in his appearance, nonetheless, much greater substance and interest than in the generation of the Rafal-type speech.

He gets low marks on television, but on radio his low and deep voice helps him earn a relatively high mark. His analytic ability helps him in expressing himself in a newspaper, but affects him very adversely in expressing himself at a mass meeting. His considerable impatience and nervousness give him low marks for home circles.

Ya'ir Tzaban

Slow and thoughtful speech. At times he tends to verbosity because of his thoroughness and his desire to remain to one extent or another in academic language which is virtually non-existent among politicians. He has a pleasant, Eretz Yisrael voice, but his appearance lacks simplicity. With the years he is creating an image of persuasiveness and credibility.

His marks on radio are extremely high. On television he lacks the direct contact and the folksiness, and therefore he is not the ideal man for mass meetings. He is excellent in home circles.

Yossi Sarid

Intelligent and brilliant, he has good command of linguistic techniques. On the one hand, he has the ability to find the astounding element, the "gimmick" that presents a known position in a unique and attractive manner and with perfect timing. On the other hand, he conveys no small measure of nervousness and aggressiveness which his supporters ignore and which causes his enemies to intensify their hatred. His sharp language gives him high marks on radio and in the newspaper in that his phrasing is effective and clear. However, he tends to become awkward in his arguments, and this is an impediment for him on television in which he "goes over" primarily because of quoted communiques. While his deep voice is helpful on radio, on television he tends to avoid "eye contact" with the viewer and appears embarrassed or haughty (again, depending on the viewpoint of the viewer).

David Levi

David Levi "falls" between the categories. He does not have enough strength to be among the patrons, but there is something persuasive and credible about him that does not permit placing him among the "professionals" (see below). With the years he has developed a language which on the one hand has pathos and on the other hand, arguments constructed in a cogent manner. He exudes inner confidence, and it appears that he is aware of his high level of public importance and the transmission of authenticity. His eastern articulation has not disappeared but rather has become stronger, and he makes use of it, perhaps even purposefully, to intensify the pathos.

His marks on television are high in that he has a pleasant appearance, a moderate tone of speech, and the ability to express himself well. In the newspaper he is regarded as effective and original both in expression and ideas although even here there are evident the exaggerated rules of caution of one "who is being waited for at the corner."

The Professionals

The characteristic of this group is skill acquired in speech development that conceals, so it appears, an inability to convey authority directly. The professionals leave themselves "on the outside" and transmit a double message. For this reason they are less credible than the "analysts."

Shimon Peres

The big question that apparently is also on the mind of Peres himself is the secret of his lack of credibility that becomes more intense from the manner in which he appears in the various communications media. He is intelligent, quiet, and confident. His language is sophisticated and reflects knowledge and cultural associations. It seems that he does not transmit credibility because he is too predictable. You know that he will virtually never speak out of a storm of emotion. Even his linguistic sophistication works against him to some extent. The segment of the public at which the sophistication is aimed regards this as self-dandification. The other segment does not always understand his sophistry. The authority of Peres is a bought one, dependent on his formal status and not on his personality, but he always transmits a feeling of being in control of the situation. His accent "pursues" him in that he is regarded as a sabra but has a mild East European accent. Again, there is a double message here, this time uncontrolled.

In the communications media he receives high marks precisely in the home circle because of the level of his arguments and flexibility. In this "field" he even transmits sincerity. His outstanding ability for phraseology permits him to earn high marks also in the newspaper but adversely affects his ability on radio and television and gives him low marks at the mass meeting. His intelligence and voice quality, in combination with the sophisticated phraseology and the stolid and slightly sad face, detract from his appearance on television.

Roni Milo

Very capable, not credible but professional. He does not convey true inner authority but rather the authority of a speaker for whom the words are his fortress. His articulation is good in that he has lost the touch of sabra roughness. He transmits the message of a young man who has "aged," in the sense of a loss of all authenticity.

His marks on radio are rather high in that his speech is simple and clear. On the other hand, on television his appearance is adversely affected by the constant smile and satisfaction that give him a dimension of arrogance and conceit. The level of his arguments, emphasizing the black and the white, is very effective on the radio, but in the newspaper the extent of its simplicity is revealed.

Yitzhaq Shamir

His language is simple and clear. He speaks quietly, without pathos, and it seems as if someone is hovering over him and does not permit him to speak from the heart. His main message is not "I am in control of things," but rather "I am managing, I am surviving."

In television and radio conversations he earns relatively high marks because of his ability to express himself clearly and to radiate a certain pleasantness. However, it is evident that he is pressured and uncomfortable. When

he is drawn out of his calm and he speaks in loud tones, his marks decline on radio and television. His television deficiency is rooted in his thick eyebrows and strange mustache (recently shaved off), the dimensions of which are incompatible with his short image. When he tries to be a rhetorician of the public squares, he receives very low marks because he is not blessed with qualities suitable for this. On the other hand, his marks in the newspaper are high because of his ability to express himself carefully and clearly.

Arik Sharon

In everything connected with the communications media, Arik is in the category of "a professional who has failed." In his public appearances he tries to moderate the aggressiveness and coarseness attributed to him by his actions and is content to use the technique of expressing simple positions by means of a few regular cliches. Here his inferior ability to express himself and his tendency to repeat words and sentences become evident, and he creates a stammering impression. His speech does not convey direct authority but instead he builds, it seems, on the fact that everyone "knows" his power and status.

On television and radio his marks are especially low. The nervous blinking and the forced smile transmit a constant double message. The dimensions of his "spilled out" body, the high-pitched voice, and the shrill accent do not give him any additional points. In the newspaper (primarily in interviews) his marks improve in that it is possible to edit him, and his physical appearance is not a decisive factor.

The Folksy Ones

The common characteristic of the men in this category is that they have brought to the communications fields their own home language. As such, each of them is breaking the established norms of expression and concurrently creating new ones.

Avraham Shapira

He has brought the "small town" style of speech prevalent in his vicinity, and it sounds like the language of merchants and collectors. The transfer of this style to the political world without a transition and without feelings of inferiority has broken many instruments, contributed to the fall of myths in regard to the political world, and exposed it as a world of wheeling and dealing. Therefore, he is believable and warm but identified as a scheming politician. His articulation is Yiddish.

His large and authentic appearance has made him a kind of an image of a Jewish folklorist, mainly on television. Through it he succeeds in transmitting his wisdom of life and cleverness. In the newspaper, however, his problem in expressing himself is revealed.

Charlie Biton

Like Shapira, he has brought his style of speech directly from his area of livelihood: simplicity, coarseness, while he transmits an aggressive message not of an angry leader but rather of a rebellious child who is unafraid of the adults. It appears that with time he has acquired his special style, and he uses it repeatedly as a gimmick. His accent sounds strange and even humorous.

He is aware of the characteristics of television and plans "explosions" well that will be remembered because of their radicalism and visual nature.

Raful

His language is childish, simple, and incoherent. He is a person who had no alternative but to "learn to speak," but his development in learning stopped at the sentence-construction stage. He represents, and perhaps creates, a new military style. Although the speech of Rabin and Bar-Lev is two-dimensional, it is intelligent. The Raful style is anti-intellectual, and he is popular with other high-ranking officers.

Because of the rapid rate of speech required on radio and television, his tendencies to speak slowly and lengthily sound humorous, but when he is standing in front of a sympathetic crowd, the audience feels that he is "one of them."

Ezer Weizman

With a nonchalant, simple style, he radiates authority built on the self-confidence of "one who is certain" and not on a precise study of the data. He exudes a love of man and an openness, and it appears that he does not have a double message. His articulation is that of the sabra that makes him a "thoroughbred."

His warm and direct style of speech, his pleasant appearance, unpretentiousness, and the fact that he is aware of his considerable personal charm give him high marks on television and radio. Nevertheless, what is damaging to him are his shrewdness and his tendency to shoot from the hip, traits that are attributed to him when he attacks something seriously.

The Aggressive Ones

The authority transmitted by the ones in this category is very different from that of the "patrons" or "analysts." The ones here want to "take control" of you quickly and forcefully, and therefore, they display nervousness or hysteria in their appearance that is generally damaging to them.

Geula Cohen

She has an emotional style of speech that rages and subsides every time she speaks on an issue that agitates her. She transmits authenticity, and therefore, even the tearfulness and hysteria that characterize her voice quality

do not adversely affect her strength but instead give her authority. She tries to sound rational and to establish a connection between her arguments, and this creates a double message in the relationship between her tone of voice and the text. Her marks on radio and television are high because of her ability to project sincerity. In the newspaper the nature of her argument is exposed in that it is at times simplistic and at other times confusing.

Yitzhaq Moda'i

His style of speech is neurotic. He has a thin and nervous voice that conveys fear and aggressiveness, virtually without camouflage. He tries at times to appear sophisticated, but the end result makes him sound ludicrous (see the "90 percent qualifications. . ." episode). Since his speech is not natural and flowing, he is regarded as disingenuous.

His pleasant appearance is intended to help him win high marks on television, but he manages to hurt himself because the arrogance and nervousness soon become evident. His high and grating voice also contributes to the negative effect of his appearances.

Motta Gur

A simple, shrewd style. Coarse articulation. The verbal and non-verbal messages complement each other in forming the image that appears before the public. He does not project inner authority but rather an aggressive and even menacing strength.

The aggressiveness that he transmits gives him low marks on television in that the viewer who is sitting opposite him in the delusion of intimacy is likely to be repelled. His marks on radio are higher because here the directness of expression and the short, biting phrasing help him deliver the message. In the newspaper he expresses himself well, but at a mass meeting -- in which there is a prospect for him to be more effective than others -- he tends to "slip," and his directness is damaging to him.

Meir Kahane

He has a shrill and neurotic voice, an unclear language built on "codes," and interspersed with religious expressions. His authority is based on an acceptance of his ability to "go to the end" and not compromise, and therefore, he generates another kind of credibility in contrast to the average politician and attracts another type of sympathizer. He has an Anglo-Saxon articulation that does not "work" when there is a contradiction between the moderate effect of the delivery and the content of the words.

His radicalism has made him a personality that gets broad coverage -- television "loves" radicals. On the other hand, he is very effective in using it because of his language and also because of the neurotic blinking that is magnified there. His main strength is in face-to-face contact in home circles.

Physical Violence and Verbal Violence

It was reported in the KNESSETON that in January 1952 MK 'Ada Mimon attacked MK Esther Raziel-Na'or. Later, notes the KNESSETON, MK Raziel-Na'or raised her hand against MK Esther Vilenska.

After a long interim period, in June 1980, MK Shmuel Flatto-Sharon attacked MK Charlie Biton who also was attacked by the sister of Yosef Mendelevich in the Immigration and Absorption Committee. Three members of Knesset were needed to separate the hawks, and MK Biton was censured by the Knesset Committee. This is not to mention the members of Knesset who were evicted from Knesset sessions because of disorderly behavior.

In January 1952 MK Menahem Begin was ejected for a period of 2 and 1/2 months because of inciting a disturbance in the deliberations on compensations from Germany. In March 1957 MK Hayim Landau was ejected for three sessions because of disturbances during the deliberations on the withdrawal of the IDF from Sharm al-Shaykh after Operation Kadesh. In February 1970 MK Shalom Cohen (Ha'olam Hazeq-Ko'ah Hadash) was ejected because he tore up his identity card during the deliberations on the Law of Return. In March of that year MK Menahem Porush of the Agudat Yisrael was ejected because he threw a Reform prayerbook on the ground during the deliberations on the same subject.

The following is a collection of absolutely unparliamentary expressions, the speakers of which were asked to retract them, and as a result, they were erased from the protocol:

You are an informer in Israel -- Menahem Begin to Ben-Gurion.
The long-winded one who preceded me -- Ben-Gurion of Menahem Begin.
A barking dog -- H. Rubin to A. Bahir.
You are not completely normal -- A. Avneri to S. Gross.
You are a man of the underworld -- M. Porush to A. Avneri.
You are a political Sancho Panza -- Y. Rabin to H. Landau.
Stop jumping like a goat -- E. Olmert to M. Pa'il.
You are speaking nonsense -- Gideon Patt to Yosef Burg.
Fornicators like you -- S. Aloni to members of the Agudat Yisrael.
A traitorous agent like you -- M. Shamir to M. Vilner.
You are hysterical -- M. Shamir to M. Pa'il.
A pierced-ear slave like you [refers to Hebrew slave who refused manumission in seventh year and had his ear pierced] -- M. Begin to Tawfiq Tubi.
You are vulgar -- Y. Hurvitz to H. Grossman.
You are infantile -- 'Adi Amora'i to Ariel Sharon.
He is a fool -- M. Harish of A. Sharon.
Fascist poison -- Y. Ben-Aharon to members of Knesset.
Do not make threats with Bolshevik methods -- Z. Shoval to Y. Ben-Aharon.
I don't give a damn about what you said -- Y. Bader to Y. Guri.
Changing the religion to a concubine -- A. Avneri about the Ministry of Religious Affairs.
Payment to a prostitute -- S. Tamir about the Bader-Ofer Law.
Shut up, parasite -- Z. Amir to S. Gross.
Go be examined by a psychiatrist -- A. Avneri to A. Nof.

ABNA' AL-BALAD GENERAL SECRETARY RELEASED FROM PRISON

Jerusalem AL-FAJR in English 22 Jul 83 p 4

[Text]

A welcoming rally was held, July 15, in Um al-Fahm's largest cinema hall to greet Abna' al-Balad's newly elected general secretary, Ghassan Fawzi Aghbarriyeh, just released after a one month imprisonment by the Israeli authorities.

Aghbarriyeh was arrested on his return from a three-month European tour, where he spoke at international conferences and meetings with Palestinian and European activists on the Palestinian issue.

The Abna' al-Balad general secretary relayed to the Um al-Fahm crowd the greetings of representatives of the Palestinian people. Ghassan told the crowd that Palestinian officials expressed their strong desire to know all the details of the lives and problems of the Palestinian people living in Israel. He said that there is a great need for portraying a

true picture of the Galilee, Triangle and the Naqab to the European and American peoples. while in Europe, Aghbarriyeh said he met with many progressive forces which expressed solidarity with the Palestinian people.

Dr Jad Neeman, lecturer in cinema and television at Tel Aviv University and prominent active member in the Committee in Solidarity with Bir Zeit and the Committee Against the War in Lebanon, told the Um al-Fahm crowd that the Abna' al-Balad movement is a legitimate political organisation which has the right to participate in international conferences about the Palestinian issue and peace in the Middle East. Neeman also pointed out the importance of Arab and Jewish struggle in the face of the policy of occupation and discrimination which is being carried out by the present Israeli government.

BRIEFS

AID TO SOLDIERS--The fund for the prevention of unemployment in the Ministry of Labor and Welfare will provide vocational training for soldiers who have volunteered to serve an additional period in the IDF at the end of their tour of duty. This has been done in response to the request of the Ministry of Defense. Until now such soldiers were not entitled to unemployment, according to the National Insurance Law, unlike soldiers who have been discharged at the end of the 3 year period. According to the new arrangement, each soldier who has volunteered at the end of the 3 years to serve for an additional period and has taken vocational courses offered at the Labor Ministry will be eligible for a supplemental payment as of the first month of his discharge from regular service until the end of the training, on condition that the training not last more than 1 year. The supplemental payment will not exceed 75 percent of the unemployment pay. The Labor Ministry has explained that the arrangement applies only to soldiers taking part in vocational training for preferred trades. During the training the soldiers are working within a military framework. The IDF and the Ministry of Labor consider the training of these soldiers a way of integrating them into the Israel economy. The program was allocated 14 million shekels. [Text] [Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 17 Jul 83 p 4] 9565

PUNISHMENT FOR MILITARY OBJECTORS--The IDF plans to give stricter punishment to service objectors in Lebanon. The idea is to make things tougher in order to dissuade reserve soldiers from taking such a radical step. Some 70 soldiers have been jailed so far for refusing to serve in Lebanon. The average punishment is 35 days in jail. Some in the IDF maintain that "ideology has a price," and that the willingness to sit behind bars will diminish if the number of days is raised to 70 or 100. In the meantime no instructions have been issued to make the punishment more severe and the entire matter is being considered by the IDF. The Manpower Section has lately prepared a model of the Objector's Profile in order to learn more about motives and reasons. [Text] [Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 18 Jul 83 p 8] 9565

CSO: 4423/164

DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS, PLANNING DISCUSSED

Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 29 Jun 83 p 8

[Article by Sami Ahmad: "Young People Requiring Support Make Up 51.5 Percent of the Kingdom's Population; Imbalance in Population Density and Increase in the Level of Settlement"]

[Text] The Queen 'Alya Fund for Volunteer Social Work has published a pamphlet entitled, "Principal Issues in Jordanian Development."

This booklet contains a number of studies concerning this subject, the most important being a study entitled, "Demographic Trends and Changes in National Planning in Jordan," by Ahmad Hammudah and Yasir Sarah, and another study entitled, "Effects of Rapid Population Growth on Development in Jordan," by Drs Fawzi Sahawanah and Harb al-Hunayti.

Demographic Trends and Changes

The study began with a positive forward about Jordan's population situation, and its basic statistics and aspects, in which it stated that the population is increasing rapidly. The population is doubling every 23 years, since the average population growth rate for the period between 1952 and 1980 amounted to approximately 35 per 1,000. Moreover, it is not expected that this rate will drop below 32 per 1,000 until the end of this century, if the set factors of birth and death levels remain constant as to direction and degree and do not change in their course.

The study indicated that the Jordanian population was also characterized by imbalance in distribution and a clear regional disparity in population density, with a significant rise in the settlement level and a rise in the percentage of young people in the total population, since this percentage has reached 51.6 percent. There was a rise in the percentage of complete support and support for young people and a drop in the median age of the population. There was also a rise in the illiteracy rate and a drop in female participation in economic activity, or rather, a decline in the rate of population participation in general in the workforce.

The Political and Economic Situation

The political and economic situation in Jordan is distinguished by several special aspects and conditions, such as the small size of the market, the paucity of arable land, the dependence of most agricultural production on sparse and fluctuating rainfall and the limited nature of natural resources. Successive wars have hindered Jordanian development, or rather, have at times almost threatened it with collapse. The Israeli occupation of the West Bank in 1967 has deprived Jordan of its most important agricultural territory, as well as imposing upon it very large material and moral responsibilities in terms of armament, in addition to the responsibility of caring for those who fled to the East Bank away from the repression and harshness of occupation.

However, Jordan has faced these problems confidently, pursuing sound planning as a means of achieving growth and overcoming the difficulties and obstacles, which the wisdom of its position, its limited space, the environmental circumstances and its national and pan-Arab responsibilities have distinguished.

Classifying the Jordanian Experience

In the forward to this work, the two writers go on to say that the study of demographic trends and changes must rely on two basic dimensions, which are:

—Intertwining or mixing of population policies and programs with general policies and programs related to social and economic development.

--Insertion of demographic statements (in differing degrees) into the planning process, or in the preparation of development plans.

Despite the connection of these two dimensions, the first one is considered a long-range goal and requires considerable effort to achieve, while the second dimension can be achieved with less effort and only requires the use of what demographic statements are available.

The two authors question why we classify Jordan's experience in developmental planning on the basis of two dimensions or those two goals? They wonder what is the level of the demographic statements and the social and economic information available in Jordan, and what is the extent of its use in the planning processes?

Population Change and Planning

The study goes on to explain the indicators which determine population change. There are three demographic elements--births, deaths and emigration.

It points out that change in population size and rate of growth are directly linked to changes on the social and economic level, and although the size of the population has a great effect on determining the human labor force, the increase also means an increase in the number of consumer mouths, which might cause a trend to swallow up all savings and growth achieved by the

increase in production. Moreover, the increase in the size of the workforce puts additional burdens and responsibilities on the state, such as providing adequate opportunities for work, education, training, housing, etc.

Also directly tied in with changes in the size of the population and the population growth rate is the size of imports, the level of employment and so forth.

Population Distribution

The two scholars see the disparity in the geographic distribution of population as creating a problem of imbalance. This has a clear effect on the level of accomplishing economic and social changes. The population should be redistributed, in such a way as to achieve a balance as a means of achieving workforce distribution, places of investment and opportunities for employment.

As a result of that, the value of the national income and the individual's share of that income would be definitely affected. Moreover, the change in population distribution would help to improve cultural and technological levels by raising the level of means, tools, and methods used in production processes and the organizational and living matters operating in the various areas, through the rate of transferring population from more progressive places to less progressive areas.

What Is Planning in Jordan?

The two scholars then turned to an explanation of the philosophy of planning and to what distinguishes planning in Jordan. Planning is the means for development, to reduce losses, to obtain the maximum of profit from resources used, and programming in order to make the general decisions to select the goals and methods.

The study says that Jordan has adopted total, comprehensive planning, including all economic sectors, such as agriculture, mining, industry, construction, trade, transportation and public administration.

Moreover, planning in Jordan is distinguished by national planning, which includes all parts of the kingdom regardless of whether the kingdom is divided into provinces or regions. The national plans have fluctuated between 3 and 7 years, but a decision was reached to make them 5-year plans.

The planning decision in Jordan concentrates on a conviction to develop Jordanian society, modernizing and developing it from its contemporary agricultural stage to a future industrial society, with this process requiring a soundly qualified and effective structure, with the application of social justice to all sectors of society, the employment of a sound educational system serving the needs of the present and future community, the investment of capital in the economy and the use of modern technology through a scientific method.

The History of Planning in Jordan

Economic and social planning began in Jordan with the preparation of the 1962 development plan, which was "a 5-year program for economic and social growth, 1963-67."

Some of the projects planned for in this program were implemented, but the unforeseen reduction in the level of foreign assistance to the general budget led to radical changes in this program. The most important goal of these changes was to reduce the chronic deficit in the commercial budget and to reduce dependence on foreign aid, despite the knowledge that this might mean a reduction in the economic growth rate.

The priorities of the new program prepared in 1963 were established. This was a 7-year plan for economic development 1963-70. The goal of this plan was to reduce the shortfall in the budget and increase income by 7 percent, and reduce the level of unemployment and dependence on foreign assistance. The June 1967 war resulted in stopping a number of the development projects programmed into the 7-year plan and a drawback in its rates of economic growth.

In order to resume the course of development and to restore economic activity, a 3-year development plan was established for 1973-75, aimed at increasing the job opportunities available in Jordan, achieving a growth rate for the gross national product of 8 percent, reducing the government's general budget dependency on foreign revenues, reducing the commercial budget's shortfall and bolstering the balance of payments. This 3-year development plan was followed by a 5-year (1976-80) plan to bolster the development efforts of 1973-75 in order to continue to achieve progress.

As for the economic and social development plan of 1981-85, whose preparation began in 1980, it is aimed at increasing personal income, raising the citizen's standard of living, distributing the gains of development and spreading services and public utilities to the public at large.

Population Elements in Development Planning

This part of the study concentrates on a review of Jordanian development plans, for the purpose of discovering those subjects in which population elements and facts were mentioned within the context of formulating those national development plans.

The study states that demographic elements, and especially emigration, played a big role in presenting the problem of economic and social planning for this country. As a result of the 1948 war, the population of Jordan within its new boundaries at that time (the East and West Banks), increased threefold within a few months, without any significant increase in its resources. Jordanian development plans have always taken population into consideration in one form or another. The 7-year plan pointed out that the ratio of total production to population proves that labor productivity

in Jordan has declined despite the increase in production, since the percentage of non-workers in the population has increased considerably due to either their young age or their being unemployed.

The 1981-85 economic and social development plan affirms that man is the center of importance of the successive development plans in Jordan, which are aimed at providing his basic needs and defining the causes of his economic and social problems in order to deal with them. The plan is aimed at increasing the citizen's income raising his standard of living, equitably distributing the gains of development and reducing the disparity between the different regions, especially the difference in settlement, increasing the ties between them, along with arriving at the ideal population distribution. In order to increase the citizen's productivity and capabilities, the plan envisions providing him with the necessary education, training and qualifications required for development progress. The plan also indicates the necessity for agreement between the population situation on the one hand and Jordan's resources and its role in the Arab Nation on the other.

Therefore, there must be complete familiarity with population development trends, so as to raise the social, living and health standards of the family, and to distribute the activities of the maternity and pediatrics centers in regard to the dissemination of medical education and family planning services. In addition, it is aimed at improving the population's living environment, by fighting pollution, giving health considerable importance, defining the future needs of the workforce and providing it with suitable opportunities, reducing the percentage of illiterates, raising the percentage of the population participating in the workforce, especially female participation, and diagnosing some of the problems that the economy faces.

In order to lessen the intensity of domestic emigration from rural to urban areas, which increases pressure on public utilities and services in the cities and considerably increases their population, the plan looks at subsidizing population activities in constructing new cities or housing units in industrial areas or villages, especially for fixed, low and middle income persons, and at encouraging private investment in commercial housing and construction projects.

Population and Planning for Economic Sectors

This part of the study is concerned with pursuing and investigating the development of certain economic sectors and the relationship of that with general population development. The study chooses two sectors, agriculture and health, as examples to clarify the connection between the population and sector planning.

Agriculture

Relationships between economic development in agriculture and demographic changes are considered the most important relationships between the

the population and economic and social changes, since agriculture plays a very important role in developing nations as a population reserve for the industrialization process and as a source for the complete feeding of the population, in addition to being a source for the surplus that is produced. However, the agricultural sector has not received its due, in terms of interest from economists and social scientists who have concentrated on industry as the source of progress and development, since most of these scientists come from advanced areas. However, interest in the agricultural sector has increased in recent years, because of the concentration by international organizations on this sector and due to the numerous studies about the influence of population on the food problem and the shortage of land that can be used for agriculture. Some studies have stressed that population pressure may lead to technological breakthroughs in agriculture, as well as researching the relationship between the shortfall in land and agricultural productivity, and emigration and unemployment--hidden unemployment--as well as wages in the rural areas and population pressure on these wages.

As for the East Bank, the agricultural sector is one of the important sectors in the economy. However, the importance of this sector has begun to diminish since in 1961, the agricultural sector employed about 35 percent of the work force and produced 17.3 percent of the gross national product for the period 1959-1961. The percentage of the work force employed in this sector dropped to 22.7 percent in 1975 and 16.8 percent in 1980. The percentage of the sector's share in the gross national product dropped to 9.7 percent in 1975 and 8.5 percent in 1980. It is worth noting that the decline in the number of Jordanian workers in the agricultural sector since 1961 was accompanied by a rise in their number in the other sectors, especially in transportation (8.38 percent annually,) electricity (9.92 percent,) followed by public administration and other services (5.2 percent,) construction (4.84 percent,) commerce (4.4 percent,) and industry and mining (.82 percent). Therefore, the agricultural sector in Jordan, like this sector in most developing countries, is a labor reserve sector from which the other sectors are provided with their necessary labor force.

We believe that the lowering of productivity in the agricultural sector, when compared with productivity in the total economy, was about 49.4 percent of the total productivity of the economy in 1961 and approximately 50.6 percent in 1980.

The reasons for the decline in productivity in this sector are numerous, the most important being the large number of agricultural workers compared to the unit of agricultural measure, in addition to the fact that the land used is not fertile.

It should be noted that the percentage of agricultural land, as noted in the study, has begun to decrease. While its acreage in 1968 totaled 3,800,627 dunums, in 1980 it had decreased by 29 percent, to 2,712,887 dunums. That aided the decline in productivity, which was also aided by the absence of modern marketing methods.

Health

Health planning has concentrated on improving the insurance program for state employees. As for population research, it has concentrated on population growth and rising fertility.

The population's health condition, which is shown in deaths and diseases, effects fertility and consequently, the birthrate. Deaths and the birthrate together determine population growth and the population structure. Deaths and diseases are effected by economic development and modernization, improvement of medical technology and governmental administration, the distribution of medical services and public health laws, which stabilize them.

It is believed that the drop in deaths, which occurred in the advanced nations during the 19th and 20th centuries, was the result of internal factors, such as gradual economic progress and modernization. The rapid transfer of modern health technology has been accomplished in most of the nations of the developing world.

The health situation in Jordan is affected by two factors, the healthy dry climate and the ascendancy of youth in the Jordanian society. Health services in Jordan are dispensed from hospitals and clinics in the private sector, as well as from the Ministry of Health and the Relief Agency.

Since its establishment, Jordan has seen a significant improvement in health services and among its results are a decline in the death rate and in infant mortality, as well as a rise in life expectancy from birth. As for the death rate, it has decline rapidly. Whereas the percentage of deaths was 20 per 1,000 during the period 1950-1954, it declined to 14 per 1,000 for the period 1976-1978 and 12 per 1,000 in 1980. There was also a rapid decline in the infant mortality rate, although it is still relatively high, since in 1945-49 it was about 150 per 1,000, declining to 70 per 1,000 in the period 1970-75. However, the infant mortality rate reached 86 per 1,000 in the period 1976-78 and 79.5 in 1980.

Moreover, Jordan has overcome a low life expectancy from birth with considerable rapidity, since the Bucharest Conference of 1974 demanded an achievement of a life expectance from birth of 50 years, provided that this goal be achieved by 1985 at the latest. Jordan was able to increase life expectancy at birth from 45.8 years for males and 47.5 years for females in 1960 to 57 years for males and 59 years for females as of 1980.

This development is attributable to considerable improvement in health services and health awareness in the kingdom. Whereas the ratio of doctors to population was 1.72 doctors for each 10,000 of the population in 1960, this percentage rose to 9.7 doctors in 1980. Moreover, the ratio of nurses to the population rose from 1.9 nurses for each 10,000 in 1969 to 3.8 in 1980. As for the ratio of nurses to hospital beds, it rose from 1 to 13 in 1969 and 1 to 11 in 1971 to about 1 to 4.6 in 1980. However, this ratio is still very low and is less than its counterpart in Egypt, Algeria and Sudan.

Moreover, the ratio of dentists to population has risen from 0.33 for each 10,000 of the population in 1965 to 0.63 in 1971, and to 1.5 in 1980. The ratio of pharmacists has also risen from 0.94 for each 1,000,000 of the population in 1965 to 1.46 in 1971 and 2.5 in 1980. As for the number of legal midwives, they numbered 180 in 1966, rising to 227 as of 1980. This was 1.03 midwives per 10,000 of the population, although each midwife must cover some 465 mothers. It is worth noting that the ratio of midwives in Jordan is one of the lowest rates in the Arab Nation and even in the rest of the developing nations.

In planning the work force in the health sector, Jordan uses programming of technical treatments to adhere to specific percentages between the population and the work force required to fulfill the health service. For example, the Ministry of Health believes that the ratio of 1 doctor to each 1,000 of the population is acceptable. Therefore, in 1985, Jordan will need about 2,630 doctors, of whom 2,175 were present at the beginning of the economic and social development plan for 1981-85. Therefore, the remaining number must be provided, some 455 doctors during the years of the plan, a rate of 91 doctors each year.

Accordingly, the planner must address the issue of solving the problems of those who pursue the study of medicine during this period of time, since they are estimated at some 655 doctors per year, an annual surplus of 514 doctors. By adding these graduates to those doctors already established, Jordan would reach a ratio of 22.2 doctors to each 10,000 of the population. This is a higher ratio than Britain currently has, which is 13.1. Moreover, the planner has set a ratio of 2.5 dentists for each 10,000 population, which will require an increase in the number of dentists during the plan years of 276, or some 55 dentists a year. The annual average of graduates from dental schools is 62. Therefore, the planner sees the need of planning now to limit the number of students who study dentistry.

With regard to pharmacists, the planner thinks that the ratio of 2.5 pharmacists to each 10,000 of the population is acceptable. Therefore, he sees that the number of pharmacists should be increased by an average of 3.4 percent annually. This is the rate of population increase in Jordan, or some 20 pharmacists a year. However, the number of anticipated pharmacists during the plan's 5 years is higher than the desired average.

Concerning licensed nurses, the planner foresees that Jordan has a strong requirement to provide licensed nurses. He uses the ration of 1 nurse to every 4 beds and 30 beds for each 10,000 citizens. The additional number that must be provided by 1985 is estimated at 1,158, or an annual average of 193 nurses. It should be remembered that the number of graduates in 1979 was no more than 71 nurses, so that efforts must be increased at least two and one-half times.

Planning for licensed midwives uses an average of 2.5 per each 10,000 population. Jordan's requirement by 1985 is estimated at 657 midwives,

i.e., an increase amounting to 230 or some 66 per year. This will require subsidizing the midwife department in the College of Nursing.

Regarding the medical assistance professions, such as anesthetization nurses, x-ray technicians, pharmaceutical assistants, laboratory technicians and health inspectors, Jordan uses international standards as aids in defining the kingdom's requirements.

7005

CSO: 4404/487

KUWAIT

BRIEFS

TIES WITH BULGARIA--Sofia, 20 Jul (KUNA)--Kuwait's Chief of Staff General 'Abdallah Farrah al-Ghanim expressed appreciation and pride at his country's friendship with Bulgaria and at Sofia's understanding of the situation in the Arab world. "We appreciate and are proud of the Kuwait-Bulgarian friendship and will not forget its positive role in understanding the problems of the Arab world," he said on arrival here last night on an official visit at the invitation of his Bulgarian counterpart General Semerdzhiev. Semerdzhiev, who received al-Ghanim at the airport, praised Bulgaria's relations with Kuwait in particular and with the Arab world in general wishing the Arab nation unity and solidarity and the Lebanese crisis a speedy settlement. He said Bulgaria supports the creation of an independent Palestinian state and appealed to the PLO and Syria to patch up their differences in order to achieve the objective. A second round of official talks between the Bulgarian and Kuwaiti delegations on scopes of military cooperation were held later today. Al-Ghanim is accompanied by a high-powered delegation including senior air force and army officers. [Text] [GF221148 Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 21-22 Jul 83 p 5]

CSO: 4400/462

LEBANON

BRIEFS

TERRORISM CONDEMNED--Beirut, 8 Aug (SANA)--The Communist Action Organization [CAO] in Lebanon has denounced the ugly massacre to which Ba'labakk was subjected after the Tripoli massacre. The CAO affirmed that such massacres expose the role of the elements hostile to every nationalist in the Lebanese arena and the insistence of these elements on implementing their plans to spread murder and terrorism in the country. The organization also expressed its appreciation of the great struggle being undertaken by the nationalist parties and forces in the al-Biqa' against the terrorist plans. The organization called for ending the internecine Palestinian fighting within Fatah ranks and for resorting to democratic dialogue. On another level, the CAO condemned the moves of the new U.S. envoy, McFarlane, and affirmed he came to the region to act like his predecessor and complete what Shultz had begun when he imposed the humiliating and capitulatory agreement on Lebanon. The CAO also asserted that the anticipated events will expose McFarlane's mission, which aims at securing the required cover for the Israeli plans, and at fabricating a Lebanese conflict to overshadow the Lebanese-Israeli conflict and confuse the national resistance against the occupation. [Text] [JN081746 Damascus SANA in Arabic 1440 GMT 8 Aug 83]

CSO: 4400/462

QATAR

BRIEFS

FRENCH-MADE BOATS--Doha, 11 Aug (QNA)--The Qatari Navy today received a number of boats which were made in France. This comes within the framework of enhancing the military capability of the Qatari Armed Forces. Commander of the Qatari Navy, Col Salah al-Din 'Azab, noted at the ceremony held on the arrival of these boats, that accepting these boats is within the framework of implementing the instructions of the supreme political command and of the general command of the armed forces to complete the development of the Qatari Armed Forces. He told QNA that development of the Qatari Navy is within the framework of a comprehensive plan designed to strengthen the armed forces by obtaining modern military equipment. [Summary] [GF120450 Doha QNA in Arabic 1340 GMT 11 Aug 83 GF]

CSO: 4400/463

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

BRIEFS

BUDGET ALLOCATIONS--Ahmad al-Ta'ir, minister of state for finance and industry affairs, has noted in a statement published today in the UAE paper AL-BAYAN that 6.8 billion dirhams will be allocated for defense. He added that 9.5 billion dirhams will be allocated for Abu Dhabi Amirate and 3.0 million dirhams for Dubai Amirate. With regard to the deficit, he said this will be tackled through reduced spending. [Doha QNA in Arabic 0710 GMT 9 Aug 83 GF]

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION--Abu Dhabi, 9 Aug (WAM)--The foreign affairs minister has received an official invitation from the UN Secretary General to attend the international conference on the Palestinian issue in Geneva 29 August-7 September. It has been decided that the UAE will participate in the conference and send an official delegation. [Excerpt] [Abu Dhabi WAM in Arabic 0635 GMT 9 Aug 83 GF]

POPULATION STATISTICS--During the past 3 years the UAE made enormous progress in the efforts exerted to ensure a balance in the population equation. The average population growth of the citizens has for the first time exceeded that of the great workers where the former reached 7.6 percent and the latter reached 5.5 percent. The statistical reports from the Planning Ministry indicated that the total population of the UAE in 1982 was 1.18 million people whereas in 1981 it was 1.11 million people. [Excerpts] [GF101410 Ash-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 10 Aug 83 pp 1, 14 GF]

CSO: 4400/463

PROTECTING TEXTILE INDUSTRY FROM FOREIGN COMPETITION EXAMINED

Sanaa AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 13 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by 'Abdallah al-Shibari: "Protecting Our Domestic Industry From Competition"]

[Text] With joint coordination, the spinning and textile mill and the ready-made clothing factory could cover the local market with the best fabrics and clothes in various men's women's, and children's sizes. However, the two factories encounter competition from merchants who illegally send batches of materials and clothes to the interior of the country. Because of this continued, provocative competition, I went to the spinning and textile mill to get some details.

There I met with Salih al-Sinbani, the general manager. He complained from the outset about the illegal infiltration of fabrics similar to the output of the mill. When I asked him about combatting such a phenomenon, he said, "A committee was formed to combat the smuggling of goods competing with our industries, but it soon ceased functioning.

"At present we continue to follow the matter as much as possible. No fabrics similar to our domestic production enter the country officially. The Ministry of Economy issued a resolution prohibiting the importation of competing goods, to no avail. Of course any resolution which is not implemented is of no benefit. All the fabrics found in the markets are smuggled. Meanwhile, our domestic mill, especially now that all its divisions have been supplied with the most modern machinery and equipment from both East and West, is capable of covering between 20 and 30 percent of the best fabrics. However, smugglers and those promoting smuggling are not as concerned about excellent quality as they are about fantastic profits, even at the expense of the economy of the nation and the potential of the people."

Excellent Quality of Production

General Manager Salih al-Sinbani was very excited and brought out samples of the mill's output. I had not expected them to be of such excellent quality. Some were pure cotton and some cotton and polyester. I asked to see the mill's new machinery and equipment. I saw only one division which is still the same as I had remembered it. All the machinery and equipment were from

Switzerland, Germany, or Italy. There was the most modern, automatic equipment with one worker running several machines producing the finest and most delicate fabrics, in the hope of eliminating the problem of the foreign orientation of our merchants. What do they want? If the goal is to create a gap in our economy by frustrating our domestic industries, this will not last long. "You get away 100 times, but you are finally caught," according to the proverb.

If the goal is to supply the market with material which is lucrative, then let them give their specifications to the mill. They will have what they want, and the quality will be better.

Some Are Encouraging Foreign Competition

It is odd that some government organizations are importing their requirements in foreign goods with hard currency, even though the mill produces better goods. These organizations allege that the imports are less costly, ignoring the fact that the spinning and textile organization also belongs to the government and that the money used by these organizations to buy their requirements abroad should instead go to the state treasury. We would thus save hard currency. Despite my urging, Mr Salih insisted on not mentioning these organizations, though he made an exception for the Ministry of Health and the military economy organization. He said that the Ministry of Health supports local products and prefers them over others. It buys most of its requirements of uniforms, sheets, gauze, and other items from the mill. The military economy organization buys civilian clothing, military uniforms, and other things, so money does not go to a foreign vendor.

As a result of the aforesaid, there are quantities of excellent fabrics stockpiled in warehouses. Their estimated value is 30 million riyals. Add to this the fact that the blanket factory, while will produce 400,000 blankets, has not yet been protected. Thus we will continue to be thwarted, as long as smuggling is not eradicated. The responsible authorities are capable of putting an end to this silent onslaught against our economy, but they do not want to. The merchant is interested in benefitting from the smuggled goods, as they are sold to him at a lower price. According to Salih al-Sinbani, we could reduce prices if we imported foreign labor at very low wages. However, we are determined to use local labor, even though the wages are high, because local labor is better than foreign. The general manager added excitedly, "What crimes have we committed, for us to continue burning up here by ourselves, because of competition, without finding a positive response?"

Ready-Made Clothing Factory

I went to the ready-made clothing factory to interview board chairman Ahmad 'Abdallah al-'Aqil. He was extremely agitated and excited, as he acknowledged that manufacturing clothing for which there is no demand is folly, as long as illegal competition exists. It cost 58 million riyals to equip this factory. Each month 400,000 riyals are paid out in employees', technicians', and workers' salaries, while manufactured goods here too are

being stockpiled. They have found no market because of the competition of illegal imports. Still there have been no exemptions made for raw materials, and the crisis widens. If an exemption were obtained from the Ministry of Economy, the Ministry of Finance would reject it. He said, "This means that we will pay the fees and wages for production and the costs of raw materials, and meanwhile, the market is full of foreign goods. This factory used to export to Saudi Arabia and Aden, but it stopped exporting because of the difficulty of exemptions on raw materials which the Ministry of Economy granted and the Ministry of Finance rejected. This makes it sell at prices equal to those of smuggled goods and causes it enormous losses," Ahmad 'Abdallah al-'Aqil bitterly expressed his willingness to sell at cost.

He added with a sigh, "We made several attempts. We sold our output of clothing at 30 percent off to convince merchants of the great difference between the excellent quality of our output and their imports. This experiment cost us 12 million riyals.

If our products are superior to European manufactures and our prices are cheap compared to imported goods, that is the solution. This encourages local industries which enjoy protection throughout the world. The largest manufacturing countries in the world fight against foreign commodities entering their territory, regardless of their ability to compete. We have not arranged for the protection of our growing industries, and this is what threatens them with bankruptcy and extinction."

He told me about a presidential decree ordering the responsible authority to support and protect local industry from foreign competition. He said, "Our sole consolation is that our supreme leader, may God preserve him, is on our side. If it were not for him, this factory would be put up for sale at public auction. But who would buy it, when we, the first, sustained losses leading to bankruptcy?" I visited the factory's divisions and saw large quantities of ready-made clothing of the latest fashions. They were piled up in warehouses. I asked if the fabrics were imported. He replied, "No. All this clothing is made from wonderful material produced by the textile and spinning mill. It is in fact most beautiful and attractive."

He added, "In cooperation and coordination with the spinning and textile mill, we can cover the local market with ready-made clothing in various sizes and the latest fashion. However, where is protection?" He took me by the hand to show me one of the factory's divisions. It was the children's clothing division. Work there had stopped. There were quantities of this clothing lying in warehouses, because the local market was overflowing with foreign manufactures!

Comment

There is no problem without a solution, if good will exists. Competition against our domestic industries is not a simple matter, neither in the short term nor the long term. It will undoubtedly have negative effects on any industry in our country. This will inevitably lead to a retreat by those with capital from undertaking any project from which our masses might benefit.

Therefore the disease must be terminated before it gets worse, and the influx of goods similar to that of our manufactures must be stopped, whether the goods have come in legally or illegally. Regrettably, some organizations buy their requirements of fabrics from abroad. They see no harm in the nation's money going to a foreign producer, while our factory produces the best fabrics. If the organization which imports its requirements of foreign fabrics considered the matter, it would find that purchasing from our domestic factory means that sums of money would not leave the domain of the public wealth from which we all benefit. Meanwhile, purchasing from foreign agents means that those agents benefit at our expense. Our great leader, therefore, gave instructions during Ramadan to all government organizations. They are to buy all their requirements of fabrics and clothing from the spinning and textile mill. Textile merchants and importers, you must know that this mill and the ready-made clothing factory employ labor, previously out of work, from among your brothers and sisters. I do not think this troubles you, for you prefer everything foreign to everything that is Yemeni. The goal in building domestic industries is not profit so much as it is to serve you. How happy we will be when the number of industries in our country multiplies. We will do without imports and will even export abroad. Our economy will flourish. Our development projects will increase. Self-sufficiency is the height of glory of a people. It does not help to depend on importing every detail, for we already have the items available. Dependence on foreign products means that we remain a pawn in the games of companies which have a monopoly on prices. We have one consideration. For example, the price of a bag of sugar one month was 90 riyals. The next month in the port it was 135 riyals. In the same period flour was 70 riyals in the port and went up to 105 riyals. Rice was 140 and went up to 175, even though the state exempted foodstuffs from customs duties.

A bag of cement was 26 riyals on board ship. It went up to 32 riyals. With transport and loading, it went up to 45 and 50. Who benefits? We or the foreign export companies?

If agriculture flourished in our country, by undertaking huge irrigation projects, things would be different. I smell the fragrance of bread from pearl millet or local durra, as if it were the fragrance of musk, because it is rarely in the markets. A meal of a loaf of bread from these grains is coarse, even if you are full from it. Our deprivation of a crumb of local bread results from a dependence on imports. The only way to escape is for us to unite in solidarity and make painstaking efforts so that our future generations remember us kindly and include us in the list of worthy ancestors.

7811

CSO: 4404/472

MINISTER RETURNS FROM VISIT TO U.S., CANADA, FRANCE

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 14 Jun 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] The DCMLA and Minister for Energy and Mineral Resources, Air Vice Marshal Sultan Mahmud said in Dhaka on Monday that he had substantive discussions with US Government recently regarding supply of fuel for the country's first nuclear research reactor, reports BSS.

Talking to newsmen on his return from a three-week trip that took him to France USA and Canada Air Vice Marshal Sultan Mahmud said the US Administration have indicated their willingness for a continuous supply of fuel for the reactor.

A 3 MW research reactor worth 5 million dollar, he added has been procured from the US and will be installed within the Atomic Energy research of establishment at Savar. The reactor is expected to go into operation before the year is out.

The DCMLA said during his meeting with the two US Assistant Secretaries - Energy and International Affairs, discussions also took place for further assistance in support of more projects with the research reactor. He also called on US Air Force Chief General Gabriel.

Besides meeting senior government officials, the DCMLA met the World Bank President W. Clausen and sought Bank's assistance for the development of the energy sector Mr Clausen, he said, showed willingness to assist and appreciated utilisation of Bank's fund by Bangladesh government in various development programmes.

The DCMLA also had a meeting in Houston with a multinational company and held discussions on petroleum exploration possibilities in Bangladesh.

Canada

In Canada the DCMLA had meetings with a number of government functionaries including Ministers for Defence and International Trade, discussed matters of bilateral interests with particular emphasis on promotion of trade.

The Canadian Government, he said promised to provide 45 million Canadian dollar to complete the Load Dispatch Centre for Power Development Board. The

DCMLA had a meeting with the Vice-President of Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and discussed matters on Agency's increased assistance to Bangladesh.

The Canadian authority have also agreed to separate assistance fund from foreign donors attached for the procurement of Railway locomotives, he added.

France

In Paris, where he was on the last leg of his three-nation tour, the Air Vice-Marshal had called on the French Air Chief and visited Paris annual air show. He held talks with the officials of the energy sector, particularly on the training of personnel in various disciplines in the petroleum field. He said the French authorities have also agreed to help Bangladesh set up a permanent petroleum institute with World Bank assistance.

The DCMLA said that France have agreed to provide technical assistance to set up an advanced resource survey satellite ground station was a great feat for the trip. He said the 5 million dollar project would help forecast the prospect of number of things including agriculture, fishery, forestry and weather.

He said discussions was also held on the financing of the rehabilitation of Eastern Refinery, a part of second hydro-carbon project in the country.

CSO: 4600/1330

KHORASANI COMMENTS ON UN REPORT, GULF WAR, FRENCH ASSISTANCE TO IRAQ

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 28 Jul 83 p 1

[Text]

WASHINGTON, July 27(IRNA) — "We will consider the United Nations Security Council incompetent if it continues its impotence by allowing itself to be manipulated by others", said the Iranian permanent representative to the U.N. and head of the Iranian mission in United Nations, Dr. Sa'id Raja'i Khorasani Tuesday.

He added that the report of the U.N. Delegation which visited Iran and Iraq clearly put the Security Council in a difficult situation.

He stressed that the Security Council's declaration should be based on the contents of the report which unveiled the crimes perpetrated by Saddam. Iran proposes, Raja'i said, that the council advise its members to refrain from arming the countries involved in the war imposed on Iran by Iraq.

He emphasized that it was the duty of the Security Council to implement the United Nations charter, cope with international problems efficiently and constructively, and that it should not side with superpowers or a particular member.

"If the council acted according to the U.N. charter," added Raja'i Khorasani, "then, without any doubt, Iran's rightful claims will be recognized, otherwise the legitimacy of the Security Council will be undermined."

Raja'i Khorasani said the UN officials had informed him that they would like to issue a statement based on the agreement of

both warring parties and other members. "Such a statement, will be a contradiction in terms, and hence preposterous, because it is self-evident that in such cases one of the two parties would feel dissatisfied with the verdict, and no unanimity can be sought here," Raja'i said.

Speaking on the reports contents, Raja'i Khorasani said that although the crimes committed by Saddam were fudged over, the UN diplomats knew well what the implications are, since the destruction of towns, killing civilian people by air-raids in Baneh, strafing civilians from helicopter in Pole Dokhtar, attacking hospitals in Abadan, and full destruction of a town such as Khorramshahr, which was larger than some of the member countries in the Security Council, were realities which the council cannot easily ignore.

"If the Security Council does not heed these points, it means that it is supporting Iraq and a clear indication that the Security Council lacks efficiency and power to cope with the international problems through taking impartial positions and just stands. Therefore, this will corroborate our longtime position," noted Raja'i Khorasani.

He added that although the report had not reflected all and ignored most of the details pertaining to the ravages wrought in Iran, however some of the important and decisive facts which should certainly be condemned

internationally, were in the report.

Raja'i Khorasani concluded by saying that the Security Council was refusing to use the report since it contained truth about Saddam's crimes. He criticized the UN for being evasive and shirking from its responsibility to take correct, decisive position befitting an impartial, well-meaning and constructive international organization.

Khorasani Monday, also dispelled Iraq's threats to prevent Iran's oil exports in the Persian Gulf. He said that the Islamic Republic has so far maintained security in the Persian Gulf and will continue to do so. "Therefore", said Raja'i Khorasani, "We will strongly oppose any measures aimed at endangering the security of the Persian Gulf."

Speaking in a press conference at the United Nations, the Iranian

envoy also criticized the French government for its continuing aid to the Iraqi regime. The French government, he said, has no respect for international regulations and with regards to the great French investments in Iraq, the French government wants to preserve the security of these investments by supporting the Iraqi regime. The two regimes (France and Iraq) are Zionist-inspired hence, their ideologies tie together.

Talking about the loan of Super-Etendard planes and the sale of Exocet missiles by France to Iraq, he said that the French government should know that this action was tantamount to direct participation of French forces in the Iraq-Iran war, because from now on, it is not only the Iraq airplanes which attack Iran but French aircraft as well.

CSO: 4600/809

INDIAN FOREIGN MINISTER INTERVIEWED DURING TEHRAN VISIT

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 24 Jul 83 p 6

[Interview with Indian Foreign Minister Narasimha Rao]

[Text]

Q. What is the main purpose of your trip to Iran?

A.: The main purpose of my visit has been to strengthen the traditional friendly relations between our two countries. India and Iran have also decided to set up a Joint Commission to further cooperation in economic, technical, commercial, educational and cultural fields. The agreement was signed during my visit and we have held a meeting of the Joint Commission. I was also interested in exchanging views with His Excellency the Foreign Minister Dr. Velayati and other leaders of the Islamic Republic of Iran on matters of mutual interest.

Q.: India and Iran both are Non-Aligned. India is one of the pioneers while Iran has become a member of the movement in recent years. What impetus has Iran brought to the movement?

A.: As a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement, India has always welcomed like-minded countries joining the Movement to make it more effective. So was the case with Iran. Fresh ideas and approaches brought by new members add to the strength and vitality of our Movement, which today represents two-thirds of member states of United Nations and a half of all humanity.

The strength of the Non-Aligned Movement lies in its unity and cohesion. Iran's approach at

the recent summit in New Delhi was positive and we are certain that Iran will continue to play an important and constructive role in the maintenance of the unity of the Movement.

Q.: We know that US military presence in the Indian Ocean is a real threat to the security of India. What options do you have for countering US menace in the Indian Ocean?

A.: It is not only India which is affected by military presences in the India Ocean - all the littoral states feel the threat. It is, therefore, in cooperation with all such states that we have been trying to work towards making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, free of great power rivalry and military presences. We emphasize the imperative need of convening the Conference on the Indian Ocean envisaged in the United Nations resolution of 1971.

Q.: Western sources accuse your country of being indifferent to the occupation of Afghanistan by Russian forces. What do you say to this allegation?

A.: It would be incorrect to say that we have been indifferent to developments in Afghanistan. We have stated on every occasion that we are against any kind of foreign intervention or interference in any country. The major elements of a solution to the Afghanistan problem have been spelt out in the Political Declaration adopted at

the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit. India stands by that formulation in total.

Q.: How are your relations with neighboring countries?

A.: It has always been our conviction that the countries of South Asia must cooperate with each other in their efforts to improve the well being of their peoples. It is with this conviction that we have pursued a policy of bilateral friendship and multilateral cooperation with our neighbors in the South Asian region. We have major programmes and institutions for cooperation in the economic, technical and cultural fields with all our neighbors. We are also discussing further ways of expanding our relationship at the bilateral level. In the field of South Asia Regional Cooperation, all of us have good reason to be satisfied with the progress made in the four successive meetings of the Foreign Secretaries of the region. The Foreign Ministers will be meeting in New Delhi at the beginning of August and are expected to formally launch the integrated programme of South Asian Regional Cooperation (SARC).

Q.: We know that your country is a great Non-Aligned power. Do the super powers really respect your Non-Alignment?

A.: In the beginning, some countries outside the Movement found it difficult to understand and appreciate the concept of Non-Alignment. However, over the last two decades, we have seen an increasing recognition the world over of the validity of the policy of Non-Alignment and its crucial role in the preservation of peace and security in the world. The division of the world into power blocks only creates tension and insecurity, but those who gain from such tension and insecurity wish to perpetuate it.

This makes it incumbent on the Non-Aligned nations to persist in their efforts. The New Delhi message adopted at the conclusion of the Seventh Summit succinctly focuses world attention on these major issues. We hope that there will be a positive response to the Non-Aligned proposal that Heads

of State and Government meet at the United Nations on the occasion of the 38th session of the General Assembly, to hold informal consultations on these issues.

Since the world continues to face tensions and insecurity, the policy of Non-Alignment remains relevant and making the world understand and respect this policy remains a continuous process. Above all, the Non-Aligned Movement must maintain its unity, solidarity and cohesion. This task becomes easier if the Non-Aligned countries solve their disputes peacefully and remain united.

Q.: We hear that some foreign diplomats in India encourage ethnic clashes and unrest. What measures have you taken to stop such interventions?

A.: I would not like to single out foreign diplomats but foreign disruptive elements have been active in many countries including India. The Government of India is ever vigilant in this regard. The best measure to foil these attempts is to preserve the country's unity by positive effort. The unity of India is an immutable fact and I am sure this will be realized by all those who are trying in vain to subvert it.

Q.: It is said that India is the museum of religions. Every now and then we witness clashes between Hindus and Muslims. What is at the origin of these confrontations?

A.: We are proud of our composite culture and our secular traditions. All the citizens of India, whatever their religion, are honored and equal members of our society. The secular, multi-religious, multi-ethnic, multi-lingual mosaic of the Indian society occasionally suffers economic and social tensions typical of any industrialising developing country. While the Government of India takes prompt action to stamp out such mischief, some media tend to depict it negatively and in exaggerated colours. I would appeal to one and all to see such occasional occurrences in proper perspective.

Q.: Recently, the French daily Le Monde, in a long article, alleged: "Mrs. Gandhi is there (in power) because India does not have anyone else to replace her". Do you think that India is suffering from any leadership problem?

A.: Mrs Gandhi is our leader because the people of India have elected her to be their leader.

Q.: We know that India and Iran have good economic relations. What are the areas wherein we must further increase mutual cooperation?

A.: The traditional friendly ties between India and Iran can be strengthened further by greater economic cooperation. The establishment of the Joint Commission which held a meeting during my visit is a major step in this direction. It provides for measures to be taken to strengthen and promote bilateral relations and cooperation in all fields such as economic, technical, commercial, cultural, tourism and travel. The meetings of the Sub-Commissions have enabled officials of both sides to identify specific projects and programmes as well as measures which would assist in the expansion of cooperation between the two countries.

There are vast possibilities of cooperation in technology and consultancy. India and Iran could cooperate in sectors of ceramics, cement, paper and wood. India can help Iran in establishing

industrial estates and in the supply of educational books and equipment. Cooperation between IRNA and Indian news agency PTI has also been agreed upon. There is an agreement on exchange of films, documentaries and radio programmes.

India has valuable experience in railways, power generation, agriculture, small scale and heavy industries which can be shared to mutual benefit.

There is ample room also for increase in Indo-Iran trade. India imports large quantities of oil from Iran. Iran has indicated its desire to increase its imports from India. India could supply engineering as well as non-engineering goods, rice, sugar, as well as cigarettes. Products have been identified and bottlenecks located. We look forward to the visit of the Iranian Commerce Minister to India.

In the field of education we have agreed to assist Iran in the setting up of medical and engineering colleges and in providing some engineering seats in Indian educational institutions. We urge the adoption of a flexible and realistic approach to the settlement of outstanding issues such as the Kudremukh project which was set up to meet Iranian requirements of iron ore. We feel the project could become a good example of cooperation between the two countries.

RAFSANJANI WARNS 'ADVENTURISM WILL BE COUNTERED' IN PERSIAN GULF

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 27 Jul 83 pp 1, 4

[Text] Tehran (IRNA)--"We are now preserving the Persian Gulf security and without our efforts it will not be safe, and Iran can disturb the security of the Persian Gulf any moment it wishes," said Hojjatoleslam Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, the representative of Imam Khomeini in the Supreme Defense Council Monday night.

Speaking at the end of the session of the Supreme Defense Council, Rafsanjani referring to the recent Iraqi threats on destruction of Iranian oil reserves and installations said that the Iraqi regime will not draw back from anything it would be able to do and that it will never stop short of anything it can do to damage Iran.

"Their savagery is so great that they razed Qasre Shirin and Hoveizeh (two Iranian towns) to the ground prior to their retreat from those areas", noted the member of the Supreme Defense Council, and Majlis Speaker.

He said Iranian defensive power in the Persian Gulf was superb and that it did not imagine Iraq will be able to do much by way of hostilities.

He added that if France and others would provide Iraq with direct and indirect facilities such as advanced fighters, or even they themselves come and help Iraq, Iran will destroy the security of the Persian Gulf.

"Although improbable, added the Speaker, "if France were to do such a thing, Iran will make the Persian Gulf unsafe which was very very easy for it."

He went on to say that Iran could move in a way as to bar even a single ship from entry or exit in the Persian Gulf, hence the ports of the Sheikdoms whose lives depend on the Persian Gulf, will have a deplorable fate.

He added that if for several months, oil was not to get out of the Persian Gulf, for instance the oil flow were to decrease for some 7 to 10 million barrels a day, the oil price will suddenly triple as it did in the times before the Islamic Revolution.

Rafsanjani said he thought France and other powerful countries of the world would not do such a crazy thing, and that Iraq will not do that either.

He said Iran has therefore announced its policy beforehand so that the world cannot

question its acts if it had to resort to such plans in the future.

"If they want to be adventurous, we will show them that we are ready to face them," noted the Speaker.

Speaking on the recent Iranian victorious operations, namely Val-Fajr 2, Rafsanjani said Iraqi casualties and other damages inflicted by Iran on Iraq, were great and interesting and that the casualties of Iraq, nearly some 4,000 killed, are now lying on the ground at the operational theater, which have been ordered to be gathered and buried.

Referring to the documents, obtained from the Iraqi regime in the recent operation from the Iraqi bases in the Haj Omran area, he said that the documents attested to the counterrevolution and the recalcitrant Kurds dependence on the Iraqi regime, also gave information on the security and the intelligence data of the Iraqi regime.

When asked on the role of the Iraqi Moslem Mujahideen and the Moslem Kurdish Pesh-

merga in the recent operation, he said that it was too early to assess their role, but their acquaintance with the terrain was an effective help for Iran, and the Iraqi Mujahideen had a new hope and inspiration because of entrance to their homeland, and our Moslem Kurdish brothers were happy to be able to play a part in the destruction of one of the enemy's important bases which contributed to insecurity of their Kurdistan Province.

Rafsanjani said that the destruction of the Iraqi bases in the recent operation was a lethal blow to them which were feeding the counterrevolution, once thought by the Iraqis to be unconquerable indicating that Iraq does not have any power in the region, and further lacking a right assessment of the Iranian forces and the sovereignty of the Islamic Republic in this particular Kurdish populated region.

"According to the documents, the enemy knew of the Iranian attack but in the first hours of the Iranian operation, Iraq was forced to retreat

and suffer heavy blows while Iran had the minimum casualties possible," he said.

Speaking on the international mass media response to the Iranian operation, he said they partly covered the truth, since the Iranian victory was undeniable, seeing the Iraqi documents, and PoWs.

He said they aimed at introducing the danger arising to Saddam and bringing the world public opinion close to reality.

Speaking on the agenda last night in the session, Rafsanjani said they studied the case of one of the international Red Cross representatives spying in one Iraqi PoWs camp in Iran, who was protested to by the PoWs themselves.

In the meeting last night, which was chaired by President Seyyed Ali Khamenei, Hojjatoleslam Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, Prime Minister Musavi, Brigadier General Zahrnejad, Defense Minister Colonel Salimi, IRGC Deputy Shakhani, and War Information Headquarters Director Kamal Kharrazi, were present.

PROBLEMS OF ECONOMY UNDER ISLAM EXAMINED

Conscious Rejection of Materialism

East Burnham ARABIA THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English No 23, Jul 83
pp 22-24

[Article by Javed Ansari: "Iran's Economy Why the Squeeze Isn't Over Yet"]

[Text]

● An assessment of the economic performance of the revolutionary Islamic government in Iran has of necessity to be based on a set of value premises derived from selective discourses in social philosophy. This is obvious but needs constant reassertion in view of the pretensions of both the major schools of modern economics.

Both neo-classical and Marxist economic analysis is based on a set of assumptions about human nature and human relationships. On the basis of these assumptions Marxist and neo-classical economists seek to identify the general laws governing production, exchange and distribution. Both groups argue that economic – and social “progress” – can best be achieved when national policy does not inhibit dynamic sections of society from exploiting existing economic possibilities. In doing so these sections advance not only their own interest but the interests of society as a whole.

In the neo-classical vision “progress” is ensured by promoting competition, facilitating the concentration of economic power in the hands of the most successful entrepreneurs and the national economy within an international division of labour in a way which permits specialisation in accordance with comparative cost advantages. Such an economy will, it is expected, grow at an “optimum” rate and achieve a maximisation of welfare.

In the Marxist scheme, “progress” requires a restructuring of “production relations” that facilitates the domination of the most “advanced” mode of production in a given “social formation.” Thus both Marx and Lenin argued that the bourgeoisie played a progressive role in sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe. The political development of European national states firmly under the control of bourgeois interests permitted the subsequent domination of the capitalist mode of production (CMP) throughout the continent. In the twentieth century the proletariat became an advanced class because the socialisation of the labour process required a socialisation of property relationships. In both instances “progress” is seen as a movement from a lower to an eventually higher level of production brought about by a recomposition of political authority. This recomposition took the form of the establishment of the dictatorship of a new social class.

It should therefore be stressed that neo-classical and Marxist assessments of the performance of the Islamic Republic are based on somewhat different criteria. The neo-classical economists ask the question: Is the present regime pursuing policies that allows an efficient allocation of national resources and a determined pursuit of international

opportunities on the basis of comparative cost advances? Is Iran growing at an "optimum" rate and "maximising" welfare?

Marxist analysis concerns itself (or at least ought to concern itself) with determining the possibilities of the consolidation of a given mode of production and the pace at which transition from it to the ideal communist society can be achieved. In this view Iranian economic policies can be described as "progressive" if the regime is shown as organising production, exchange and distribution in a fashion which permits the consolidation of the dictatorship of the most "advanced" class within the Iranian social formation.

It is necessary to stress that despite these differences Marxist and neo-classical economics have an important common precept. Both agree that in "the long run" the establishment of man's supremacy over nature is realisable through a progressive relaxation of production constraints and an increase in the availability of use-values. "Progress" is inconceivable without material growth, at least in "the long run."

This fundamental postulate on which modern economics is based is not shared by any of the world's great religions – except perhaps through the Jewish practice as known in history. Christianity and Buddhism preach world renunciation. Islamic teachings in this field may be diversely interpreted if they are not understood as a whole. We read in the Quran, for example:

"The material things which ye are given are but the comforts of this life and the glitter thereof and that which is with Allah is better and more lasting; Have ye then no sense."

and

"Those who desire the life of this world and its pomp, We shall repay their deeds therein and therein they will not be wronged. These are they for whom there is nothing in the hereafter save the fire. (All) that they contrive here is in vain and all that they are wont to do is fruitless."

However, it is also written:

"My Lord! Give me the good things of this world and the good things of the hereafter."

and

"But monasticism, they instituted it themselves only as seeking the good will of God yet they could not observe it with its due observance."

Twentieth century Muslim nationalists have often argued that economic growth is a legitimate social objective of Islamic governments. It cannot be regarded as an adequate sole criteria for evaluating the economic performance of an Islamic regime.

This is clear if we consider the life example of the Prophet (upon whom be peace and Allah's eternal blessings). The attitude of the Prophet to the question of economic growth is evident from the following hadith.

"It is related by Amr ibn Auf that the apostle of Allah said 'it is not poverty that I fear, but what I really fear is that the earth should be opened for you as it has been opened for those who came before you, so that you should covet it as they had coveted it and that it then destroys you as it destroyed them.'" (Bukhari and Muslim)

"It is related by Abu Huzaira that the prophet often used to pray 'O Allah! Bestow upon the descendants of Muhammad only as much of provision as is necessary to sustain life.'" (Bukhari and Muslim)

The Quran, also, is explicit about the purpose and goal of human, individual and collective, endeavour. Thus "I created jin and mankind only that they might worship Me" and "You are the best Ummah raised up from mankind. You enjoin right and forbid evil and you believe in Allah," and further, "When we given them power in the land they establish worship, pay Zakat, enjoin right and forbid evil."

The "enjoining of right and forbidding of evil" (amr bil maruf wa hahi al munkar) has been recognised as a fundamental cornerstone of Iranian state policy since the Islamic revolution. In the field of economic policy, maruf (good) and munkar (evil) have been defined by a large body of writers. An examination of this work makes it clear that an assessment of Iranian economic performance under the Islamic regime on the basis of neo-classical or Marxist criteria is not likely to reveal the dynamics of economic policy making.

The present Ulema have not set out to maximise welfare or establish the dictatorship of an "advanced" class over Iranian society. What is perhaps more important is that they have not sought to mobilise popular support on these bases. It may of course be argued that ideology is "false consciousness" – a facade for concealing more basic intentions and aspirations. But even if this is granted, the case for evaluating the economic performance of the regime on the basis of Islamic criteria is not weakened.

This is so because the regime's success in terms of neo-classical or Marxist criteria is in the medium term likely to have a negative impact on its Islamic character. If the regime succeeds in allocating resources in accordance with its international dynamic comparative advantage it will have to seek an accommodation with western metropolitan

powers. If the regime consolidates the dictatorship of an "advanced" class it will concentrate resources and power in a manner likely to intensify social fracturing.

Both strategies will lead to a strengthening of materialist tendencies and the undermining of the religious character of Iranian society. The success of either strategy will lead to the progressive re-incorporation of Iran within the mainstream of international society. This will ensure societal transformation which will inevitably lead to an undermining of the political legitimacy of the Islamic Republic.

The present regime came to power with the claim that a reconstitution of the Iranian polity was a necessary first step in the process of redefining social values and norms of individual behaviour. As defence of the Islamic character of the present Iranian regime thus implies a restructuring of social relationships both at the level of civil society and of state.

There must emerge a new dominant identity consciousness which reshapes individual behaviour in a manner consistent with the operationalisation of distinctly Islamic values. This must be sustained by a reordering and restructuring of legitimate obediences; a reconstitution of state authority which permits Iranian society to offer a coherent alternative to societies dominated by materialist social perspectives.

The emergence of the Islamic Republic is in other words an attempt at re-establishing a religious society which consciously rejects the materialistic ethos and demonstrates that its own norms and structures are more capable of promoting human fulfilment than materialist social and political orders. The preservation of the Islamic character of Iranian politics and society can thus be a watershed in human history.

In the Sakih of Muslim we read: "The Prophet said 'If Iman was to ascend as high as the stars, a man from among the Persians will surely regain it.'"

In the modern world the metaphysical presumptions underlying religious, social and political conceptions have been so thoroughly discredited that the domination of the metaphysical assumptions underlying materialist social orders – materialist views about the nature and purpose of existence, and about determinants of individual behaviour – appear natural and "scientific." The success of the Islamic Republic will mean a re-establishment of the social salience of the metaphysical and value perspective of Islam – the "regaining of Iman which has ascended as high as the stars."

Economic thinking in Iran has emphasised the importance of developing a distinctly Islamic approach in the field of economic policy. Baqr al Sadr, Ayatollah Talleghani, Ali Shariati and Iman Khomeini have exercised an important influence and their work has set the context within which economic policy-making has taken place. This work is, of course, multi-dimensional and there are many differences of both substance and emphasis in the views of those authors on a wide range of economic questions. Nevertheless, certain common themes can be identified. These themes provide the basis for evaluating the economic performance of the Islamic regime in terms of standards which it itself regards as legitimate.

The first and most important point made at considerable length is the aversion to materialism. This amounts to much more than aversion to "commodity fetishism." In Khomeini's works – particularly *Mubarza ba Nafs ya Jihad-e-Akbar* – there is an attempt at constructing both a theory of need and of necessity. The cornerstone of this theory is a rejection of the importance or significance of worldly life and worldly experiences. Certain key passages from *Mubarza ba Nafs* are worth quoting at length.

"One whose whole attention is directed to the natural world . . . and who is completely unaware of what lies beyond this world . . . is subjugated to nature. He will never reach the stage of refining himself, of creating spiritual, inner motion and energy within himself and casting aside the black veils within his heart. . . (95:4)

Anyone who follows the desires of his carnal self – such a person serves as an illustration of the verse: 'He inclined to the earth, and followed his own vain desires' (7:166).

This world, despite all its apparent splendour and charm, is too worthless to be loved, particularly if one is deprived of what it has to offer. What do you possess in this world that makes you so attached to it . . . ? Even if you did enjoy a prosperous and comfortable life, like the worldly, and (God forbid) spent your life in enjoyment and pleasure in the end you would perceive that it all passed like a pleasant dream, while the heavy penalties you incurred would remain with you forever. What value does this transient and seemingly sweet life (supposing that it is indeed spent pleasantly) have when compared to infinite torment? For the torment suffered by those attached to this world is sometimes infinite.

"Those attached to this world are mistaken when they imagine that they are in possession of it and its various benefits and advantages.

"If you purify the intention with which you perform your acts of worship, make your deeds truly righteous, rid your hearts of self-love and ambitiousness, lofty stations and elevated degrees await you. Compared to the rank God Almighty has prepared for His righteous servants, the whole world with its false allure counts as nothing."

It follows that Iranian economic performance cannot be assessed merely by competing rates of growth in the production and consumption of use values. The Islamic character of Iranian society cannot be preserved by a rise in production and consumption levels, but by an increase in the proportion of the national product allocated for dawah and jihad. Moreover, an increase in this proportion brought about by state edict and without the voluntary consent of ordinary working men and women is also not likely to enhance the Islamic character of the Iranian social formation. This is because the purpose of social policy is the remoulding of the individual and there is nothing in Islamic political theory or religious thought which asserts that social engineering can determine individual consciousness.

We are now in a position to identify a set of criteria for assessing the economic performance of the Islamic regime as a basis for assessing its ability to sustain its Islamic character. These are:

- The distribution of the social product among alternative uses and the impact of this distributive pattern on the ability of the people to sustain and enhance dawah and jihad;
- The evolution of property forms which permit the mass of the people to participate in economic decision-making;
- The preference of non-state policy-making bodies to devolve economic authority and contribute to dawah and jihad;
- The restructuring of government expenditure to facilitate a reduction in

administration costs and government consumption;

- The growth of economic resilience in the face of international (commodity and factor) market forces which seek to subordinate the Islamic economy within the network of international trade and financial relationships.

A serious attempt to assess Iranian economic performance on the basis of Islamic criteria has yet to be made. Certain observations can however be put forward. First, despite the generally poor economic performance of the Islamic regime, it has retained the support of the sections of the population that brought it to power. The war has demonstrated that these groups have been willing to bear a heavy material cost in order to sustain the revolution. Their real economic gains have been very small. It is thus legitimate to argue that there has been a change in moral and social perspectives consistent with Islamic teachings.

This change has however remained confined to a relatively small section of the population. This has meant that new property forms, permitting popular control of economic units, have not emerged. The state has had on many occasions to impose its economic decisions on an apathetic – if acquiescent population. Moreover state economic policy has more often than not been contradictory, making people unsure of the direction of policy change. Institutional changes have in general accommodated old property forms. Iranian dependence on foreign capital and markets has decreased since the days of the Shah, but western businessmen are once again winning lucrative orders.

In general, Iranian economic policy has been conservative and there are some important inbuilt continuities from the time of the Shah. The Islamic commitment of the regime remains unquestioned however and there is a great interest in developing an Islamic approach in the field of economic policy.

Javed Ansari

'End the War, Revive the Land'

East Burnham ARABIA THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English No 23, Jul 83
pp 25-26

[Interview with Mohsen Nourbaksh, governor of Iranian Central Bank, date and place not given]

[Text]

☉ In an interview quoted in *Iran Echo* last October, the governor of the Iranian Central Bank, Mohsen Nourbaksh, said that "Iran's reserve of foreign exchange is now at an optimum level and that its steady trend upwards, coupled with other policies, has made it possible to continue with the war without any adverse effects on the daily life of the people for a long time in the future." *Arabia* considers the foreign trade relations of the Islamic Republic and examines to what extent the apparently healthy state of international liquidity is indicative of internal equilibrium and economic normality.

Before the revolution, the Iranian economy was very open. In 1977 merchandise imports amounted to \$18bn, or 27 per cent of GNP. More than 82 per cent of total imports was composed of capital and intermediate goods.

To finance its imports, Iran was almost totally dependent on its foreign exchange revenues from the hydrocarbon exports.

At the time of the revolution, the Iranian international liquidity position was very strong.

According to IMF figures, at the end of 1978 Iranian international liquidity was \$12.52bn, of which \$10.9bn was in foreign exchange holdings. In addition, according to the Central Bank, in March 1979 Iran possessed as much as \$6bn in securities invested in foreign companies and \$10bn in foreign bonds. (This should, of course, be set against the \$15bn debt which, according to the Central Bank, has been paid back during 1979-82.)

In the 18 months after the revolution the international liquidity situation remained strong. According to IMF data, at the end of June, 1980 international liquidity stood at \$15.478bn.

Even after the freezing of \$5bn of Iranian assets in the United States, about \$7bn remained at the disposal of the government in other accounts.

Since the start of the war in September 1980, no systematic data on foreign reserves has been published by the Central Bank. It appears,

however, that during 1981, due to the expense of the war and the large fall in oil exports, the financial situation had become critical.

Already, in February 1981, the then President Bani Sadr announced that foreign exchange reserves had fallen to \$4bn. From the first quarter of 1982, the sharply deteriorating financial trend was once more reversed, and the resumption of oil exports averted the impending financial catastrophe. In October 1982, in a televised interview Central Bank governor Nourbaksh announced that foreign exchange reserves had exceeded the \$13bn level prevailing before the war, and that total outstanding foreign debt stood at less than \$1bn.

At present, Iran's international financial position looks very strong. Nourbaksh's optimism seems justified. The strength of the international financial position, however, can only be properly assessed within the context of the general conditions of the economy, and the potential sources and requirements of foreign exchange at a normal degree of capacity utilisation, and a reasonable rate of investment, consistent with the long-term planning strategy of the government.

The foreign exchange revenue potential of the Iranian economy in the short and medium run is almost totally geared to the conditions in the oil market and the oil export policy of the government. During the first 18 months after the revolution, due to the sharp rise in the price of oil in the international market - oil prices have risen by almost 200 per cent between 1978 and 1980 - and the fall in imports due to the decline in domestic economic activity, the balance of payments current account showed a considerable surplus. (The current account surplus during 1979-80 was about \$6bn.) During this period, the government, following its policy of conservation of oil resources, could cut the volume of oil exports by about 70 per cent from 5.7m barrels per day in 1977 to less than 2m bpd in 1980.

After the beginning of the war, however, events took a different turn. The high price policy of the government in the oil market,

combined with the trade embargo and the disruption of the war, reduced the volume of oil exports to less than 700,000 bpd. On the other hand, urgently needed war supplies added a substantial item to the list of imports.

The Economist Intelligence Unit report (November 22, 1982) estimated the foreign exchange requirements of war materials at about \$10bn annually. A more conservative, and perhaps more realistic estimate, would put the figure at \$5bn. This is also more in line with the officially published figures on budget allocation for the war, which in 1982 was \$7bn. These two factors were mainly responsible for the unprecedented balance of payments deficit of 505.4m Iranian rials (about \$70m) in 1981, and the impending foreign exchange crisis announced by Bani Sadr.

From the first quarter of 1982 the Iranian government, by dint of oil price reduction, adopted a more aggressive marketing policy in oil markets. Between the fourth quarter of 1981 and second quarter of 1982 the price of Iranian crude was reduced by more than 20 per cent, making Iranian oil the cheapest in the Middle East.

The revival of oil exports, which reached an average of about 1.9m bpd during 1982 helped avert the crisis foreshadowed by Bani Sadr.

During 1982, total exports amounted to about 1,600bn rials (\$20bn), of which about 1,565bn rials was from the oil sector. With this amount of foreign exchange revenue the government has been able to build up considerable foreign exchange reserves.

However, this has been possible by imposing severe restrictions on imports. In 1981, for example, the volume of non-military imports was just 40 per cent of what it was in 1979.

What is the export potential of the Iranian economy in the short and medium run and how does it compare with the import requirements of the economy? On an optimistic assessment, during 1983 Iran could maintain oil exports of about 2.5m bpd, which at the prevailing prices would bring about a total oil export revenue of about \$25bn. Under the prevailing conditions in the international oil markets this could be taken as the potential foreign exchange revenue of Iran in the short run. In the medium run, given the foreign exchange requirements of other oil producing countries, Iranian exports cannot grow by much more than the rate of growth of the world economy, which at the present appears to be sluggish.

A potential level of foreign exchange revenues within the range of \$25bn to \$30bn, as compared to the peak exports of the pre-revolutionary period of \$21bn achieved in 1977, might appear quite adequate for restoring the normal functioning of the economy. The present state of the Iranian economy, however, gives grounds for caution.

First, it should be noted that the unit price of imports for Iran increased by 70 per cent during 1977-83, and hence the real value of the above estimate is within the range of \$15bn to \$18bn, well below the \$21bn of 1977.

Second, the structure of imports at present is different from 1977, and import requirements also differ. As the war continues a larger part of the foreign exchange (about \$5bn) is spent on necessary military supplies. Due to rising food requirements, a considerable proportion of imports are agricultural.

According to FAO data, agricultural imports in 1981 amounted to \$3.1bn, and *The Economist Intelligence Unit* report estimate for 1982 is about \$5bn. Under these circumstances, accumulation of foreign reserves has been only possible by curbing the imports of investment and other consumption goods.

M Hashemi, the minister of industry, in a recent interview with *Jamburi Islami*, announced "we need \$6bn foreign exchange to facilitate our needs for industrial raw materials, but we cannot provide this." On the other hand, according to Central Bank data, investment in machinery and implements, more than 90 per cent of which are imports, in 1982 was less than 40 per cent its real value in 1977.

Official estimates put the number of unemployed at at least three million, about 30 per cent of the active labour force. The same source states that during the next five years two million more people will be added to the total active population. To create five million jobs during the next five years would require an investment far above the level of 1977.

It is clear that, as long as the war continues and agricultural production remains sluggish, to return the economy to full capacity utilisation and achieve the level of capital formation of 1977, Iran requires foreign exchange at least twice its export potential. It appears that Nourbaksh has been too optimistic in announcing the present level of foreign exchange revenues as optimum. Ending the war, and revival of agricultural output, appear to be two of the most urgent prerequisites for economic revival in Iran.

Five-Year Plan Viewed

East Burnham ARABIA THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English No 23, Jul 83 p 27

[Text]

☉ The first five-year economic plan of the Islamic Republic of Iran for the 1983-87 period was approved by the country's Economic Council of August 31, 1982. The plan was subsequently published by the Plan and Budget Organisation under the title: *General Economic, Social And Cultural Development Plan: First Five Years 1983-87*. Though the overall objectives of the plan indicate major improvements and essential differences from the five-year plans of the old regime, the quantitative goals of the plan appear unrealistic and imply that the regime is prepared to accept a drastic reduction in living standards.

One of the major and most essential improvements in this plan compared to those of the old regime is that it situates the medium-term plan in the context of a long-term strategic plan, and views the five-year plans as organic parts of a 20-year plan period. In an oil exporting country where the economy is highly dependent on an exhaustible resource, long-term planning is a matter of vital importance. In the first five-year plan, the government has paid due attention to the necessity of substitution of other sources of revenue for oil.

The main objectives of the first five-year plan are to achieve the highest possible rate of growth, and at the same time increase the degree of integration of different sectors of the economy and reduce technological dependence on industrialised countries. The important role of heavy industry and research and development is emphasised in this respect.

The crucial role of the agricultural sector in a strategy of growth based on achieving greater economic autonomy is acknowledged. The agricultural sector has been assigned as the "central pole of economic growth."

A main aim of the first five-year plan is to achieve full employment by 1987. This requires the creation of about five million new jobs during this period. This appears to be an over-ambitious objective, as the total number of the employed labour force at present is no more than eight million. However, an equally ambitious investment plan has been drawn up to create these new jobs.

The annual rate of growth of GNP during the first plan is put at 8.9 per cent. In view of the prevailing world crisis, this rate of growth, if achieved, would indeed be spectacular. The specified annual average rates of growth of different sectors of the economy are as follows: agriculture 7 per cent, oil 16 per cent, industry

and mining 14 per cent, construction 14.2 per cent and services 4 per cent. A cursory look at the sectoral rates of growth would reveal a degree of incompatibility and lack of realism. For example, a 4 per cent rate of growth for services, while the economy as a whole is growing at a rate of 8.9 per cent, looks a gross under-estimate, as the past experience of Iran and other countries shows that the two rates are likely to be much closer.

The first prize for over-ambition and lack of realism, however, belongs to the plans for the agricultural and oil sectors. A 7 per cent rate of growth for the agricultural sector has never been achieved by any country in any period of modern history. Furthermore, during the first plan period the agricultural sector is supposed to undergo land reform and institutional reorganisation which – in the short run, at least – would have disruptive effects on output.

A 10 per cent growth rate for the oil sector is similarly over-ambitious. Even during the 1950-70 period, when the world economy was growing at the highest rate ever achieved, Iranian oil exports were unable to achieve such a high rate.

Erratically projecting the rates of growth in the oil and agricultural sectors would involve a high penalty, as these two sectors are the most strategic sectors in the growth process of the Iranian economy. In view of the prevailing trends in the world economy and the demand for Iranian oil, and on the assumption of a more realistic rate of growth for the agricultural sector (about 3-4 per cent) it becomes apparent that foreign exchange requirements for the implementation of the above plan are likely to be high. Substantial foreign borrowing may become necessary, but this is explicitly ruled out by the regime.

The investment plan is also over-ambitious. Total real investment in different sectors of the Iranian economy is scheduled to grow from IR1,931.3bn in 1983 to IR3,951bn in 1987, an average annual rate of 19.7 per cent. Even if we assume that the above rates of growth of output in different sectors of the economy are achieved, this investment programme would imply a growth of real total consumption from IR9,101.1bn in 1983 to IR10,234.8bn in 1987. If we consider the fact that during the 1978-82 period real consumption per head fell by more than 20 per cent, it is obvious any further decline in the population's standard of living would have significant consequences.

New Industries Established

East Burnham ARABIA THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English No 23, Jul 83
pp 28-29

[Text]

● The new economic institutions in Iran have played a major role in the country. They perform a wide range of economic activities, often combined with ideological work.

The most important of the new economic institutions is Jihad-e-Sazindigi (the Reconstruction Crusade). In its publication *Jihad*, the organisation has emphasised that its main function is "to take the Islamic Revolution into the countryside." It maintains that "the peasants are the most oppressed section of society and that only when a real social base is secured among this large section of the nation will the revolution be safe and indestructible."

Between January 1981 and January 1982 it organised 26,274 "ideological classes" and 9,280 "Islamic societies" in the countryside. The ideological work extends to the city as well. The main aim of its urban activities is to mobilise volunteers and to provide Islamic training for them before despatching them to villages. Jihad has also organised 5,255 ideological classes and 494 Islamic societies in the cities over the same period. The range of their economic activities includes production work, participation in cultivation, construction of irrigation channels, schools and mosques, provision of medical services, as well as distribution of fertiliser and agricultural implements.

An important part of its work is the mobilisation of resources in the villages to finance the war. Between October 1980 and June 1982, \$2.8m and 30,844 tonnes of grain were collected from the public for this purpose. In addition, the organisation has sent 398 ulamas to the war affected areas and has organised ideological sessions for the captured Iraqis as well.

The bulk of the Jihad's activities in the war-destroyed areas, however, is carried out by the Centre for Reconstruction and Renovation of the War-Affected Regions, which is an organ of the Jihad. More recently, the organisation has been restructured as a ministry, which must have important implications for its voluntary nature. After a dispute with the Plan Organisation, reported in the press in December 1982, when Jihad proposed to

participate in the allocation of agricultural credit, there have recently been attempts to define its functions more clearly.

Another institution, the Foundation of the Oppressed (Bonyadeh Mostazafeen), was set up in the aftermath of the revolution to manage the expropriated or unattended properties of those who fled the country. Its main duty is to arrange the sale of its holdings to the public. It has also distributed confiscated lands in the various parts of the country among the peasantry. However, many units under its

control are running into loss, making it difficult to interest the private sector. In the industrial field, its holdings appear to be in the type of industries which are modern, dependent on imported goods for their production, and are probably large units. Abdoullahi, the deputy director of the Foundation, said in a recent interview that among the issues facing the organisation, financing, debt and labour problems in the units under its management are of major importance.

Bonyadeh Mostazafeen

Activities of industries controlled by Bonyadeh Mostazafeen during the second and third quarters of 1981

SECTOR	NO. OF	PROFITS	LOSS
	COS.	(IR 1,000)	(IR 1,000)
Total industry	84	4,056,036	854,089
Food	20	1,778,220	25,497
Metals	16	873,005	144,921
Construction	20	933,274	207,282
Decorative industries	6	73,711	—
Textiles	10	126,950	104,032
Plastics	6	87,129	110,000
Electronics	6	183,747	262,357

The Housing Foundation (Bonyadeh Maskan) is mainly concerned with the allocation of long-term, small-sized loans for the construction of residential units in the villages and small towns. In 1979 the Revolutionary Council allocated \$93m to this organisation for the construction of low-cost housing for the period 1979-1983. In addition,

an equal amount was raised from the public by early 1983 through the Imam's Housing Fund for the Deprived. During the same period about half this fund was allocated to housing loans in the villages. The rest was equally divided between loans for housing in the remote towns and loans for units producing construction materials.

Yet it is in the big cities, where rents swallow a large chunk of the lower income group's finances, that housing shortages are as acute as ever. As a temporary measure the government has tried to curb the power of the large landlords in the cities, but no one appears to see this as a real solution to the problem. One member of the parliament, Majeed Ansari, said of this measure that it is a "positive short-term solution" but that a "more fundamental" solution must be found.

It is widely accepted that the main cause of the problem is the migration to the cities. The presence of millions of migrant peasants in the big cities sparked off the first wave of confrontation with the old regime over housing

questions; a point that is not lost on the government. Many leading figures have expressed the view that the only real solution to the problem is to prevent peasant migration by creating jobs and housing in the villages. The immediate problem of the crowded cities, however, remains.

Rahmatallah Khosravi, the head of the Housing Foundation, said in an interview in the newspaper *Kayhan*, that the first stage of the organisation's task consists of securing housing in the villages to prevent further migration to the cities; later on, migrants will be encouraged to return to the country.

There is at least another major economic organisation which plays a major role in the daily life of the Iranians - the Centre for Economic Mobilisation. This organisation is the product of the war and its main function is the distribution of rationed goods in short supply. In addition, it is responsible for the transport of imported essential goods, undertaking road construction where necessary to ensure their quick delivery.

Agricultural Trends

East Burnham ARABIA THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English No 23, Jul 83
pp 29-31

[Text]

● Developments in the agricultural sector during the post-revolutionary period could be best highlighted within the perspective of the dominant trends in that sector during the old regime and the problems which it faced on the eve of the revolution.

On the eve of the revolution, after nearly two decades of land reform and direct government intervention in the agricultural sector, the distribution of land was very uneven. Though the Shah's land reform during the 1960s had abolished absentee landlordism and created a situation where more than 80 per cent of the holdings were controlled by owner-occupiers, the size distribution of holdings was very unequal, and holdings were becoming increasingly concentrated in fewer hands. According to the data available for 1974, more than 43 per cent of owner occupiers had holdings of less than two hectares and controlled only 4 per cent of total cultivated land, while the top 18 per cent had holdings of more than 10 hectares and controlled over 70 per cent of total land holdings.

The agrarian policy during the Shah's regime was directed towards rapid expansion of large mechanised capitalist farming units. Rapid

expansion of large agrobusiness units, farm corporation and production cooperatives (the range of the average size of these units was between 2,000-2,500 hectares), through forced eviction of the peasantry and consolidation of small holdings by decree, was the hallmark of the agrarian policy of the government during the 1960s and early 1970s. This was also reflected in the agricultural credit and farm mechanisation policies of the government; for example, during the 1971-77 period the Agricultural Development Bank granted \$1.4 bn low-interest loans and grants to 2,800 large agricultural units with an average of \$500,000 per loan. Highly-subsidised sales of heavy agricultural machinery (e.g. 100-horsepower tractors) were also related to this policy of favouring large capitalist farming.

In spite of the rapid growth of large mechanised farming during the 1960s and 1970s, on the eve of the revolution these new giant units of production still played an insignificant part in Iranian agriculture. They occupied about 1.2 per cent of total cultivated land and contributed to no more than 2.4 per cent of the total marketed surplus of the agricultural sector. It was rather the relatively

small section of wealthy peasantry, with holdings varying between 10–60 hectares, who dominated the agricultural sector; they controlled about 70 per cent of total cultivated land and produced nearly 80 per cent of the sector's marketed surplus. This relatively small group, which also dominated the social and political life of the Iranian villages, played a large part in ensuring the social and political stability of the countryside during and after the revolution.

Major problems of the agricultural sector during the two decades before the revolution were: firstly, the existence of a large number of very poor peasantry and landless labourers – estimated at 1.5 million in 1976 – which, due to lack of access to land and regular employment, represented a colossal waste of human resources; secondly, the slow growth of the agricultural sector, which barely kept pace with the population growth and lagged considerably behind the rate of growth of other sectors of the economy. As a result, the early 1970s witnessed a high growth rate of agricultural imports, reaching a peak of \$1.94bn in 1977; and thirdly, the virtual stagnation of agricultural productivity despite the relatively large amounts of financial resources devoted to that sector by the government. This reflected the extreme inefficiency of the government's agricultural policy and the considerable wastage of national resources under the old regime.

The 1978–79 revolution did not create any major upheavals in the Iranian countryside. However, after the downfall of the Shah's regime and before the Islamic Republican Party assumed complete control, the agrarian question became a major issue in national politics. In March 1980, the Islamic government introduced the law of redistribution and revival of agricultural lands, which itself has since become a contentious issue.

According to this law, not only the land confiscated from the old regime but all the land whose owners refuse or are unable to cultivate it are to be distributed amongst the poor and landless peasantry. The excess land of all the holdings above three times the size necessary for the upkeep of a peasant family is also to be redistributed. Full implementation of this law would have had a far-reaching effect on the pattern of land ownership in the Iranian countryside.

However, a few months before the implementation of the law it was significantly modified by the government. The reason was increasing resistance by the rich peasantry and large landlords, both at village level and within higher political circles. Opposition was also

voiced by some influential decision-makers and opinion leaders such as Golpayegani (in an open letter to *Daily Azadegan*, May 6, 1982) and Rauhani, on the grounds that it would abrogate the Islamic principles and undermine the sanctity of private property.

Finally, the government also became apprehensive that the implementation of land reform might badly disrupt the flow of marketable surplus which had become a particularly sensitive issue after the beginning of the war and the imposition of trade sanctions. It was decided that land reform would be resumed after the ratification of a new land reform law by the Islamic Consultative Assembly (the Majlis).

The new land reform bill which was presented to the Majlis in Autumn 1981 was blocked by the Council of Guardians which has the duty of overseeing the passage of new legislation to ensure they would not diverge from fundamental Islamic principles. Iman Khomani intervened to ensure the passage of the watered-down version of the law through the Majlis. The new law diverges from the original land reform law of March 1980 in the following important aspects: (a) the ceiling of legitimate land holding has been raised from three to four times the area necessary for the upkeep of a normal peasant family; (b) land redistribution will only take place if the possibility of renting or sharecropping arrangements for the excess land is ruled out; (c) the children of the owner will have priority in acquiring the excess land; and (d) orchard and waqf lands are exempted.

Though these modifications will have important moderating effects on the extent of land redistribution, the new law still faces serious opposition from various sources. For example, the open letter of Golpayegani to the Majlis on May 6, 1982, questions the legitimacy of the Majlis on religious grounds. At present the implementation of the land reform law is being delayed and there is no indication that land redistribution is going to be implemented in the same effective and drastic manner as during the short period of summer and autumn 1980, after the introduction of the first land reform law.

Though the question of land distribution is an important aspect of agricultural development, one should not let it overshadow other aspects which are necessary for a successful agrarian policy. It should be noted that even if all the cultivated land is equally distributed amongst the peasantry, the share of each family would be no more than five hectares, less than 20 per cent of which would be irrigated land. Not only would such a

measure drastically reduce the available food supplies to the cities, but in many regions such small plots of land would not even suffice to provide subsistence for the peasant family. Pragmatic economic considerations do not seem to be totally lost on the Islamic government in Iran. For example, in the land reform law necessary measures are stipulated to prevent the sub-division of the mechanised farms.

It should, however be, pointed out that the extreme diversity of production conditions in different regions of the Iranian countryside calls for a more flexible and decentralised planning system, which has neither been allowed for in the land reform law nor is it compatible with the existing centralised administrative machinery for policy formation and policy implementation in Iran. The policies which have been so far implemented by the Islamic government seem to be suffering from some of the deficiencies which characterised the extremely centralised and bureaucratic administrative set-up of the previous regime. In some instances the policies pursued by different government organisations seem to be contradictory and contrary to the declared aims of government strategy in the agricultural sector.

A clear example of this phenomenon is the farm mechanisation policies of the present government. In an interview in August 1982, M Jamali, the managing director of Farm Machinery Development Corporation (FMDC), announced that his organisation has managed overwhelmingly to surpass its performance during the Shah's regime in the sale of subsidised tractors to the agricultural sector. While the peak of FMDC's tractor sales during the Shah's time was 10,000 (achieved in 1977), in the post-revolutionary period the figure has increased to 13,000 in 1979, 14,000 in 1980, 20,000 in 1981, and is planned to surpass 30,000 in 1982.

While the importance of mechanisation for agricultural development is not to be denied, it is equally important to pay due attention to the type of mechanisation and its conformity with the overall agrarian strategy of the government. According to Jamali, the majority of the tractors are heavy-duty models – i.e. of more than 75 horsepower. Many are 100-horsepower models.

This kind of farm equipment is exceedingly capital-intensive by any standards, and particularly with respect to the structure of holdings in Iranian agriculture and the declared strategy of the government in its land reform law. While the use of this type of equipment could be defended in the context of

the last regime's strategy of large capitalist farming, it is clearly contrary to the declared aims of the present regime, which are to reverse that trend. One can also object to the policy of subsidised sales of tractors, the main function of which is to replace labour, while the employment strategy of the Islamic government has been one of creation of maximum possibilities for employment in the agricultural sector – to the extent that, it is hoped, it would even reverse the trend of rural migration to the cities.

These objections could be to some extent be refuted if the new tractors enabled more land to be brought under cultivation, and hence

expanded both output and employment at the same time. However, this has not been the case. According to the data published by the Central Statistical Office, the area under cultivation with the main crops – wheat, barley and rice – has actually declined from 6.6m hectares in 1917 to 6.5m hectares in 1980.

The same kind of ad hoc and contradictory policies are evident in the government price support policy for the main agricultural crops. In March 1979 the government announced an increase in the official purchase price of wheat from IR15 per kilo to IR18. The effect of this policy, however, was soon neutralised by the high rate of inflation. The wages of construction workers – the best available index for the current costs in the agricultural sector – grew by 26 per cent from the second quarter of 1979 to the second quarter of 1980.

Price support policy in itself is a rather poor instrument for generating growth and raising agricultural incomes. The benefits could mainly accrue to the traders, and in any case the poor peasantry and landless labourers – who, according to the pronouncement of the government are supposed to be the main beneficiaries of agricultural growth – would be adversely affected by higher agricultural prices. There is no doubt that the Islamic government, consistent with its announced strategy of achieving agricultural self-sufficiency and making the agricultural sector the central lever of the growth of the economy as a whole, has diverted a considerable amount of real and financial resources to that sector. The amount of credit given to the agricultural sector, compared to the pre-revolutionary period, has increased considerably, though the government's direct development expenditure, as reflected in the annual budget allocations for agriculture, showed a decrease

from IR34bn in 1976 to IR27bn in 1980. During the same period the credits channelled through the Agricultural Bank showed a colossal increase, from IR68bn in 1976 to IR150bn in 1981.

The channelling of real resources to the agricultural sector has also received a quite spectacular boost. We have already mentioned the case of farm machinery and implements, and the use of fertilisers has also grown rapidly under the present regime. According to M Salamati, the agriculture minister, distribution of fertilisers rose from 700,000 tonnes in 1977 to 1.1m in 1980, 1.3 m in 1981 and 1.5m in 1982. Such substantial increases in the real and financial flows to Iranian agriculture has not only failed to contribute to the improvement of its performance, but paradoxically has not led to a perceptible improvement in the performance of the sector.

Production of most major agricultural crops has stagnated. The output of the main agricultural crops actually declined during this period. According to the official data of the Central Statistical Office the output of wheat declined from 3.9m tonnes to 3.7m, that of barley from 1.1m to 980,000, and that of rice from 700,000 to 500,000 during the 1977-80 period. We must also remember that 1977 was a disastrous year for Iranian agriculture.

The declining trend was evident not only in the war-ravaged provinces of Kurdistan and Khuzestan, but also in most of the other regions as well. The stagnation in the output of the agricultural sector, which lagged behind the rate of population growth (Iran's population grew from 34.6m in 1977 to 38.8m in 1981), brought about a substantial increase in the imports of agricultural products.

According to the data of the Central Statistical Office, cereal imports rose from 1.2m tonnes in

1976 to 2.3m in 1980, while the total stock of wheat in the government silos dropped from 436,000 tonnes in 1976 to 162,000 in 1981. However, government sources state that production of many agricultural crops has improved during 1981 and 1982.

It appears that the highly centralised and bureaucratic administrative apparatus inherited from the old regime has turned out to be a persistent source of inefficiency in allocation and utilisation of economic resources. Most of the problems which Iranian agriculture faced during the last regime still remain unsolved. To tackle these problems, urgent action by the government is needed, with regard to the reform of land distribution, the restructuring of government institutions and the improvements of the planning system. New institutions, such as Reconstruction Crusade (Jahad), composed mainly of enthusiastic amateurs, may be useful for political purposes; but they have got to prove themselves capable of carrying the heavy burden of economic planning and systematic restructuring of agricultural production.

This end could be served by a more coordinated approach through different existing government institutions, and at the same time a more decentralised and democratic system of planning to provide the necessary flexibility and initiative. There is also a need to integrate the agricultural strategy within the broader context of an overall coherent and comprehensive national economic policy, the success of which will make political coercion increasingly unnecessary.

CSO: 4600/784

HAKIL COMMENDS IRAQI MOJAHEDIN ROLE IN WAR OPERATIONS

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 26 Jul 83 p 1

[Text]

TEHRAN (IRNA) — Spokesman of the Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Revolution of Iraq, (SAIRI), Hojjatoleslam Hakim commended the Iraqi Mujahideen for their participation in the triumphant Val Fajr-2 operation against the Iraqi Baathist regime.

He said that they are determined to fight side by side their Iranian combatant brethren in liberating Iraq and purging it of Baathist elements.

Hojjatoleslam Hakim talking to IRNA Sunday congratulated Imam Khomeini Leader of the Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the peoples of Iran and Iraq on the recent victories of the Islamic combatants.

He said that the Iraqi Mujahideen fulfilled their duty in assisting the Islamic combatants and in coordination on inflicting fatal blows on the usurper rulers of Iraq.

Pointing to the cooperation of the Iraqi Mujahideen in other operations and the assistance of the Moslem Kurds in the operational region with the Islamic combatants he stressed that the Iraqi Mujahideen

would not be at ease till the complete annihilation of foreign domination in Iraq.

He said they were determined to deliver fatal blows to release the people of Iraq from the yoke of the Iraqi regime.

The SAIRI spokesman likened the Iraqi Mujahideen to other combatant Moslem youth and while commenting on their undaunted sacrifices in thwarting oppression and suppression by the Baghdad regime said that in the recent Val Fajr-2 operation, the Iraqi Mujahideen played a worthy role in assisting the Islamic combatants in gaining control over enemy positions and purging the operational region.

He said further that in this operation the Iraqi Kurds alongside the Iranian Moslem forces participated in the liberation of the region (inside Iraqi territory) and rid it of armed elements. Continuing, he said this would enable them to adopt better security measures in the Kurdistan region of Iraq in future with the cooperation of Kurds.

CSO: 4600/810

RURAL ELECTRIFICATION PLANNED FOR 7,900 LOCALITIES

Tehran MAHAN in Persian 13 Jul 83 pp 1, 4

[Text] Though the particulars of the government's 5-year plan or its full details have not yet been published, nevertheless it is being haphazardly heard from the officials that things are very much looking up.

It was reported on behalf of the minister of energy that during the 5-year plan, people in 7,900 villages will enjoy the blessing of electricity.

The budget that has been set aside for this purpose amounts to 92 billion rials. If this amount is divided equally among the 7,900 localities, the sum of 11,500,000 rials would correspond to each one; and if we calculate that the average population of each locality is 500 people, 3,950,000 persons would enjoy one of the most basic means of life. The average investment by the government for each one of these persons would be 23,000 rials, which, by comparison with the services that are implemented in cities, is insignificant.

The advent of electricity in villages, in addition to providing them with light, will also start the operation of water pumps for deep wells and medium-depth ones, and villagers will have peace of mind with respect to fuel, etc.

We praise this governmental attention to villages and we expect that in other fields, too, similar coordination will be implemented so that, in addition to electricity, roads, schools, clinics, water and producer and consumer cooperatives will also be included in the programs.

CSO: 4640/305

AMERICAN POLICY ON SOUTH ASIA ANALYZED, PART I

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 28 Jul 83 p 4

[Article by Cassandra]

[Text]

THE American Secretary of State has come and gone without registering any new developments or concrete advance in relations between the two countries. One may be tempted, therefore, to treat it as a non-event except for the fact that direct contact at that level does help promote at least the understandings already achieved. Certainly the regime must have drawn some comfort and satisfaction from the visit, for George Shultz did bestow on it generous public praise.

As far as lesser mortals are concerned, the American leader, thank God, did not talk about "corner-stones" of Washington's foreign policy. After all, Margalla has enough stones as it is, and stone-crushers are also not that far away. Besides, a corner-stone is perhaps the easiest one to remove, as Pakistan's experience since 1965 has amply demonstrated.

The current relationship has evolved around two principal planks: defence cooperation and economic assistance. These do not pose, as far as one knows, any problems, not so far anyway. But it appears that one cannot say the same about the handling of the Afghan issue which had furnished the incentive for drawing the two administrations together in the first place.

It is worth recalling that on the conclusion of the second round of

indirect talks at Geneva, Pakistani spokesmen were quite optimistic about the signing of a comprehensive agreement, including a firm time-table, and optimism fully endorsed by the U.N. Secretary-General. And the American press was speculating about Reagan's dilemma; if he opposed the settlement, then Pakistan would be unhappy and if he let it go through, then his policy for the region would lose much of its force and urgency. By putting two and two together, one can guess why Sahabzada Yakub Khan could not make any palpable progress during the third round at Geneva.

The Reagan Administration has denied charges that it would like to go on bleeding the Russians in Afghanistan. But despite its periodic lip service to the need for a political settlement, it does not display any marked priority for bringing it about. Thus, whatever else may or may not be true, one thing appears beyond question: Washington does not match Islamabad's urgency for a political settlement.

Even when one has conceded the usual benefit of doubt, there still remains a fairly wide gap between Washington's terms for a settlement and those which Pakistan has been ready to negotiate. The reason is fairly plain. While Ronald Reagan treats the Afghan question as just one amongst many points of confrontation in the global East-West struggle for supremacy, Pakistan just cannot afford to live with the prob-

lem for too long. It is too close and explosive for long.

From the very outset, it has been apparent that the Soviet troops cannot be pushed out of Afghanistan. It has been equally obvious that the Soviet Union would not agree to the installation of a hostile government in its backyard, especially after having openly invested so much of its resources and prestige. Thus, if these crucial facts are ignored, there can be no negotiated political settlement.

If it were only the question of the Soviet troops' presence in Afghanistan, then Pakistan could perhaps go on backing the American position for as long as Washington liked. But it faces a problem which none of those distant hardliners have to contend with: the presence of more than two million Afghan refugees. One need not doubt the regime's declarations that it was its fraternal duty to play host to the Afghan guests, but it would be the height of hypocrisy to pretend that the continued presence of such a large body of foreigners poses no problem.

It is true of course that foreign assistance, financial and material, has gone a long way in relieving pressure on Pakistan's resources. And most of the refugees actually confined to the camps are not difficult to manage. But a large number of them are active in and around the cities and bazaars, especially in the Frontier, often adversely affecting the livelihood of the local

population and thus producing frequent outbursts of tension. Then there are the rivalries and actual fracas amongst the various groups of refugees.

So far, the authorities have managed to keep these problems within manageable limits, but with the passage of time the situation is going to become more and more difficult. It stands to reason, therefore, that Pakistan should want to reach an honourable agreement that would bring about the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the return of Afghan refugees to their homeland.

Since the agreement Pakistan had almost negotiated at Geneva has not found favour with its foreign friends, those states should at least demonstrate their commitment to the cause by sharing Pakistan's refugees burden. They neither lack space nor money. For example, the United States and Saudi Arabia should absorb at least half the Afghan refugees.

The American Secretary of State made the, by now, standard trips to the refugee camps and gave the customary assurances of support; and the stalemate in Geneva negotiations has prevailed. If Pakistan authorities were less than satisfied with the visit, they did not betray their disappointment. But they seem to have had a hard time concealing their dismay at the way Shultz passed on nuclear goodies during his visit to Delhi and served up only fine phrases in Islamabad.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

CSO: 4600/816

AMERICAN POLICY ON SOUTH ASIA ANALYZED, PART II

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 29 Jul 83 p 4

[Article by Cassandra]

[Text]

It has been noted by commentators that while nothing much happened during George Shultz's visit to Islamabad the American Secretary had delivered in New Delhi the gift of spares for the Tarapur Nuclear Reactor. The dismay over this contrast if fully justified, but the element of surprise was naive. It overlooked the nature of Washington's equations in the Sub-Continent and that in spite of the fact that these equations have been operative for almost three decades and have proved decisive at every crucial juncture.

Actually, one can describe Shultz's trip to Pakistan as a visit for familiarization: there seemed to have been no urgent issue for him to discuss here, for as an official American release had asserted, relations between the two countries had become in recent months quite warm and friendly. Besides, a visit to India required that he should also drop in at Islamabad, and possibly further firm up the Pakistanis in their assigned role as a frontline state.

What seemed really galling was that Shultz should have personally conveyed the Reagan decision to supply spares for the Tarapur

Reactor despite India's refusal to accept international safeguards and inspection, not to speak of its explosion of a nuclear device. This was in sharp contrast with the American attempts — successful in large measure — for the past six years or so to altogether snuff out Pakistan's nuclear programme on the mere suspicion that it was leading towards the explosion of a nuclear bomb.

One can question this double-standard on moral grounds but that would be a futile exercise, for, as everyone ought to know by now, international relations are rarely, if ever, conducted according to moral principles. This is especially true where relations are of an unequal nature. However, Pakistan seems to have been riled by the discrimination primarily because it evaluates its relations with Washington nowadays as being close, particularly due to the quality of defence cooperation. And in its estimation India's attitude to Washington has not been very friendly.

This basic misreading of harsh realities of the situation has caused Pakistan heartbreaks time after time and also considerable damage at crucial moments. But the lesson, it appears, has never been learnt fully. Or to put it another way, it has been unlearnt to suit narrow needs and short-term goals of a government.

After a period of Dullesian moral fervour, the United States'

approach to the Sub-Continent has been pretty obvious and fairly stable in its essence. India is not only a very big country but it has also been one of the most influential states for the past three decades. Locked as Washington has been in an all-out struggle with the Soviet Union for world supremacy, India has inevitably figured very large in its policy considerations. This factor is so vital that there is little Pakistan can do about it.

Perhaps no less important is the fact that India has exploited the situation for most of the time with great intelligence and diplomatic finesse. It has played its cards well, but, of course, first you have to have some cards. India's case the Soviet Union, also contending for supremacy, has furnished it the trump card.

Even at the height of the cold war, when Pakistan was the most allied of Washington's allies, the United States was not only giving India considerably economic assistance but has also furnished Jawaharlal Nehru secret assurances. Even Nixon who abhorred India and her India, publicly accorded it the status of the dominant power in South Asia. If Ronald Reagan has agreed to supply spares for Tata-pur, of his administration seems anxious to sell sophisticated weapons, it is for the same reason not to leave the field wholly free for the Soviet Union.

In its heart of hearts, the American leadership may have been wis-

hing for a more favourable climate in New Delhi. But in order to retain influence there, it would continue to oblige India to a considerable degree, even, as it has happened in the past, at the cost of its neighbours.

Pakistan may dislike this state of affairs, but it has been a fact of life for a long time. It was circumvented to some considerable degree only by elected government, and it had to pay dearly for its impertinence. Once the country goes into too tight an embrace and becomes heavily dependent on Washington, economically and militarily, it cannot expect to have much of a leverage there, especially in relation to India. In such a constricted situation, there can be only ad hoc decisions as a reaction to day-to-day developments, and no real policy.

The Soviet Union, going by its public declarations, would like to increase its economic cooperation with Pakistan not for altruistic reasons but for the same policy considerations that have motivated Washington to go out of its way to cultivate India.

In the circumstances, it should come as no surprise if the Afghanistan issue, with all its inimical burdens, drags on and on. Nor should it cause any surprise if India continues to receive all kinds of assistance even after it has conducted a second nuclear test.

(Concluded)

U.S. AID TO FINANCE FARM SECTOR IMPORTS

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 26 Jul 83 pp 1, 6

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, July 25: American support for Pakistan's agricultural commodities and equipment programme entered its second phase today with the signing of an agreement which commits the US to provide dollars 60 million to finance imports for the agricultural sector. Of this dollars 60 million, dollars 20 million will be provided in grant funds. The first tranche, also of dollars 60 million, was provided by the US last year. The total agricultural commodities and equipment programme calls for dollars 300 million of assistance spread over five years.

The second tranche, authorized today, will be utilized to finance the import of fertilizer, equipment to improve irrigation facilities, support forestry development in Pakistan, and finance food grain storage facilities, small tractors, breeding rams, and other agricultural commodities.

The first tranche of the programme dollars 60 million, executed in 1982, was also spent on the importation of fertilizer and agricultural equipment.

With the signing of this agreement, the amount of US assis-

tance to Pakistan delivered under the American economic support programme, totals dollar 348.7 million. The total amount pledged for the six-year programme is dollar 1.625 billion.

The agreement was signed by S. Nisar Ali Shah, Joint Secretary, Economic Affairs Division, the US Charge d'Affaires, A. I., Barrington King and the USAID/Pakistan Mission Director, Donor M. Lion, on behalf of their respective governments.

Under another agreement signed today, USA has committed to provide another tranche of 10 million dollars for the rural electrification project for which the total US commitment is 155 million dollars. This rural electrification project was approved by both governments in September, 1982 and, with this 10 million dollar grant agreement, the United States has now delivered 58 million dollars to the project. The rural electrification project is the largest single project to be funded under the current American dollar 1.625 billion economic assistance programme to Pakistan.

The United States assistance to the rural electrification project will be used to improve the organizational and operational efficiency of WAPDA's Power Distribution Division and Productivity of Distribution Division officers and employees and reduce energy losses in power distribution lines. The United States assistance will also be utilized to increase the total production of electricity and to further extend it into rural Pakistan. To partially meet the most urgent generation capability shortfall of WAPDA and mitigate load shedding, aid has earmarked 52 million dollars for setting up a new 450 MW combined cycle gas turbine facility at Guddu which is expected to be operational by November, 1985. An estimated 1.5 million Pakistanis and more than 1,500 villages will directly benefit from the United States assisted rural electrification programme.

The Jointly Secretary, Economic Affairs Division, S. Nisar Ali Shah, and the USAID Mission Director to Pakistan, Donor M. Lion, signed this agreement.

—APP.

CSO: 4600/814

PAKISTAN, CHINA LIKELY TO ENTER JOINT VENTURES

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Jul 83 p 6

[Text]

LAHORE, July 29: Pakistan and the people's republic of China will explore possibilities of entering into joint ventures in the fields of civil engineering, irrigation, reclamation, tile drainage and tubewell construction projects.

This was stated by Mr. Li. Shufang, vice-president, China international water and electric corporation, while talking to the APP on his arrival at the Lahore airport as the head of nine-member Chinese technical delegation.

He said the main purpose of the Chinese delegation's visit was to further strengthen co-operation and friendship between the two close friends.

In reply to a question, Mr. Li. Shufang said that the Chinese corporation had been working on a number of overseas hydro and thermal power projects and some other projects.

In Pakistan he said the corporation had already been awarded

the extension work of Guddu unit no. four. He expressed the confidence that the Chinese corporation would complete the project successfully and to the entire satisfaction of the Pakistan government.

He further said that China could also help Pakistan combat the twin menace of water logging and salinity. However, he said, they had not yet studied the details of this problem.

During their stay in the provincial metropolis, the Chinese delegation will hold discussions with the chairman of overseas construction (Pakistan) and the managing directors of mechanised construction of Pakistan, national power construction company, national construction company (Pakistan) and national tubewell construction corporation, who also received the members of the delegations at the Lahore airport. —APP

CSO: 4600/817

PLANNING MINISTER DEFENDS FOREIGN LOANS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 28 Jul 83 pp 1, 8

[Article by Murtaza Malik]

[Text]

ABBOTTABAD, July 27: Federal Minister for Planning Dr. Mahbubul Haq has defended the easy termed foreign loans which he believed were a must to meet the requirements of some of the large size development projects. There was no harm in accepting loans, if offered on reasonable terms, he added.

Addressing a Press conference here this afternoon at the end of a five-hour discussion session with Governor Fazle Haq and senior officials of the NWFP Government, he said, the interest on these loans averaged three to four per cent per annum while they were repayable in 30 to 40 years with a grace period of 10 years and "I think there is no harm in accepting such loans." He added that an attempt had been made to reduce the foreign debts by five per cent during the Sixth Plan as compared to the Fifth Plan and accordingly the internal resources for the plan period would constitute 80 per cent while the rest of the 20 per cent would be forthcoming from the external resources.

In reply to a question from this correspondent, the Minister estimated that the final shape of the Sixth Plan would be released by the end of August and this would include a special chapter on the requirements

and problems of the Frontier Province. Some of the latest plans, he said, would be taken up at the special Consortium meeting to be held in December this year.

Besides talking about the mini-hydel power stations and small dams which, he said, could be of great benefit to the Frontier Province, Dr. Haq indicated a number of big projects proposed to be undertaken in the Frontier during the current plan. These included the Gomal Zam multi purpose dam which had been declared a good scheme both technically and economically, SCARP in Swabi (Mardan District), Peshur Canal and Peshawar-D.I. Khan National Highway plus the Lowari Tunnel or an all weather road to Chitral. These projects would cost about Rs. 11000 millions. One of the major industrial projects, he said, was also likely to be located in the Frontier but its site had not yet been decided and out of 10 sugar mills included in the Sixth Plan, at least one would be set up in NWFP while the next cement factory would also be given to this province. The Minister said that despite various incentives, the private sector had not responded well in the industrial sector and as such the public sector would have to play a bigger role, making a departure from the general policy laid down in the plan. The plan, he said, envisaged 40 lakh fresh employment oppor-

tunities but no estimate had yet been drawn up in respect of the Frontier Province separately.

The Minister said that mineral development had been totally neglected in the past though if sufficiently exploited it could play a major role in the economic growth of the country. The last 36 years spendings in the sector, he remarked, was a matter of shame but an attempt had been made in the Sixth Plan to make amends for the past lapses. Besides enhancing the allocation more than 10 times, a Mineral Development Finance Corporation was proposed to be established for mineral financing.

Earlier, Governor Fazle Haq, referring to the meeting held with Dr. Mahbubul Haq said that it had discussed important aspects and priorities of development in the Frontier during the current plan and the point of view of the Province had been thoroughly explained to the Minister. Later, he told a questioner that the Dera-Darya Khan bridge would be completed within 1983-84. The Kohistan Development Authority, he said, would be wound up by Dec. 31 this year and all its functions and assets would be taken over completely by the NWFP Government. He said that it had been agreed in principle that Hazara Division should also have an airport. The location would, however, be decided later.

PAKISTAN NOT TO ALLOW FOREIGN CURRENCY LOANS TO NATIONALIZED BANKS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 28 Jul 83 pp 1, 8

[Article by Jawaid Bokhari]

[Text]

KARACHI, July 27: Pakistan is unlikely to accept an offer of the World Bank to provide foreign currency loans to the nationalised banks, knowledgeable quarters said here today.

For the past few years the IBRD has been making efforts to bring the nationalised banks within the orbit of its influence because of the staggering size of their deposits and credit operations when compared to the resources at the command of the financial institutions.

The efforts are expected to gain momentum when a World Bank team arrives here on Aug. 1 to appraise the performance of the borrowing institutions and hold talks in connection with a fresh line of industrial credit of 100 million dollars.

The World Bank and the Asian Development Bank which work in close co-operation have, however, succeeded in getting the charter of a financial institution radically altered and the IBRD has also established some sort of relationship with the nationalised banks by advancing to them a 30-million dollar credit for small industries. This loan is, however, disbursed with the concurrence of the Industrial Development Bank of Pakistan under advice from IBRD.

The IBRD severely criticised the operations of the financing agen-

cies lending money to small entrepreneurs to prepare groups for channelling their loans through the Pakistan Banking Council.

Similarly, some financial institutions are now being severely criticised to build a case for shifting bulk of IBRD loans to the nationalised banks.

It may be added here that financial institutions have, in the past two to three years, improved their performance in terms of industrial sanctions, loan disbursements, recovery of outstanding amounts and profitability.

The 100 million dollars loan is intended as indicated so far, to be distributed among at least seven institutions including nationalised banks. PICIC and IDBP are the traditional recipients of IBRD credit for financing private industrial investment. Both the foreign lending institutions are, however, keen to finance bankers equity because of its rapidly growing role in industrial financing. BEL is reported to have recently raised some 60 to 70 million dollars from the European market.

The stringent conditions attached to the foreign industrial credits, if accepted by nationalised banks, official circles believe, would tend to distort official priorities for distribution of bank credit among various sectors of the national economy.

Foreign lending institutions tend to fix their own priorities on investments to be financed through their loans. Besides industries considered important from the national points of view are denied or given inadequate credit. Ceilings on loans for modernisation and balancing of textile units is followed up by complete denial of credit for expansion of the industry.

These loans also carry a cumbersome procedure for disbursement that is tightly controlled by the headquarters of the foreign lending institution. They include opening of L/Cs which may be held in abeyance if an industry has to be discouraged on second thoughts.

The lending foreign agencies not only monitor the progress made in utilisation of their credits but oversee the operations of the borrowing organisations as a whole. This is done despite the fact that all such loans are guaranteed by the Government of Pakistan. In some cases dividends declared by a borrowing institution are also approved by the lending organisation.

In the past both the IBRD and the ADB held up commitments and disbursement of loans to Pakistani financial institutions because the recovery of outstandings against industrial borrowers did not meet the targets fixed by them.

PPP BALUCHISTAN GENERAL SECRETARY RESIGNS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 28 Jul 83 p 8

[Text]

LAHORE, July 27: Ali Ahmad Kurd, General Secretary Defunct Pakistan People's Party Baluchistan, has tendered his resignation from the office as well as the basic membership of the party as a protest against the decision of the party to take part in the coming local bodies elections.

Addressing a Press conference here today, Ali Ahmad Kurd lashed out at 'a handful of feudals' within the party and said the decision 'is a conspiracy against the struggle for the restoration of democracy'. Challenging the legality of the decision, he said the meeting of the 12 member Steering Committee was attended by only 5 members of whom two opposed the decision of contesting local bodies elections "It was the decision of only three members all belonging to the Punjab". Those who opposed were, he said, Aftab Sherpao and Khaliq uzzaman and they do not belong to the Punjab. "The decision will deepen the frustration among the people of smaller provinces and it will also be a manifestation that the bigger province does not want to play its role in the struggle for the restoration of democracy", he observed.

He maintained that the consensus of the meeting of the Steering Committee at Karachi some two and half months ago was against taking part in local bodies elections. Moreover, none from any

other party leaders was taken in confidence before the crucial decision was taken.

While announcing that he would communicate his resignation to Miss Benazir Bhutto, Ali Ahmad Kurd also observed that Farooq Leghari was not capable of being the Secretary General of the largest party of the country. Referring to his telephonic conversation with Farooq Leghari, he said his tone was aggressive and in a way he ordered making preparation for contesting local bodies election. And when he was given an argument, he would not listen to it.

Following his talk with Farooq Leghari, he continued, he issued a Press statement condemning that decision and also threatening that he would resign in case the decision was not rescinded. It was followed by a news item from the Quetta dateline that he was suspended from the office under the decision of 'the party high command'.

Ahmad Ali Kurd said all these tactics were 'just to put pressure on me'. But, he said, he would not succumb to any pressure. 'I am not a weak man. I am a more powerful man than Farooq Leghari, who has nominated certain vested interests at the office of the provincial secretary'. Ali Ahmad Kurd observed that PPP was the largest political party in the country but certain feudals had rendered it ineffective owing to their anti-people policies and if their activities continue the party will lose mass support too.

GOVERNMENT POLICY ON OFFICIAL ADVERTISEMENTS CRITICIZED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Khalid Akhtar]

[Text]

—The newspaper industry here took a downward plunge when the late Ayub Khan created the National Press Trust and enacted other repressive laws to regulate the Press. Since then the distribution of 'ads' has remained a major weapon in the hands of the government to 'reward' some papers and to punish others. The independent Press here has remained a myth. Intriguingly despite this sad situation there have been complaints that our Press has been sub-standard. Ironically such judgement often came from quarters who have been a party in placing all kinds of curbs over it. They have put our Press into comparison with that of India, forgetting that Press in our neighbourhood (except for a short period of emergency rule under Indira) has flourished in freedom whereas the Press here has struggled throughout for its survival under all kinds of restrictions.

There was nothing new in whatever Raja Zafarul Haq said on the floor of Shoorā recently while spelling out the government's policy on distribution of advertisements to various news-

papers. This was a repetition of all that had been said before on many occasion. It is doubted that anyone would criticise Islamic ideology. But there is always a room for arguments that whether a particular policy is in the nation's interest or not. And the government should not take this exercise as an offence. But often genuine criticism has been met with annoyance. Who is to be blamed in such instances?

We have no reason to disagree with the Minister that we cannot claim Government's 'ads' as a matter of right. But we do hope that Raja Sahib will agree with us that we have the right to expect a uniformed government policy to deal with the Press. To have different yardsticks for different newspaper suit a policy of 'reward' and 'punishment', but it hardly delivers justice to anyone.

INTERNATIONAL CONCERN:
Almost all the international fora are inevitably finding something of interest in the situation prevailing here. No government likes that other should sit in judgement over its internal policies. But a counter argument could be given that why the 'home front' should be turned into a 'spectacle' that no outsider should by-pass it without casting an eye over it.

Recently the U.N. Committee on Eradication of Racial Discrimination put into severe scrutiny the Pakistan's government report and raised questions regarding censorship, sectarian tension, minorities state of affairs and tribal life

in the country. Mr. Shanti Sadiq Ali of India went to the extent of discussing Baluch people's cultural status in the country. Agha Shahi reacted sharply to this outright interference in a sovereign country's internal affairs and warned the Committee about the inherent dangers in raising issues like self-determination in a particular part of a particular country.

We have always paid a heavy price for the concern the international community has shown to us—their sympathy being a prelude of real trouble for us. The uproar raised by the various international forums during Yahya's regime when the fabric of our national life was crumbling down, is still fresh in our minds. We would certainly not want to be the victim of the same mechanism—internal strife fueled into flames to reduce us into nothingness. But wishing and doing is too different things. We may wish to save ourselves from flames, but perhaps we do not want to. What else could explain our total disregard to history and its lessons.

MISSILES RECOVERY: Some time back we were given the good news by Mr. Haroon, the Interior Minister, that 'Al-Zulfiqar' group was completely wiped-out. Now we are being told by the same Minister on the floor of the same House that 'terrorists' were still active. And if we go by the reports appearing in the Press it appears that the 'Al-Zulfiqar Group' was never crushed, on the contrary it had flourished to a point where it could manipulate and dare to smuggle weapons like SAM-7 missiles.

With men like Tipu in its ranks the Al-Zulfiqar group could do anything and possession of missiles

by it does not appear to be an improbability. But there are certain points which needs explanation. Aftab Gul, the alleged culprit was under police surveillance for quite sometime but even then he was allowed to go abroad. His wife and two children left the country to join him a few days before the house was raided. All this showed that there was nothing concrete against him till the very last moment of the recovery of missiles.

It means that either the weapons had arrived in the building in the absence of Aftab Gul or if they were there since long the police had no clue about them until a startling disclosure from some quarters made the haul possible. And still more intriguing is the question that how SAM missiles reached Lahore. It is difficult to believe that how such a 'massive smuggling' could escape the eyes of law enforcing agencies.

There are two opinions about the bewildering events. Some say the government is staging a drama to take wind out of the MRD call for Aug. 14 movement, to round up its opponents and create panic among the masses. Tikka Khan and Fatehyab Ali Khan are the two leaders among others who have expressed such apprehensions. But the other aspect is dreadful. If it is a conspiracy against the government we are up against a situation about which we know very little. The Al-Zulfiqar group remains a big suspect but we should better look around us before we jump to any conclusion. In a society haunted by political vacuum the enemy can penetrate from least suspect quarters.

CSO: 4600/817

SHOORA MEMBERS WARN AGAINST ABROGATION OF 1973 CONSTITUTION

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 29 Jul 83 pp 1, 8

[Article by Ashraf Hashmi]

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, July 28: A number of speakers taking part in the discussions on the report of the special committee on the form of government in the Majlis-e-Shoora here today warned that if the 1973 Constitution was abrogated, drastically amended or fundamentally changed it would create a situation similar to 1969 when as a result of the abrogation of the 1962 Constitution the parochial and regional politics had emerged to dominate the national scene later culminating in the break-up of the country.

Of more than 85 speeches made in the current session of the Majlis-e-Shoora on the form of government the tilt remained in favour of a Parliamentary system of government, holding of general elections and restoration of 1973 Constitution with minor amendments.

Member from Lahore, Mian Mohammad Shafi in his speech declared that the Holy Quran was for democracy, freedom of expression, party system and the right of the opposition. He cited a number of verses from the holy Book to prove his point and said that in the light of the teachings of Quran democracy was not only the right of the people but a religious duty for them. He said there was no concept of kingship, dictatorship or papalism in Islam.

The creation of Pakistan, he added, was a fruit of democracy and the Founder of the Nation was a true believer in it. He said there could not be any substitute to an elected government and only a popularly elected government could be a true reflection of Islamic teachings. Mian Shafi pleaded for more provincial autonomy and favoured the system of proportionate representation.

The first speaker of the day Jam Sahib Tamachi said the 1973 Constitution was drafted by an elected National Assembly. It had finally solved the issue of the quantum of provincial autonomy which was an historical achievement. The constitution, he said, had never failed but was not properly implemented. He said the country could not afford new experiments and it was in the interest of the nation that the Constitution should be left untouched. He said if the country wanted to come out from the current crisis it would have to rehabilitate the confidence of the people as without this nothing could ever be possible. He demanded the restoration of the political process.

The prime mover of the committee's report Iqbal Ahmed Khan said parliamentary system was close to Islam and was in the interest of the country as the people were more familiar with it than any other system. He said the committee did nothing except to bring in those amendments which the then opposition leaders in the National Assembly wanted to introduce but were not able to do so because of

the brute majority of the then political party in power.

Begum Masood Sadiq said if the 1973 Constitution which was framed with a unanimous vote of the elected representatives of the people was reopened it would destroy the balance of power of the Federation. Another member Saeed Hashmi opposing amendments suggested by the special committee said if these amendments were carried out the same would bring the nation close to the presidential form of government. He said the provincial governors should not be nominated by the President but be elected by the concerned provincial assemblies. He supported the idea of holding a referendum on the question of the form of government.

Begum Afroz Nazir Ahmed supporting the retention of the 1973 Constitution said the amendments suggested by the special committee should be carried out according to the procedure laid down in the constitution as according to her if any deviation was made from the laid down procedure it would open up a Pandora's box.

Agha Haji Syed Hussain said if the 1973 Constitution was abrogated it would create a serious crisis and the country would never be able to frame another constitution. He however, favoured the presidential system of government and said that to him it was more Islamic. Ch. Mohammad Ilyas supported the parliamentary system of government and the 1973 Constitution.

DISSOLUTION OF IDEOLOGY COUNCIL DEMANDED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Jul 83 p 6

[Text]

PESHAWAR, July 29: Acting President of the defunct Tehrik-e-Istiqal, Syed Munir Shah has called for the dissolution of the Council of Islamic Ideology, as its existence under the present circumstances he believed was detrimental to the cause of Islam and Pakistan.

In an interview here on his return from Karachi after attending the party's Central Committee meeting, he said that the CII had rendered no service to the cause of Islam to date and the only credit it could claim was the interpretation of Islam to serve the vested interests of the men in authority.

Referring to the Tehrik's Cent-

ral meeting in Karachi, he said that it had decided to include in its new manifesto, the revolutionary and progressive views of Air Marshal Asghar Khan, contained in his recently published book "Generals in politics." The Air Marshal, he said, had thoroughly discussed in his book, the major economic and political issues at home and international situation, with particular emphasis on Pakistan's relations with the neighbouring countries, specially the two Super-Powers.

Syed Munir Shah also referred to the Hamoodur Rahman Commission Report and said one failed to appreciate the justification of withholding the publication of the report. A tragedy like that and the elements involved therein, he suggested, should not remain masked.

CSO: 4600/817

LAWYERS PLEDGE SUPPORT FOR MRD MOVEMENT

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Jul 83 p 8

[Text]

LAHORE, July 29: While welcoming the announcement by the MRD to launch a movement for the restoration of democracy, holding of elections and civil liberties the National Coordination Committee of lawyers have resolved to support all such democratic movements aimed at realisation of the cherished goal irrespective of the party and group initiating it.

The decision of the National Coordination Committee came through a resolution adopted unanimously in its meeting yesterday which lasted for more than eight hours and in which 30 out of 45 members of the committee took part.

Decisions of the committee were announced here by Mr. Abid Hassan Minto, Chairman of the N.C.C. who also chaired the meeting.

Addressing a Press conference today Mr. Minto said that the committee rejected any new political structure as it thought that the present government had no authority to bring changes into the 1973 Constitution. The

committee was of the view that instead of any political structure the government should make arrangements for fixing a date for holding of general elections under the 73 Constitution and subsequently transferring power to elected representatives of the people. The issue has now become a national demand and even the Shooru members have manifested similar views. The committee urged, as the immediate and first step, removing curbs on political activities, withdrawing of martial law regulations, doing away with military courts, lifting of self-censorship and releasing all the political prisoners, including lawyers, students and labourers. The meeting was of the view that political prisoners should be given trial in open court. It also called upon withdrawal of orders of rustications of a number of students from educational institutions in all the provinces.

Chairman of the N.C.C. told newsmen that the meeting has approved the idea of the President Lahore High Court Bar Association to convene a political conference to be held at Lahore High Court premises sometimes

in August. A 5-member committee has been set up with Syed Afzal Haider President Lahore High Court Bar Association as its Convenor in order to determine a suitable date, prepare the declaration and sort out other details of the proposed conference. The N.C.C. also approved setting up a secretariat of the National Coordination Committee at Lahore High Court and nominated Bashir A. Mujahid and Mansoorur Rehman Afridi at its secretaries.

The National Coordination Committee also discussed the matter of Aftab Gul advocate who has been nominated in some terrorist activities but offered no comments as the matter was under the investigation of the police.

The committee expressed satisfaction over implementation of the N.C.C. decisions and observed that the decision of the hunger strikes was carried out over and above expectations. Similarly observance of "Protest Day" on July 5 was also countrywide. A joint meeting of Lahore High Court and District Bar Associations will be held in the High Court Bar on August 13 in which lawyers will express "What the Freedom Really is". Mr. Minto added.

PAGARA LEAGUE RIFT REPORTED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 29 Jul 83 p 8

[Text]

LAHORE, Differences between Pir Sahib Pagaro and his Secretary-General S.M. Zafar which were dormant, for sometime came to surface sharply today when Mr. Zafar boycotted the 'Eid Milan lunch' hosted at Pir Makhdoom's house.

The row between two started when Pir Sahib described his General Secretary's work as the job involving routine office work" and told newsmen in Lahore sometime back that the job was actually being done by Rana Ashraf rather than Mr. Zafar. The annoyance on the party of Mr. Zafar was expressed in his indifference to Pir Sahib's movement of "Azaan-i-Istighasa".

As today's proceedings started with an "Azaan-i-Istighasa" some body pointed out to the absence of Mr. Zafar and observed that the ceremony was meaningless without his participation. This almost enraged Pir Pagaro who dashed to the rostrum and said that it was not a political gathering in which the presence of all the office bearers was necessary. He also observed that in case he (Mr. Zafar) did not attend today's function one should come to the conclusion that the Muslim League constitution did not have the room for a Secretary General. He, however, said if he did not turn up "it means he has no share in the food I am going to serve".

Later S.M. Zafar told "The Muslim" that he was sent an invitation through one of the office bearers of the Punjab zone league

whereas in normal circumstances the invitation should have come directly from Pir Sahib. Although he seemed angry he, however, maintained that his not attending the ceremony was "a mild protest" against the statement of Pir Pagaro that the General Secretary was not capable of issuing statements and his work was confined to the office routine. He said that he conveyed his reaction to the president of the league and was expecting his reply but nothing was heard from his side.

S.M. Zafar, however, said his absence from the luncheon should not be regarded as revolt. "This should not be understood as if I have decided to part company with Pir Sahib", he remarked. He said that he would be attending all the Working Committee meetings and act as General Secretary like in the past.

Commenting on the programme of "Azaan-i-Istighasa" S.M. Zafar for the first time, came out with a criticism by terming it as "non-political act". He said it was ordered by Pir Sahib to zonal heads "in his personal capacity". The programme was not discussed in the Working Committee meeting and this was the reason that he did not only take any interest in it but also not extend any co-operation. "I did not find the Azaan giving a valid political instrument but being the decision of the President of the party, this was allowed to go on unchallenged", he concluded.

ZIA'S DIRECTIVE ON ANTI-TERRORIST SQUADS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Jul 83 p 6

[Text]

LAHORE, July 29: President Ziaul Haq is believed to have directed the provincial governments and chiefs of police to ensure that the anti-terrorist squads posted in the provinces were put to proper use for curbing the terrorist activities.

The President has observed that these squads were specially trained and posted at the provincial headquarters but pointed out that these squads were not being utilised properly except for one or two places.

The President said that selected policemen were also provided with specialised training and posted as gunmen with the VIPs at various places and he was happy that they were doing good job.

In order to ensure that these specially trained squads were properly utilised, the President has directed that half-yearly inspections of these squads should be carried out by the appropriate quarters and report sent directly to the President.

The first such inspection is likely to be conducted some time next month.

CSO: 4600/817

CREATION OF INDUSTRY, TECHNOLOGY MINISTRY URGED

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 27 Jul 83 p 3

[Text] London, July 26--Pakistan's nobel laureate, Dr Abdus Salam, has advocated creation of a ministry of industry and technology in Pakistan to bring the investors, industrialists and government finance together with scientists.

Writing in spring issue of Pakistan studies a London Centre for Pakistan Studies' publication here, Dr Salam stressed that Pakistan should take a lead out of Japan's experience and have the proposed ministry "emulate Japan's success story, particularly in the field of micro-electronics, bio-technology and energy."

The nobel laureate also advocates 'science-transfer to Pakistan together with technology transfer' from abroad for as he says, "scientifically we are one of the most isolated nations on the globe."

On industrial research or user's needs he thinks that as the size of most of its industry is small, Pakistan should consider the needs of industries like chassis-building's ports-goods cutlery manufacturing, and set up government-sponsored and industry-financed cooperative industrial research institutions on Europe's model.

"I do not see why we should have such research institutes for tiles in Multan, for pottery in Bahawalpur, for ceramics in Gujrat, for surgical instruments in Sialkot and for handlooms all over the country."

Dr Salam says "Pakistan must develop a commitment to the scientific enterprise, a commitment like the one which has developed in Japan, USSR, India, China and Korea.

And he concludes that "this will happen when our ministers and mercant, princes undertake generous patronage of sciences, and our agricultural entrepreneurs begins to believe that there is profit in science and technology, particularly in science based on the high technology.

Pakistan Studie's spring issue also carries articles by Pakistan Zakat Foundation Managing Director, M.Z. Faruqui who writes a thoughtful and highly engrossing discourse entitled the Quran and the evolution of man.
PPI

HEALTH POLICY ADVISORY BOARD PLANNED

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 27 Jul 83 p 8

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, July 26: The Federal Minister for Health, Dr Nasiruddin Jomezai said here today that the government has decided to constitute an advisory board consisting representatives of the relevant bodies to help formulate a health policy catering to the national needs and requirements.

He was speaking at the oath taking ceremony of the Pakistan Chemists and Druggists Association, Federal Branch.

The Minister disclosed that the chemists and druggists would also be represented at the board.

He urged the chemists and druggists to help the government in eliminating the manufacturing and trade of the spurious and sub-standard drugs and added that the government was determined to award the culprits exemplary

punishment to stop the heinous business.

Dr Jomezai said that the government was taking all measures to ensure the quality of drugs. He said possibilities were also being explored for the maximum use of indigenous materials in the manufacture of drugs.

Referring to the ban on open sale of psychotropic and life-saving drugs, he said the restriction had been put to make such drugs available to the needy under qualified doctors prescription.

He quoted an instance that he wanted to purchase a drug in Saudi Arabia but the druggist refused to give without the prescription of a Saudi doctor. This he said helped in checking unnecessary and improper use of drugs which could have serious side effects.—APP.

CSO: 4600/815

INDUS BASIN EQUIPPED WITH FLOOD WARNING SYSTEM

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 24 Jul 83 p 4

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, July 23: The river forecasting and flood warning system for the Indus River basin in Pakistan has been further improved on scientific basis during the Fifth 5-Year Plan period which has concluded only last month.

According to an evaluation report, the improvement and re-modelling of the system has been effected with the active cooperation and assistance of international agencies like World Health Organisation (WHO), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the government of Netherlands.

The primary objective in improving the system is aimed at effecting a change in the overall river forecasting and flood warning system by providing increased hydrological and meteorological coverage and quick communication facilities. It is also aimed at improving the basic hydrological and meteorological data

collection network, using automatic telemetric equipment for hydromet data transmittal, installing a radar and a meteorological satellite read out station to observe rainfall over inaccessible parts of the Indus basin and developing a computerized rainfall runoff model of the basin as well as model for routing the flood through the rivers and their use to improve the water management of the reservoirs.

While, substantial progress has been achieved on attainment of these objectives, the work on these components alongwith the facilities to be provided for flood warning for hill torrents will continue during the 6th Plan period for which a provision of Rs. 50 million is proposed.

With these improvements, the flood forecasting and routing is being done on scientific basis and flood warnings are being issued well in advance.—APP.

CSO: 4600/814

EQUITABLE DIVISION OF RESOURCES: ISSUE REFERRED TO ZIA

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 25 Jul 83 p 1

[Article by G.N. Mughul]

[Text]

HYDERABAD, July 24: The issue of distribution of national divisible pool among the provinces has been referred to President Gen. Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq by the National Finance Commission, it is reliably learnt.

It is said that the Commission was facing a stalemate for quite long time and the Gulf between the stands of various parties could not get bridged despite efforts. Hence intervention of President was sought by the Commission.

It may be mentioned that the Commission was formed by the President about more than couple of years ago to review the formula to distribute national divisible pool among the provinces.

The present formula, evolved during the days of previous government is:-

a) To distribute the pool among the provinces on the basis of population.

b) Plus allocation of special funds for under-developed areas of Baluchistan and NWFP.

GRIEVANCES

Some provinces, particularly Sind, had grievances against this formula from the very beginning and had been urging its revision on the basis of economic factors recognised universally.

Sind's view of that this formula is the main factor responsible for not achieving required progress and has resulted in a huge backlog of ongoing schemes in the province.

According to informed circles, the representatives of Sind had asked the Commission that in evolving a new formula:

a) A percentage of funds be allocated to the provinces taking into consideration the ratio of urban population as huge funds are required for providing basic amenities to the population dwelling in the urban areas.

It may be mentioned that the ratio of urban population in Sind is about 43 per cent. Moreover this includes a large number of people coming from other provinces.

b) The ratio of allocations from the divisible pool should tally with the ratio of contribution, by provinces to the pool.

c) The capability of provinces to absorb funds should also be taken into consideration while making allocations from the pool.

d) A large area of Sind also comes under the category of "backwardness". Hence special funds for the backward areas of Sind should also be reserved.

It is learnt that the present formula, with slight amendments, was presented before the Commission by the representatives of Federal Government, which is not acceptable to some provinces including Sind.

PLANNING MINISTER TALKS ABOUT PROJECTED RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN SIXTH PLAN

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 25 Jul 83 p 1

[Article by Dr Mehubub]

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, July 24: Dr. Mehububul Haq, Minister for Planning and Development, informed the Majlis-i-Shura that Rs. 20 billion would be spent during the sixth plan period for the provision of physical infrastructure and social services in the rural areas of the country.

In reply to a question, he said most of the implementation work of rural programmes would be done through local bodies. There would be special monitoring of different projects in the planning and rural development ministries to check their implementation, he added.

Syed Fakhr Imam, Minister for Local Government and Rural Development told the house that the sixth plan provides for a decisive breakthrough in the provision of physical infrastructure in the rural areas.

He said the living conditions in the rural areas were not satisfactory and the vast majority of the rural population had been leading a life of deprivation and poverty.

tion and poverty.

He said the present government was alive to the economic imbalance in rural and urban areas and was trying to reduce the gaps between the two as far as possible.

The Minister stated that during the sixth plan period, benefits of electricity would be extended to 86 per cent of the total villages. The additional network of farm-to-market roads and canal roads would be increased about 10 fold in the sixth plan as compared to fifth plan period, he added.

The percentage of rural population served with clean drinking water would be raised from the present 22 per cent to about 45 per cent and sewerage facilities from four per cent to ten per cent.

The Minister further said that a national rural health service would be introduced and extensive network of basic health units and rural health centres would be constructed to extend health coverage to the entire rural population.

—APP.

CSO: 4600/814

COMMENTARY ON RECORD TRADE DEFICIT

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 28 Jul 83 p 4

[Text]

The results of Pakistan's foreign trade appear rosier if expressed in the steadily devalued Pakistan Rupee than in U.S. dollars, which now cost 34 per cent more. Hence the official policy now is to express all the progress figures in rupees, and even make setbacks seem a success by evaluating them in the softened rupees. And yet it is not able to hide some of the serious drawbacks of the economy.

Provisional foreign trade figures for 1982-83 which have become available from the Federal Bureau of Statistics show that Pakistan had a record foreign trade deficit of Rs.33.89 billion even after exports went up by 32 per cent over the previous year. But if the exports rose by 32 per cent, the imports went up by 15.3 per cent. And the 15 per cent increase in the imports of Rs.59.5 billion of the previous year was far more in reality than the 32 per cent increase in the exports of Rs. 26.26 billion in the same year. Hence the deficit of Rs. 33.89 billion, which exceeds the record deficit of Rs 33.2 billion of the preceding year.

Evidently devaluation is not the kind of panacea for all our economic problems it is claimed to be, not even for the foreign trade problems. If devaluation which has now made the dollar cost 34 per cent more makes exports cheaper for the world, it makes our imports far too costly in rupees. And the greater the devaluation the heavier the rupee cost. Hence while exports last year, ending june 30, rose to Rs. 34.7 billion the imports jumped to Rs. 68.59 billion, leaving a deficit of Rs. 33.89 billion, which is almost a hundred per cent of the exports or 50 per cent of the imports. The situation is getting to be such that even the home remittances of the Pakistanis abroad will not be able to bridge the gulf if their earnings begin to fall.

Of course, it is not easy to export more and earn far more in a world enveloped by recession, and where even the oil states have run into difficulties. But in dollar terms, too, Pakistan's exports have been improving. During the 11 months of the last financial year ending May, Pakistan's exports earned 2,366.6 million dollars compared to 2,089 million dollars in the eleven months of the preceding year, but then 1981-82 was a very bad year despite the delinking of the rupee done on January 9, and the rapid floating down of the rupee. Hence the 32 per cent increase in exports last year was not something to rejoice over audibly.

The Sixth Five-Year Plan envisages exports to rise to five billion dollars while the imports will rise to 11 billion dollars. As the exports rise by 8 per cent, which is not excessive, the imports are to rise by 3 per cent which is modest. And yet the trade deficit will be an enormous six billion dollars. Even if the home remittances rise, according to the over-optimistic estimate of ten per cent per year, they will not be more than 4.6 billion dollars - leaving a large gap of 1.4 billion dollars to cover. Are we going to seek larger aid and borrow more commercially only to cover our deficit in the balance of trade, and not the far larger balance of payments deficit in a country with a heavy foreign debt burden?

If because of the current export policy we are paying heavily in rupees for our imports, the export rebates of over Rs.1,500 million reduce the net export earnings further. Hence the real gain to the country is getting to be smaller because of the current monetary policy. So instead of papering over the difficulties and presenting an immaculate economic picture to the people, the government should tell them the facts and go all out to seek the co-operation of trade and industry and the people as a whole.

CSO: 4600/816

SEVERAL MILLION ACRES OF IRRIGATED LAND WATERLOGGED

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 26 Jul 83 p 4

[Text]

LAHORE, July 25: Over 10 million acres of irrigated land in Pakistan are suffering from the menace of waterlogging and salinity and hectic efforts are being made to reclaim them.

This was stated here today by the Chairman, Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA), Maj.-Gen. Dr. Ghulam Safdar Butt while inaugurating a seminar on "sub-surface drainage" arranged jointly by the British Council, Lahore and WAPDA.

He said to tackle this problem, WAPDA was searching for the most effective techniques and was facing so many questions.

He asked the participants of the seminar to work out solutions for the practical problems of the local drainage.

The WAPDA chief said that during the last three decades, serious efforts were made to

identify the problem of waterlogging and salinity and to implement various methods to solve it. However, there was still over 10 million acres of irrigated lands were suffering from this problem and required immediate attention.

The member (water) WAPDA, Dr. S. M. H. Bukhari speaking on the occasion, said that about 25 per cent of power generated by WAPDA was being consumed by tubewells installed to check waterlogging. This, he said, was a great wastage and it had become imperative to redesign our drainage system in a manner which was suited to our conditions.

He told the participants that besides arranging free of charge lectures from eminent engineers the British Council had also agreed to provide technical books on the subject.—PPI/APP.

CSO: 4600/814

MINISTER ASSURES SHOORA ON EFFORTS TO CHECK ARMS SMUGGLING

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 28 Jul 83 p 4

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, July 27: The Majlis-e-Shura was assured today that the Government was making all out efforts to foil the terrorist activities and to check the smuggling of arms and ammunition in the country.

This assurance was given by Interior Minister Mehmoud A. Haroon, while speaking on adjournment motions moved to discuss the reported recovery of SAM-7, Surface to Air Missiles, from the House of an advocate in Lahore.

The Minister told the House that special anti-terrorist squads had been deployed in four provinces of the country to deal with the terrorist activities. Similar squads would also be entrusted with the job at divisional and district levels, he added.

He said special training had been arranged for these squads to counter the nefarious activities.

Mehmoud A. Haroon said that the recovery of missiles was a part of the terrorism being persistently carried out by the members of Al-Zulfikar. It showed that the terrorists were still active to harm the country, he added.

The Minister said their head-quarter was based in a foreign country and because of limited manpower and other resources, the Government could not seal

of the border with that country.

He said some arrested members of Al-Zulfikar in the process of interrogation revealed the existence of these missiles. He said the alleged culprit Aftab Gul when came to know about the arrest of some of his once, members, he fled from the country two months back.

The Minister further said the recovery of the missiles had proved that the police and security forces of the country were fully alert to the activities of the terrorist.

He said that during interrogation, it was revealed that father and members of the family of Aftab Gul were also involved in the heinous crime. As a result, two associates of Aftab Gul and his further were arrested, he added.

He thanked those people who had been providing such vital information from time to time to law enforcing agencies for dealing with anti-state elements.

After the statement of the Minister, the movers of motions Noorul Hassan, Mian Naimur Rehman, Mian Mohammad Shafi, Chaudhry Mohammad Idress Taj, Hafiz Mohammad Taqi and

Syed Khalil-ur-Rehman Chishti did not press their motions.

When a member further wanted to discuss the motions, Chairman Khwaja Mohammad Safdar observed that after the lengthy statement of the Minister, the motions could not be discussed.

TERRORISM CONDEMNED

Lahore, the movers of adjournment motions, also released a joint statement to the Press, condemning the terrorist activities.

The movers, Mian Naimur Rehman, Syed Khalilur Rehman Chishti and Hafiz Mohammad Taqi, in the statement said the smuggling the missiles into the country clearly indicated that certain political elements had a hand in this particular case like the previous cases of terrorist activities.

The statement called for stern and effective action to deal with such cases and demanded exemplary punishment for those involved in it.

The statement also called for reorganising the intelligence agencies to deal more effectively with nefarious activities of such elements.—APP.

BRIEFS

WHEAT PRODUCTION EXCEEDS TARGET--Islamabad, July 26--The national wheat production target of 12.2 million tons has been exceeded, despite the unfavourable weather, the Federal Minister for Food and Agriculture, Vice-Admiral Mohammad Fazal Janjua said here today. In an interview he said that according to the latest reports from various parts including hilly areas of the country the production has reached the level of 12.34 million tons. By the grace of the Almighty Allah and hard efforts of the Government in agriculture sector, the country has attained self-sufficiency in the staple food. The wheat production last year was 11.4 million tons. He said that President Zia-ul-Haq has given top priority to this sector which would receive further impetus during the sixth Five-Year plan--APP [Text] [Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 27 Jul 83 p 1]

HEAVY ELECTRICAL MACHINERY PROJECT--Islamabad, July 27--The programme for production of heavy electrical machinery would be implemented in phases and in collaboration between the public and private sectors. It was decided at a high level meeting held here yesterday under the chairmanship of Minister for Production Lt-Gen Saeed Qadir to consider ways and means for establishing manufacturing facilities for heavy electrical equipments like switchgears, insulators, power transformers and power generators. Keeping in view the day-by-day rising demand for power supply in the country, the Minister for Production emphasized the need for revival of the project of Heavy Electrical Complex, which has been under consideration for the past many years during the Sixth Five Year Plan. The meeting was attended among others by Secretary Ministry of Water and Power and Secretary Ministry of Production, Chairman Pakistan Steel, Chairman KESC and representatives of WAPDA and State Engineering Corporation.--PPI [Text] [Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 28 Jul 83 p 1]

CIVIL AVIATION TEAM TO KENYA--A three-member civil aviation delegation has proceeded to Nairobi for bilateral talks with Kenyan Civil Aviation authorities. The delegation will have talks with concerned officials in Kenya on matters relating to flights between the two countries by their national carriers. Both PIA and Kenya Airways have flights to Nairobi and Karachi respectively.--PPI [Text] [Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 28 Jul 83 p 4]

PROJECT DIVISION PLANNED--Islamabad, July 25--The Government has decided to set up a Projects Division under the Ministry of Planning and Development to check the standard of development work, timely utilisation of funds and timely completion of projects. This information was given to the Majlis-e-Shura this morning during the 'Question Hour' by Dr Mehbubul Haq, Minister for Planning and Development. He told the House that the Division was expected to function during the current financial year. To a question from Lt-Col (retd) Syed Mukhtar Hussain, the Minister said that technical experts would also be appointed in the new Division to achieve the objectives. [Excerpt] [Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 26 Jul 83 p 1]

LOCAL ELECTIONS: MRD SURPRISED--Karachi, July 28--The decision of PPP Steering Committee to participate in the local bodies elections has stunned the MRD leaders here. Though all the leaders refused to make an immediate comment on the decision, their silence is self-expressive. It has also been learnt that the local leaders of PPP were also not happy with the decision. However, they were avoiding direct criticism and were awaiting for a direct communication from Begum Bhutto. Mr Jatoi has already returned to London after meeting Begum Bhutto in Paris. He is expected to contact the local leaders some time this night on telephone and communicate his opinion in this connection. It may be recalled that Mr Jatoi who was in London had gone to Paris on July 26 to discuss the issue with Begum Bhutto. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 29 Jul 83 p 8]

CSO: 4600/817

GOVERNMENT TO FOSTER ENERGY CONSERVATION

Colombo SUN in English 16 Jul 83 p 7

[Excerpts from the inaugural address by President J. R. Jayewardene at the Senior Executive Seminar on Energy Demand Management and Conservation at the Presidential Secretarial conference hall on 14 Jul 83]

[Text] I am pleased to have this opportunity of addressing senior Executives and decision makers of Sri Lanka, on the important topic of energy demand management and conservation. I also look forward to hearing your own views on the subject.

During the last decade or so the world has seen rapid increases in the price of oil, from below \$ 2 per barrle prior to 1970 to around \$30 per barrel after 1980.

The costs of other forms of energy have also increased commensurately, resulting in an international energy crisis. Oil importing developing countries like Sri Lanka, which have had to expend large amount of foreign aid to meet their petroleum needs, have been hardest hit. Most experts have predicted steady increases in energy prices through the next 15 years.

Life Blood

Energy is the life blood sustaining Sir Lanka's development efforts. It keeps the wheels of our industry turning and supplies the basic energy needs and comforts of our citizens. In the coming decades, Sri Lanka will need more energy resources to maintain and accelerate economic growth. This government is committed to doing everything possible to sustain the momentum of national development, improve the quality of life of our people, and meet their aspirations.

We have made strenuous efforts to expand the supply of all forms of energy over the past few years including electricity, petroleum and fuelwood. However, energy facilities such as large hydro-electric installations, pwoer stations and fuelwood plantations take many years to complete.

Thus, the major projects in the energy sector such as the Victoria and Kotmale dams will come into fruition only towards the middle of the 1980's. Meanwhile,

the threat of poor rainfall resulting in diminished hydro-electric capability, the very high foreign exchange costs of importing oil and the continuing depletion of our forests, require all Sri Lankans to co-operate in balancing energy supply and demand through energy conservation and the efficient use of energy.

Avoid Waste

Energy conservation does not require us to deprive ourselves of energy. It means that we should seek to produce the same output and carry out the same activities but using less energy.

In other words, we should avoid WASTE and use our limited energy resources as efficiently as possible. You, the Executives and decision-makers of our nation have a key role to play in demonstrating to others, through your leadership and guidance, how this can be carried out. Over the next few years, saving energy through conservation will usually be the most cost-effective or cheapest way of gaining additional energy resources to meet further consumption.

While the existing energy sector organizations have been making every effort to solve our energy problems, we face especially difficult short as well as long-term energy challenges in the coming years, especially with respect to policy co-ordination in an increasingly complex field.

In order to better co-ordinate and support the activities in the energy sector. I have recently appointed a Senior Energy Advisor, who is seeking to accomplish the following tasks within a two year period:--

- *Establishment of an effective organizational framework for overall energy co-ordination and integrated national energy policy analysis and planning;

- *Creation of an energy data base and analytical procedures;

and (c) Setting up and training of a team of energy specialists and other staff.

In addition to this longer run overall programme, the initiation of a number of urgently needed specific activities is under way, which are expected to yield significant benefits in the short run. These include our industrial and commercial energy conservation programme including training seminars and creation of an energy conservation fund, loss reduction in electricity supply, promotion of selected new and renewable energy options, creation of an energy data base, and so on.

New Team

To accomplish these tasks a new energy co-ordinating team (ECT), supervised by the Senior Energy Advisor, has been created in the Ministry of Power and Energy. The ECT is not intended to be another bureaucracy. Its objective is to co-ordinate and facilitate the work of relevant Ministries and existing

line agencies working in the Energy area, prevent duplication of effort and policy conflicts, and supplement weak or neglected areas in the energy sector.

Many institutions including the Ministries of Industries and Scientific Affairs, Lands and Land Development, Mahaveli Development, and Finance and Planning, as well as the Natural Resources, Energy and Science Authority, the Ceylon Electricity Board, Ceylon Petroleum Corporation Forest Department, and other bodies, are actively involved in the work of the E.C.T.

The E.C.T. consists of three major Task Forces formed from among Senior Managers of relevant organizations within the energy sector. The Energy Planning and Policy Analysis Task Force seeks to first identify the overall objectives of national energy policy and then define a viable energy strategy that meets these objectives. Another Task Force is looking at New, Renewable and Rural Sources of Energy, and is seeking to find out ways in which these technologies can be harnessed for Sri Lanka's benefit.

The third task force which deals with energy efficiency, demand, management and conservation (EDMAC) has been particularly active in devising programmes to increase energy efficiency and eliminate waste in both energy supply and use. Energy conservation measures are being studied in various sectors including industry and commerce transport, households, and agriculture.

The sooner that these programmes can be implemented, the better will be the prospects for Sri Lanka's development in the second half of this decade.

Pricing Policy

While seeking to provide all the necessary technical legislative and financial incentives to promote efficient use of energy, we are also studying the appropriate use of pricing policy, to manage demand.

It is very important for energy consumers to receive the correct price signals in making their decisions regarding the amounts and types of energy they will use.

The Government, therefore, has a responsibility to communicate to the consumer, especially one who is engaged in productive activity, the high costs of meeting their energy needs.

In other words, energy prices must be linked to supply costs in order to avoid misleading energy users to reinforce the message of energy conservation, and to provide sufficient revenues for ensuring the financial viability of energy supplying organizations like the CEB and CPC.

At the same time, we will do everything possible to protect poor and needy consumers, by providing their basic energy needs at an affordable price.

In conclusion let me urge you to participate actively in this Seminar, and frankly exchange views among yourselves on this vital topic. I hope that when you return to your respective organisations, you will be able to provide added impetus to existing demand management and conservation programmes and also launch new initiatives in this area. The E.C.T. and the Government stands ready to assist you in all possible ways.