Near East & South Asia

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16 July 1991

NOTICE TO READERS: Effective 1 July 1991, items that have previously appeared in the NEAR EAST report under ARMENIAN AFFAIRS will now be published in the SOVIET UNION: REPUBLIC AFFAIRS report.

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Cooperation Agreement Between INA, TAP Signed

[Excerpt] Tunis, 20 Jun (INA)—An agreement was signed between the Iraqi News Agency [INA] and the Tunis Afrique Presse [TAP] as part of a document on media and cultural cooperation between Iraq and Tunisia to bolster cooperation between the two agencies.

INA Director General 'Adnan al-Juburi signed the agreement for Iraq, and TAP Director General Ali Belarbi signed for Tunisia during a working session here today. [passage omitted]

Joint Egyptian-Syrian Company To Build Syrian Ships

[Text] Cairo, AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT bureau—Egypt and Syria have agreed to establish the Alexandria Marine Shipyard company to build two merchant ships to transport goods and passengers for the Syrian Maritime Shipping Authority, in addition to building an on-going tug for ship rescue operations.

The two ships each have a hold capacity of 6,500 tons and cost $35 million. The 2,200-horsepower tug costs $10 million. The Egyptian shipyard will finish building the two ships and the tug in only 20 months. The Alexandria shipyard will also overhaul the Syrian 3,500-ton-capacity cargo ship al-Ladhiqiyah [Latakia]. The overhaul will take an entire month.

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

Israeli Analysis of Intifadah Losses

[Analysis by Barry Rubin]

[Text] More than two and a half years of intifadah have achieved nothing tangible for the Palestinians. Their economy is in ruins, intra-Arab murders exceed casualties inflicted by the IDF [Israel Defense Forces], a whole generation is losing its chance for an education. Palestinian society is more divided than ever.

A scattering of recent articles in the East Jerusalem press, leading up to a controversial meeting at the Hakawati theater last week, demonstrate that local Palestinian leaders recognize these facts. The Gulf war only delayed their reaction, since the support for Saddam Husayn as a potential liberator was itself premised on this fact of failure.

The real question, however, is whether this soul-searching will actually lead to a different political stance on the part of the Palestinian leadership in the territories, or on the part of the PLO itself. There is both material incentive and a psychological basis for change, but this does not mean that it will in fact take place. As in other recent episodes—notably King Husayn’s remarks in press interviews on negotiations with Israel or Syria’s hints of moderation—the answer can be found by considering their purpose.

The participants in the Palestinian debate are members of the West Bank—and to a lesser extent Gaza—middle class. Aside from this stratum’s struggle with Israel, it is caught between two forces allied against it: the poorer, younger street activists and the PLO hierarchy. The result is an intense frustration.

The intifadah activists are overwhelmingly young men in their teens and twenties, many of them from refugee camps. For them, the intifadah is as much an internal struggle as a nationalist one. Compromise and negotiation are associated with their elders, who failed to achieve significant gains during the first 20 years of occupation. Militancy is seen as heroism, moderation as defeat.

Yet along with brutalizing Palestinian society—breeding attitudes even less conducive to compromise—these murders are also demonstrations of power.

Thestreet activists claim leadership and the right to punish anyone they deem to be too moderate. On both counts, the middle-class is a potential target. After all, it is that class that poses the greatest competition as a source of would-be leadership. It is also the middle class which is most likely to advocate compromise with Israel. In short, it is the middle class that is most vulnerable to accusations of political treason or economic corruption.

An unavoidable element in the problem is the strategy of the intifadah itself—a form of holding one’s breath until one turns blue. The revolt is too weak to expel the IDF by force. It is too radical to negotiate seriously with Israel or win U.S. support. It is too Palestinian-nationalistic to work with the Jordanians. It may win international sympathy but that does not really change anything. In short, the intifadah can fully succeed only in paralyzing the territories’ economic and educational systems.

For the middle-class, the losses are disastrous. Its power is being undermined while lives are being threatened. But this is not the worst. They can have few illusions about a triumph over Israel. They can see how the prospect of an end to the occupation, much less a
Palestinian state, is receding into the distance. This frustration has built up to the point that they are now willing to speak out.

Yet the middle class is incapable of acting effectively. The breakdown of order and the fear of intimidation brought on by the intifadah has handicapped its ability to effect change.

There is a third element in the equation, the PLO. It is in the PLO’s advantage to play the activists and the middle class against one another to prevent either from gaining any independence of action. Certainly ‘Arafat is willing to leave tactical decisions to those on the front line. Yet when it comes to “foreign policy,” he wants to be sure that Tunis is in charge.

It is important to remember that the killing of Palestinians by militants is a tactical issue. Making peace with Israel or cooperating with Jordan are strategic questions which ‘Arafat retains for himself. Thus, intra-Palestinian murders are within the local leaders’ jurisdiction to condemn. The PLO sometimes echo these complaints. Internal bloodshed is dangerous for the unity of the intifadah and bad for the Palestinians’ image. Just as the middle class fears the murderers will target them, the PLO worries that such killings might split the nationalists from the fundamentalists and also set the PLO’s member groups into civil war.

Neither the middle class nor the militants seem seriously interested in challenging the PLO directly. Both lobby Tunis for different policies, yet it is the PLO in Tunis that ultimately sets the party line. This principle is not even close to being challenged. Hence, the idea that the traditional notables are going to split away from the PLO remains wishful thinking.

Within the PLO itself, the debacle in the Gulf and the failure of the intifadah has yet to sink in. There has been no clear policy re-evaluation since the Gulf war—or effective attempt to persuade the Arab members of the coalition to change their minds. And while PLO leaders in Tunis live well, PLO followers in the territories are suffering.

The PLO’s power of patronage is a vital factor here. If middle class or militant figures are too critical of ‘Arafat, the PLO can denounce them as traitors, divert subsidies elsewhere, oppose their election to positions of influence and support their rivals. When they speak out against the PLO, local leaders risk garnishing the PLO’s mistrust. This might generate a reluctance to let them sit at a negotiating table with Israel, deal directly with the U.S. or be a part of any future program worked out with Jordan.

If the middle class lacks the leverage to force a policy change on the PLO in Tunis, does this mean the current rethinking is meaningless? No, but it must be put into the context of its limited importance.

The frustration of the pro-PLO notables and the pro-PLO silent majority in the territories is laying the basis for a new phase of struggle and thinking which still lies some way down the road. The acknowledgement of dissatisfaction with the direction of the intifadah has already shown itself important enough to produce the massive support for Saddam Husayn. It may lead to several future trends:

- A diminution, though not end, of the intifadah—which would make it easier for Israel to control. This decline could both coincide with and be encouraged by a lower priority for the issue in international diplomacy.
- The PLO’s turn toward some cooperation with Jordan, to escape from the organization’s post-Saddam isolation and to give it a diplomatic card to play.
- A growth of support for fundamentalism.
- More conflict between militants and middle class as the former seek to gain a tighter control over the territories.
- A long range, gradual broadening of conflicts of interest between Palestinians in the territories, and a PLO dominated by those abroad. This may some day fit into a peace process which lets local Palestinians negotiate.

Nothing, however, is going to happen very quickly. The militants, middle-class, PLO officials, and fundamentalists all have too much to lose by going too far.

**ALGERIA**

**Government Creates National Housing Bank**

91AA0450A Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 24 May 91 p 4

[Interview with Abdelmadjid Bouabdallah, marketing director of the Algerian National Savings and Insurance Bank; place and date not given: “Housing Within Reach: Non-Repayable Grant Of 10,000 Algerian Dinars; 90 Percent of the Price of Housing Covered By a 25-Percent, 40-Year Loan Linked to One Condition, You Cannot Already Be an Owner”—first two paragraphs are EL MOUDJAHID introduction]

[Text] The government recently took steps that will make it possible for lower income households to own a home. How can these households benefit from these steps?

Mr. Abdelmadjid Bouabdallah, the marketing director of the Algerian National Savings and Insurance Bank [CNEP], answered the question:

[EL MOUDJAHID] Concerning these vigorous steps that the government has just taken in the area of private housing, is this a response commensurate with this genuine national challenge?
[Bouabdallah] The government has just decided on a package of private housing support measures the extent of which has no past parallel. This support will make it possible to finance a scheme for 250,000 homes from 1991 to 1995: during this time, 90 billion dinars will be spent.

In order to do this, the government decided to establish a special institution—the National Housing Bank, “CNEP”—from within the CNEP whose total support it will enjoy.

These steps will correct a grave injustice that affects the most populous strata.

The state has always considered private housing a national priority and allocated considerable resources to it. As one example, either directly or on behalf of the state, the CNEP has financed more than one house out of three built in Algeria.

But the mechanisms for granting credits as well as the procedures for assigning homes have often been sabotaged the better to serve private speculative interests rather than the needs of households. Even when these mechanisms worked the way they were supposed to, priority access to housing naturally went to those with long-established savings accounts and accumulated interest. Furthermore, removing the ceiling on passbook savings deposits and the search for ever greater credit-worthiness in the credits offered by the CNEP discouraged low-income households, which saw in that process more of a discriminatory policy than a simplification of the procedures leading to home ownership.

[EL MOUDJAHID] As a top priority, the support the government has decided upon is directed at low-income households. What do you mean by this phrase?

[Bouabdallah] First, this support applies to home construction with a cost not to exceed 400,000 dinars. This limit is a good expression of the government’s concern to target first the biggest segments of the population which are in search of housing.

In addition the new measures have the advantage of offering support proportional to the level of financing need. Four categories of households that can benefit from this state support have been established:

First category: Included are citizens whose household income (household meaning two married people living under the same roof) is not greater than two times the Minimum Guaranteed National Salary [SNMG]. They will benefit from a free grant of 25 percent of the cost of the home or direct support worth 100,000 dinars, which will be deducted from the loan made by the CNEP. The CNEP loan (90 percent of the cost of the home) for this category will enjoy a 2.5 percent subsidized rate of interest and the repayment period will be extended to 40 years (in lieu of the 25 years proposed thus far). In a word, no less than two-thirds of the cost of a home will benefit from the state’s financial involvement.

Second category: Included are citizens whose household income is between two and three times the SNMG. They will receive credit equal to 90 percent of the price of their home as well as a preferential 3 percent rate of interest, repayable in 40 years.

Third category: Included are citizens whose household income is between three and four times the SNMG, i.e. between 6,000 and 8,000 Algerian dinars, and they will benefit from a credit representing 80 percent of the price of their home with a preferential 4 percent rate of interest repayable in 25 years.

Fourth category: Included are citizens whose household income is greater than four times the SNMG, i.e. below 8,000 Algerian dinars, and they will enjoy a credit representing 80 percent of the cost of a home, at an interest rate 5 percent below the CNEP’s prevailing rate, repayable in 25 years.

[EL MOUDJAHID] Some innovative measures, whose purpose is to guarantee the efficiency of the new support mechanisms, will round out the entire package. How?

[Bouabdallah] So as to get this nonrepayable support to low-income households, eligibility for this support is limited to only those citizens who have not already benefited from similar purchase formulas as part of a sale of government assets, construction or purchase with the help of a state loan with a subsidized rate of interest, the awarding of a private home, etc.

Encouragement will continue to be given to citizens’ efforts to save, but under conditions better adapted to income level than in the past. Thus for households with an income below 6,000 Algerian dinars, accumulated interest of only 1,000 Algerian dinars will be required, and a two-year-old passbook. For the other categories, accumulated interest will have to be above 2,000 Algerian dinars, with the same passbook age (two years).

To bring together the best conditions to build homes whose cost cannot exceed 400,000 Algerian dinars, an extensive reform involving programs that support private housing has been decided upon. The main idea consisted of turning these programs into truly professional building programs governed by purely economic criteria. Thus the OPGI and the EPLF [expansions not given] will acquire the status of real estate agencies. This line of work will also be open to public and private construction engineering businesses and offices, which henceforth can operate as private real estate companies to develop a genuine construction market: looking for parcels of land, putting together the finances, commissioning architectural and structural studies, choosing the firms to carry it out.... The new package allows for greater clarity in the implementation of state supports. In particular, the creation of the CNL makes it possible to restore to the CNEP its economic role of giving impetus to savings according to traditional banking criteria, with state aid making up exactly the difference between the CNEP’s prevailing rate of interest and the subsidized rates offered to households.
[EL MOUDJAHID] When will this package go into effect?

[Bouabdallah] Most of the legislation what will make possible the implementation of all of these measures is already complete thanks to very close coordination between the ministries of equipment, interior and localities, and finance.

Thus very shortly specific steps can be undertaken to offer citizens credible solutions for a basic need: decent housing under reasonable economic conditions. Supplementary measures have been announced by the government. These pertain first to a better national supply of construction materials, which is another critical aspect in the price of building housing. Besides, a series of legal documents will round out this private housing support package so as to lift those constraints that remain with regard to the movement of real estate capital: a law on mortgages, an inheritance law, and a new commerce code which will introduce concepts such as real estate leasing and planned real estate sales.

This is to say that the government is concerned with promoting the living conditions of the disinherited social classes and providing new dynamism for a key sector of the economy.

**EGYPT**

**Deputy Minister Links Regional Arms Control to Peace**

**JPRs-NEA-91-041**

16 July 1991

Interview With New Arab League Secretary General

91AA0477A Cairo AL-AHRAM in English 6 Jun 91 p 5

[Interview with Arab League Secretary-General, Esmat Abdel Meguid, by Salah Eddin Hafez; place and date not given: “Facing the Challenges of the Future”]

[Text] Prior to his tour of the Arab Gulf, Arab League Secretary-General, Esmat Abdel Meguid, discussed a wide range of topics with Salah Eddin Hafez, including current efforts aimed at improving Gulf security, developments in Somalia and the uneven process of democratisation in the Arab World.

[Question] Mr. Secretary General, at the outset I would like to ask you about your conception of future tasks?

[Answer] We are passing through an important stage which needs much effort to face the new challenges. I have outlined my conception of the current stage in my speech before the Arab League after my election as Secretary-General on 15 May 1991. It included principal ideas for the League’s action, role and responsibility.

The Arab world has undergone a crisis—namely the Gulf crisis. It is unprecedented and its consequences have led to the current situation and the great fissure in the Arab Nation. Even if the fire in oilfields is extinguished the burns deep in us do not yield to technological treatment. We have to treat them directly by ourselves.

He went on to say: I emphasize that conventional arms limitation would leave Israel strong, because it is capable of manufacturing the arms that it needs.

Mahmud Abu-al-Nasr concluded his statement to 'UKAZ by saying: Without a commitment by all the region’s states to the issue of eliminating weapons of mass destruction, the peace process will be hampered, so we will be moving along two parallel lines.

This, because the peace process and its completion are linked to the process of eliminating weapons of mass destruction.

Furthermore, Dr. Sa’d-al-Din Ibrahim, strategy expert, said in a statement to 'UKAZ that President Bush’s initiative can constitute a basis for limiting weapons of mass destruction and their spread in the region, but it must be clear with regard to compelling Israel to submit to the same conditions. This is because matters will not be settled as long as there is an Israeli strategic advantage.

Dr. Sa’d-al-Din Ibrahim pointed out that the implementation of the principle of limiting the spread of arms must be linked to acceptance of thorough inspection operations by the international bodies concerned and the signing of the treaty on nonproliferation of strategic weapons by all the region’s states, including Israel.
This does not only call for turning over a new leaf, but also taking into account its grave consequences which will linger for a long time. I believe we should draw lessons from the past and try to deal with the situation in a well-balanced rational manner.

Naturally enough, the Arab League will try to fill the vacuum but it cannot do it alone. It needs the help of the member states who share the Secretary-General's responsibility. If we just surrender to the past and take no positive step towards the future, this will not be in the interest of the Arabs.

[Question] Security arrangements have been the subject of many ambiguous and contradictory reports, but in all frankness, there are Arab fears based on misgivings that the arrangements would lead to foreign hegemony in the region once again. What do you think of that?

[Answer] This is a sensitive issue. At the outset, I would like to note that the question of security is a matter of survival for any state. It is natural that this is the main preoccupation of every official. I think the international organisation has given paramount priority to the problem of security. The UN Charter, for instance, provides in Article 51 for the right of nations to self-defence, individually or collectively. Hence, it is the legitimate right of states that feel their security threatened to defend themselves by either method. The Charter made a point of regulating this matter. It calls for bringing the issue to the Security Council and for the implementation of international legitimacy which is now governing international relations.

As for the Arab League, it advocates the same method in the Joint Arab Defence Pact and Economic Cooperation treaty signed in 1950. It includes provisions similar to what the UN Charter stipulates.

However, in practical terms, when an aggression actually takes place or there is a threat of it, it is the state involved that must decide on the measures it deems necessary to ensure its national security and self-defence. No other state is to question its decision. Hence, the state involved is the sole decision-maker.

Naturally others—to be precise the other party—have the right to claim that there is foreign hegemony. However, the aggrieved party sees the matter in a different light because to it, it is a question of existence. I personally believe it is not necessary to concentrate on these foreign arrangements except if they aim at full control of the states concerned. But this possibility does not exist. The NATO alliance, for example, never led to the domination of a super power, like the United States, over a small state.

Naturally enough, the possibility does exist that part of the security arrangements imply some concession of sovereignty, but it is not imposed upon it from outside. The world hegemony itself means that one state dominates the fate of another against its will. Hence, what matters is the will of the state which wants to ensure its security.

[Question] Would it not be better for the Arab countries alone to have undertaken the security arrangements in the Gulf?

[Answer] As an Arab region we should first turn to inter-Arab cooperation to make security arrangements. However, let me elaborate on the subject. Security arrangements alone are inadequate. Other measures are needed within the framework of a comprehensive concept of national security with its political, military, economic, cultural and other aspects. The joint Arab Defence Pact, for example, is supplemented by a pact on economic cooperation but regrettably not much has been achieved in this respect.

[Question] What is the Arab League's stand regarding the grave developments occurring in the Horn of Africa, especially that Somalia's territorial integrity, which is an Arab League member, is now endangered? Such a danger, if realised, would inevitably constitute a threat to other neighbouring Arab countries such as Sudan and Djibouti.

[Answer] We are keen on the maintenance of Somalia's territorial integrity, and a statement to this effect has been issued. It does not stand to reason that a small country be partitioned at a time the world is heading for unification into large blocks. The two Yemens have been unified, so why should Somalia break up into smaller entities?

I would like to stress that the Arab League is currently in contact with Somalia and other Arab neighbouring countries, with the aim of avoiding the partition of Somalia.

[Question] Why does the Arab League not take the initiative of bringing Somalia's conflicting parties together in the framework of a unity preserving conference to be held at the General-Secretariat's headquarters?

[Answer] We are in contact with a number of conflicting Somalia's groups, and have invited them for talks at the League's headquarters. Their response, if favourable, will be most welcome, since it would mark a significant development of joint Arab action and be conducive to greater Arab security.

[Question] Let us move over to another sphere, being the necessity of re-establishing the rapport between the Arabs and the world. What are you planning to do for example, to resume the Arab-European dialogue?

[Answer] Contacts have recently been made with a number of European countries, the latest of which was France, with the purpose of preparing for a resumption of the dialogue that has come to an end since the last meeting held in December 1989 in France. We are favourable to the resumption of the dialogue, and I have lately received an equally favourable message from
Roland Dumas, the French Foreign Minister. I consequently contacted Arab countries with the purpose of promoting a resumption of the dialogue.

[Question] Regarding the most important issue of democracy and human rights abuses in the Arab world, how do you view this issue as a man of law and a democrat?

[Answer] This is a major issue of the Arab world. We are keen to follow it up carefully to ensure such rights are scrupulously respected, though without interfering in the domestic affairs of member states. Every country has its own sovereignty and system, but respect for human rights, and promoting the process of democratisation are equally important matters.

[Question] May I ask you what the dividing line is between respect for Arab nationals' rights and interference in member states' democratic affairs. It is a thorny problem that calls for clear-cut stands.

[Answer] The dividing line in this connection is admittedly more of a delicate thread. Interference in any given country's internal affairs though is something that we can never accept. Every country has its respected rights and authority to administer its domestic affairs. Any outside intervention under the pretext of protecting human rights is likely to produce adverse results, however respectful we are.

[Question] What is the solution then?

[Answer] I would tell you that the remedy cannot be imposed, for it should in the first place proceed from inside. This is what I believe as a man of law who cares that law be maintained.

Laws, be they heavenly or positive, have to be observed by everybody. Considering that unjust and bad laws cannot be heaven-inspired, there remain the earthly laws that, if unjust, cannot by the nature of things remain for ever.

Although I share your concern, any attempt to impose democratisation from outside the Arab world will produce chaos.

Once again I would stress that this issue, in the Arab world, is critical.

[Question] Do you personally believe that the atmosphere now prevailing in the Arab world augurs democratic development in the near future?

[Answer] Yes, the atmosphere is now promising. I believe that all lessons have to be learnt. Though we might be seeing promising signs at present, I am at the same time, fearful of chaos. The line that divides democracy from chaos is delicate. The developments now taking place in some countries, drawing them to the verge of utter disorder, cannot be acceptable to anybody.

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security at home and in my own country. This does not threaten my neighbour except if this neighbour is secretly preparing to launch an aggression against me.

[Question] Mr. Secretary-General, the Palestinian question is passing a difficult period at present. The American approach is trying to achieve something of a breakthrough, Israel is showing even greater intransigence, and the Arabs whose pressures are currently far from adequate, consider that their position is not as strong as that of the Israelis.

[Answer] I think that a turning point was achieved when the Palestine National Council, in its November 1988 session, held in Algiers unequivocally approved a political settlement accepting UN Resolutions 242, renouncing terrorism and recognised the existence of Israel. This allowed for a new basis on which to build Arab, as well as American-Palestinian efforts.

All this was positive and constituted great progress. That is why I believe that the Palestinian party has made remarkable efforts to move in the direction of settlement.

However, the Israeli stand is so intransigent and uncompromising that it can but meet with our refusal. Only yesterday Shamir said he would not leave one inch of the occupied lands. In retort I say that we will not leave one inch. Such intransigence will lead us nowhere.

As to the American stand, it has been clearly defined in President Bush’s statement to the Congress that peaceful efforts were based on two main points. First, the UN Resolutions 242 and 338, and the second being the land for peace exchange. This stand we consider acceptable. In all honesty I consider the American stand as earnestly intended to bring about a solution. The Americans are serious in their efforts.

Talks to this effect were conducted over the past few months, though they are still going on. My concept in this context is that these endeavours should be maintained, regardless of difficulties.

Such difficulties should not hamper the continuation of the talks however long it takes to overcome them. We know that a solution cannot be attained in the near future. It is important that we bolster the uprising in the occupied lands.

That is why I am convinced that a long struggle awaits the Palestinian people, and that we have to render them every possible assistance. Stability cannot be achieved unless the question has been peacefully resolved, especially that the Palestinian party expressed its readiness to consider such a solution. The American party being equally well-disposed, it is the Israeli party that remains intransigent. So, if we were to close the file now, opting for silence, Israel would be the winner.

We have to maintain our dynamic political stands, supporting the uprising and the Palestinian rights, regardless of the fact that the Palestine Liberation Organisation has done itself an injustice, and lost the support of many European and other influential countries, after its stand during the Gulf crisis.

This however is no reason for us to stop supporting the Palestinian people’s legitimate right for as long as is required.

New Nasirist Party Under Formation

[Text] A new Nasirist party is now being established under the name of “The National Nasirist Party.” Muhammad Ta’at ‘Abd-al-Majid, a representative of the founders, informed the interior minister that the party is interested in achieving a domestic dialogue and in creating ideological documents and a domestic regime. The founders’ representative said that the party believes in the necessity of an independent Arab renaissance [nahdah] not opposed to an alliance with the Islamic camp, which will be the correct way to face the challenges of the new world order.

Loan Agreements Signed With Arab Development Fund

[Text] Egypt has signed four agreements with the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development, which is temporarily based in London, to finance development projects. Under the terms of the agreements, a loan of 10.5 million Kuwaiti dinars will be extended to expand the rubber tire and pipes factories, another loan of 26.25 million Kuwaiti dinars will be provided for the al-Kuraymat power station, and a third loan of 14.4 million Kuwaiti dinars will be given to the Egyptian Social Fund for Development. The fourth document signed was a letter of understanding on the provision of technical assistance worth 180,000 Kuwaiti dinars as the Fund’s contribution to the costs of revising and modernizing the comprehensive plan for sanitary drainage in the Hulwan area.

Dr. Maurice Makramallah, minister of state for international cooperation, signed the agreements on Egypt’s behalf, while they were signed on the Fund’s behalf by its chairman, ‘Abd-al-Latif al-Hamad. The signing ceremony was attended by Dr. Kamal al-Januzzi, deputy prime minister and minister of planning; Dr. Muhammad Ibrahim Shakir, Egyptian ambassador in London; and Dr. Rushdi Barakat, minister plenipotentiary at the embassy.

Constitution Seen as Obstacle to Democracy

[Text] I read an article by a responsible writer in a government newspaper which said that everybody is
responsible for the future because we should all struggle for a better tomorrow. The official concluded by saying: Now that we have succeeded in the political field, we must succeed in the economic and social fields. I could not help but think about that expression. I asked myself: Have we really succeeded in the political field?

Our writer says that democracy has reached its zenith here.

I say to that writer: You are excused if you are writing for people living outside Egypt. Anyone who has lived abroad knows very well that people living outside Egypt know everything, including things about which we know nothing. However, if you are writing for people living inside Egypt, you are living in a fantasy world. Every citizen knows that we have not achieved political success at the domestic level yet. What you said is for local consumption and was dictated by your position.

As far as reality is concerned, all we know about democracy is the name and the outer crust. The constitution drawn up during the totalitarian system is still valid, with some improvements and amendments. The constitution still determines the manner whereby the president of the republic is selected: The People's Assembly nominates a president and holds a referendum on their choice. We do not have direct elections involving various candidates. The constitution denying the People's Assembly the right to withdraw confidence from the government still exists. This constitution still deprives the people's representatives the right to introduce amendments on the public budget unless receiving the government's permission first.

This same constitution does not prevent a People's Assembly member from combining his assembly's membership with a government or public sector job.

Article 74 of the constitution is still valid. This article gives the president of the republic free hand to adopt swift measures to counter so-called "dangers." The text of that article was used more than once in a way which makes it hard to say that democracy exists here. After all that, can we say that we have succeeded politically? Does this mean that the constitution, in its present form, will continue to be the supreme law of the land in spite of the examples we have given of its defects? If it is going to remain in force, I can only say to you that silence is far better than voicing opposition.

Were the elections held in a manner in which the people truly elected their representatives? No, except for a few constituencies which were under the spotlight. These were very few.

I assure you that once we truly succeed politically, success in the economic and social fields will be certain.

Mufti Calls for Alcohol Restrictions, Islamic Law
91P40334A Cairo AL-HAQIQAH in Arabic 8 Jun 91 p 1

[Report by Nadya Ahmad]

[Text] During the "Toward a Drug-Free Society" conference, Dr. Muhammad Sayyid Tantawi, the Mufti of Egypt, said that he hopes Islamic shari'ah will be applied, because it is the law of truth, justice, and equality.

The Mufti sought to restrict the drinking of alcohol and to apply the death sentence for some drug dealers, because their presence leads to the denigration of the earth. He also said that their property should be seized.

The Mufti criticized current laws, which are at variance with what is written in the Koran.

IRAQ

Gold, Money Allocated To Repair, Renovate Shiite Shrines
JN0406110191 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0715 GMT 4 Jun 91

[Text] The Ministry of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs has allocated 20 million Iraqi dinars, equal to approximately $64 million, 54 kg of pure gold, and 160 kg of pure silver for use in gold-plating the domes and inside doors of the al-Haydariyah shrine in al-Najaf, and the al-Husayniyah and al-'Abbasiyah shrines in Karbala'.

The newspaper AL-JUMHURIYAH cited Mr. 'Ala' Yusuf Hammadi, head of the Department of Engineering at the Ministry, as saying that the Ministry had reached agreement with a number of Iraqi jewelers to perform the tasks of plating these holy tombs.

He noted that the engineering and technical cadres have already begun work on the first stage by setting up the scaffolding. The second stage includes the reconstruction and renovation of the tombs, golden adornments, and inside doors which were damaged and destroyed.

He said maintenance work includes rebuilding the facades that were heavily damaged, as well as repairing the etchings on mirrors and wooden doors, in addition to work on inlaid marble from Karbala', glasswork, and maintaining roofs.

He pointed out that work had already begun on developing and expanding the al-Husayniyah and al-'Abbasiyah shrines. Old, dilapidated buildings around the two shrines have been removed so visitors can move around freely.

He noted that the saboteurs stole many priceless items and irreplaceable historic writings. They burned the library at al-Husayniyah shrine, including some rare religious and cultural documents and books. They also stole furniture and carpets.
Economic Future of Kibbutz Movement Discussed

91AE0450B Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 14 Jun 91 p 10

[Article by Abraham Rabinovich: "Kibbutzim at the Economic Crossroads; Which Way Do We Go?"]

[Text] Many of the men who gathered in the auditorium at Kibbutz 'En Hahoresh last weekend wore short pants, sandals and weather-beaten faces. But if a visitor closed his eyes as the speeches began, he might have imagined attaché cases, ties and fat cigars.

"Profit is not a dirty word," said one speaker at the 52nd annual meeting of the Kibbutz Artzi Council. That sentence—expressed half-defiantly, half-apologetically—summed up all the wracking misgivings and heady aspirations of a proud but down-at-the-heels socialist movement planning to strike a bargain with the lords of Mammon.

Once again the kibbutz movement was at a crossroads, but this time the phrase was clearly more than rhetoric. The 300 representatives of the movement's 86 kibbutzim had come to decide on major changes in policy—permit the communes to enter into business partnerships with capitalist enterprises and to change the kibbutz's internal structure, hitherto shaped by a communal ideology, along cost-accounting lines.

What made the gathering so poignant was the hope expressed by the kibbutz members that these far-reaching changes could be accomplished without any basic change in the kibbutz's vision of a society built on equality.

It was not the collapse of communism in eastern Europe that had led to this soul searching on the left wing of the kibbutz movement, but the economic crisis of the 1980s in Israel itself. When soaring interest rates saddled the kibbutzim with huge debts and sent many of them into a tail spin, members began to think the hitherto unthinkable as they searched desperately for solutions. The alternative was stark. As a number of speakers put it at the Kibbutz 'En Hahoresh meeting: "If we can't support ourselves, we don't have the right to exist."

With banks no longer prepared to extend them credit, hard-pressed kibbutzim wishing to expand the industrial plants which now provide the bulk of kibbutz income, began to give thought to entering into partnerships with private enterprise. Besides capital, outside firms could bring know-how, new initiatives and markets.

The Kibbutz Artzi Council voted to make the kibbutz more efficient by giving autonomy to each economic branch—factory, cowshed or citrus plantation—and making the branch manager responsible for profitability. There would be no more dipping into the general kibbutz fund or excuses that the branch manager did not have the authority to make his own decisions.

"Bookkeeping has always been a weak field in the kibbutz," said one kibbutz member. It is hoped that the autonomy system will elicit initiatives from the branches to match the responsibility devolved upon them.

To provide more professional supervision to kibbutz industrial enterprises, the council decided to create boards of directors for these plants which would include kibbutz members with an economic background and two outside members who would provide expertise and objectivity.

The movement also decided that its member kibbutzim would, on economic issues, circumvent the Saturday night general meeting (asefa)—that exercise in pure Athenian democracy in which all issues affecting the kibbutz are put to a vote. The vote of a kibbutz member who spends his days in the sheep pen or kitchen carries as much weight on decisions regarding new machinery for the kibbutz factory as does the vote of the member serving as factory manager.

"The idea of direct democracy on economic issues is bankrupt," said one delegate. "You can't have serious discussions on economic issues at the asefa."

As an alternative to the general meeting on these issues, the Kibbutz Artzi Council voted to authorize the creation of Economic Councils at each kibbutz, made up of members with experience in economic matters. Major decisions of the Economic Council would still be brought to the general meeting for approval, but the council's decisions could be expected to bear decisive weight.

Beneath the good humor and substantive discussions at the Kibbutz 'En Hahoresh meeting ran deep currents of emotion. Conservatives feared that the seemingly pragmatic steps being proposed in the name of efficiency would let in the devil of personal competition and acquisitiveness, and inevitably unravel the delicate bonds that held the commune together against the temptations of the outside world.

"At this conference we see people who oppose the basic principles of the movement trying to destroy it from the within," said Musa of Kibbutz Yad Mordelchay. "We have to define ourselves or we will cease to exist as a communal society."

Others, however, were plainly excited by the possibilities they sensed opening up through cost-accountable internal organization and contacts with the outside world.

These conflicting attitudes appeared to vie for dominance not only between kibbutz delegates, but within many of the individual delegates themselves. Said one participant: "If we want to send cars with a delegation to a Peace Now rally, we first have to be able to afford the cars."
Some of the kibbutz members were eager to run even faster than the movement was yet prepared for. The principle of rotation, whereby key posts such as plant manager are assigned to different kibbutz members every three or four years, was attacked as anachronistic by a number of delegates.

"We need leaders, not managers, and you don't develop leaders in three or four years," said a delegate from Gan Shmu'el. "We are cutting them down in the name of equality."

Another delegate proposed ending the term of office of inefficient managers after one year, and permitting efficient managers to stay on for 10 to 12 years. In the end, the council reiterated its support for the principle of rotation, but left open the possibility of re-electing managers to a second term, although this would require a vote larger than a simple majority in the general meeting.

A poll taken at 19 of the movement's kibbutzim earlier this year showed that 28 percent favored the idea of individual members earning money for themselves from overtime work—a notion that contradicts the basic kibbutz principle that no one earns more than anyone else, be he/she a highly qualified engineer or a seamstress.

The council unanimously rejected the idea, but one delegate noted that the 28 percent probably represented a much higher percentage of the younger kibbutz members polled, and was thus a cause for real concern about the future direction of the kibbutz movement.

Partnerships with private enterprise, warned some delegates, could mean that outside managers would hire and fire kibbutz members and bring in outside workers in the name of efficiency, without regard for the kibbutz's objective of providing all its members with the dignity of work. Some delegates, however, saw in this a welcome opportunity to get rid of inefficient or lazy members whom the kibbutz itself would not dismiss.

"It's not easy for us to fire someone who is our neighbor," said one member from Bet Alfa. "An [outside] manager of a plant can overcome personnel problems that we cannot." The council decided, however, that in any such partnerships, the kibbutz would insist on maintaining control over personnel at any plant located at the kibbutz itself.

Nevertheless, delegates recognized that it was impossible to foretell how such partnerships would develop as the profit motive-efficiency factor contends with the ideology-human factor. A delegate from Kibbutz Negba said that his kibbutz was seeking an outside partnership that would permit it to double the size of its plastics plant. "It is a dangerous process but we must be daring as well as cautious," he said.

Another danger cited was that an outside manager might seek to pay kibbutz members working in executive or technological jobs several times what he pays a kibbutz member on the production line. Although the salary of both the executive and worker do not go into their pockets but into the kibbutz's general account, it is feared that differential salaries, even if only a book entry, would introduce a destructive element of status into the commune.

A seemingly innocuous resolution calling for kibbutzim to maintain "a reasonable and stable level of profit" in order to achieve their social goals touched off a sharp debate toward the end of the council meeting. A delegate took the floor to propose changing the phrase "reasonable profit" to "maximum profit."

Another delegate rose to challenge the proposed amendment. "This argument is the essence of our dilemma. If we want to maximize profits we would hire 10 outside laborers to work under every kibbutz member instead of doing the work ourselves. The very idea of maximum profit contradicts our principles."

The dilemmas are bound to sharpen as the kibbutz movement moves out of its rural isolation and attempts to maintain its humanistic, socialist ideology in a world where, more than ever before, the bottom line is king.

Status of Israeli Arab Community Described

Relations between Israel's Arab minority and the Jewish State's government establishment and its Jewish majority have had their ups and down during the 43 years since Israel's founding.

The first 28 years were, by and large, a period of steady and impressive improvement in various areas affecting the condition of Israel's Arabs—in infant mortality, health and longevity, economic well-being, education and other aspects of modernization. It was also a period of a slow growth in the identification of the Arabs with the state and their integration into it—and of an even slower but unmistakable improvement in relations between Arabs and Jews.
The past 15 years have just as clearly witnessed a downturn in those relations. This deterioration has been caused by the emergence of radicalizing tendencies among both Israeli Arabs and Jews. It is in this latter period that Israeli Arabs have overwhelmingly and vociferously asserted their identification with the cause of Palestinian nationalism and with the PLO, at a time when the overwhelming majority of the Jewish population and the bulk of the political establishment view the PLO as Israel’s mortal enemy.

This stark divergence in attitude on an issue which has become so central to Israel’s life obviously invites an application of the principle of “the friend of my enemy is also my enemy” on the part of the Jews and the reverse on the part of the Arabs—i.e. “the enemy of my friend (an all the more so, of my kinfolk and people) is my enemy.”

This gap has grown all the more in the three-and-a-half years of the intifadah. There has been a world of difference between the extent of violent Palestinian behavior in the territories and the much more restrained behavior of their Palestinian cousins within Israel. Israeli Jewish public opinion, however, has been acutely aware of the acts of intifadah-linked violence on the part of some Israeli Arabs, and even more sensitive to the widespread expressions of emotional and symbolic support for the intifadah and of condemnation of the Israeli Army on the part of very many Israeli Arabs.

On the Jewish side, the coming of age politically of the large Jewish population of Muslim-country origin (incorrectly called Sephardim) during this latter period and the disproportionate rise in the political power and cultural influence of Jewish religious ultra-Orthodoxy have certainly contributed to the much greater extent of openly expressed Jewish animosity to the Arabs in our midst. This is an ironic example of how bad things (anti-Arab prejudice) can grow out of good things (the growing political and economic equality of the ‘Edot Hamizrah).

This populist development has been coupled with the rise to power of the Likud and the Zionist Right during the past 14 years. There is certainly much that could be criticized in official policy of Labor governments to the Arab minority during their 29 years in power. But there is no question that the Likud and the parties of the Zionist Right who succeeded them in the past 14 years were ideologically inclined to antagonism to the Arabs.

Part of the mindset they share with the religious is a suspicion of and animosity towards goyim in general, without bothering to differentiate very much between Arabs or Palestinians within or outside Israel.

These ideological predilections have in recent years expressed themselves in a consistent governmental policy of monumental neglect of the Arab minority in Israel and its problems.

Is this growing gap of the past decade-and-a-half irreversible? Must things lead inexorably to a major ethnic eruption, that has hitherto been averted, within Israel itself? These were some of the broader questions that underlay many of the presentations at a conference this week at the Dayan Center of Tel Aviv University devoted to the topic: “The Arab Minority in Israel: Dilemmas of Political Orientation and Social Change.”

The question of the self-identity of Israel’s Arab minority has long been in dispute between scholars. One school has claimed that Israeli Arabs are torn between their conflicting Israeli and Palestinian identities and are thus constantly under great tension; others, especially Prof. Sammy Sammuhah of Haifa University, have posited an opposing theory according to which Israel’s Arabs have developed two parallel Israeli and Palestinian identities and manage to accommodate between them quite well.

One of the most interesting and debatable contributions to this week’s conference came from Prof. Nadim Ruhanah, a Boston College psychologist, who formerly studied at Haifa University (including under Prof. Sammuhah) and who sought to refute both approaches.

Prof. Ruhanah brought the results of two surveys he had conducted among Arab high-school and university students in Israel in 1982 and 1989 which seemed to show that the overwhelming majority rejected any emotional identification with Israel. Their Israeliess was entirely functional, he claimed. In one of his surveys, 45 percent had identified themselves as “Palestinians in Israel”—and another 30 percent simply as “Palestinians” or “Arabs.” Only 17 percent of the university students and 4 percent of the high-school students had selected “Palestinian Israeli.” The important thing is that when they could choose the alternative of Arab Israeli or Palestinian Israeli, the overwhelming majority did not so choose.

Furthermore, not one leading Arab figure in Israel chose to identify himself as a Palestinian Israeli.

Israelis should not make the mistake of confusing Arabs’ adherence to law-abidingness, which is very developed, with Israeli patriotism, which is almost totally non-existent among them, Ruhanah said. The local Arabs’ emotional connection to the land is to the concept of this country as the homeland of the Palestinian people and not to Israel.

Prof. Gabi Ben-Dor, the outgoing rector of Haifa University, responded very dejectedly that one must differentiate between what people say (in survey questionnaires) and how they behave, especially in their electoral performance, in which 40 percent of Israel’s Arabs voted for Zionist parties in the 1988 elections.

But he went on to query that if Prof. Ruhanah’s findings were indeed correct and 75 percent of Israel’s Arabs did reject any semblance of Israeli identity, “what does that mean for the two-state option [of eventual peace with a Palestinian state]? What kind of coexistence could there be under such circumstances?”
In addressing the economic aspect of what it has meant to be an Arab in Israel over the past four decades, Prof. Gad Gilbar of Haifa University emphasized the more than half-full part of the glass, but also pointed to the ominous signs of recent and present developments. He noted that per capita income of the Israeli Arabs had grown from $550 in 1945, just before the creation of Israel, to $2,200 in 1989.

Referring to the tremendous rate of population growth among the Israeli Arabs (from 156,000 at the end of 1948 to 843,000 at the end of 1989, or around 700,000 if one excludes the Arabs of Israeli-annexed East Jerusalem), Prof. Gilbar noted that it was very rare in the world to have such rapid population increase occur together with rapid growth in per capital income.

“The Israeli Arabs have not had to pay the price of their rapid population growth (as is commonly the case in other developing societies) and have benefited from the influx of capital into Israel, which increased the demand for Arab labor,” he argued.

But because the large majority resided in rural areas and were dependent for their income on the Jewish economy, the Israeli Arabs were very vulnerable to down trends and to a decline in demand for their labor. In the 1980s, he noted, unemployment among the Arabs grew much more than did unemployment among the Jews. Last year, this continued growth in Arab unemployment was due largely to increasing competition for jobs from the Soviet immigrants, especially in the services sector, which traditionally employed many Arabs.

Unemployment among the Arabs will in all likelihood continue to grow over the next few years; and if policies are not adopted to offset that trend it may well lead to a situation in which Israeli Arabs insist on emphasizing the Palestinian component and diminishing the Israeli component in their identity, with a concomitant growth in their alienation from Israel.

Demographer Calvin Goldscheider of Brown University spoke of the half-empty part of the glass of the Israeli Arabs’ economic situation and of the dangerous effects of their “segregation” which had a very serious impact on their lack of economic opportunities. Referring to the absence of employment opportunities in Arab towns and villages, which resulted in large numbers of Arab workers having to commute to work daily in the Jewish economy, he spoke of this as a relationship of “dependence on the Jewish sector” rather than one of true integration into it.

In other places, this was referred to as “internal colonialism,” he said.

In a separate conversation, Goldscheider told me that one of the reasons for the Arabs’ current feeling of “relative deprivation” was their perception of the great achievements of the formerly-deprived ‘Edot Hamizrah Jews in the 1980s, which had left the Arabs far behind in the economic race. This was all the more galling to the better-educated Arabs, he explained, because those Jews had made their economic and political achievements despite having lower educational achievements on the average than the Israeli Arabs.

“The younger generation of Israeli Arabs growing up today have higher aspirations than their parents’ generation did, but their opportunities are much more limited,” he asserted. This could well lead to an explosive situation in the future, he warned.

Such conferences have in recent years become regular fixtures in the social-science policy think-tanks circuit of the Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa universities, and one of the problems is that the rediscussion of the same topic does not always provide new insights. One of the innovations in this week’s Dayan Center conference, however, was placing the discussion of Arab-Jewish relations in Israel in the broader context of other problematic majority-minority relationships in the larger world.

The existence of an Arab minority in a predominantly Jewish Israel is thus not only far from being unique but is closer to being the norm.

In this regard, the overview presented by Prof. William Brinner of the University of California at Berkeley was instructive in pointing out that Islam, as a militant proselytizing religion, did not make theological provision for how Muslim communities should behave as minorities.

Muslims who constitute minorities in different modern settings such as India, China, Soviet Asia and latterly also in Western Europe and in the U.S., handle that unaccustomed minority condition in a very different fashion. In regard to America, Brinner’s report estimates, in 10 years’ time Islam will replace Judaism as the third largest religion in the U.S.

The fact that Muslims (and Arabs) have a hard time coming to terms with their being a minority is certainly very much part of a broader explanation for the deterioration in Arab-Jewish relations in Israel. I believe that the parallel difficulty Jews have in learning how to behave as a self-assured majority, sensitive to the need to treat their own minority fairly and with dignity, is a complementary part of that problem.

But then, as one participant pointed out: “Both we Israeli Jews and Arabs have had only four short decades to practise our new, unaccustomed roles.”

R&D Cooperation With Egypt Analyzed

91AE0450C Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST
in English 14 Jun 91 p 16

[Article by Ziv Hellman: “Egypt’s ‘Quiet’ Economic Ties”]

[Text] The cold peace between Egypt and Israel has not brought about a particularly “warm” trade environment. Nevertheless, economic ties have been quietly taking place. A study commissioned by the Armand Hammer
Fund for Economic Cooperation in the Middle East, and drawn up by Gil Feiler of Tel Aviv University, points to interesting past activity and future possibilities in joint technological endeavors, as well as to difficulties and the possible use of a third party—the U.S.—to spur trade.

As Prof. Gidon Fischelson points out, trade between two countries generally develops along the following lines: an initial flow of goods and services, followed by capital flows and joint entrepreneurial efforts. When cooperation occurs in scientific and technological spheres, the trade relationship can be said to be "mature" in a certain sense, providing a real source of economic growth for both countries. As in all economic activity, different countries can bring different comparative advantages to technological research and development.

This is particularly critical when considering technological cooperation between Israel and an Arab country. Despite many schemes announced by Arab leaders over the past few decades to prod their countries into catching up with the West in technological growth, and various attempts to coordinate technological efforts between Arab states, the results have been rather dismal.

This is even more striking considering the large growth in technical schools in Arab countries, jumps in the number of Arab students studying science and engineering, and the relative mobility that citizens of the Arab world have between the poorer Arab states and the wealthier ones. The Arab world is still missing the technological boat somehow.

Despite the sorry state of Arab science, Feiler finds in his study considerable resistance to the idea of Israeli-Egyptian cooperation in R&D among Egyptian intellectuals. Much of it can be attributed to politics. Cairo's daily run articles exhorting Egyptian scientists to shun contact with "the Zionist enemy." The Egyptian government, apparently not eager to strengthen ties with Israel, supports the resistance to R&D cooperation.

Beyond politics, many Egyptian scientists believe that Israel and Egypt are incompatible when it comes to scientific cooperation. In this view, Egypt has one of the finest infrastructures and manpower reserves in the Middle East, and needs only capital to put the manpower to work, not intellectual joint efforts.

Some fear that working with Israelis will stigmatize them, making it difficult for them to land lucrative jobs in the future in Saudi Arabia or Kuwait. Others are even concerned that joint ventures with Israelis will lead to some form of Israeli control over the Egyptian economy. Egyptians are wary of feeling "inferior" to Israelis while being patronized. They ask: will the Israelis, so defense-oriented, really be willing to share possibly sensitive technological information?

Even Feiler admits that, despite the fact that Israelis can offer much to Egypt in such fields as water engineering and agriculture on arid land, the Egyptians could turn to European sources for most of that technology. The issue is political, he concludes, which is why Israelis should be putting much more emphasis on trying to establish joint technological ventures with their neighbors to the south.

The forging of such links has been a wedge opening up diplomatic opportunities at various times in the past. One example, from the '50s, was the scientific exchange program between the Weizmann Institute and the Max Planck Society in Germany, which was a factor in pushing forward diplomatic relations between Israel and West Germany.

Even with the erratic and inconsistent character of Israeli-Egyptian relations, there is a legacy of scientific cooperation to build upon. The most successful program is financed and administered by the U.S. Agency for International Development. AID supports cooperation efforts that incorporate Egyptian, Israeli and U.S. scientists. Only the U.S., it seems, is trustworthy enough in both Israeli and Egyptian eyes to be able to promote cooperation, albeit in a quiet manner.

The first such venture was the Marine Science Program, which is still in existence and deals with the production of fish and with containing the erosion of the coast line. In the health sciences, a trilateral effort between the Ayn Shams University in Cairo, the Hebrew University and the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases has successfully been researching some diseases which have plagued Egypt, such as Rift Valley fever, leishmaniasis, malaria, filariasis and tick-borne spotted fever.

In agriculture, cooperative efforts have produced results that are both scientifically and economically impressive. A strain of tomatoes suited to brackish and saline water has been developed, as well as a high-protein strain of fodder for sheeps and goats that thrives on dryer land than any previously known strain.

Feiler points to a number of potentially successful areas for Egyptian-Israeli cooperation:

—Stopping the advance of the desert: a major problem the Egyptians are facing. Techniques worked out in the Negev could also work in the Sahara.

—Irrigation systems.

—Fighting pollution in the Red Sea and Egyptian lakes.

—Searching for oil, both in Egypt and in Israel.

—Meteorological research.

Feiler concludes: "The effectiveness of scientific cooperation enhances the cooperative efforts themselves, while also contributing to a favorable atmosphere in general for the relations between the two countries. It is by cooperation of this kind and similar efforts that the peace prospects in the region can be advanced."
New Multichannel Radiometer for Fast Combustion
91AE0450E Tel Aviv INNOVATION in English June 1991 pp 5-6

[Article: "New Multichannel Radiometer Analyzes Fast Combustion"]

[Text] Haifa—A computerized multichannel spectroradiometer has been developed by a team of scientists, headed by Dr. ‘Ami Ben-Šalom, of the Electrooptics R&D Division in the Technion R&D Foundation. The new system, named the “Octopus,” is capable of performing real time radiometric analyses of fast combustion processes.

The Octopus is specially designed to measure very fast transients, such as exothermic chemical reactions, and it is capable of gathering detailed information on the temporal behavior of radiometric data in specific spectral bands. It can measure transients with a rise time of 3 msec. Faster transients can be measured only by narrowing its field of view. The Octopus’ regular field of view is 5 degrees.

The Octopus has eight separate broad band channels, each adjustable to a spectral region of between 0.3 and 14 microns, in order to meet the user’s specific requirements. The AC signals from these channels are used as inputs to eight lock-in amplifiers, with a reference signal of the chopper frequency. These amplifiers produce the radiometric signals, which are sampled by a fast A/D converter. A personal computer and a user friendly software package convert those signals to a real time radiometric output of the transient.

The developers and the Technion R&D Foundation are reported to be seeking a strategic partner, who will be able to commercialize this new instrument.

Expanding Exports at IAI Reported
91AE0450D Tel Aviv INNOVATION in English June 1991 pp 2-3

[Article: “Rapidly Expanding Exports at Israel Aircraft Industries,” IAI]

[Text] Lod—Israel Aircraft Industries’ [IAI] 1990 exports brought in a total of $1,099m., an advance of 10.4 percent over 1989. More than three fourths of the company’s gross receipts stem from its foreign sales.

Export prospects for this and the next few years also are good. Although much of the firm’s overseas sales are defense oriented and thus constitute classified information, several promising developments were recently made public.

Thus IAI delivered earlier this year, in cooperation with TRW, two of its latest UAV (unmanned aerial vehicle) reconnaissance systems to U.S. Armed Forces examiners. This equipment will now undergo a series of prolonged tests, in competition with a similar system developed by McDonnell Douglas. At the end of that process, procurement officers will decide which of the two companies will supply up to $700m. worth of UAVs to U.S. ground forces. The Navy and Marines already use Israel built miniature recon planes.

Last month the company began delivery of a $40m. order from the Australian Royal Airforce. The ARAF bought four special airborne refuelling systems, each installed in a converted 707 and capable of fuelling two jet fighters simultaneously.

At about the same time, flight tests began of IAI’s new Panther combat plane. The Panther is a thoroughly overhauled and upgraded Mirage, brought in line with 1990s technology and ready for years of additional front line service. Among the changes made by IAI experts is the addition of canard winglets, for greater maneuverability, and the installation of state of the art avionics.

The plane has also been equipped with a more powerful engine, bought from a French supplier. Using a jet from that source, rather than from the U.S.A., will simplify efforts to sell this upgrading package abroad. When American made components are used, exports require State Department approval—a condition which hindered the sale of several earlier IAI developments, such as the Kfir.

Various potential customers already have indicated their interest in the Panther, and company spokesmen suggest that there is a significant export potential. In spite of its capabilities, such an upgraded plane is far less expensive than any of the new combat aircraft now on the market.

MOROCCO

Committee Sets Official Meat Prices
91AA0422C Rabat AL-ALAM in Arabic 21 May 91 p 6

[Article by Mohammed al-Mustashir: “Stop This Inconsistency in Meat Prices”]

[Text] The local price committee met on 19 March 1991, in the city’s municipal center. After discussing the status of livestock in the region, and associated issues, it set the prices of selling meat as follows:

Sheep, 38 Moroccan dirhams; beef, 35 dirhams; ground meat (keftah), 43 dirhams; liver, 36 dirhams; intestines, 25 dirhams; and head meat, 25 dirhams.

However, this decision did not last long; the new authorization is as follows:

Sheep, 40 dirhams, and beef, 38 dirhams.

Nevertheless, there are butchers who respect neither list. The prices were raised at the butcher shop, as follows:

Beef, 40 dirhams, and ground meat (keftah), 45 dirhams.
We are afraid that this speculation in prices is normal behavior in the absence of any controls. We don’t criticize the livestock sector’s actions before last February’s rains came, including killing (a circle of red, specifically), most of which was sold at reduced prices. In this case, however, the damage is done to the wage earner and the consumer, while the butcher alone profits!

Shouldn’t butchers offer to reduce prices after the hardship is over? Shouldn’t the local committee take the initiative to control prices, whenever a new emergency befalls consumers, or will it resort to silence as it has done many times?

Large Harvest Creates Storage Problems
91AA0422B Rabat AL-‘ALAM in Arabic 21 May 91 pp 1, 2

[Article: “Lack of Storage Facilities, Danger of Losing Large Part of Harvest; Small, Medium-Size Farmers Do Not Benefit From Official Marketing”]

[Excerpts] As we reported in a previous edition, the Ministry of Agriculture’s forecasts indicated that the grain harvest in the 1990-91 season would be a record one, totaling more than 80 million kantars.

These forecasts pointed out specifically that the soft wheat crop might attain a record figure of nearly 29 million kantars, while the durra [sorghum] crop might reach approximately 5 million kantars. It is also expected that hard wheat will total 20 million kantars.

Moreover, barley production should reach about 28 million kantars. This crop has increased in comparison with last season, but is less than the levels achieved in 1987-88 and 1988-89, both of which produced surpluses which, in view of the limited size and means of storage, were exported to certain Arab Maghreb and Gulf nations.

The expected grain harvest this season is the result of climatic conditions—rain fell gradually and was distributed, basically, over the entire season—inasmuch as the planted acreage was nearly equal to what it was the previous season, whose harvest was small, approximately 64 million kantars.

It is expected that once again the problem of storage facilities will be encountered. This has surfaced before, following excellent harvests. National storage facilities are very limited, and no real development has occurred for decades. [passage omitted]

Aside from this, the problem of marketing the national crops remains. It is well known that only 15 percent of total grain production can be marketed through the official market, subject to the official price, which has been limited to soft wheat. The result is that the percentage is monopolized by big farmers and speculators, who exploit the production of small and middle-size farmers, in order to profit from the public subsidy, the official price level, and various types of speculations. As for other farmers, they are forgotten in everything, and exposed to inevitable problems, including those created for them by the National Fund for Agricultural Loans. When they obtain loans, the farmers’ need for money is exploited by some, by imposing unfair terms on them, or by forcing repayment of loans whether the season has been good or bad.

In the context of discussing the marketing and storage of grain crops, it is worth noting that the loan agreement recently signed between Morocco and the United States, pertaining to the importation of foodstuffs (wheat and oil), for the first time refers to the possibility of reexporting imported American wheat, after being processed by Moroccan flour mills. If it were possible to read that reference, starting from many different considerations, it might include enabling American wheat to go through Morocco to markets that could not otherwise be reached.

Harvest expectations this season, and the available storage facilities, might be a definite factor in explaining that.

WESTERN SAHARA

Former Polisarios Say Next Conference Will Be Last
91AA0449A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 14 Jun 91 p 1, 4

[Article by Hatim al-Butaywi]

[Text] Rabat—Former Polisario Front officials said that the Front’s next conference to be held during this month will be a farewell conference. It is in the interest of Algeria, they said, to end the Sahara problem so that the Moroccan Saharan people will return to their homeland and a strong Arab Maghreb will be built.

These statements coincide with the imminent referendum to be held in the Sahara and with Moroccan monarch King Hassan II’s decision to pardon all the Saharans who have been detained in Morocco because of their collaboration with the Polisario. Meanwhile the King said that the doors are open to the Saharan members of the Polisario who, he added, are detained [by the Polisario] and denied the freedom of action and who, had they the freedom of travel and movement, would have returned to their country.

On the other hand, Moulay Abbas, a former Polisario leader, said that as far as the Moroccan Saharan people are concerned, the referendum is unnecessary because they have already expressed their Moroccan identity on several occasions. At a press conference attended by a number of returnee Polisario members, he said that Saharans who come from Al Dakhilah, El Aaiun, and Semara realize today that they have been misled and misguided.
The Moroccan monarch had expressed his firm belief that the blood ties will overwhelm the Polisario members in Tindouf and they will return to their homeland. He called on the Saharan Consultative Assembly to work for their return and to convince them to do the right thing.

With regard to the election campaign for the referendum, Moulay Abbas said that the referendum does not need an election campaign because the Moroccan Saharans are fully convinced of the Moroccan character of the Sahara. He pointed out, however, that he and his returning colleagues will take part in the referendum because it is their duty to do so. On his part, Abdallah Ould Ahmed Ould Bou, a former member of the Polisario politburo, said the Polisario Front was established to serve the interests of regimes that no longer exists today. He characterized Moroccan-Algerian relations as heading in the right direction. The Polisario, he added, has for years been suffering from shrinking Algerian aid. Such aid is restricted to human relief.

He said the Polisario Front is experiencing extreme difficulties and that, because of the existing political and international situation, it is no longer fit to exist.

He described the eighth conference as an attempt to mend things, even if for a short time. The conference will also be a farewell conference for Front members, while for others it will be an attempt to assume imaginary political positions.

Commenting on the activities of the "France Libre" organization, headed by Danielle Mitterand, the wife of French President Francois Mitterand, to help the refugees in Tindouf camps, Ould Ben Bou said we do not wish to be Kurds, nor do we wish anybody to shed crocodile tears for us. We have a forgiving, compassionate, and noble country.

Mahmoud Ould Omar, brother of former Polisario foreign minister Omar Mansour, said that the latter's existence in the Polisario is just a formality. He is convinced that his brother is bound to return to Morocco.

He added that Omar is one of those who actively contributed to the October 1988 uprising in the Tindouf camps and that Omar wished to convince the people who went with him to return to their national soil.
Tamil Nadu: Karunanidhi Admits Uniting Militants
91AS1063A Secunderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 2 Jun 91 p 13

[Article: “Talks With LTTE; Karuna Has Nothing To Hide”]

[Text] Madras, June 1. (UNI)—DMK. [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] President M. Karunanidhi said on Saturday he had no objections to the government making public anything concerning his talks with the Sri Lankan Tamil militants, especially the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), as there was “nothing to hide.”

Reacting to former Union Minister P. Chidambaram’s demand that the minutes of the meeting Mr. Karunanidhi had with the militants should be made known, the former Chief Minister said he had held talks with the militant groups, including the LTTE, at the instance of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi when he was Prime Minister and later when Mr. V. P. Singh took over the Prime Ministership.

He said he had apprised the Central leaders and ministers of the talks he had with the Sri Lanka militants both when Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Singh were in power.

Mr. Karunanidhi said he had announced in the State Assembly the failure of his efforts to unite all the militant groups. “There is nothing to hide as far as I am concerned.” Referring to Mr. Chidambaram’s charge that the movements and activities of the LTTE had increased during the DMK regime, he said it was the Congress-I government at the Centre and the AIADMK [All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] government in the State which was responsible for providing more than 30 training camps for the LTTE in Tamil Nadu and arms and money for them. It was the DMK government which had “confined” the militants to special camps. He accused the Congress-I and the AIADMK of indulging in “false” propaganda for electoral gains.

Mr. Karunanidhi said Mr. Gandhi had made eight visits to Tamil Nadu as Prime Minister and Opposition leader during the DMK regime and proper security was provided to him.

Referring to Mr. Chidambaram’s suggestion that all parties do away with further election campaigning, he said the Opposition parties had distributed handbills in all districts of Tamil Nadu implicating him and the DMK in the assassination of Mr. Gandhi. We will have to explain the correct position to the people.

He said the handbills would be sent to the Election Commission and legal action initiated against those who printed and distributed such handbills.
Referring to the gimmicks of Mr. Rama Rao of distributing flowers and fruits to the visitors, the PCC chief asked: “Is he a sadhu or Maharishi. If so, let him go to the Himalayas. What does he think of himself,” he added. Being a former Chief Minister, he was wantonly violating the law by launching fast on the busy Tank Bund road throwing norms of decency to the winds. He was hoodwinking the people, who will soon realise his game of power politics, he added.

Meanwhile, three Congress legislators—M. Kodanda Reddy, D. Srinivas and A. Mohan Reddy alleged that Mr. Upendra and other leaders in Delhi hatched a conspiracy with the help of CIA to create disturbances in the State in a bid to dislodge the Government. They added that the statement of Mr. Upendra that there would be bloodshed if anything happened to their supremo was a pointer in this regard. They told newsmen on Saturday that the real intention behind the indefinite fast was to get compensation for the loss of his property, including Ramakrishna twin theatres for which insurance cover has lapsed. They alleged that after unsuccessfully trying to manipulate the dates of insurance papers, Mr. Rama Rao resorted to indefinite fast on the pretext of fighting for justice. They asked Mr. Rama Rao to desist from espousing personal cause under the facade of public interest and end fast. They also appealed to CPI [Communist Party of India] and CPM [Marxist Communist Party] leaders to dissociate themselves from Telugu Desam Party, which was resorting to unfair and undemocratic methods for their partisan ends.

Referring to the fast site, they criticised the city police for according permission TDP leaders.

**Analyst on Talks With DPRK Vice President**

91AS0990A Madras THE HINDU in English 9 May 91 p 6

[Article by K. K. Katyal: “UN Membership Figures in Indo-Korean Talks”]

[Text] New Delhi, 8 May—Bilateral issues and Korean membership of the United Nations figured in the North Korean Vice-President, Mr. II Jong Ok’s discussions with Indian leaders here today. He had “fruitful and friendly” talks with the President, Mr. R. Venkataraman on the opening day of his visit.

Reflecting the cordiality and mutual understanding was Mr. Ok’s remark favouring the solution of the Kashmir problem in the spirit of the Shimla agreement, and Mr. Venkataraman’s reference to the traditional ties between the two countries. The president hosted a lunch in honour of the visiting dignitary, and the Vice-President, Dr. S. D. Sharma, a dinner.

The membership issue figured in his talks with Dr. Sharma. As in the past, India expressed the hope that the North and South would find a mutually acceptable solution. As a matter of fact, India had not gone beyond expression of this wish in regard to the entire gamut of problems between the two Koreas. No specific formulation was offered at any stage. In any case, this is certainly not the time for India to make a categorical commitment.

The UN membership, the subject of prolonged discussions, attracted pointed attention at the series of meetings between the prime ministers of the two Koreas since the second half of last year. Keen on a single seat for Korea, the North pleaded for a joint application to the world body. It did not envisage any practical difficulty—the two of them could be represented jointly or alternatively for mutually-agreed periods and, at the time of voting, could follow a joint line in the case of agreement, and abstain in the case of disagreement. It even suggested a common flag, of white colour with the outline of the peninsula in blue. It was opposed to separate membership for the two halves because of the fear of perpetuating separation.

South Korea differs: The South however felt that joint membership would be unworkable. It cited the instances of the two Yemens and two Germanys where separate presence at the UN did not come in the way of unification.

Dr. Sharma referred to the membership issue pointedly, while speaking at the dinner. India, according to him, would like the two Koreas to deal with it in a spirit of trust and confidence.

Noting the keen desire of the Korean people and supporting their aspirations, Dr. Sharma hoped that “the representatives of the two sides will address this question in a spirit of trust and confidence and arrive, as quickly as possible, at a solution that is mutually acceptable.” He hailed the initiative of the two prime ministers and, striking an optimistic note, said it was India’s belief that “the Korean people have the determination and the spirit to achieve a peaceful unification of their country.”
As a friend of Korea, India, he said, looked forward to the day when the divided peninsula would be re-united peacefully.

As for the bilateral ties between India and North Korea, Dr. Sharma called for exchange of know-how, information and experience for mutual benefit. Mr. Ok’s visit, according to him, would make a significant contribution to the enhancement of understanding and friendship.

Foodgrain Production Target Raised for 1991-92
91AS0984A Madras THE HINDU in English 4 May 91 p 6

[Text] New Delhi, 3 May—The apprehension of below average monsoon notwithstanding, the target for foodgrain production for 1991-92 has been fixed at 182.5 tonnes, 6 million more than the current year’s level of 176.5 million tonnes.

The optimism in going for a higher target not only stems from the steady growth rate of production, which made a quantum jump of more than 3 to 4 percent this year, but also because of contingency plans drawn up by the States to meet any eventuality.

Briefing newsmen on the conclusions of the two-day National Conference of Agriculture on Kharif Campaign for 1991, the Agriculture Secretary, Mr. R. C. Kapila said the kharif sowing would not be affected by vagaries in the monsoon as the reservoirs had more water than normal.

Besides, he also did not feel there would be shortage of fertilisers.

The reservoir position in most of the major projects was almost 40 percent higher than the last seven years’ average and it is anticipated that in many of these, the water availability by the middle of May, just before kharif season, would be about 15 percent higher than the levels prevailing in the last couple of years.

He said the conference, which was attended by agriculture secretaries and agriculture production commissioners from different States, took note of the India Meteorology Department’s tentative forecast of below average rainfall this year and decided to prepare itself with contingency plans. Contingency plans such as growing short duration varieties, effective use of water and fertilisers would help tide over any difficult situation, Mr. Kapila said.

Giving the break up of the targets cropwise, Mr. K. S. Rajan, Agriculture Production Commissioner, said a target of 76.5 million tonnes for rice, 56.5 million tonnes for wheat, 18.5 million tonnes for oilseeds and 15.5 million tonnes for pulses have been envisaged. The projections for sugarcane and cotton have been fixed respectively at 230 million tonnes and 12 million bales.

The present target consists of 103 million tonnes during the kharif 1991 and 79.5 million tonnes during the rabi.

PTI reports:

SAC chairman quits: The government has decided to wind up the Standing Advisory Committee on Agriculture (SAC) evoking a sharp reaction from its Chairman, Mr Sharad Joshi, who described it as a “major reversal of policy.”

Mr. Joshi, who has sent in his resignation as the chairman, said it would have been “prudent and correct” if a decision in his regard had been left to the new government to be elected by the month-end.

In his resignation letter dated 30 April, Mr. Joshi, who was holding the rank of a cabinet minister, told the prime minister that the decision of the government would appear to be linked with the “serious differences” that have arisen between the SAC on one hand and officials as also the government on the other.

IRAN

U.S. Policy on Middle East Assessed
LD1705124291


The announcer begins with a background on the Middle East situation moving on to the current situation. She adds: “For a long time America has considered controlling the oil resources of the region and safeguarding the Zionist regime as two main, strategic aims in its middle east policy. However, the Arab-Israeli conflict has constantly been regarded as a major hurdle in the way of the two goals. It has so far been the cause of five large-scale wars and hundreds of small clashes, thus becoming a large thorn in America’s side.

“The Middle East problem has turned into a nightmare for many American presidents who tried to keep the two sides happy, that is, gain both Arab oil and the Jewish-American vote. The Persian Gulf crisis and Iraq’s attempts to use the Palestinian crisis to incite anti-American feeling once again brought home to the American authorities the importance of resolving this crisis. It showed the White House rulers that the Middle East crisis is like a time bomb ready to explode, and, if not looked into and resolved, it will be a potential source of threat to the two main pillars of America’s regional policy, that is, oil and the security of the Zionist regime. Therefore, America has sought a solution in resolving the existing disputes in the Middle East and imposing a guided security system.”

Short recordings of VOA and Radio Israel reports, interspersed with short comment by the announcer, about the Middle East situation, past, and present, and the Baker plan are broadcasted.
The announcer concludes by saying: “America’s serious approach to the Persian Gulf crisis and the insistence of the White House rulers on the decisive and irrevocable implementation of the international will to liberate Kuwait and to utilize all the levers at hand, ranging from political pressure to economic sanctions and eventually starting an all-around war to accomplish that aim, had given the impression that, from now on, the enforcement of the Security Council resolutions is guaranteed, that is the new global order the law of the jungle and the survival of the fittest maxim would not be allowed to apply due to the will, resistance, and solidarity of the international community. But, unfortunately, the double standards practiced by America concerning the Security Council resolutions, in connection with Iraqi and Israeli acts of aggression, and Washington’s refusal to bring any form of pressure to bear on Israel to accept UN resolutions dashed the hopes of the gullible rulers in the region and painted a gloomy picture of the future for them.

“However, in the meantime, what brings a ray of hope about the future to the Muslim nations in the region is the firm resolve and the popular uprising of the Muslim people of Palestine, who, inspired by revolutionary Islam and the Islamic revolution, continue to stand firm against global and regional plots and daily suppression by the Zionist regime and promise the liberation of Jerusalem and the annihilation of Zionism.”

Agreements Signed With Soviet Azerbaijan
LD026724 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1430 GMT 2 Jun 91

[Text] Mr. Rafiqdust, head of the Foundation of Islamic Revolution Martyrs and Selfless Devotees, who visited Soviet Azerbaijan at the head of a delegation, returned to Tehran today.

In an interview with our reporter, he said that the purpose of his trip was to expand bilateral economic and cultural cooperation. He added: During this trip several agreements on cooperation in the fields of agriculture, industry, and tourism were signed. Also, on the basis of the talks held, exchanges of goods between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Soviet Azerbaijan will take place soon.

Commentary on Talks With Soviets on Afghan Issue
LD1468053 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran in English 1830 GMT 13 Jun 91

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] An Iranian political delegation held talks with Soviet Foreign Ministry officials in Moscow yesterday. The topic of discussion was the Afghan question. The Iranian delegation, headed by the director general of West Asian Affairs of the Iranian Foreign Ministry, Mr. Mahmud Musavi, met with the Soviet ambassador-at-large to Afghanistan, who is also responsible for Afghan affairs in the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Mr. Nikolay Kuberov.

Political settlement of the Afghan question was the main topic of discussion. Mr. Kuberov highlighted the importance of political consultations between the Soviet Union and Iran regarding the Afghan issue. He said: The two countries hold common views that there is no solution to the Afghan problem except a political one. Mr. Kuberov also said any solution for ending the Afghan conflict must bear the Afghan people’s consent and the third party countries should support this consent. The Soviet ambassador also underlined the importance of the transient period for creating the necessary grounds to hold free and fair elections in Afghanistan.

Mr. Musavi explained the stand of the Iranian Foreign Ministry on Afghanistan and said: Iran holds a positive opinion towards the statement of the UN secretary general regarding Afghanistan. He added: The expected primary principles of Iran, that is the guarantee of the people’s sovereignty, territorial integrity, and a non-aligned and Islamic Afghanistan are considered in the secretary general’s statement.

The Iranian Foreign Ministry officials also emphasized the need for the existence of political will for the settlement of the Afghan question and for ending the civil war in that country. Mr. Musavi further stressed the necessity for paying attention to the freedom fighters’ demands to secure the Afghan people’s rights.

The Iranian delegation travelled to Moscow under the condition that the Afghan question would be the topic of discussion among many the regional states’ officials. The Pakistani, Saudi Arabian, and Soviet Foreign Ministry officials and a delegation of Afghan mujahidin leaders previously held separate talks in Tehran.

Several meetings have also taken place in Pakistan on the subject. In the past two days a delegation from former Afghan king Zaher Shah has been holding talks with the Pakistani officials.

Activity among the political officials of the states involved in the Afghan issue indicates that no progress has been made on the settlement of the Afghan question inside Afghanistan itself. Opposition groups there remain in conflict with Najibollah and the ruling party. This refusal to accept the present government is also a matter of dispute between the United States and the Soviet Union. Either side has yet to show any flexibility for attaining a compromise.

Chemical Company, Soviet Firms Sign Contract
91AS0953A Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 4 May 91 p 2

[Text] Mashhad (Khorassan) (IRNA)—Samed Chemicals of Mashhad entered into an agreement with three
Soviet companies on establishing a joint import-export and investment company in Iran. According to the agreement signed here Wednesday the joint company will be operative in exchange for certain non-oil products.

The agreement is on establishing a particle wood plant in the Soviet Union with a yearly capacity of 110,000 cubic meters, on condition that the Iranian partner will supply the basic raw materials with the revenue of the company being shared by the Iranian and Soviet partners.

Soviet Embassy official for commerce and trade affairs, Mr. Dinev who was present at the signing ceremony, said the agreement is on establishing a joint import-export and investment company in Iran. According to the agreement signed here Wednesday the joint company will be operative in exchange for certain non-oil products. The transformation of an international conference on Middle East into a regional one is one of the first results of the U.S. military presence and of Egypt's effort to pressure the region's revolutionary countries to change their policy, first by officially recognizing Israel's legitimacy, and, second, by seeking to facilitate Israeli economic activity in the region in view of U.S. and Israeli support for this move.

Egypt is far away from the Persian Gulf and requires a strong economy to maintain an active presence there. It can achieve this with the Zionists' cooperation.

AL-AHRAM made a fundamental mistake that should be fixed. A better title for its editorial would have been "Why Not Egypt [as published]?"

The Islamic Republic of Iran only wants arrangements that assure regional countries' control of their destiny. Any regional security pact based on official recognition of Israel's legitimacy and a change in revolutionary countries can only be favored by the United States and its allies, not by the Muslim countries of the region.

Samed Chemicals of Mashhad produces 30 brands of industrial glues with a yearly capacity of 7,500 tons. The plant is under supervision of the Industries Ministry of Iran.

ABRAR Says Egyptian Paper Fueling Tensions

NC0306091191 Tehran ABRAR in Persian 25 May 91 p 8

[Unattributed Commentary: "The Regional Security Pact Equals Egypt Plus the Occupying Regime Plus...."]

[Text] In a recent analysis of the Islamic Republic of Iran's role in the current regional diplomacy, which appeared under the headline "Why Iran?" the Egyptian newspaper AL-AHRAM expresses views that could generate new political tension in the region.

The newspaper, considered an Egyptian Government mouthpiece, said that Iran's efforts to cap Kuwaiti oil wells and its support for Shiite takeovers of governments in the region threaten regional security. The paper also said that Iran has revived its longstanding claims to islands in the Persian Gulf.

AL-AHRAM reached this conclusion despite the Islamic Republic of Iran's incontestable role in any kind of regional security arrangement.

Since its inception, the Islamic Republic of Iran has firmly believed that regional countries should be responsible for regional security. Although it was seen as a suspect country that exported revolution and plotted against the Arabs, in the end it was proven right by the unholy Persian Gulf war.

What role is Egypt playing now, and at whose urging? Cairo was ostracized by countries opposed to the usurping regime after it signed the Camp David accords, and it has been searching for a way to return to the Arab fold ever since. The Persian Gulf crisis gave Egypt this opportunity, when it joined the military confrontation against its old friend, Baghdad.

'A Heroic' Attack on Sardasht Reported

NC0306110491 (Clandestine) Voice of Iranian Kordestan in Persian 1730 GMT 2 Jun 91

[Text] The Sardasht party committee told a Voice of Iranian Kordestan correspondent that at 2300 on Saturday 4 Khordad [1830 GMT on 25 May], a number of brave children from the Democratic Party of Iranian Kordestan [DPIK] from the heroic [name indistinct] followed a precise plan and infiltrated Sardasht with party committee cadres. The infiltration took place even with the enemy surrounding Sardasht and despite the existence of several mercenary bases, a large garrison in the city, and the presence of mounted and ground units controlling the city.

After taking up positions in predetermined locations, at 2315 [1845 GMT] the operations command ordered the DPIK combatants to open fire on the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps [IRGC] information base, the IRGC command headquarters information office in Sardasht, the information office's parking lot situated on Municipality Square, and the regime's police department on Sheykh Mowlana Street. All these locations became the targets of heavy and destructive blows by RPG-7 missiles and of the enemy-destroying bullets of our combatants' automatic weapons.

The fire opened by the followers of the ideals of martyrs 'Ali Bafaq'i and Khaled Nimchani was so precise and pitiless that the enemy was unable to react in any way. During the 20-minute attack, heavy damages were inflicted on the anti-popular enemies' positions and an unknown number of enemy forces were killed and wounded. Several vehicles were also seriously damaged.

In concert with the heroic attack by the brave democratic combatants on the positions of the helpless enemy, a
number of combatant comrades began disseminating party publications and pamphlets and exchanging views with residents in Dosanj, Qabran, Kamarbandi, Sheykh Mowlana, the Municipality Square, Gerd-e Su, the Oil Company, and the Manucheheri school neighborhoods.

The combatant people of Sardasht—who heard the roar of the RPG-7's, the automatic weapons, and the brave clamor of the combatants—realized that the brave democratic combatants were in the city and took to the streets joyfully to welcome the combatants. They reiterated their firm support for the DPIK and the democratic combatants.

It should be noted that throughout the operation, all the routes leading to the enemy's bases and garrisons, and the enemy's supply routes, were placed under heavy surveillance by the combatants' ambush units in order to crush any enemy movement. The mercenaries, who could not react to the crushing and sudden blows by the worthy followers of the ever-living Dr. Qasemlu, were well aware that if they reacted in any way it would be in vain. Therefore, they did not dare leave their hideouts.

During these operations, considerable damage was inflicted on the regime's suppressive centers and a large number of mercenaries were killed and wounded. After the heroic completion of their operations, the brave combatants of the DPIK left the city. They were warmly seen off by the patriotic people of Sardasht who sang revolutionary slogans and continued patrolling the area.

The Voice of Iranian Kordestan congratulates the brave democratic combatants and wishes them success in their fight against the enemies of freedom, democracy, and autonomy.

Kurdish Clandestine Welcomes Reforms in Turkey
NC0706120891 (Clandestine) Voice of Iranian Kordestan in Persian 1730 GMT 6 Jun 91

[Article from the 173rd issue of KORDESTAN, organ of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party of Iranian Kordestan: “Which Way Is Turkey Moving?”]

[Excerpts] For a long time now, Turkey has been facing various problems in the political, economic, and social spheres, and one government after another has been unable to solve them. Thus, the national and democratic forces in that country have been struggling for decades to achieve radical and far-reaching changes.

Conditions have emerged in recent years that have made it impossible for Turkish governments to impose military dictatorship or quasi-democracy as they did in the past. The national-democratic movement in the country expanded, and the freedom-seeking and progressive forces seized the opportunity provided by the quasi-democratic conditions and gained access to important organs of power, such as the parliament. The combatant forces of the Kurdish people also used this opportunity to close ranks and focus domestic and international attention on the Kurdish problem.

Under such conditions, the Turkish Government could do one of two things. It could either take steps to solve the country's problems gradually and introduce reforms, or it could try to ignore reality, impose dictatorship and arbitrary rule, and suppress the country's national and democratic forces. It appears that the Turkish officials have chosen the first course and adopted a logical and realistic stand. [passage omitted]

Developments in Turkey seem to indicate that the era of dictatorship and arbitrary rule is giving way to one of freedom and democracy. It appears unlikely that Turkey will once again move toward dictatorship and despotism.

The situation in Turkey interests us both because it is one of our big neighbors and the only NATO member in the region and because it has a population of more than 14 million Kurds who have been deprived of all their national rights. Thus, any development or reform in that country will have direct or indirect repercussions on our country's political situation in general and on the justice-seeking movement of the Kurdish people of Iranian Kordestan in particular. Therefore, we hope that the current trend in Turkey will continue until the political face of this country is changed and the Kurds of Turkish Kurdistan are given their just rights.

There is no doubt that one of the main problems Turkey faces is that of the Kurds. Turkish officials can no longer believe that ignoring the problem will make it go away. The truth is that 14 million Kurds in Turkey's Kurdistan have been deprived of their national rights. [passage omitted]

Our party in particular and the Kurdish people of Iranian Kordestan in general sincerely hope that democracy will be established in this neighboring country. The establishment of freedom and democracy there will not only pave the way for a peaceful solution of its Kurdish problem, but will also stimulate and strengthen the process of democratization in the region. It will contribute to the expansion of the Iranian people's national and democracy-seeking movement and will tighten the noose around the neck of the clerical dictatorship.

Brazilian Minister Discusses Construction Prospects
LD0607174691 Tehran IRIB Television First Program Network in Persian 1630 GMT 6 Jul 91

[Text] John Santana, Brazil's minister of infrastructure, today met with Agriculture Minister 'Isa Kalantari, Energy Minister Bijan Namdar-Zangeneh and Mines and Metals Minister Mohammad Hoseyn Mahlujchi. They discussed issues related to bilateral cooperation in the fields of agriculture, dam construction, hydroelectric
power stations, the establishment of foundaries in Iran and the possibility of establishing a 1000-ton zinc plant in Zanjan.

**Trade Association Formed With Finland**

9IAS1053F Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 1 Jun 91 p 16

[Text] Tehran, May 31 (IRNA)—Iran and Finland have formed a joint trade association in Helsinki to help promote bilateral ties, a report said here Thursday.

The association is to study economic, industrial and social aspects of Tehran-Helsinki ties and familiarize the members of the association with Iran’s economic situation.

**Economic Agreements Signed With Germany**

LD0261011 Tehran IRNA in English 0806 GMT 2 Jun 91

[Text] Tehran, 2 June, IRNA—Iran’s Minister of Mines and Metals Mohammad Hoseyn Mahluji, who paid a one-week visit to Germany at the head of an industrial-economic delegation, returned home Sunday morning after signing 12 letters of understanding with various German industrial firms and banks.

Mahluji held talks with German Minister of Economy and Industry Jurgen W. Mollemann in Bonn Saturday which lasted for more than an hour and was described as highly successful.

The German minister said Tehran-Bonn economic and political relations are of great importance and expressed satisfaction with progress made on settling the issue of German insurance company, Hermes.

Mahluji referred to his talks with heads of major German companies and stressed the need for investment, lifting the limitations on Hermes Insurance Company, and providing financial credits for large-scale Iran-Germany cooperation.

Mollemann described the agreement reached on building a 50 million ton capacity jetty in Iran’s southern Qeshm island as a major development and said the German government will provide the necessary support and assistance.

Both sides also hoped that presidents of the two countries will meet this year.

The German Ministry of Economy and Industry announced Saturday that Mollemann is to visit Tehran 29-30 June to take part in the first session of the Tehran-Bonn joint economic commission.

Speaking to reporters upon arrival in Tehran, Mahluji said that according to 12 letters of understanding signed with German industrial firms and banks the firms will provide Iran with the necessary financial resources through joint investments, export credits, banking facilities, and insurance.

The agreements also include the building of a 1,400-megawatt power plant in Iran’s Qeshm island, a project for coke production to cover the needs of the Iranian steel industries, projects for production of anodes and moulding equipments for aluminium industries, establishment of port facilities of up to 500 million ton capacity in Qesh island, creation of zinc, lead, and alumina producing factories, projects on port facilities in Imam Khomeyni port, projects on production of iron ores in Choghart and Chador Malow in Yazd and Sangan in Khorsan, projects for coal production in Tabas and Khamrud in Khorasan, automation of the existing units, factories for production of decorative stones and forming a joint import-export company for promotion of trade and financial ties.

The agreements reached also include an export scheme for exporting minerals, mineral products as well as metal and nonmetal products to Germany.

More on his talks with Mollemann, Mahluji added that both sides stressed the need for complete implementation of the agreements reached and the German minister is to follow up the execution of the articles of the agreement.

Mahluji said that during his visit and talks with German government officials and representatives of companies he outlined Iran’s economic development and new economic policies in the mines and metallurgical industries as well as projects for the Qeshm free trade zone. He added that the agreements reached spell out ways of cooperation with German firms for implementation of the present projects and future ones as well.

**Closer Ties To Europe, Benefits Highlighted**

NC0206073891 Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 18 May 91 p 24

[Hoseyn Zi’ai commentary: “Iran-Europe—Principled Contacts”]

[Excerpts] Most intelligent politicians believe that in the current environment of international relations, terms such as “contacts and communications,” “joint responsibility,” and “thinking on an international level” form the infrastructure and the real spirit of the new coexistence among countries. [passage omitted]

The sensible absorption of technology and technical knowledge and the positive utilization of what Europe has to offer in international and regional relations form the two principled parameters in the blossoming of relations between Iran and Europe.

Reciprocally, Europe (France, Germany...) also will benefit in various ways from the trend toward improving ties with Iran. With a relative change in its hostile stance
toward the Islamic revolution and the reduction in the areas of friction with Tehran, Europe can also play the Iranian card in its regional policies (in the Middle East) to obtain the desired benefits.

These benefits include countering Washington's monopoly in the region (for example, the regional security system, oil), which has created conditions for the gradual elimination of Europe from the real centers of power in the Middle East; receiving many political and economic concessions from Iran; and attaining a credible and valuable position in the world of Islam under the aegis of moderate closeness to Tehran.

Germany is in first place in exports to Iran; 40 percent of France's commercial-industrial agreements are with Iran. (Iran is also the second largest exporter of oil to France.) [passage omitted]

The West knows that the creation of a powerful European economic bloc as strong as the United States is not possible without the protection of energy resources and effective communications with the independent and powerful international centers. If the Islamic Republic of Iran succeeds in its political objectives toward Europe during this new political chapter, and simultaneously safeguards its political and ideological boundaries, it will certainly be the winner in this resumption of relations.

The Soviet Union and the PRC are models of an experimental closeness to the West: Their closeness to the West has absolutely and completely liquidated their political, cultural, and economic independence and prestige, to the benefit of the West. In exchange, the West transferred technology and financial credit. The seasonal tensions of the West with these two powers is proof of this observation.

Foreign Ministry Adviser on ECO, Ties To Neighbors
NC0106113191 Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian
23 May 91 p 16

[From the "Weekly Political Newsletter" column by Dr. Mohammad Javad Larijani, adviser to the Foreign Ministry of the Islamic Republic of Iran: "Old Forms for New Situations?"]

[Text] 1. The most important act of the Islamic revolution's foreign policy was to sever the bonds of domination. Moreover, whatever smacked of such bondage was eliminated. The Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD) is among the degrading pacts of subservience to foreigners, such as "CENTO" and "SEATO," which was the hallmark of the idolatrous regime.

However, the farsightedness of the individuals in the Islamic revolution enabled them to conclude very quickly that regional cooperation stems from a serious and important need and can form the basis for a useful establishment which conforms to the freedom-seeking objectives of Revolutionary Iran. Therefore, the Foreign Ministry took a very perceptive and commendable step in proposing, setting up, and approving the much-needed Economic Cooperation Organization, the ECO.

The important Izmir Resolution is undoubtedly the real foundation of ECO. However, the present international and regional situation necessitates a fundamental overhaul within this old framework.

2. I believe the ECO has been unsuccessful for various reasons at various times. During the past two or three years, the reasons for this failure have been:

First, Turkey views this important regional cooperation—which encompasses more than 200 million Muslims—as a mediocre economic setup! In other words, Turkey relies on "strangers" for its security and uses its friends for its economic purposes—and not very seriously, either!

Second, Iran's shortcomings—especially when the secretary general is an Iranian—lies in not making serious changes in the programs, not incorporating new and substantial plans and ideas, and not reorganizing and strengthening the secretariat, which resides permanently in Tehran. Following up and upgrading the level of the annual session is a correct step, but making the present situation more dynamic, which can lead to raising its level, is more important. A few random sessions of experts and a few marginal meetings are nothing more than a farce! Unfortunately, those sessions were not even very organized.

3. Turkey's strategy is very clear: Turkey considers itself Western. After becoming disillusioned with the EC, it has expanded its links with the United States. Turkey believes its security is tied to Western security, but economically Turkey needs "respirators" in the region. This means that 'Turkey's economy actually rests considerably on the West, but we do not need to quarrel with or protest to our Turkish friends. It will not be long before Turkey perceives that the best way to ensure its security, expansion, progress, and independence is to look "eastward," toward the real East, and to mingle with its real brothers in the Islamic world, especially with those in the region.

The ECO can be the first step in this important direction—a move which can unite the purest wisdom of the Islamic world and can utilize the wealth of this ummah for advancing its thinking and learning, and thus transform it into a true power in the coming century.

4. It appears to me that, by drawing upon the knowledge of experts, Iran should formulate a new infrastructure for reviewing and bringing about serious change within the ECO—a plan which will answer contemporary needs. The plan should be presented at an extraordinary summit meeting of the presidents of the three countries [Iran, Turkey, and Pakistan] within six months, and should thus herald a new era of regional cooperation that will oversee its security, political, and economic needs.
UN Committee on Crime Prevention To Be Joined
LD1506120491 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0930 GMT 15 Jun 91

[Text] Mr. Yazdi, the head of the Judicial Power, has agreed that our country's Judicial Power will be a member of the UN Committee on Crime Prevention and Control based in Vienna. The decision was taken after being proposed by the Islamic Republic of Iran's representative at the UN office in Vienna who met with Mr. Yazdi.

New Envoy to UN Vienna Office Appointed
91AS1014B Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 20 May 91 p 1

[Text] Tehran (IRNA)—President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani Saturday appointed Seyyed Mojtaba Arastoo as the ambassador and the permanent representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the Vienna office of the United Nations and affiliated international agencies.

Arastoo, formerly served as Iran's envoy to the European bureau of the United Nations in Geneva, and is a former head of the department for international organizations at the Foreign Ministry.

The need for closer contacts between Iran and international agencies was one of the major reasons for the opening of a representative office at the U.N. mission in Vienna.

Pakistan To Extradite Iranian Fugitives
91AS1053E Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 1 Jun 91 p 1

[Text] Zahedan, Sistan-Baluchestan Province, May 31 (IRNA)—Pakistan has agreed to extradite the offenders, thieves, rebels and smugglers fleeing to that country.

The agreement was announced after a three-day joint border commission meet here Thursday.

The two sides also agreed on frequent meetings of the border officers of the two countries, and increasing the border checkpoints to confront drug-traffickers. The establishment of a joint border market was also agreed on in the session.

"The people of Pakistan share deep common cultural and historical interests with the Iranian people to the extent that they consider themselves as members of the Iranian nation despite the apparent borders between the two countries", head of the Pakistani delegation Javid Talat said in the meeting.

The bi-annual Iran-Pakistan joint border commission is held in Zahedan and Quetta alternately.

Rafsanjani Praises Islamic Societies
LD0306112591 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0930 GMT 3 Jun 91

[Text] President Hashemi-Rafsanjani, speaking before representatives of the Islamic societies of ministries and governmental bodies and members of the central committee of the coordinating headquarters of the civil service's Islamic societies, praised the activities of the civil service's Islamic societies during the Islamic revolution, describing these societies as valuable, effective, and useful. He noted that Islamic societies have served the country and the people without burdening the country's public budget.

Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani also referred to the prominent position of the Islamic Republic of Iran on the world stage. He said that on the second anniversary of our dear Imam, we can say with confidence that we have preserved his legacy. More forcefully than before we have made the enemy despair of harming the revolution.

Thanks to divine guidance, and the objectives formulated by the Imam and the wise guidance of the eminent leader, as well as the efforts of all the servants of Islam and the revolution, today we are infinitely stronger than we were two years ago, both in the region and in the world. Today, everyone is seeking Iran's support as the principal power in the region. This is because Iran is seen as the axis of regional stability and security.

The meeting was also attended by members of the mobilization unit of the Economic Affairs and Finance Ministry and the country's bank. A member of the central committee of the Islamic societies' coordinating headquarters presented a report on the activities of the civil service's Islamic societies. While renewing the allegiance of the Islamic societies with Ayatollah Khomeyni esteemed leader of the revolution, he declared the full support of the civil service's Islamic societies for the president and the constructive programs of his serving cabinet.

Karrubi, Ahmad Khomeyni Address Rally
LD0206201791 Tehran IRIB Television First Program Network in Persian 1630 GMT 2 Jun 91

[Text] This afternoon, the eve of the second anniversary of the death of the imam of the ummah, the families of martyrs visited the pure shrine of His Holiness Imam Khomeyni—may his soul be admitted to paradise—to mourn the loss of the founder of the Islamic Republic and to renew their allegiance to the great leader of the Islamic revolution.

During the ceremony, which was also attended by the families of the martyrs of Lebanon, Shaykh Abbad Harb, a member of the family of martyr Raqib Harb, emphasized the firm stand of resistant Lebanese muslims—
notably the families of the martyrs—and their allegiance to the principles and aspirations of the imam of the ummah.

During the ceremony, Mr. Karrubi, speaker of the Islamic Majlis, spoke about the heart-rending loss of the imam for Islamic society. He said: What is important and for which we should struggle and preserve for ever are the path and thoughts of the imam.

The representative of the Vali-ye Faqih and supervisor of the Islamic Revolution Martyrs' Foundation noted: If we want to be proud of the imam and the martyrs, we should place on our agenda the consideration we give to the fundamental stands adopted by the imam toward various issues; and this responsibility rests today with all the nation, especially the families of the martyrs, the combatants, and the selfless devotees and all those who have invested [as heard] on this path. He said: Just as the esteemed leader stated repeatedly, the thoughts and principles of the imam must govern all of society's issues and this revolution has no meaning without the name of Imam Khomeyni.

Next, Hojjat ol-Eslam val Moslemin Haj Seyyed Ahmad Khomeyni described the universal dimensions of the thoughts and views of his holiness the imam. He said: The realization of the imam's objectives depend on the relentless struggle of Muslim sisters and brothers in the world of Islam. The struggles and thoughts of the imam were not limited to the sacred territory of Iran because his thoughts were always on [the universal dimension of] Islam; and we have to identify the path and goal of the imam and move in the same direction.

He stressed: We should arrive at a point where what we are propagating in practice are the aspirations of the revolution, the imam, and the martyrs. And today, we are behind the leader with all of our being and we defend the system of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Ahmad Khomeyni on Ties to Other Countries

LD0306210191 Tehran IRNA in English 1629 GMT 3 Jun 91

[Text] Imam's Holy Shrine, 3 June, IRNA—Imam Khomeyni's only son Ahmad said to a group of mourners here today that the neither-east-nor-west policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran does not involve severance of relations with the world countries.

He said the Zionist regime and the South African regime are the only governments with which Iran would never establish relations, and that "as long as America does not come to its senses" there would be no relations with that country either.

Imam Khomeyni's son noted that today Iran is passing through a crucial period of reconstruction and that the people and the officials should try to conform with the guidelines set forth by the present leader of the Islamic Republic, Ayatollah Khamene'i, and to uphold Imam Khomeyni's original aspirations.

Five Million' Attend Khomeyni Commemoration

LD0461035 Tehran IRNA in English 0957 GMT 4 Jun 91

[Text] Imam's Holy Shrine, 4 June, IRNA—Five million mourners participated in the ceremonies held here Tuesday in commemoration of the 2nd anniversary of Imam Khomeyni's demise, according to officials in charge of the ceremony. IRNA reporters who attended the event also have a similar estimate.

The shrine of the founder of the Islamic Republic and its surrounding areas were packed with multitudinous crowds of people today, who had rushed to Tehran from various parts of the country and the world to mark the anniversary of the passing away of their beloved imam. Imam Ruhollah Musavi Khomeyni died on 3 June 1989, two weeks after undergoing a surgical operation on his digestive system.

SALAM Reacts to Rafsanjani's 24 May Sermon

NC1261920 Tehran SALAM in Persian 28 May 91 p 2

[Commentary by the economics department]

[Text] Although the president implied that all paths to responding to his remarks were closed when he said "I know that reactions to these remarks will start tomorrow and they will expose themselves," nevertheless he also stated that he wanted the people to be aware and to see where the reactions came from, adding: "The country is free. The rostrums and the newspapers are free. This freedom is to our benefit." We will thus attach greater weight to these latter remarks and comment on his words. We believe that our alert people will hear and read everything that should be said with an open mind and decide the truth for themselves. It is best to let the people judge.

This is especially true in view of the fact that the esteemed president himself granted the people to right to discern.

1. Although the president did bestow the right of discernment on the people, he also implied that reaction was impermissible. Such an approach cannot be to the benefit of the country, the revolution, or the president himself in either the short or long term. It is true, however, that supporting or opposing the president is not in itself an indication of weakness or strength on which one should be judged. This is why we wish to analyze the president's remarks here.

2. Even though our purpose here is to comment on certain economic issues raised by the president, we have no choice but to refer to some other points he made as well.

3 Jun 91
The president stated: “If those who support the revolution have any problems, they put up with them today so that unity is not undermined, so that we are all united.”

The president apparently accepts that the revolution has problems. In whose interest is it if these problems are not mentioned? What is the meaning of the unity of forces if this unity is not revolutionary? What is the meaning of unity?

Complaints are addressed to the government. Why should these complaints not be heeded? Why should people be asked to put up with their problems? Would it not be better for these problems to be solved instead of endured, so that they do not eat up the revolutionary forces from within like woodworm?

3. Some significant aspects of the economic problems were raised in the sermon. Discussing the country's postwar expenditures, the president said:

“Just look: we are spending nearly 250 billion tumans on defense. Our total budget was less than that during the war.”

It is necessary to point out the following:

First of all, during the war a large part of the funds spent on the war came from outside the defense budget. Most ministries and government institutions and even factories bore a share of the costs of the war in one way or another. Today, however, even the defense forces have been placed at the disposal of reconstruction.

Second, do statistics not show that we lost almost $50 million a year during the war? These losses are not being incurred now, and if funds are being spent to compensate for them, naturally these expenditures must be mostly seen as investments and must yield adequate returns.

For example, when the Abadan refinery and other factories in Khuzestan began operations to a certain extent, after tens of millions of dollars have been spent on them, naturally their products will be offered for sale, which will improve the situation in the market. Thus, this expenditure cannot be considered war-related. The war ended in 1367 [1988], and whatever is added to the output that existed then and whatever is spent in the country now should naturally lead to an increase in the gross national product and be considered an investment not an operating cost.

Third, the figures presented by the president did not account for inflation. The development and current budget in the field of defense in 1370 [21 March 1991-20 March 1992] is 70.6 billion tumans, something less than 8 percent of the total budget for this year, while this amount in 1367 [21 March 1988-20 March 1989] was 25.4 percent of the total budget.

It is as though we were to say that wages and prices have quadrupled, but people are now paying twice as much for food, and then to claim that we are spending more on food now when we are spending half as much as we spent in the past (in real prices) for food.

4. We are pleased that the president accepts that “there are persons who display ill intentions toward people's requests. They are forever saying things to the effect: Now that the war has ended, why do we have that? Why do we not have that? Why is the situation like that?”

We should explain, however, that this is a conclusion the supporters of the revolution reached a long time ago, even at the time sermons on social justice were replaced by those on topics which, in his own words, show the other side of the coin. This recent approach by him should be welcomed. But we hope that comments about certain groups' wanting to discourage consumption and about why people should not be needlessly encouraged to exercise self-discipline are not heard again.

5. The fact that the president has stated that “no policy is implemented without the leader's signature—absolutely none” is proof of the legality of the decisions that are adopted. As far as society's committed forces are concerned, however, the issue is not one of the legality of these decisions, but rather of how they are implemented and what effects they have.

6. In short, the main complaint the president presented to his audience can be summed up in his statement: “What sort of talk is that, discouraging the people and making them believe that the Hezbollah is being put aside; saying that the revolution has lost its color?”

How much better it would have been if the president had confined himself to these two sentences and addressed those whom he meant in these two sentences directly, using reasoning to prove them wrong and then giving them directives.

Truly, what is the meaning of:

- The alteration of the country's foreign policy;
- The start of the arrival of loans, to such an extent that during the past year the Central Bank opened more than $30 billion of credits;
- The introduction of policies of free commercial and industrial zones and the proposed introduction of laws that violate national sovereignty in those areas, let alone the sovereignty of the revolution (rumor has it that this move has not yet been approved, but no one knows what will happen);
- The invitations to investors who are alien to the revolution;
- The remarks by cabinet ministers in confirmation of these policies on various occasions.

In the view of the supporters of the revolution, these policies will not only ultimately cause a crisis for the revolution itself, but also cast doubt on the future of the country. We advise those who today accuse others of having become the West's unpaid mouthpieces that anything the West's loudspeakers are saying today in an attempt to alter the course of events in the country and the course of the revolution cannot sow discord among the supporters of the revolution or make mountains out of molehills. Anyway, what kind of propaganda is this
that can make a mountain out of a molehill and make everyone agree that this is what is happening? If some sort of dubious process is now under way, then on what grounds does the West want to improve relations with Iran? What does our government hope to achieve by improving relations with it?

If you believe that changes are required by new conditions and that these changes have not affected the essence of the revolution, then this is one view of the matter. Others, however, should have the right to consider whether these changes are necessary.

It is better if so much emphasis were not placed on the nonalteration of principles because great changes have taken place in recent years and we must digest these changes. This does not mean, however, that we should consider the imposition of any policy without any discussion or deliberation as the government's absolute right and consider any opposition to it as "bringing the work of officials and the work of the system into question."

7. We welcome the fact that the president considers himself to be the proponent of unity, but we must first define unity and then agree on how to reach it.

It seems that safeguarding the revolution and the country by granting priority to increased production and the improvement of the society's economic conditions can contribute to the unity of forces, and the way to achieve this is through continuous work in parallel with tolerance of criticism in an atmosphere of freedom and without condemnation by any group. The road toward cooperation and unity must be open; if this is not the case, the entire nation will be harmed. The government's good deeds must be supported to the fullest extent possible. For all its short life, SALAM has tried to support the correct aspects of the government's economic policy and His Excellency Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani, as can be confirmed by a glance through earlier issues.

8. The time of explanations is over and we must direct more attention to clarifying problems. Nevertheless, we too, in turn, explain that: Basically speaking the program for economic reconstruction needs forces that are ideologically reconstructed. We cannot take steps to build a new, creative, and revolutionary world if a thinking is medieval. Therefore, it is hoped that in the future bigots do not represent a serious obstacle to the government's programs and that revolutionary and committed forces be put to greater use. Even though the pride of these forces may make them appear somewhat untamed, the clarity of their ideas and the sincerity of their hearts make them the most reliable forces for building an independent and self-dependent Iran.

Commentary on 'Dismemberment' of Middle East

[Abolqasem Qasemzadeh commentary: “A ‘Safe Haven’ or the Dismemberment of the Islamic Middle East”]

[Text] American and British forces have been deployed on Iraqi territory, and the U.S. President has announced that his forces will stay there as long as he sees fit. The Iraqi Government has lost all control over the north of the country. In Zakho, the American military commander gave the soldiers of Saddam's army, who had once considered themselves the conquerors of the Kurdish-inhabited areas in Iraq, only a few hours to leave the territory. Since the outbreak of the Kuwait war, the Iraqi Army has suffered one humiliation after another at the hands of the Western forces. It now finds itself incapable of carrying out the most important duty of an army, the defense of its country's territorial integrity, and has unconditionally and disgracefully surrendered to the American and British military forces on the orders of the Ba'thist rulers in Baghdad. Western political analysts consider this helplessness of the Iraqi Army, long nurtured on Saddam's racist propaganda and believing itself to be the army of the "Arab homeland," to pose the greatest threat to Saddam, the man who lost his country and people whatever respect they enjoyed in a bid to maintain his infernal hold on power and continue his acts of insanity. Under such critical and chaotic conditions, millions of Iraqis Shites and Sunnis—from the tribesmen of al-Basrah and al-'Amarah to the Kurds—have been killed or forced to flee. Iraq is bankrupt and Saddam has nothing to show his people. Saddam's insanity has done the greatest possible service to the United States and other foreign powers to enable them to fulfill their designs in the Middle East. Iraq's cooperation with and assistance to the Lebanese Phalangists, its harboring of the Monafeqin [Mojahedin-e Khalq] on its territory, its eight-year-long war against the Islamic revolution, its persistent opposition to the resistance front, its massacre of the most genuine revolutionary Muslim forces in the country, and its collaboration with the Saudi Wahhabis are all included in Saddam's black record. And now, its aggression against Kuwait and its massacres in the north and the south have brought about a direct U.S. presence in the Persian Gulf region, and the way has been paved for multinational forces to maintain a presence on Iraqi territory, in Kuwait, and in the Persian Gulf islands. Now too, it is a matter of retreating, making concessions, and obeying U.S. orders, solely to keep a hold on power. The agreement signed with Iraqi Kurds in the seventies was accepted during talks with officials from Kurdish groups, while the Ba'thist rulers are making promises about elections, popular participation in the management of the country, the election of a parliament, and other democratic overtures at a time when the civil war is still raging and almost all Iraq's cities and villages have suffered widespread destruction. Saddam's most recent maneuver came on his birthday when he announced the dissolution of the "popular army," after this force had fled before the Americans and the Britons.

In the name of establishing a “safe haven” and in line with Britain's proposals at the United Nations for the creation of a “police force” in Iraq's crisis-stricken north, the Westerners occupied a large part of this
country and the central government has lost virtually all control over the north and large areas of the south. The proposal to create a police force was made by the British foreign secretary to the United Nations, as it was during the Cyprus-Turkey crisis. The Americans are preoccupied with the thought of the absence of a replacement for Saddam. Nevertheless, they have explicitly supported the idea of a coup d'etat as being within the framework of their policies to replace Saddam with another servant who will be equally dependent, but less insane.

The policy of the United States and its allies has so far produced nothing but destruction and chaos in the Islamic countries of Iraq and Kuwait and homelessness among Muslims. And it is as though the guarantee for the fulfillment of the West's objectives in extracting concessions and gaining indisputable control in the Middle East is contingent on this. In general, there are two schools of thought when it comes to assessing the policy of the United States and its allies in the Middle East.

One camp believes the Westerners are confused. This group believes that the West has lost control, is helpless in the face of Saddam's insanity, and has no suitable replacement for Saddam. This group believes that America is facing new unexpected conditions and crises in the Middle East which do not conform with George Bush's plans. From this point of view, the plan for a "safe haven" was a show of helplessness by the United States, Britain, and France, as the leaders of the five permanent UN Security Council members, intended to give them greater credibility and to wipe out bad memories of the war. This group believes that this plan was put forward by the young British prime minister mostly in a bid to gain political credibility and greater stature in Britain and in Europe. According to this view, the 25,000 American, British, and French soldiers will only maintain a short-term presence and will be replaced by a UN "police force," thus internationalizing this intervention.

The second camp bases its views on its acquaintance with the arrogant nature and longstanding hostility toward the Islamic revolution and revolutionary Muslims of the United States, and believes that U.S. policy is aimed at creating crises and chaos in the Middle East and especially in the Persian Gulf, which lies near the heart of the Islamic revolution—that is, Iran. This group believes that the United States is using Saddam's insanity now, as in the past, to carry out its plan to create a "new world order" in the most important part of the world—that is, the Persian Gulf and the Middle East. The West, led by the United States, is in absolutely no hurry to extinguish the source of the crisis—that is, the Iraqi Ba'athists—because it will ultimately be able to exploit any crisis created by Saddam. The crises and chaos created by the Ba'athists, so-called "leftist" forces, over many years have all been exploited by the Zionists and imperialists. The first outcome of such a policy and the U.S. exploitation of it is the dismemberment of the Islamic Middle East into three regions with three seemingly separate sets of problems. The first region covers the Persian Gulf. The Iraqi crisis plunged the area extending from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the Persian Gulf islands to the Iraqi-Turkish border into chaos and resulted in attention being diverted away from the larger problems of the Islamic Middle East and toward border crises. Iraq's chaos has turned it into a hostage in the hands of the United States, giving this country a lever it can use in its future political maneuvering and enabling it to create the necessary conditions to fulfill its designs.

The second region is that under the influence of the regime occupying Palestine, and it too is receiving less attention as a result of the Iraqi crisis. U.S. Secretary of State James Baker is continuing his mission to Israel, Jordan, Syria, and Egypt to find a so-called solution to the Palestinian problem and his repeated visits to these countries have led to an agreement to convene a conference on the "Palestinian problem" with the participation of five countries and under the direction and leadership of the United States. Parallel with the chaos in the Persian Gulf region, the United States has focused its policy on strengthening the Zionists and extinguishing the Palestinian revolution (intifadah). The Palestinian problem and the Zionists' occupation is no longer a common Arab or Islamic problem. The West is trying to use the current crisis in the Persian Gulf and in Iraq to contain the Palestinian problem to the neighboring countries—Jordan, Syria, Egypt, and Lebanon—and to search for a solution within these limits, presenting this problem as an entirely separate issue from the Persian Gulf.

The third region in what was formerly known as the "Middle East and North Africa" consists of the Islamic countries of Algeria, Libya, Tunisia, Sudan, and Morocco, and an effort is under way to isolate this region from the Persian Gulf and the area under Israeli influence. With the exception of Libya, with its small population and large petrodollars, all the countries of North Africa are facing immense economic problems and crises. Hundreds die of starvation in Sudan every day, and most North African countries have geared their policies to ways of obtaining economic benefits from the West. The Algerians have gone so far as to express hostility toward Islamic Iran in their official press. This may be because there is no longer any room for them to benefit from being the West's middleman under current conditions. If at one time attention was focused on all Islamic countries in the Islamic Middle East and if this area saw itself as involved in larger and smaller issues such as the occupation of Afghanistan, Iraq's imposed war on Iran, the Lebanese problem, the Palestinian problem, and so on, today these countries have fallen into the trap of the U.S. plan to dismember the Middle East and the Persian Gulf. Problems such as Lebanon, Palestine, and the Zionist aggression have been separated from the massacre of the Iraqi people, and so on. And if any country makes an announcement of its political stand, it is only doing so because it wants to gain the attention of the U.S.-led West.
The objective of this U.S. plan is to replace the popular solidarity that once existed and to restrict relations to countries which share common borders. The objective is to destroy the fruits of the Islamic Republic and the achievements of its leader the imam, may his soul be sanctified, who saw the Middle East and its people as a “single people”; who did not consider the Palestine problem to be separate from the problems of the deprived Lebanese people, the Iraqi mujahidin, and the Muslim combatants in the Arabian Peninsula; and who believed that the main problem was the rule of reactionary governments in Islamic countries and their alliance with the forces of Zionism and arrogance. That great leader was thinking of the people of the region, not their puppet governments. Thus, the unity of the people was important, not the regulation of relations between governments. He believed that this popular unity was the basis of Middle East solidarity and that the people were in a different rank from the treacherous governments which were dependent on the East and West. He believed that a revolutionary and a reactionary can never be in the same rank and that this allowed the plots of arrogance to be nipped in the bud. The United States is now ready to take revenge, and it wants to do so by forming a spectrum of revolutionaries and reactionaries, but with each restricted to his own realm. Of course, most progressive and revolutionary countries will be the hostages of their own economic problems and will be thus absorbed by the economic power of reactionary governments.

White House politicians blatantly say: The Persian Gulf crisis and the Kuwait war not only strengthened the position of the West’s friends in the region, but our friends found new friends among those who had long seen them as reactionary forces and worked to end their alleged domination of the region. They have calmed down now and joined our spectrum; that is, the spectrum of “reactionaries.” This is the revenge of the United States. And the meaning of the “safe haven” throughout the Middle East will be to contain the once revolutionary atmosphere within the confines of the narrower interests of countries with common borders and to wipe out the meaning of a “united ummah.”

One of the tricks of world arrogance has been the propaganda conspiracy against the Islamic movement. This was under way even before the victory of the revolution; during the years of the revolution and the growth and consolidation of the Islamic Republic it continued even more intensively. The distortion of facts, the misrepresentation of events in the Islamic Republic, accusations regarding the so-called violations of human rights in Iran, the depiction of Iran as a warmonger and Iraq as a peacemaker during the imposed war—all these were part of the foreign media propaganda effort directed against the Islamic Republic, and this attitude forms part of the plans of arrogance at this very moment.

Let us remember the independent and principled actions of the Islamic Republic regarding the Persian Gulf crisis and the oil war. During that crisis, the Islamic Republic’s principled and well thought out decisions had a deserved effect on world opinion and the nations of the region. Its principled and logical move which, according to some world figures, indicated the high political caliber of the Islamic Republic, did not sit well with the enemies of the revolution. Propaganda and political plots were brought in to break it, but, with the help of God, they failed to make any dent in it.

Following the uprising of the Iraqi people against that country’s regime, and the flood of refugees toward Iran, we witnessed another episode of the vicious propaganda of arrogance’s dependent media against the Islamic Republic. The generous hospitality of the nation and authorities of Iran toward the Iraqi refugees and the way those tyrannized people were warmly welcomed with open arms surprised the whole world. The Islamic Republic, in contrast to other states, not only did not restrict their entry in any way, but the Iranian nation rose as one to help them. The government also utilized all its resources to host and attend to them. This was when the problems caused by the earthquake in the north and floods in the southeast of the country still weighed heavily on the government’s shoulders. The lowest estimate concerning the volume of refugees is that announced yesterday by one of the officials of the UN High Commission for Refugees. According to him, the expenses of the Iraqi refugees in Iran are $15 million per day. He stressed that the international community has not put enough aid at Iran’s disposal to enable it to deal with the refugee problem. This is when, unfortunately, arrogant propaganda has turned a blind eye to all the humanitarian efforts of the Islamic Republic. In order to justify the meager aid from the international community and the rich Western states—which, in comparison to the aid given by the government and people of Iran, is very small—arrogance has embarked on vicious propaganda, claiming that foreign relief efforts are being obstructed in Iran.

Side by side with this type of propaganda, the Western media have recently embarked on a new trick. This is the scheme concerning Iran’s collusion with Reagan’s bunch against Carter’s government during the release of the American spies. These media, raise the issue by quoting...
from some official and then offer a multitude of contradictory assertions that do not prove their claim or reveal any facts. On the contrary, their objective is to alter world opinion, especially that of the great nation of Iran. Recently when the government, rightly and on principle, decided to attract Iranian expatriates, who attained scientific expertise and prowess mainly with the help of the Iranian nation’s financial resources, a poisonous propaganda campaign was launched by foreign media. It is noteworthy that the preparation of the ground for the reverse transfer of technology—or the brain drain from the Third World—is one of the traps that the governments of developed countries have deployed to exploit the intellectual wealth of Third World states. The expertise and intellectual and material investments, which could bring about the progress and development of those states and decrease the chain of dependence on the science and industry of the developed countries, go abroad. In consequence, the results of their years of effort effectively benefit the developed states.

The foreign media and antirevolutionary agents know very well that, with the return of Iranians concerned for Iran’s reconstruction and honor, they will lose one of their weapons against the Islamic Republic. Therefore they try, through creating vicious propaganda, to create doubts in the minds of the Iranian nation and the Hezbollah forces of the community toward the stances of the revolution and the authorities.

When the return of Iranians and Iranian experts is mentioned, the foreign media viciously talk in such a way as if those affiliated individuals who had a role in the Shah’s regime—and whose illegitimate wealth was rightfully sequestered by the revolutionary courts—have also been invited to return. Certainly the arrogant media, by raising such issues, are intent on distorting the Islamic Republic’s positive move to attract Iranian and expatriate experts. They are intent on weakening the propensity of the Iranian nation to advance the holy objectives of the Islamic Republic. This is a crucial point which has always been there. During recent years and at various junctures such propaganda plots have been employed against the government. Fortunately, however, they have been neutralized. The forces of arrogance have always been directed toward covering the constructive and positive moves of the government with a veneer of ambiguity, and we must expect such propaganda and tricks in the future also. The important thing is that the Islamic Republic has put the numerous plots and obstacles behind it, thanks to the efforts and care of the authorities and the brave Iranian nation. Today the Islamic Republic has entered the world scene strong and standing tall. The Islamic revolution has become the source of pride for the Islamic nations. The various plots of the enemies will certainly fail to divert the Iranian Government and nation from their path, which is the elevation of Islam and the Islamic Republic in the world.

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Plan, Budget Organization Details War Losses

Plan, Budget Organization Details War Losses

LD0961701 Tehran IRNA in English 1502 GMT
9 Jun 91

[Text] Tehran, 9 June, IRNA—The direct losses inflicted on Iran during the almost eight-year long Iraqi imposed war have been estimated at rials 30,811 billion, while the indirect losses stand at rials 34,542 billion more, the plan and budget organization announced on Sunday.

The report put the losses inflicted directly on buildings and installations at 32.2 percent, on machinery and equipment at 31 percent, and on goods and other materials at 36.8 percent.

It also put direct damage suffered by the agricultural sector at rials 1,783.378 billion, by the mining sector at rials 35.790 billion, by the industrial sector at rials 1,626.86 billion, by the oil sector at rials 7,382.625 billion, and by the public utilities sector (electricity, gas, and water) at rials 1,313.7351 billion.

According to the report, the war imposed on Iran by the Baghdad regime inflicted a direct loss of rials 275.488 billion on buildings and rials 18,393.548 billion on public services.

Besides, it added “an additional loss of rials 34,542.326 billion was indirectly incurred by the country as a result of untapped potential, unused equipment, and idle capacities which could all have been utilized if the war had not been imposed on the Islamic Republic.”

Resources channelled towards war efforts during the 1980-88 conflict could have been used to develop the national economy if Iran was not aggressed upon, the report said.

“Losses resulting from idle production units and destruction of capital resources coupled with an increase in the defence budget were all included in the country’s war expenditures,” it added.

Elsewhere in its report, the plan and budget organization gave the breakdown of indirect losses incurred by the country’s various sectors as: agriculture—rials 14,173.955 billion, mining—rials 23.41 billion, industry—rials 851.859 billion, oil—rials 13,416.915 billion, public utilities—rials 1,634.922 billion, public services—rials 4,434.319 billion, and buildings—rials 6,946 billion.

Khuzestan province which bore the brunt of the Ba’thist invasion incurred an estimated loss of rials 10,558.659 billion, while Bakhtaran, West Azerbaijan, Ilam, and Kordestan, the four other Iranian provinces bordering Iraq, suffered losses of rials 582,888 billion, rials 357.67 billion, rials 726.94 billion, and rials 26.361 billion respectively.

Of the other provinces which suffered both direct and indirect losses, said the report, Lorestan incurred rials 1,052.804 billion, East Azerbaijan rials 84,394 billion, Esfahan rials 171.626 billion, Tehran rials 724.822 billion, Central Province rials 251.329 billion, Fars rials 46.249 [as published], Hamedan rials 32.126 billion, Bushehr rials 18.44 billion, Zanjan rials 115.592 billion, Bushahr rials 18.44 billion, Charmaal-Bakhtiyari rials 9.75 billion, Semnan rials 154.616 billion, Khorasan rials 272.052 billion, Gilan rials 16.71 billion, Mazandaran rials 25.332 billion, Sistan-va Baluchestan rials 315.077 billion, Hormuzgan rials 11.613 billion, Kohkiluyeh-Boyerahmad rials 871 million, and Yazd rials 12.672 billion.

It said the figures above did not include the losses inflicted on buildings and assets of people, the expenses of two million war refugees, expenditures of the Shahid (martyr) Foundation, or the losses caused by the loss of skilled forces during the war.

Imported Foodstuffs Valued at $3.5 Billion

LD1661651 Tehran IRNA in English 1506 GMT
16 Jun 91

[Text] Tehran, 16 June, IRNA—Orders were placed for purchase of 3.5 billion dollars worth of foodstuffs from abroad through the Center for Procurement and Distribution of Foodstuff (CPDF) last year (ended March 20).

CPDF Managing Director ‘Abdol-Azim Mozaffari told IRNA Sunday, that imports include 25,000 tons of cheese in order to meet part of the country’s requirement of this dairy product. Last year, he said, 74,000 tons of cheese, 22,000 tons of butter and 30,000 tons of cereals were distributed by the Center. CPDF also distributed 284 tons of cheese and 180 tons of cereals among the Iraqi refugees through the Red Crescent Society and related agencies.

He said this year the Center has placed orders for 9,300 tons of bananas worth Dirs 5.4 million, which amount equals the money earned by the country through export of apples.

Foreign Investment in Oil, Gas Sought

91AS1012E Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 15 May 91 p 1

[Text] Singapore, 14 May (Reuters)—Iran is looking for foreign investment, particularly from oil-consuming countries, to help it boost oil production and develop its enormous gas reserves, a National Iranian Oil Co. (NIOC) official said on Tuesday.

“Joint investment operations would surely benefit both the producer and the consumer side, enabling the former to better utilize its reserves while allowing the latter group to enjoy the fruits of investments, secure in the knowledge that the supply of oil would continue,” Javad Yarjani, managing director of NIOC in Singapore told the Oil and Money Conference here.

Yarjani said development of Iran’s massive gas reserves called for huge investments and advanced technologies.
Iran holds 15 percent of the world's gas, the second largest reserves after the Soviet Union.

"Huge gas projects are under construction and Iran's future projects include raising Iran's gas exports to Europe," he said.

Yarjani said Iran can now produce 3.5 million barrels per day (BPD) of crude oil and is willing to raise output to around five million to meet increased world oil demand.

He said the Middle East will remain the main source of oil supply for many years to come due to declining production outside the region.

But "a shortage of supply might appear in the late 1990s unless major consuming countries find themselves in a position to provide sufficient encouragement towards this very important issue."

Venezuela is also looking for foreign partners to invest in exploration and production of oil and gas and downstream ventures, Antonio Cassella, new ventures manager at Petroleos de Venezuela (PDVSA), told the conference.

He said Venezuela's key interest was foreign investment to exploit the extra-heavy oil and bitumen of the Orinoco belt which has proven reserves of 270 billion barrels.

Venezuela is also looking at joint ventures in overseas refining and distribution, particularly facilities to process growing quantities of Venezuelan sour heavy crudes.

"The same would be valid for a joint venture in the construction of export refineries in Venezuela," he said.

Delegates to the two-day conference were told on Monday that large oil-consuming countries should share the financial burden of boosting production to meet growing world demand.

The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) members will have to invest at least $120 billion through 1995 in order to boost, and in the case of Iraq and Kuwait reconstruct, collective production capacity to meet worldwide demand, OPEC Secretary-General Subroto said.

With non-OPEC oil supply falling, Subroto said the call on OPEC oil will rise from 24.53 million BPD today to 31.48 million early next century. OPEC holds the bulk of the world's oil supplies.

"The figure registered a 16.2 percent increase in value and 50 percent in value compared with the year before," said a report released by the head office of the Iranian Customs here Wednesday.

Woolen hand-woven carpets, pistachios, copper bars, copper anodes and cathodes, raisins and caraway seeds made up the bulk of the exports.

Carpets worth 31.5 billion rials, accounted for 32.5 percent of the total value of the exports, it said.

The report added that 69,000 tons of pistachios worth Rials 17.2 billion constituted 18.8 percent of the value of the country's total non-oil exports last year.

Copper bars and copper anodes and cathodes were the third major item on the list of non-oil exports, totalling 35,000 tons and worth Rials 5.2 billion, it said.

Other exports whose values increased as compared with the previous year were ready-made garments, textiles, etc. the report concluded.

**Domestic Wheat Production Increases**

91AS1053C Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL

*in English 22 May 91 p 6*  

[Text] Tehran, May 21 (IRNA)—Domestic wheat production through dry farming method increased to one ton per hectare last calendar year (ending March 20) from 639 kgs in 1985, deputy minister of Construction Jihad for agricultural affairs, Mohammad Samadi said on Monday.

"Some 4.3 million hectares of farm lands were under wheat cultivation last year which was 200,000 hectares more than that predicted in Iran's first five year economic development plan (launched last year)," he told reporters.

On the cultivation of barley through dry farming and irrigation, Samadi said the yield of this crop in per hectare of irrigated farm land stood at 2.300 kgs last year as estimated before.

However, he noted, because of the use of unsuitable varieties of seeds, the cultivation of barley through dry farming was not successful despite covering 1.3 million hectares of farm lands.

The deputy minister added that the corn production rose from 3.5 tons per hectare in 1985 to 4.5 tons last year.

He cited an increase in the production of sorghum as another achievement of the Construction Jihad Ministry last year, with the output of the crop rising to 41.3 tons per hectare from 19 tons in 1985.

On chemical fertilizers, he said, since the Ministry of Construction Jihad was entrusted with the task of procuring and distributing fertilizers in 1988, it has purchased 1.7 million tons of fertilizers (1.25 million tons from abroad) and distributed them among farmers.
“$1 billion has been earmarked for the import of agricultural machinery during the five year development plan and $3 billion for the industrial sector to import spare parts and components of such machinery,” he said.

**Project To Transfer Natural Gas Commissioned**

LD2604082891 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 2030 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Excerpt] The project to transfer natural gas to the town of Sepidan has been commissioned in the presence of Petroleum Minister Aqazadeh, the oil minister, of the managing director of the National Iranian Gas Company, the governor of Fars, and a number of local officials. The project has cost 1.27 billion rials.

According to the Central News Unit, following the commissioning of the project, which was completed in eight months by the Fars National Gas Company, 73,000 inhabitants of the town of Sepidan, situated 90 km northwest of Shiraz, will benefit from natural gas.

During the commissioning of the project, Petroleum Minister Aqazadeh gave an interview with the Central News Unit correspondent in which he elaborated on that ministry’s gas distribution plans during the five year economic, social, and cultural expansion plan. He noted that currently the inhabitants of 130 cities in Iran use natural gas and we hope that figure increases to 200 cities by the end of the five-year plan. [passage omitted]

**Propane Gas Exports Resumed at Khark Island**

NC2105072691 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0330 GMT 21 May

[Central News Unit correspondent’s report from Bushehr]

[Text] The export of propane gas to other countries has been resumed from the Khark Island chemical complex. Following is a short report:

[Begin unidentified correspondent recording]: The first consignment of 18,000 tons of propane gas has been exported from the Khark Island chemical complex. The director of the Khark chemical complex told the Central News Unit correspondent about the exports and added: Exporting this complex’s products to other countries, which was halted after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, has been resumed with the export of a consignment of 18,000 tons. He added: Daily production of the chemical complex in Khark is 7,320 barrels of propane gas, butane gas, and natural gas, as well as 450 tons of sulfur. On the basis of the planning which has been done so far, the annual production of this complex is expected to increase to 9 million tons in the current year. [end recording]
One of the major problems confronting us right now is poor management, and sometimes even, the lack of it. This malaise pervades the whole country, from manufacturing entities to service-oriented organizations to the ranks of the bureaucracy. A definition of management objectives and goals is practically non-existent or improperly disseminated to the employees. There is no delineation of duties and responsibilities, hence there is a lack of a sense of accountability and the prevalence of the passing the buck mentality. Operations are too centralized and delegation of authority is quite limited; though these practices might give rise to certain advantages, they somehow result in bottlenecks and a host of otherwise avoidable delays.

There are limited educational opportunities, arising from the dearth of facilities, and the stiff requirements necessary for acceptance in higher institutions of learning. The country has a relatively low literacy rate which affects the dissemination of information which could improve the physical and mental well-being of the population. There is a dire need for the country to enhance its human capital, the investment it makes in people to refine their talents and capabilities, the most basic of which are education and health. A healthy, informed person is capable of functioning better than an ill-fed, illiterate one.

Closely linked to the quality and motivation of management are financial and non-financial incentives and disincentives. Given a well-motivated management, the right kind of working atmosphere, effective communication and other evidence of good leadership, the rank and file will likewise be well-motivated and morale would be high. Failing such a lead, there is now disharmony, discontent, frustration, and other negative aspects of working life experienced by the labor force. These would likely have repercussions in the quality and quantity of output.

It goes without saying that there should be adequate financial reward for a fair day's work, possibly with extra pay for extra effort. It is quite obvious that monetary compensation of employees in Iran is hardly enough for comfortable day to day living, much less long-term security. This situation forces individuals, especially breadwinners, to hold on to two or more jobs which not only affect their physical well-being but also jeopardizes the quality of their output.

Individuals not only have physical needs but emotional ones as well. Working conditions and the work environment affect the way people get satisfaction from their jobs. Coupled with low salary and wage levels, other benefits like welfare facilities or help in housing are not readily available, concerns which curtail the effectiveness and security of the work force.

These financial and non-financial disincentives give rise to complacency in the attitude of the labor force—there is this gnawing feeling that the quantity and quality of the effort won't cause significant changes on remuneration and benefits. Hence the personal and professional drive for improvement and excellence is curtailed.

There is likewise a perceived lack of job security and of opportunities for professional/career growth. There is little on-the-job training provided to improve the know-how of the work force; much is likewise wanting in the area of employee evaluation/performance appraisal.

Too often, important positions are awarded to certain persons not necessarily based on their qualifications but more on the connections and contacts they have. This abhorrent practice of "partibazi" and nepotism undermines employee motivation and morale.

As shown by the Japanese experience, a management philosophy to be truly effective, should take into account not only the physical but also the cultural and social norms of a society. It should respond to the basic needs of an individual as a member of society and as a productive economic entity.

An informal survey conducted indicates that in an eight-hour work day the effective output of a Japanese is 7 hours, 10 minutes. In Iran, in the same eight hours, effective output is said to be 24 minutes.

Whatever the figures may be, the fact is that Iran is ripe for growth and its human resources, given a more favorable environment, could develop into a potent factor of economic development. Responsible agencies should therefore hasten their efforts to address the legitimate grievances of the working class and thus prevent a "brain and brawn" drain.

The passage of revised labor and educational policies could be effective, but then only time will tell. The bottom line however is the attitude of the Iranians themselves. Can they own up to their mistakes and face the challenge ahead?

Daily on Need to Confront Israeli 'Propaganda'
NC0561239 Tehran SALAM in Persian 28 May 91 pp 12, 11

[H. Farahmand political commentary: "The Impudence and Threats of the Regime Occupying Jerusalem"]

[Text] The radio of the regime occupying Jerusalem carried a detailed commentary on 6 May 1991 about "the new regional order." While praising and thanking the international coalition against Saddam, it stated: "The military forces of a number of Arab and non-Arab countries under the leadership of the United States and with the membership of Syria—which was shouting for a war against imperialism until yesterday—helped, hand-in-hand, to convert Saddam's mother of battles into the mother of defeats." Of course, this is not the first time that the occupying regime radio has used propaganda about Saddam's disgraceful defeat. It has resorted to propaganda on various other subjects in the past. But
what is new and should be taken into consideration is the threats and impudence that this regime has recently started to voice and to display.

The radio has made the following statement with a domineering and arrogant voice:

"An end should be put to the existence of power-thirsty regimes which do not observe international laws and humanitarian and moral principles. Terrorist and hostage-taking governments should be destroyed and arbitrary statesmen who are suppressing their own people or are using people as toys to fulfill their own wishes should be overthrown."

Obviously by the use of phrases like "terrorist governments" the occupying regime is referring to governments which either have an anti-Israeli stance in their foreign policy or are actually fighting against Israel. Otherwise, Israel is the best example of a terrorist regime in the contemporary world.

In any case, the noteworthy point is that the regime occupying Jerusalem has allowed itself to orally threaten the regional countries.

In order to create a new regional order, this regime has set two conditions, which should be carefully considered:

1. "One of the announced principles is to give more weight to those Arab countries participating in the multi-national forces."

2. "Other criteria, namely how popular a regime is and how logical its leaders are, will also be considered." Obviously terrorist regimes and those training terrorists, those who support kidnapping and hostage-taking, regimes which resort to political instigations and destructive plots in various countries, governments which place their opponents in front of execution squads and suffocate every opposing voice, and so on cannot be trusted in the establishment of the new regional order and should be granted a role to play in accordance with their country's position in the region.

The above propaganda shows that Israel has allowed itself to impudently express its opinions on regional problems and to determine the duties of the regional countries. The fact that the Islamic Republic of Iran is situated in the center of these threats should not be ignored.

In Farvardin this year [month beginning 21 March 1991] Israeli Chief of Staff Dan Shomron stated in a televised interview that Iran is trying to achieve a level of nuclear capability and that can be a threat to Israel.

He stated: "I have no doubt that Iran is advancing in the field of nuclear capability and is also buying long-range missiles. We should be careful of Iran. This country has the potential power to threaten us."

Yoram Aridor, Israel's permanent representative to the United Nations, stated at the General Assembly session on 8 December 1990: "Iran is still in Lebanon and the pro-Iranian Shi'ite extremists have clashed with pro-Syrian Shi'ites on several occasions." By saying this he was trying to give the impression that the problem in the Middle East is not Israel, but the existence of serious problems among the Middle Eastern countries. He bluntly proclaimed that the Islamic Republic of Iran has territorial claims over Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates, and that it is having problems with Saudi Arabia over the control of the religious shrines and the Persian Gulf. Then he concluded: "In the Middle East the big fish has always swallowed the smaller fish and each government has always strangled the other government."

If we add the reports of the Israeli radio on 22 December 1990 that the Islamic Republic of Iran did not join in unison with the Arab countries in the "proposal to oust Israel" from the membership of the UN General Assembly to the above reports, we can see the reason behind Israel's impudence and the depth of the occupier's domineering and threatening remarks.

Obviously after the end of the imposed war the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran orbited around expanding relations with the world, especially with West Europe. The fact that successes stemming from such a policy will naturally lead to detente and refrainment from elements that cause separation and not give rise to "discontentment" is good. On the other hand, the extremism of the past has now been converted to extreme cautiousness; and this is what has caused the enemies of Islam and of the Islamic Revolution to exploit the opportunity and to start talking nonsense, to impudently allow themselves to threaten the Islamic Republic of Iran, and to tell it what to do.

It seems that it will be fruitful if the esteemed officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran give a suitable reply to this propaganda so that, God forbid, no doubt is spread in the hearts of the supporters of the Islamic Revolution.

Yazdi Appoints New State Prosecutor

[Text] Ayatollah Yazdi, head of the judiciary, appointed Ayatollah Seyed 'Abolfazl Musavi-Tabrizi as the state prosecutor general today. Before this appointment, Mr. Musavi-Tabrizi held the post of head of the administrative justice tribunal. In the decree appointing Mr. Musavi-Tabrizi, it has been stated: In view of your scientific qualifications, services, and efforts before and after the revolution, and in view of your success in the judicial commission of the majles and in your responsibility for the administrative justice tribunal, you have been appointed state prosecutor general.
Publication Comments on Falasha Airlift

NC0361926 Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 27 May 91 p 2

[Unattributed commentary: "The United States—The Real Axis in the Transport of the Falashas"]

[Text] In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful.

Ethiopian Jews were transported to Israel with lightning speed in an operation coordinated by the United States, the Ethiopian Government, and Israel. More than 18,000 Ethiopian Jews, who are known as the "Falashas," were airlifted from Addis Ababa to occupied Palestine in a 21-hour period beginning Friday morning. Zionist officials have expressed gratitude for the direct assistance extended by the United States, including the setting up of the air bridge necessary to airlift 18,000 Jews to Israel. In a surprise move, however, Washington denied any involvement in the transport of the Jews, and its later contradictory statements show that it does not want the facts to emerge.

It is clear that such a sensational and large-scale operation could not take place on the spur of the moment. This was a "planned operation," the result of coordination among "Jewish agencies," the ministry charged with absorbing Jewish emigres in Israel, the U.S. command in the Mediterranean, and the U.S. State Department and the response to the direct pressure exerted by Zionist circles on the U.S. Senate and other quarters in the country.

The U.S. State Department has, however, objected to the remarks of the Israeli prime minister publicizing the role of the United States and continues to deny Washington's involvement. It claims that only the Government of Ethiopia and Israel were involved, and that the United States provided no logistical support, although it welcomed what it called the "operation to rescue Ethiopian Jews."

Despite all this, there is reliable information about the direct involvement of the United States. A well-calculated plan was first formulated, and things began moving when former Senator Rudy Boschwitz was appointed by George Bush as a special envoy for the transport of Ethiopian Jews. Boschwitz, who is considered an ardent Zionist supporter, was sent to Addis Ababa for talks with Ethiopian officials in mid-April.

The airlift of the Ethiopian Jews was inextricably bound up with political events in Ethiopia, including the rebels' advance on and siege of Addis Ababa and the president's flight from the country.

There are many unconfirmed reports that the United States and Israel supplied arms to the rebels and that Israeli military advisers played a key role in directing the advance on and siege of Addis Ababa.

White House sources acknowledge that the United States was involved in a part of the operation to transport the Jews and admit that the new Ethiopian Government received a letter from George Bush the day after the former president fled requesting that it lift the ban on the exit of Ethiopian Jews. This request was granted immediately.

The United States and Israel then called on the Ethiopian rebels who had surrounded the capital to refrain from attacking the city until the airlift had been completed.

It has been reported that the Ethiopian Falashas were initially reluctant to travel to Israel, but were ultimately convinced by propaganda that they were in imminent danger of being massacred. Thus, the airlift has been portrayed as an "operation to rescue the Jews."

The true nature of the recent events in Ethiopia is unclear. Was the airlift the product of these events, or were the events themselves brought about by the need to find a smokescreen to divert attention from the airlift?

Furthermore, to what extent did the unrest in Ethiopia serve the interests of the United States and Israel? What rewards have been granted to the Ethiopian rebels for their services to the United States and Israel, and will subsequent events in Ethiopia clarify the roles played by Israel and the United States?

International organizations, particularly the Security Council, have kept silent on the matter, while the UN secretary general, who recently tried to take Israel's side for certain reasons of his own, hopes it will benefit Israel if he too says nothing.

The true meaning and implications of these events become clear when viewed against the backdrop of the oil war and the turbulent situation that emerged in its wake. The United States and Israel believe they have only a limited time to capitalize on the volatile situation in the region and sense that the degrading behavior and weakness of the Arab reactionaries may become the target of protests by the people of the region, forcing them to reassess their position.

Events are moving rapidly and to the detriment of the nations of the region. Only time will tell how these nations will respond and whether they can find effective ways to reverse this disturbing trend.

Daily Discusses Conduct of the Press
NC0361148 Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 25 May 91 p 15

[Editorial: "The Sword!"]

[Text] Everyone thought that at the conclusion of the Iran-Iraq war, the postwar period would be a time of rest. Now that almost three years have passed since the war ended, it has been clearly proven that the postwar period is not only not a time of rest, but it is a period of many
mental and real preoccupations. This is the special characteristic of a country that has revolted and whose revolutionary leaders are not blackmailed by either the East or the West. If anyone thinks that the Islamic Revolution's enemies will one day eventually stop their enmity, they are seriously mistaken. This enmity will end only if the revolutionaries ignore their principles and objectives.

This is the characteristic of an independent revolution. The experience of independent revolutions has proven this fact throughout history. The Islamic Republic of Iran is not only not an exception to this rule, it is an extremely good example of it.

In view of this, what should be done if, in the postwar period, some revolutionary forces are bent on paving the grounds for discord and disagreement instead of displaying cooperation and group effort for the solution of problems and an alert approach to the enemies' plots?

In confronting incidents, the people are well aware of their duties and take the necessary steps in time. However, before the people carry out their duties, what is the duty of morally and socially influential people? What is the duty of writers? What is the duty of the orators? What should seasoned and worldly-wise people, who know what destruction discord can cause, do?

The fact that some take advantage of the facilities that they have at their disposal and are not careful in what they write or say or who their audience is or how these sayings and writings can hurt the revolution is not something that should be taken without question.

A little attention should be paid to who the people who propound self-censorship really are and what their objective is. Sending secret and confidential telexes to the press, forging papers and attributing them to the country's officials while feigning exemption from "self-censorship" and accusing others of suffering from this disease is not such a difficult thing to do. But if these people pay careful attention to the various aspects of things they will see the big traps that lie ahead of them. Then they may realize that they are the ones who are suffering from this dangerous disease. Although it is possible for this disease to harm those who have become targets, there is no doubt that its first victims will be the ones who spread it.

These lines are not being published with the intention of threatening or supporting anyone. This is merely brotherly advice to those who think that society can be improved and problems can be solved by spreading discord. This is a path which was trodden many times by one group or another in the 12 years following the revolution's victory. It has been proven that the path only leads to a dead end. Why, then, should such a bitter experience be repeated again?

What we should tell our revolutionary brothers and those who are able to discern good from bad—people whose sincerity we do not doubt—is that the pen is like a sword.

If you do not control the person who is holding this pen in his hand, instead of ripping up the enemy's chest, it may stab us in the back even if it is in the hands of our closest friend.

**Paper Says Officials Distant From Masses**

NC0361728 Tehran RESALAT in Persian 21 May 91

p 16

[Editorial by Akbar Nabavi: "The Need To Scrutinize the Assets of Officials"]

[Text] 1. One of the main reasons governments collapse is that they distance themselves from the people. Glaring discrepancies between the standards of living of officials and of the masses will result, first of all, in an "idealist divide" between the officials and the people. Officials will lose much of their ability to "understand the people's grievances" and will ignore the plight of the lowest strata of society. Finally, the people will perceive this chasm, become disheartened, and sever their "social bonds" with officials.

Thus, if the sense of "shared problems" is removed, then so is the "credibility" derived from this. This phenomenon can be easily understood from the "sociological" viewpoint. A sort of "idealist" bond is forged among those who share "common problems," but this bond is severed if this sense of shared problems is weakened and differences begin to surface.

2. In a system based on "religious credibility," the standard of living of officials be no higher than that of the people; in fact, it should be below average. This can only be understood by those whose understanding of social responsibility conforms with that of His Holiness 'Ali. From this perspective, many prerogatives which are perfectly acceptable for nonofficials become problematic; and in some cases even unlawful, for an official in an Islamic system.

It is said that Almighty God ordained fasting so that we may attain "greater social understanding" of the way of life of the deprived strata. This perspective dictates that every month should be a "month of Ramadan" for officials and that they should refrain from those comforts of life which are not within the reach of those who enjoy an "average standard of living."

Sadly most officials in our country have violated these logical, wise, and accepted standards. They have based their perspective on "social responsibilities" and have thus exceeded the framework of sharia. In this regard, one must regretfully acknowledge that a desire for "political power" and "social status" has prompted some officials to misuse public services and to "seek privileges," bringing them to such a sorry point that they no longer think of anything but personal gain.

They continue to distance themselves from the masses daily. Such behavior not only does not conform to that of the innocent imams, peace be upon them, but it also
bears no resemblance to the way of life of the late imam, peace be upon him, and of the leader of the revolution, His Eminence Ayatollah Khamene'i (may his shadow be extended) or to the frequent exhortations of these two great figures.

3. It seems that curbing the behavior of this group requires that all officials, including ministers, Majlis deputies, and governors general, be made to answer the question “where did you get it?” The responsible organizations should also deal with those irreligious clerics who have fallen into this pit. It goes without saying that any negligence in this regard will do irrevocable harm.

The esteemed Majlis has an additional responsibility in this regard, because:

A. It must formulate a law that will provide for the intensive scrutiny of a deputy’s way of life (such a plan was presented by some deputies to the Majlis earlier, but it received a cold reception there and was rejected.)

B. By formulating and approving revolutionary laws, the Majlis can eliminate the conditions that permit any kind of injustice. In this way, all tendencies toward “luxury-loving” and “comfort-seeking” among officials can be uprooted at all levels.

KEYHAN on Declaration of Mourning Implications

NC0561859 Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 23 May 91 p 18

[Majid Reza’iyan commentary: “Iraq—The Dimensions of the Tragedy and Distortions”]

[Text] The Iraqi uprising proved that the people, especially the Shiites, seem to be paying a heavy price for the political blunders and innumerable crimes of a brutal regime. A spirit of “psychosis” and “brutality”—as the late Imam and eminent leader noted—pervades the decision-making centers of Iraq. But there is more: “News censorship” dominates Western and regional mass media, and they do not reflect even a fraction of the crimes unleashed on the Iraqi Shiites, the majority of the country’s population. This legitimizes the crimes and does not give an accurate picture of the dimensions of the catastrophe in Iraq.

Following the cease-fire with Iraq, the Westerners needed another way to keep their presence in Iraq. Therefore, under a joint, calculated plan and its implementation by this regime, the Kurdish people in the north were pushed toward Iran. Following this, the need for a safe haven was discussed.

The point here is that the media, which support human rights in the West, began its extensive propaganda about the flight of the Kurds in order to attain its predetermined objectives, especially the setting up of safe havens. However, the catastrophe and the crimes in southern Iraq are not comparable to what occurred in the north. As soon as the Western media diagnosed the nature of the uprising and intifadah in the south, in a marked reversal of its position, it began censoring reports of the Iraqi regime’s crimes in the south and its desecration of the holy shrines.

This was to be expected from Western mass media. For this reason, the declaration of general mourning given by the Vali-ye Amr-e Moslemin [Guardian of the Muslims cause], His Eminence Ayatollah Khamene'i, will reveal these crimes and illuminate the vast oppression and tyranny of these people.

Meanwhile, the accidental (!) collusion by the United States with the destroyer of Iran reflects the depth of the anger international supporters of the Iraqi regime have for the Islamic Revolution. The announcement of public mourning and any move to expose the dimensions of the catastrophe in Iraq and unmask the Western censors will be a dishonorable blow to U.S. prestige in the region.

Iran’s serious and timely reaction to the shameful atrocities inflicted on the holy shrines and the Shiites clearly shows that in a world of mutual affiliations, revolutions, contacts, and the new world order, so much distortion and lying reign supreme. Human life is the least important factor.

Of course, the isolation of the Iraqis, in particular the Shiites, during their struggles is not because of the Iraqi regime’s brutality and the West’s news censorship. When the people of Iraq came to al-Najaf during their uprising, as part of their religious traditions, not only did they not obtain what they wanted, but their uprising and intifadah met a serious setback because of the Iraqi regime, which pilloried the al-Najaf clergy.

Apart from the assessment of the conditions in Iraq, as well as whether the weak and tepid reaction of the al-Najaf religious circles is correct or incorrect, the declaration of public mourning and similar actions again focus all attention and hopes on the center of the world of Islam—Iran—and proves the truth of the path of Imam Khomeyni, may God be pleased with him, a path his worthy successor continues to follow with all his strength. This differentiates it from all other paths. It will open up the path of the Islamic Revolution in the hearts of Muslims not only in Iraq but in the entire world of Islam toward a brilliant future. “Is not the morning near?” [preceding sentence in Arabic]

Planes Chartered for Kish Passenger Service

LD1661657 Tehran IRNA in English 1543 GMT 16 Jun 91

[Text] Tehran, 16 July, IRNA—Two Bulgarian Tupolev 134 passenger planes chartered by the Kish Air Service Company, landed at Iran’s Kish Island in the Persian Gulf, today.
According to the afternoon Persian daily KEYHAN these aircraft will operate between Kish Island and southern Iranian cities as well as Kish and the Persian Gulf states.

The per house rent of each of the 68-seater aircraft, manned by Bulgarian pilots and Iranian stewards, is 700 dollars.

SALAM Stresses Need To Keep People Informed
NC0461734 Tehran SALAM in Persian 23 May 91 p 10

[Commentary by the economic department]

[Text] The visit to the United States by Economy and Finance Ministry and Central Bank officials and their meetings there with Iranian expatriates were followed by many calls for this group to return to Iran. Meanwhile, the lifting of the ban on foreign travel by people who owe money to banks has added a new dimension to the two-year-old process of privatizing the economy.

The significance of these events is reflected in the attention they received in the foreign media, which included interviews with some well-known Iranian expatriates. Meanwhile, unfurled rumors about the return of a number of expatriates and certain statements they made have given rise to pessimism and doubt among the supporters of the revolution and the people. The most troubling aspect of this situation, however, is what will happen if managers and decisionmakers continue along their course while opponents continue to protest. Such a situation poses a great danger for our society and economy because it greatly reduces the chances of correcting any possible mistakes and creates an atmosphere of pessimism and mistrust toward managers and officials, and ultimately toward the system itself.

Among the supporters of the revolution and the people, only a handful believes that these officials are deliberately trying to deceive the country and the revolution. Most are certain that any mistake is intentional [as received]. Why, then, are the people not provided with the full details about what decisions have been made, what words have been spoken, and what promises have been given? Why are the people not informed of all the pros and cons of any decision, so that they will be able understand why a particular policy is adopted. If this were done, the people could either support these decisions or have the opportunity to warn officials against them if they believe they are not in our interest. If, for example, there are rumors that talks have been held with Khayyami, Lajevardi, and others and that they have received certain promises, why should the Iranian nation learn of this through the foreign press?

Perhaps this question would be answered in the following way: "We believe these decisions are correct, but if we provide all the details, this could give rise to certain reactions that would obscure the reasons for our actions. Therefore, it is to the benefit of the nation and the revolution that we do not do this, and when the people see the results of these decisions, they will support them."

The point we want to make here is that in Iran today no policy, economic or otherwise, can succeed without the support of the people, and especially without the support of the intellectual and committed strata of our society. We must accept that there perfection is not possible under the present circumstances. If, however, all we do is find fault, we will never be able to adopt a correct decision.

If this problem is to be solved and a favorable climate created, the officials must reassure the people and provide full information, especially about important decisions.

Meanwhile, those who criticize the system must realize that the country's problems, including its economic ones, cannot be solved unless this favorable atmosphere is created. Officials must be able to report on the steps they believe will prove beneficial without worrying about what names they will be called.

Such understanding is more important in the economic field than in any other, and all those who cherish the grandeur of the revolution, the country, and the people have a duty to work to create it.

Travel Ban on Debtors To Be Lifted
91AS1053B Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 22 May 91 p 2

[Text] Nicosia (Reuter)—Bans on foreign travel for thousands of Iranians will be lifted under a plan drawn up by Iran's Central Bank to settle debts they owe it, Tehran Radio quoted a bank official as saying on Monday.

A travel ban was imposed on thousands of people accused of transferring large amounts of money abroad in the final months of the Shah's rule which ended with the 1979 Islamic Revolution.

The bank official said 13,000 people who owed currency could act to settle their debts with the bank over a four-month period from Wednesday.

He said the debtors were divided into three groups according to the amount of their debt but gave no other details of the plan.

Businessmen who violated the country's foreign exchange regulations since the revolution were also banned from travelling.

President Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani's government is easing restrictions on the private sector in an effort to revitalize the economy battered by the 1980-88 Iraqi-imposed war.

Rafsanjani told a group of officials of Iran's Chamber of Commerce, Industries and Mines on Sunday that active
private sector participation in foreign trade could help bring about economic balance.

**Kish Island To Draw in Trade, Travelers**

LD1661707 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1430 GMT 16 Jun 91

[Excerpt] With the implementation of the government’s recent measure, all commercial and wholesale goods which enter the country via Kish Island will be exempt for up to 30 percent of commercial profit [as heard]. The managing-director of Kish Development Organization announced this news this afternoon to our reporter and said: With the implementation of this measure, Kish will replace the country’s border regions as a transit point. He added: Within the framework of the government’s five year economic policies and the importance placed on exports for those exporters who will be exporting their goods from Kish Island, special concessions have been envisaged on the basis of which the exporters can use up to 60 percent of the foreign exchange obtained from the export of their goods to import goods to Kish Island without paying duties.

In connection with the facilities envisaged for travellers to that island, the managing-director of Kish Development Organization said:

[Begin recording] On the basis of the measures that have been implemented, from 22 June, we will be able to have over a hundred regular weekly flights from the majority of the provincial centers of our country that have airports and from six of the capital cities of the Persian Gulf littoral states.

Alongside this, the Kish-check should be used as a step for the provision of more facilities for potential travellers to Kish and also to assist with commercial activities. Melli Bank has started its work in the sense that people will not need to carry money with them to Kish since they can obtain and use these travellers’ cheques instead.

[passage omitted] [end recording]

**PAKISTAN**

**Minister Announces Foreign Policy Restructure**

91AS1073B Karachi DAWN in English 8 Jun 91 pp 1, 8

[Article by M. Ziauddin: “Foreign Policy Restructured, Zaki Explains 3 Priorities”]

[Text] Islamabad, 7 Jun—Pakistan's foreign policy has been restructured to make it more responsive to the demands of domestic economy and at the same time meet the challenges of regional peace, the Secretary-General, Foreign Affairs, Akram Zaki, told this correspondent here on Friday.

Discussing in depth a wide range of foreign policy issues, Mr. Zaki in an exclusive interview on the eve of his departure to Washington along with the highpowered delegation led by Senate Chairman Wasim Sajjad said the “decisive turns” in the foreign policy actually flowed out from three priorities of the government:

(1) To strengthen democratic institutions and develop democratic traditions, (2) to modernise Pakistan by mobilising all national resources and releasing the economy from “stifling” regulations, providing incentives to private sector and special protection and support to the depressed classes, and (3) to establish regional peace which is necessary for carrying out these massive economic programmes, essentially on the basis of self-reliance.

As a result, the Government has begun putting far greater emphasis on economic and commercial matters in dealing with other countries, according to Mr. Zaki.

“The priority of the Government is shifting from traditional aid-receiving relationship to mutually beneficial economic and commercial cooperation and explaining the new climate that has been created for providing investment opportunities to those who want to come and become partners in progress,” Mr. Zaki explained.

For this purpose, he said, a new wing in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs headed by an additional secretary has been created.

The new wing would coordinate with all the ministries doing economic work and provide guidance and directions to our missions abroad to shift their emphasis towards economy and economic matters.

The second decisive turn in the foreign policy of Pakistan relates to formulation and conduct of the policy to make serious and genuine attempt to resolve regional conflict, Mr. Zaki further explained.

Following are excerpts from the interview:

**Afghanistan**

The first issue which was inherited from the recent past, that is for the last 12 years or so is Afghanistan. So, the highest level decision was taken that the Government of Pakistan should direct its energies for bringing about a political solution of Afghanistan.

Various groups of the Mujahideen both in Pakistan and outside as well as the commanders working inside be encouraged to coordinate their activities and work for a political solution.

We have started consultations with Saudi Arabia, Iran, the United States, China and the Soviet Union on a bilateral basis as well as activated the UN Secretary General’s representative and he has been having his own round of consultations with all the concerned countries. The Secretary-General has made a statement proposing a five-point formula as a starting point for a discussion for future settlement. There is a consensus emerging
amongst all the concerned countries that time was ripe for a political settlement and serious efforts should be made in this direction.

We have also established direct communications with the Soviet Union. Initially, there has been some progress but there is a difference of perception. The process of discussion will, however, continue. The Soviet Union is going to have another round of talks with the countries concerned including Pakistan and there may be a third round of talks to narrow down our differences and reach a formula for some kind of traditional arrangement which is acceptable to a broad majority of parties involved which can then hold elections for deciding the future government of Pakistan.

So, our primary interest is to work for the re-establishment of peace and a broadbased government in Afghanistan and of course to ensure the return of the refugees which are in Pakistan and Iran.

India and Kashmir

The second major problem which is even older is Pakistan's relations with India and the problem of Kashmir. As you know Kashmir has been in turmoil for the last two years. The recent trouble which is growing day by day started suddenly in the beginning of 1990 when India introduced after the "mock" elections—participated by only 3-5 percent, as they say—new draconian regulations giving extraordinary powers to security forces. Since then, the story has been one of suppression which has intensified with the passage of time. This suppression has not brought the popular movement to an end, in fact the intensification of suppression was matched by intensification of the movement.

The Prime Minister met the Indian Prime Minister in Male at the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] summit. They both agreed to work for regional cooperation but they also recognised the importance of improving bilateral relations and to solve the pending problems through serious negotiations.

The Prime Minister has made it clear that the Kashmir was the core issue and concentration of Indian troops on Pakistani borders was another serious problem. We had follow-up talks at the foreign secretaries level and the last round of talks was definitely more productive than the previous rounds. We succeeded in signing two agreements as confidence-building measures under which India and Pakistan will give advance warnings of troop movement to each other and they will not violate each other's air space and thus reduce the chances of tension and accidental conflicts.

There was also clear understanding that the process has to be continued. And we should move forward. But as a result of elections in India dates were fixed in such a way that next round of talks at the subcommission level as well as foreign secretaries level should be held after the elections.

In fact the tentative dates for the next foreign secretaries level meeting were last week of August or the first week of September.

The Prime Minister attended the funeral of Rajiv Gandhi as a gesture of goodwill. He also took this opportunity to meet all the leaders of India's top parties. He, of course, also met the Indian Prime Minister, former prime minister Janata Dal leader V.P. Singh, former foreign minister in Janata Government, Gujral, BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] leaders Advani and Bajpai and Congress leader Narasimha Rao. He met these leaders and expressed the desire with each of them for having some dialogue to resolve the problems including the problems of Kashmir.

On his return from India the Prime Minister told a Press conference that he detected a feeling on the part of Indian leadership that we should have serious discussions to resolve our problems. So now when the new government comes in, the PM has established his channels of communications with virtually the whole range of Indian leadership. There is hope that Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's efforts would yield positive results and help him in creating a regional consensus for peace on the basis of equality and justice.

Nuclear Non-Proliferation

Now, one of the most serious problems these days in the world is the question of weapons of mass destruction, nuclear weapons and other chemical, biological and ballistic missiles.

The Prime Minister has made fresh proposals reiterating the original proposal of Pakistan reaffirming Pakistan's commitment to nuclear non-proliferation. He has proposed that Pakistan is ready to enter into a dialogue with India to prevent the proliferation of all weapons of mass destruction.

And the Prime Minister has specifically proposed in respect to nuclear issue that the three nuclear powers which have access to South Asia plus the two countries which have on going nuclear programmes should consult with each other and hold a conference and work out a regime to keep South Asia free of nuclear weapons.

This proposal has been made with full seriousness and sense of responsibility and Pakistan which has been trying for nuclear non-proliferation in the area for many years at the UN and for a nuclear-free zone would like to pursue the matter seriously and we will wait for the response and reaction to our fresh proposals on the matter.

Before the proposal was announced countries concerned were sounded. The Prime Minister in his National Defence College address has observed that he saw indications that the United States, the USSR and China might be inclined to support a regional approach.
Now I can say this. Before making the announcement the Indian Government was also given an indication that a proposal along these lines was about to be made by the Prime Minister.

So, we are serious about non-proliferation and we hope that the message will get across.

New Focus

In the beginning I said that economic work will become more important. In that context the Government of Pakistan attached great importance to its relations with Japan and Western Europe which have emerged as major economic giants.

The Prime Minister would be undertaking a visit to Japan in the month of July. This is going to be a very important visit in determining the range of our relationship in the changed circumstances.

Similarly the countries of Asia, Pacific have made remarkable economic progress, the ASEAN nations that is Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei. Hong Kong and South Korea are also very important. Beyond that Australia and New Zealand. Now this region somehow in the past did not get the attention it deserved and this is going to be the area of new focus for Pakistan. We already have excellent relations with China. We have growing cooperation with Japan and South Korea but the other countries of ASEAN and Asia Pacific we have to take new initiative and develop closer economic and commercial ties with them.

The Prime Minister's visit to Japan also includes a stopover in Hong Kong where he would meet leading business groups and explain the new economic reforms and opportunities that Pakistan is offering to foreign investors.

We are sending across the same message to other countries of Asia Pacific region and ASEAN. We are going to reactivate our bilateral commission with Indonesia which is a very important country.

Africa

Another area which has not received due attention in the past is the continent of Africa. We have much in common with Africa. Many of the African nations are members of Islamic Organisation Conference and we have economic bonds with them.

Pakistan has supported the liberation struggles of African countries. Therefore, there is an immense goodwill for Pakistan in Africa. There is going to be a very active programme of technical assistance and economic cooperation and commercial cooperation with the African countries and this would be within the framework of South-South cooperation.

The United Nations

In the new global situation the role of the UN and the Security Council is emerging. One positive development of East-West detente has been the re-emergence of the Security Council and we have seen that Namibia attained its independence through the UN efforts. UN is involved in solving the regional issues like Cambodia and Afghanistan and we believe the UN can play a larger role now in resolving the Kashmir dispute also.

Therefore, we consider it important to develop our relations with all the five countries with a special attention. It is important to develop understanding and cooperation with the five countries.

It is in this framework that we express satisfaction over our close and profound friendship with China. We have understanding and cooperation with France and UK. With UK we also have the special commonwealth links. We are trying to resolve the Afghanistan issue so that an impediment in our relations with the Soviet Union is removed and we resume normal cooperation. Our economic cooperation with the Soviet Union is proceeding smoothly and we would like to remove difficulties and misunderstandings in our relations with the United States.

The United States

U.S.-Pakistan relations have been very important, we have worked together to mutual advantage and both the countries have many common perceptions and common points of agreement. There are also some points of divergence but the points of agreement are more.

We have a common commitment to democracy, to free enterprise and we have struggled together to find a solution to Afghan problem. Both want to see peace and stability in the Middle East.

The Prime Minister is sending a high level delegation to Washington. This would be the first high-level contact between the two countries since the new government came to office in Pakistan.

It is a very significant visit because there is a cloud of misunderstanding which has been casting a shadow over our relationship. There are many factors. There are many interested parties that have encouraged a climate of misunderstanding but we believe that there are many common interests and on the nuclear issue also we have common commitment to non-proliferation.

The question of economic assistance which has assumed much prominence in the past is not the crucial issue. The United States has its own legal considerations. And in this respect Pakistan has its own priorities of gradually reducing its dependence on foreign assistance. The visit should not be seen in the context of donor-recipient relations. That is an outmoded concept for a democratic country taking the path of self-reliance. U.S.-Pakistan relations should be seen as more of a cooperative relationship on the basis of mutual benefit. The visit should
be seen as an attempt to resume dialogue between Pakistan and the United States to put relations on an even keel.

Official Birthrate Figures Termied False

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[Article by Fayyaz Ahmad Khan: "Birth Rate: Official Figure Much Below the Actual"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The birth rate in Pakistan is amongst the highest in the world at 4.3 percent. The situation in the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] is also quite bleak and will be more so if the figures of the Afghan births in the province are also included. A survey by THE FRONTIER POST gives credence to the popularly held belief that the official birth rate figures are much lower than actual ones.

Authorities deduct the number of deaths every year from the number of births and reach a figure called "the annual growth rate." But this also is misleading as the social make-up of our society does not encourage to report all the births but the deaths on the contrary are most of the time properly registered.

Informed sources claim that the actual crude birth rate of the country is actually 4.8 percent, which becomes 4.3 percent officially and again 3.3 percent as the "annual growth rate." The crude birth rate of the NWFP is 4.1, which becomes 3.1 percent growth rate after treatment of figures under the set formula to obtain the same.

The survey by this correspondent conducted at various hospitals and clinics, and interviews with lady health visitors (LHVs) and dais show that a sizable number of births are not registered by the families either because of their lack of education or carelessness. If one believes their estimates, the birth and growth rates would simply hit the skies.

The department of family planning and the policy makers seem not much interested in checking the situation. Studies show and experts warn that a rapid increase in population is one of the most complex problems being faced by the Third World countries. Congestion, traffic load, pollution, epidemics of all sorts, and a host of other social, political, medical and economic problems are attributed to the increase in the population.

Pakistan incurs heavy expenses every year to check the ever-increasing birth rate, but the results do not match the amount spent. Some Rs [rupees] 30 million in addition to medicines and contraceptives of roughly the same value are allocated to the NWFP population welfare department by the federal government each year. But the impact of this expenditure is nowhere visible in the province. Medicines and contraceptives like intrauterine devices (IUDs) are funnelled out of the country by unscrupulous officials through smugglers to Iran and upcountry for open-sale.

Ibrahim Khan, director-general, population welfare and planning, NWFP, however, refuted the allegations. He maintained that all the supplies were used by the field staff of the department properly.

He claimed that the real reason of ineffectiveness of the department's campaign and efforts was the make-up of the society and the taboos that the so-called religious leaders and scholars place on family planning. "Even the well-educated people could not publicly talk of birth control," he added.

Justifying the large amounts spent by his department and lack of progress he said most of the departmental budget was eaten up by rent payments as most of the offices were located in rented premises. Had the department been given its own buildings the funds allocated to it could be put to more productive use, he added.

Citizen's View

Shehzada Mohammad Akbar, a successful lawyer and father of four, opined that the quest for a male child was actually accountable for the abnormally high birth rate in the country. "A man having no male child of his own is looked down upon by others and is called meerat (issueless) in a contemptuous way," he said. In NWFP one male child was not considered enough as his own cousin calls him tarboor (meaning my cousin and my enemy simultaneously), he said and added, "our culture is of vendettas and rivalries." So the people keep on producing children to reach a 'safe' combination and big families, often ill-afforded result, he said.

Abdul Rauf Rohaila, well-known social worker, maintained that children were assets but they were a liability at the same time. "So one should opt for only as much liability that he could cope with." The liability, he added, was not only financial but social, psychological one as well and demanded precious extra time out of ones commitments for each child. He advised that the people should therefore, think a number of times before planning to have more than two kids.

Miss Chandni Khalil, a general physician practicing privately in Islamabad, lambasted the Mullahs and the so-called religious leaders who live in darkness and avoided facing reality by terming birth-control un-Islamic. She opined that these Mullahs should be ignored and concerted efforts should be made by the government to defuse the ticking population bomb of the country by aggressive family planning policies. She was of the view that the society could not progress without the demographic problems of the country.