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21 FEBRUARY 1989



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# **JPRS Report**

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# **Near East & South Asia**

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# Near East & South Asia

JPRS-NEA-89-013

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## REGIONAL

### World Bank Policies Blamed for Bread Crises

44040188 Kuwait AL-MUJTAMA' in Arabic  
22 Nov 88 pp 17-19

[Article by Ahmad Ra'ul: "Arab Masses in a Bread Basket"]

[Text] Experience has proven that there is nothing to be gained from applying the "advice" of the World Bank. Numayri lifted support from food commodities and increased the price of bread, and he fell.

"Man does not live by bread alone"—this slogan, raised by those who proclaim freedom, justice, and equality, implicitly affirms and recognizes that bread is the first necessity for man. Bread and food in general must be available for man to remain alive; only afterwards does he bestir himself to realize the other material requirements of his life.

When men rise up demanding bread, it means that the knife has cut to the bone. One can thus see crucial significance in the terms the press applied to the violent demonstrations that took place in Egypt, the Sudan, Tunisia, and Morocco a few years ago and in Algeria recently—"bread incidents," "bread uprisings," or "bread revolutions." The question one must ask is why all these events should be united under one name that exudes the odor of bread mixed with blood. What does this mean for Arab food security, which has become the constant concern of ordinary citizens and officials alike?

#### The Straw That Broke the Camel's Back

It was no accident that political observers compared what was happening on the Arab scene during this October's events in Algeria with what had previously happened in Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt, and the Sudan. It was no accident that they linked the events and emphasized their common aspects. One of the most important common aspects was that the events in question were absolutely the most violent events in the last quarter century in the countries in which they had occurred. The events shook the security and stability of these countries and will remain a dividing mark in their modern history. When the events of 18-19 January 1977 occurred in Egypt, it was the first time a curfew was imposed since the 1952 revolution. The Armed Forces went into the streets; in just 2 days 77 people were killed and 214 wounded, according to official reports. In Tunisia, the security forces lost control of the streets in January 1984; the Army had to be deployed in the streets of the capital and other cities, a state of emergency had to be proclaimed, and a curfew was imposed for the first time in 27 years. For the first time since independence, former President Bourguiba's car was pelted with stones and tomatoes. No fewer than 150 people, most of them youths, were killed in the events.

Only 3 weeks after the bread incidents in Tunisia, the situation erupted similarly in Morocco, though less bloodily.

As for what happened in the Sudan the eve of 6 April 1985, nothing more indicates its importance and significance than the fact that it was the first step toward the overthrow of the regime of Ja'far Numayri.

The second common aspect of all these incidents was that in them bread—and food in general—was the straw that broke the camel's back. In Egypt the immediate cause of the explosion of the incidents of 18 and 19 January 1988 was the resolutions (the first of their kind since 1919) that the economic group in the Egyptian cabinet reached lifting support from a number of basic commodities such as flour—i.e., bread—sugar, rice, tea, and [butane] gas. At 50 percent for bread, 25 percent for sugar and rice, and 35 percent for tea and gas, the price increases shocked citizens. Furthermore, price increases for other commodities—luxury or semiluxury—reached 120 percent, while no wage increase had occurred for more than 15 years. Disturbances stopped only after the government announced the repeal of the decisions to raise prices. On 20 January, a new decision was broadcast, announcing that the economic group's previous decisions to raise consumer commodity prices were no longer in effect.

In Tunisia, the point of departure for the events of January 1984 was the beginning of implementation of a parliament-approved law doubling prices of bread, flour, and other grain products. Such a decree was the only thing needed to bring the irritation of the Tunisian people to a climax. The first spark came from the Tunisian south on account of a sack of flour whose purchaser was asked to pay a price double what he used to pay. The conflagration quickly reached the Tunisian capital and subsided only after tanks had gone into the streets. Again, those in charge—former President Bourguiba foremost among them—were forced to retreat. On 6 January, he announced the repeal of the decision to increase prices. The repeal took place in the context of a plan to dismiss certain personalities and hold them responsible for the bloody incidents and the resultant enormous losses.

In Morocco, the skies gradually became overcast with clouds because of the continual increase of prices. Then, on 27 December, the king asked the Moroccan people to tighten their belts even more. Although he said in his statement that the poor must be exempted from price increases, the reality was completely the opposite of what he said. The Moroccan Government had already submitted an austerity program in July 1983, including a 20- to 40-percent price increase for bread. No sooner did January 1984 come than a price increase was recorded for all basic commodities, particularly flour, bread, sugar, tea, and oil. Riots broke out, coinciding with the Casablanca Islamic summit. Despite official silence about the events, the foreign media recorded a picture of

their size and intensity. A new spate of price increases had been expected, but the outbreak of incidents caused the king of Morocco to cancel them in his speech of 22 January.

Almost the same scenario repeated itself in the Sudan, but it interacted with other factors to topple Numayri from power. In March 1985, Numayri, under the pressure of an economic collapse, decided to lift support from food commodities and raise bread prices. The increase was frightening. The price of a loaf of bread came to be 20 piasters, meaning that an average family would need 6 [Sudanese] pounds a day, or 180 pounds a month, merely to provide bread. Even worse, those who waited in lines to obtain bread sometimes returned to their homes empty-handed.

Even in the recent events in Algeria, bread and a food shortages were factors that helped light the fuse. In an initial move to quiet the situation, the government hurriedly flooded the market with food and provided bread in large quantities. Many Algerians were moved to ask where all this food had been before, and whether these incidents had been needed to make it appear.

#### IMF Behind Bread Uprisings in the Arab Countries

It should be noted that in all the countries where bread uprisings have occurred, Algeria excepted, the opposition has pointed accusing fingers at IMF interventions and recommendations and has warned against following those recommendations. However, the governments in question, under pressure of the economic crisis and because they had fallen into the snare of debt and reliance on foreign imports for part of their food, bowed their heads in submission. Events therefore took their course and revealed how greatly we lack food security.

One should note that the IMF's recipe for all the aforementioned Arab countries and even for other Third World countries linked to the wheel of the capitalist economy, such as Nigeria, Pakistan, and Brazil, rests on five fundamental principles:

- 1. Removing support from basic commodities and ration items such as bread, sugar, and fuel.
- 2. Devaluing the national currency on the grounds that this will help the export of local commodities.
- 3. Liquidating public-sector corporations on the grounds that this will lighten the burden of government spending, the consequences in terms of a worsening unemployment problem are disregarded.
- 4. Lifting or lightening customs barriers to foreign products and commodities.
- 5. Putting pressure on salaries and wages.

Obviously, such counsels, or rather pressures, constitute open interference in others' affairs. Experience has proven that the counsels are useless. Countries such as Morocco and Egypt applied some of them and reaped no

benefits worth mentioning. If we realize that these counsels are closely linked to the problem of debts and mounting interest, and that the gold that governments will save goes to cover debts and interest payments that have come due, we see that these counsels are a major slap against poor citizens, the national economy, and domestic industry and agriculture. The latter cannot stand up to imported goods supported by wealthy countries that possess a food surplus and are looking for markets for it so that its price does not decline and adversely effect farmers and agricultural activity. Even Algeria, which has been successful in avoiding open IMF interventions in its economic affairs, has not escaped the effects of the international crisis, since it imports a large proportion of its food—65 percent of its grain requirements, for example. The price of bread and other food ration items in Algeria has therefore inevitably been subject to the fluctuations of the world market. Thus the contagion crept into Algeria, even though Algeria had stood firm throughout the preceding years of the eighties.

#### Bread From Overseas

It is no exaggeration to say that in some of the Arab countries one of every two loaves [of bread] eaten comes from overseas. While this observation is cause for dismay, a cause for even more dismay is that fact that we see nothing on the horizon to presage a change in the proportion.

Taking flour as an example, as the most important cereal product the Arab states import, we find that in 1985 the Arabs imported about 21 million metric tons of it at a cost of about \$3.7 billion. Thus, 20.3 percent of world flour imports go to the Arab states. This means that our Arab region is the world's largest importing area for this important foodstuff. At the top of the list of Arab flour importers comes Egypt, with 7 million metric tons; next Algeria, with 4.04 million tons; then Iraq, followed by Morocco and the Sudan. When we read these figures, we ask in perplexity why our bread comes from overseas, when many Arab officials and official agencies repeatedly tell us that the Sudan by itself could be a bread basket for the entire Arab world. Why does our bread come from overseas, when our Arab homeland includes 10.3 percent of the earth's dry land area and is therefore larger than the entire European Continent, larger than the United States, and includes two of the world's most important rivers—the Nile valley in Egypt and the Tigris-Euphrates valley in Iraq?

Egypt was self-sufficient in wheat until the sixties; today, it is the world's largest importer of it. Algeria was until recently an exporter of wheat to Europe (France in particular). Even Syria, which until a few years ago was an exporter of wheat, has become an importer. As for Morocco, the Sudan, and Iraq, their situation is a cause for reflection, not to say amazement and perplexity, since they have the most fertile soil in the Arab world and important sources of water. While we do not deny

the negative effect of aridity on Arab agriculture and the pressure of demographic growth on food consumption, none of this explains the Arab homeland's inability to fulfil its food requirement.

### Food, A Weapon

The danger of relying on foreign countries to satisfy food requirements lies in the fact that this food has become a weapon that exporting countries use to steer the policy of importing countries. This ensures that the exporting countries can carry out their schemes. It is nothing new. Thirty years ago we heard an American senator say that the news that people relied on the United States for their food was good news to him, because food dependence was a fine way to make people rely on—i.e., cooperate with—you. We know what "cooperate" means in the lexicon of the big powers, particularly the United States. The clearest indication of America's reliance on the food weapon is the report the American intelligence agency presented in 1974 at the request of Henry Kissinger. It said:

"The world grain deficit could give the United States power it never previously possessed. It is a power that will enable it to exercise economic and political domination greater than that which it exercised in the years following World War II."

And so, will future Arab generations have Arab bread to eat and enjoy?

### Progress, Problems of Inter-Gulf Cooperation Discussed

44040203 Kuwait *AL-WATAN* in Arabic 25 Dec 88 p 13

[Article: "After More Than 7 Years, A Glance at GCC States and Economic Cooperation"]

[Text] The economic agreement between the GCC [Gulf Cooperation Council] member states is one of the executive unity plans which preoccupies numerous politicians and economists in the area's state agencies. The agreement is as old as the GCC and is the practical inlet to achieving one of the most important of the council's slogans and *raison d'être*. A lot has been said about the agreement and some people have written about it, trying to turn it into a reality by focusing on its executive complexities and by projecting the possibility of tackling it in phases so that certain executive aspects of the treaty may be implemented in each phase.

'Abdullah al-Quwayz, the GCC Economic Affairs assistant secretary general, is one of those who has spoken on this agreement. The Manama summit stressed the need to enact the agreement through separate laws that are issued by each state and that make it possible to implement it uniformly in the area's countries.

In a lecture in the State of Qatar, Al-Quwayz dealt with this agreement, clarifying the dimensions of the comprehensive economic cooperation between the GCC member states in the 7 years since the council was founded. The GCC assistant secretary opened his lecture, saying:

On 28 May 1988, the GCC became 7 years old. Therefore, it is necessary to take an examining look at the GCC's economic procession after these years. I hope that the look will not be accompanied with the 7-year displeasure, as people say.

The GCC represents a new experiment in the regional integration formulas. It is a pioneer experiment at the Arab and international levels by virtue of its broad and comprehensive objectives, as reflected by the following 5 major documents issued by the council:

- The council's constitution.
- The unified economic agreement.
- The development plans' objectives and policies.
- The unified industrial strategy.
- The common agricultural policy.

Article 4 of the constitution defines the GCC objectives as:

1. Achieve coordination, integration, and cohesion between the member states in all fields in order to achieve unity.

2. Strengthen and bolster relations, ties, and all aspects of cooperation existing between their peoples in all areas.

3. Establish similar laws in the various fields, including laws on the following:

- A. Economic and financial matters.
- B. Trade, customs, and communication matters.
- C. Educational and cultural matters.
- D. Social and health affairs.
- E. Information and tourism matters.
- F. Legislative and administrative matters.

4. Accelerate the wheel of progress in the fields of industry, mining, agricultural, water and livestock resources; set up scientific research centers; establish joint projects; and encourage the private sector's cooperation in a manner that serves the good of their peoples.

This article shows how comprehensive are the council's objectives and how broad are their dimensions. It reflects at the same time the importance of the council's

economic objectives. The unified economic plan was concluded to determine the various details of the GCC's economic course. The agreement's various articles deal with the following issues:

1. Trade exchange.
2. The movement of monies and of individuals, and the practice of economic activity.
3. Developmental coordination.
4. Technical cooperation.
5. Transportation and communications.
6. Fiscal and monetary cooperation.

This extensive detailing of the various aspects of joint economic activity provides a clear picture of the position occupied by economic integration between the member states as a means for merging these states' economies.

The interest in coordination and integration emanates from the actual needs of the structure of the member states' economies which rely mainly on a single source of revenue, namely oil, which constitutes a high percentage of their national income. Integration of the GCC member states' market provides the opportunity for creating numerous projects which cannot be established in a divided market.

With the presence of sound planning, the creation of numerous production projects accomplishes the fundamental goal of diversifying the production base and, consequently, of reducing reliance on a single source of income. Moreover, it provides new work opportunities for the growing population of the member states.

Moreover, the interest in coordination and integration is compatible with the international tendency which is inclined toward developing big economic entities that are harmonious with the technological and production developments which require major financial resources to meet capital costs and the costs of research, invention patents, and so forth.

Therefore, economic integration between the GCC member states is an inevitable option dictated by the economies of these states and by the international tendency toward big economic entities. The economic agreement underlines these facts and tendencies. Article 10 of the agreement devotes special attention to coordinating the member states' development plans so as to achieve economic integration between them. Article 9 stresses the establishment of joint projects to link citizens' economic interests. Article 18 highlights the importance of coordinating the industrial activities and of establishing policies and methods that lead to industrial development and to diversifying the production base in accordance with the principle of integration.

The other documents approved by the GCC member states are intended to complete the accomplishment of these objectives. The development plans' objectives and policies are concerned with the general aspects of development and with the means of its coordination. The industrial strategy and the agricultural policy cover the sectoral objectives of industry and agriculture.

Since the Bahrain summit of 1982, the [unified economic] agreement's stipulations have been implemented in succession. Numerous barriers facing the movement of individuals and goods have been eliminated and the member states' citizens have been permitted to engage freely in numerous activities, professions, and crafts, thus increasing the trade exchange and the economic cohesion between the GCC member states.

More than 50 documents have also been drafted in the form of policies, laws, regulations, procedures, and controls. Some of these have been approved, have become a part of the legal agenda of each member state, and have overwhelmed the national laws published in the member states' official gazettes. Some have been approved advisedly prior to their ratification as national documents. Others have been fully drafted but have not been approved yet.

Moreover, numerous joint projects and establishments have been founded and the outside world has come to view the GCC member states as a single economic entity. This view has been bolstered by unification of the trade and industrial policies and by coordination in the areas of aid, collective purchases, and the conclusion of economic agreements with other countries and economic blocs. The early signs of such agreements emerged with the framelike agreement concluded with the European Community on 15 July 1988.

By the criteria of similar regional organizations, a major accomplishment has been made. This has been aided by numerous factors, including:

1. The ceaseless directives by the GCC member states' leaders on the need to make decisions that serve the citizens and these leaders' persistent urging of the GCC member states' executive agencies to adhere to the agreed resolutions.
2. The similarity in the political, economic, and social conditions of the member states. These conditions are reflected in the presence of reasonable individual income levels in each member state.
3. The regional and international political conditions which encourage greater cohesion.
4. The administrative ability and the political awareness of the GCC coordination agency, i.e. its General Secretariat, which are the result of this agency's proximity to

the member states, of its awareness of their conditions and, consequently, its recommendation of what can be implemented, even though this agency lacks the required technical capabilities.

However, we should not exaggerate in our assessment of the accomplishments. Columns of trucks are still delayed at the borders and some exporters continue to face difficulties in proving that the exported national product qualifies for a customs exemption.

Implementation of the resolution on giving priority to national products is engulfed in great ambiguity and there has been retreat in implementing what was agreed regarding the minimum customs tariff.

The positive and "negative" traces of what has been approved so far are confined to a small sector of the citizens because expanding the base of equality—

whether in the private sector, in the civil service, or in social security and in pensions—entails added financial obligations at a time when the GCC member states are experiencing decline in their oil revenues. Further facilitation of the movement of citizens and goods collides with security requirements and with the extraordinary conditions being undergone by the Gulf region. Increased air travel is countered by the open skies, by the commercial competition between the national airlines, and by economic feasibility considerations.

Regional blocs are facing a number of challenges and obstacles which vary with the various levels of growth these blocs have achieved and with the degree and dimensions of the regional task they are undertaking. The challenges faced by the GCC common action in its initial years were mostly small and superficial. But the progress and development of the common action have caused these challenges to grow.

### 1. Total Population of Gulf States in 1986

	Citizens			Non-Citizens			Total			Percentage of Foreigners to Total Population
	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	
Saudi Arabia	7,012,974	51.1	48.9	3,150,756	88.8	11.2	10,163,730	59.7	40.2	31
Kuwait	750,466	49.8	50.2	1,072,296	61.3	38.7	1,822,762	56.6	43.4	59
UAE	434,449	51.4	48.6	1,239,204	73.8	26.2	1,673,653	68	32	74
Oman	816,000	47.3	52.7	494,400	73.6	26.4	1,310,000	57.3	42.7	38
Bahrain	295,168	50.3	49.7	139,556	75.4	24.6	434,734	58.4	41.6	32
Qatar	105,045	49.9	50.7	284,209	70.1	29.9	389,252	64.7	35.3	73
GCC Grand Total	9,414,102	50.7	49.3	6,380,021	77.5	22.5	15,794,121	60.1	39.9	40

### 2. Percentages of Economically-Active Citizens in 1986, According to Sector

	Saudi Arabia			Kuwait			UAE			Oman			Bahrain			Qatar		
	Citi- zens	For- eign- ers	Total	Citi- zens	For- eign- ers	Total	Citi- zens	For- eign- ers	Total	Citi- zens	For- eign- ers	Total	Citi- zens	For- eign- ers	Total	Citi- zens	For- eign- ers	Total
Agriculture and Fishing	23.5	4.3	14.3	2.1	1.9	1.9	5.0	4.9	5.0	8.3	3.0	23.3	3.4	0.9	2.0	0.1	0.2	0.2
Industry																		
Mining	2.4	0.7	1.6	2.0	0.8	1.1	1.0	2.1	2.0	-	-	2.1	6.1	1.4	3.5	4.9	3.1	3.3
Conversion Industries	6.5	11.9	10.0	3.8	8.4	7.5	1.0	6.9	6.4	-	-	1.1	6.5	8.9	7.8	2.4	15.2	13.8
Electricity, Gas and Water	4.6	2.1	3.4	1.2	1.1	1.1	2.0	1.8	1.9	-	-	0.1	3.2	1.3	2.1	19.8	2.8	4.6
Construction	9.5	28.5	18.6	1.1	22.5	18.2	1.6	27.0	24.8	-	-	27.5	5.0	33.7	21.0	1.0	20.1	18.1
Services																		
Commerce	14.0	16.0	12.3	4.9	12.8	11.3	7.0	14.3	13.6	-	-	26.4	9.8	16.4	13.5	8.1	6.3	15.5
Transportation and Communications	7.9	5.8	6.9	6.0	5.4	5.5	3.9	7.7	7.4	-	-	1.3	16.1	4.1	9.4	0.5	3.4	3.1
Business and Financing	-	-	3.1	3.3	3.1	3.1	2.0	3.2	3.1	-	-	1.7	6.3	2.5	4.2	0.9	4.2	3.9
Personal Services	31.6	27.8	29.875.6	44.0	50.1	74.0	32.1	35.7	-	-	16.5	43.6	30.8	26.5	62.3	34.7	37.5	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	-	-	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Work Force (in Thousands)	1,575	1,475	3,022	137	574	712	78	812	891	167	200	467	81	102	183	20	175	195

### 3. Vocational Distribution of Economically-Active Citizens in Selected Gulf States (Percentage Distribution)

Vocation	Saudi Arabia		Kuwait		UAE		Bahrain		Qatar	
	1974	1985	1975	1985	1975	1985	1975	1985	1975	1985
Technicians and Skilled Workers	5.3	14.10	7.1	21.1	3.0	6.9	6.4	14.3	5.6	10.7
Administrative Workers	0.7	2.1	1.2	3.0	4.7	10.2	1.3	1.5	2.6	8.5
Clerks	8.6	8.8	9.8	27.6	15.7	23.3	14.9	21.6	15.1	22.3
Sales clerks	5.0	7.6	7.7	4.8	7.2	6.9	11.1	8.7	9.1	8.2
Service Workers	7.2	8.4	29.9	32.8	28.4	33.4	11.2	14.3	14.8	22.4
Agricultural Workers	51.7	14.4	4.9	2.1	14.2	4.5	8.6	4.9	1.0	0.2
Production Workers	21.5	44.0	29.4	8.4	26.8	14.8	47.4	34.7	51.8	27.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

We find in the following the most significant challenges facing the GCC's common action:

1. Perhaps the sovereignty issue is one of the most significant challenges facing the regional blocs' common economic action. This issue is, for example, still facing the European Community which has been in existence for more than 30 years. The GCC member states are developing countries, some of which gained their independence recently and attach major significance to the sovereignty issue.

2. Common action entails structural changes in the production and service institutions of a bloc's member states. This restructuring is coupled with numerous sacrifices that are not often counterbalanced by immediate gains.

3. The population base and the resources available in the GCC member states are small and this, consequently, poses a challenge to common action. The small population number is translated here as a weak market potential which does not justify a large number of production projects. Moreover, the small base of raw material resources available is likely to cause expansion of the production base to be a relatively costly process, and here emerges the dimension of the GCC's pan-Arab interest.

Understanding the challenges that face us sharpens our minds to employ all means and resources to confront these challenges. In this regard, we can note the following:

1. The structure of the GCC member states' economies requires the initiation of a number of projects in a manner which, in addition to expanding the production base and providing more work opportunities for the citizens, will reduce the negative aspects of the common action. In this regard, the General Secretariat, jointly with the Gulf Investment Organization, is currently conducting a study on 20 projects of which we hope a number will be set up with the capabilities of the GCC member states' private sector and with the participation of the Gulf Investment Organization.

2. Development of common action requires increasing the efficiency of the ministerial committees' resolutions and recommendations. This in turn means boosting these committees' executive arms through their agencies in the member states. This step is essential to ensuring that common action is implemented.

We can note here a number of steps essential to establishing the common market, such as:

- The need to agree on a unified customs tariff for foreign goods within the time limit set by the Supreme Council.
- The need to agree on specific controls for establishing industrial projects—controls that encourage the creation of more such projects—and on the need to study the means to bolster faltering projects, to prevent damaging duplication, to merge similar projects, and to distribute projects fairly among the member states. These controls should be similar to the controls being currently discussed by the ministers of industry.
- Coordinating the member states' monetary policies and bringing their national currencies' exchange rates close to each other in preparation for agreement on a common currency.
- Approximating the incentives offered to the production sectors and establishing a special arrangement to compensate any producers harmed by unification of the market.
- Taking steps to further facilitate the movement of citizens and goods.
- Considering the possibility of the GCC's conclusion of economic agreements with neighboring Arab countries to support and bolster the bilateral and collective agreements concluded within the Arab League's framework in order to expand the market and spread benefits.
- Developing an effective mechanism to solve problems that arise as a result of implementation of the unified economic agreement.

Steps such as the above would represent a qualitative development in the ministerial committees' common action performance and would bolster the agreed resolutions and recommendations.

3. It is not enough to merely develop a complete and comprehensive visualization of the common action in order to embody this action and to inject a spirit of efficiency into it. The implementation of this visualization must be tended with followup and development so as to create a constant "mechanism" that protects the visualization from turning into mere documents or symbolic applications. Out of its awareness of the importance of the common action mechanism and in order to avoid the negative aspects of such action, the GCC Supreme Council agreed in its eighth session to give a greater role to the chairmanship of all the committees operating within the GCC's framework, particularly in terms of taking the initiative in raising the issues that concern cooperation and participation in developing harmonious opinions and in helping the General Secretariat to accelerate the adoption of the steps needed to implement resolutions made by the GCC.

To make it easier to reach decisions on issues raised, the Supreme Council has given the Financial and Economic Cooperation Committee the power to interpret the articles of the unified economic agreement and the economic resolutions made by the Supreme Council. We look forward to seeing these resolutions give the GCC common action a new boost.

#### **Egypt's Taba Test**

44000267 Jerusalem *THE JERUSALEM POST* in  
English 19 Jan 89 p 11

[Article by Shimon Tamir, an orientalist and economist]

[Text] Now that Taba border stone No. 91 has been marked, leaving only the last 270 metres from the marker to the sea in dispute, Egypt and Israel—and Jordan as well—should open their eyes to the huge potential of area where the borders of the three countries meet.

Both tourism and the free trade areas here have huge potentials, but only if the Egyptians, and the Arabs generally, stop presenting Eilat and its free trade area as the reason for the failure of their tourist industries and their free trade areas.

For many years now, Arab leaders and Arab propaganda, especially in Egypt, have expressed deep concern about the flourishing tourism in Eilat and Israeli-controlled Taba, and the Western tourist's apparent preference for these locales over nearby Egyptian tourist spots along the Gulf of Eilat coast or al-'Aqabah in Jordan. The almost total failure of the main free trade areas of Port Sa'id and Nuwayba', which bridges Jordan and Egypt, has intensified the pressure of the attacks on the Eilat region.

Indeed, many Egyptian businessmen and economists have warned of the danger Eilat poses for the future of the Port Said free trade area as well as the ports along the Suez Canal. Tens of millions of Egyptian pounds have

been invested in building warehouses for goods en transit, industry and hotels, much of which now lie empty. Studies have found that the Port Sa'id free trade area and other developments along the canal have failed to achieve their aim: the free trade zone has become a mecca for traders, Egyptian consumers and tourists to buy tax-free imported goods. Far from promoting local industry, as intended, the zone has hurt Egyptian enterprises.

Against this background, attacks launched against Eilat's free trade zone are understood. Why not blame Eilat for the Egyptian failure?

Dr Khalid Mahmud al-Qumi openly advocated war with Israel as a way of returning all the red Sea ports, from al-Aqabah to Umm Rashrash (the Egyptian name for Eilat) to Egyptian sovereignty.

Others have warned that Israel might want to turn Eilat into a substitute for Beirut, which was once the premier entreport of the Arab world. This would enable Eilat to serve as both a sea and land link between Egypt and Jordan, and the rest of the Persian Gulf countries, which employ hundreds of thousands of workers from the two countries. Eilat would be the focal point, as the reasoning goes, for the transport of goods, smuggled money, to all parts of the Arab world. It's for this reason that Egypt and Jordan are preparing the port of Nuwayba' as a sea bridge between Jordan and Egypt.

Much as also been written about the significance of Taba to Egypt, for instance its alleged role as Egypt's eastern gateway to the Arab world. A lot of interesting research has been done in recent years concerning the "Egyptianism" of this area, including work by the late attorney Dr Wahid Ra'fat and other authors, the most important of whom is Dr 'Izz- al-Din Fawda, an expert in international law.

There are those who think that President Husni Mubarak and many of his entourage were very much influenced by this research and that this was what prompted them to accept the international arbitration solution, before Israel presented them with a fait accompli in Taba.

Now that Taba seems to be returning to Egyptian sovereignty, there are many speculative plans and ideas for how to turn it into a counter-balancing force against Eilat.

When the Taba problem is finally resolved, the last obstacle which the Egyptians saw as a stumbling block to real normalization with Israel will have been removed. The real test of Egypt's sincerity will be the putting of the peace agreement, and its emphasis on cooperative ventures, into practice in the Taba region, where investments and development of tourist facilities already

exist—Israeli capital on one hand and Egyptian sovereignty on the other—perhaps on an operative basis of 51 percent to 49 percent in favour of Israel.

If such a historic step is carried out by both sides, it will serve as a living and vibrant model for coexistence and shared fate between the two nations. It will also supplement the third clause in the peace agreement which openly clarifies possibilities for joint cultural and economic developments between the two countries. Moreover, such Egyptian-Israeli cooperation does not harm Egyptian sovereignty over Taba, it also complies with Egyptian laws concerning joint venture capital in Egypt.

This welcome partnership between Israeli capital and Egyptian operation, which could exist in the Taba region could be a new beginning in the relationship between the two countries. This region could turn from one of strife and suspicion into a prosperous and developed region, benefiting both countries, as well as the region's other countries, particularly Jordan.

**Plastic Industry Standards for GCC Called For**  
*44040209 Doha AL-RAYAH in Arabic 14 Dec 88 p 4*

[Text] Doha (QNA)—The coordination meeting between manufacturers of household and industrial plastic products and plastic bags in the Arab Gulf countries underlined at its closing meeting yesterday the importance of expediting the issuing of Gulf standard specifications in order to maintain the quality and type of products, protect the consumer, and facilitate and encourage trade between these countries. It also stressed the need to seek the assistance of laboratories in government establishments and certified laboratories to ensure that products are according to specifications.

The meeting recommended to the concerned parties in the ministries of industry to ensure that, when applications for licensing new production capacity are received, market studies and comparison of volume of demand with the existing production capacity are carried out for all the GCC [Gulf Cooperation Council] countries and not just for the country where the new project will be established.

The Gulf Organization for Industrial Consultation has also recommended that studies be prepared on opportunities for investment in cast manufacturing, development of the existing industries, and new plastic industries.

The meeting called for studying the establishment of a research and development center for plastic products with the aim of improving their quality.

The meeting also recommended that the SABACO [Saba and Company] and QAPCO [Qatar Petrochemical Company] companies pursue the policy of pricing sales of raw material to the Gulf factories based on the lowest export price. It also recommended that the companies unify the

policy of pricing their products in the Gulf countries and give preference to meeting demands for raw material by Gulf factories over foreign demands.

The meeting also underlined the importance of standardizing protective regulations for the plastic industries, especially customs tariff on similar products, and standardizing incentives offered to the industry in the GCC states.

Other recommendations adopted by the meeting called for facilitating the flow of foreign products through customs checkpoints and urging government quarters to restrict bids for the purchase of plastic products to Gulf factories. It also called for the banks and financing corporations to provide the necessary financing facilities to encourage export of plastic products.

The producers agreed on establishing an association of manufacturers of household and industrial plastic and plastic bags that will assume cooperation and coordination between the manufacturers on one hand, and between the manufacturers and the parties concerned with industrial development in the Arab Gulf on the other.

The producers also agreed to set up a follow-up committee that will pursue the establishment of the association of household and industrial plastic and plastic bags manufacturers and will study the possibility of setting up a company by the producers in order to provide raw material for the producers and to market the products and carry out other such activities.

## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

**Islamic Organization's Support to Palestinian Cause Described**

*44040187 Kuwait AL-MUJTAMA' in Arabic  
22 Nov 88 pp 32-33*

[Interview with Ahmad 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Fallah, chairman of the aid committee of the Society for Social Reform: "Supporting the Intifadah [uprising] Is the Committee's Central Cause"; place and date not given]

[Text] The Charitable Aid Committee for Palestine and Lebanon, an organ of the Society for Social Reform, is making a noble effort to aid the people of these two fraternal countries. To learn about the committee's activities and achievements, AL-MUJTAMA' met with Mr Ahmad al-Fallah, chairman of the committee for its next 2-year term. The interview follows.

[AL-MUJTAMA'] Can you tell us about the committee's goals?

[Al-Fallah] To begin, I would like to thank the members of the previous board of directors for their great efforts in laying and strengthening the foundations of the committee. I would single out for mention the brother,

lawyer Mubarak al-Mutawwi', who played a great role and who, after the credit due God, deserves credit in this area. I pray that God Almighty will place this effort in the balance of their good deeds on the Day of Resurrection, and that they will be among those whom the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) mentioned in his hadith: "Whosoever follows a good Sunnah [a manner of acting that serves as a precedent] shall have a reward for it and a reward for those who shall act in accordance with it until the Day of Resurrection; but that will in no wise diminish the reward of the latter."

The most important goals that the committee works to achieve are:

- Supporting aid to members of the Palestinian and Lebanese people in Palestine, abroad, and in the camps.
- Concentrating on supporting our people in the occupied land with whatever will help and strengthen them in confronting the Jews.
- Alerting Muslims by every available means to the primary issue of Muslims—the issue of Palestine.

[AL-MUJTAMA'] What has the committee contributed from the time of its foundation to the present?

[Al-Fallah] Since its foundation 3 years ago in 1986, the committee has implemented numerous charitable projects in three regions: Palestine, Lebanon, and the refugee camps in Jordan.

In Jordan, the committee has constructed three health centers in the camps of Hittin (Shalnar), al-Wahdat, and Gaza. The committee is studying the opening of another health center in al-Buq'ah camp. The committee sponsors a group of orphans in these camps. Through the food unity project, the committee did relief work in Lebanon for the camps that were besieged last year. The committee sponsors a group of orphans of martyrs in the Palestinian camps through authorized Islamic organizations there. In Palestine, the committee is implementing many projects. It has established a health clinic in Jerusalem and has contributed to equipping another clinic in the city of Hebron. The committee sponsors a group of families that have lost their provider and pays them monthly allowances. The committee has invested in training projects, such as the establishment of a poultry farm and a sheep farm on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. The committee has also established a second health clinic in Jerusalem and sponsors a large group of orphans in Palestine. These, very briefly, are some of the committee's past accomplishments.

[AL-MUJTAMA'] What projects are you preparing to undertake in the future?

[Al-Fallah] The committee is working to study and implement a project for an Islamic charity center in Palestine, to be composed of a mosque, library, health

clinic, and lecture hall. The first steps have already been taken in the Land of the Night Journey [i.e., Palestine, so called because Muhammad's nocturnal ascension to Heaven is believed to have begun from the Temple Mount in Jerusalem]. Because of the prominent role of mosques in strengthening Muslims to confront their enemies—Jews and others—the committee has already finished building two mosques, one near Hebron, the other near Jerusalem. The committee will work diligently to establish a number of investment projects for training, in order to create suitable work opportunities for Palestinians inside the occupied land.

In Jordan, the committee aims at developing and expanding existing health clinics, so that by the end of next year they will become specialized, each containing a dental clinic, women's clinic, and men's clinic. These clinics will be equipped with modern medical equipment, so that they can perform their functions in the fullest manner.

[AL-MUJTAMA'] Are there any obstacles facing the aid committee and hindering the achievement of its goals?

[Al-Fallah] The committee really does not face great difficulties in realizing its goals domestically. This is due to the active participation and noble efforts of the charitable people of this country, both citizens and guest residents, and to their enthusiasm for the idea of establishing the committee. The committee receives support from government organizations, especially the Ministry of Awqaf, the Administration of Islamic Alms, the World Islamic Charitable Organization, the Committee of [Muslims of] Africa, the [Islamic] Missionary [Committee], and all the charitable committees in the country. But attention must be drawn to the difficulty of the terrain in which the committee operates abroad, especially in Lebanon, due to the internal conditions existing there, and in Palestine, due to the information blockade and heavy censorship practiced by the Jews against our Palestinian people in the occupied land. But praise be to God, through God's favor the committee is overcoming all the difficulties that face it.

[AL-MUJTAMA'] How has the aid committee participated in supporting the intifadah in Palestine?

[Al-Fallah] Ever since the beginning of the blessed intifadah, the committee has made support for those injured in the intifadah its primary focus of attention. The committee has campaigned to collect contributions and has contacted organizations and companies to participate in this work. The committee has sent this money to those who are entitled to it, and the money given to the committee for this purpose—about \$0.5 million—has reached them. The committee has expanded the orphan sponsorship program in Palestine, so that almost 300 orphans have been sponsored since the beginning of the intifadah. It has given material assistance to authorized Islamic alms committees in the villages and cities of Palestine. The committee is continuing these efforts. We

feel inadequate in the face of the amount of suffering and sacrifice that our people and children are offering in the Land of the Night Journey. We call on everyone to participate in these efforts.

The committee has also contributed educationally by setting up many exhibits at home and abroad to explain the lofty significance of the intifadah in resisting the Jews. The committee participated in setting up exhibits in Britain, the United States, and a number of Arab Gulf countries. On the local level, the committee has participated in setting up several exhibits for this purpose. In this regard, I am happy to report that the committee has decided to undertake Palestine Week and a charity bazaar in the coming month of December. Proceeds will be earmarked for the intifadah. We call on all organizations, companies, and individuals to participate with us in making this work a success.

[AL-MUJTAMA'] In the area of Lebanon, how does the committee offer its assistance?

[Al-Fallah] As I mentioned, in cooperation with the Islamic Group in Lebanon, the Islamic Salvation Front, and the Islamic Relief Agency, the committee has worked to help the camps in Lebanon. Through these organizations, the committee has dug wells in the north and has paid the fees of hundreds of students during the 1987-88 academic year. One of the committee's most important projects is the sponsorship of Islamic missionaries and imams. This year there were about 40 missionaries. The committee will develop its work in the camps to establish Islamic centers, mosques, and training projects.

[AL-MUJTAMA'] Has the committee considered establishing investment projects to guarantee its future funding?

[Al-Fallah] The new board of directors is currently making plans to implement several investment projects in areas where we work. The yield of such projects will be applied to previous charitable projects the committee is implementing. The most important goal of such activities, especially in Palestine, will be to create suitable work opportunities for young people, so that we enable them to stand firm in the Land of the Night Journey.

[AL-MUJTAMA'] To what extent is there coordination between you and the other charitable committees operating in Kuwait?

[Al-Fallah] First, I would like to explain to you that the Committee for Charitable Aid was the first Islamic charity committee established in Kuwait active in the area of Palestine and its cause. That took place approximately 3 years ago. Other committees were founded later and are still at the beginning of their work. The committee cooperates with them in all fields. I would mention, for example, the Palestine Charity Committee, an organ of the World Islamic Charity Organization, and

the Palestine Committee of the National Union of Kuwaiti Students. I wish to state that the committee receives full support and coordination from brothers in the Ministry of Awqaf, the Administration of Alms, and such other committees as the Committee of Muslims of Africa, the Islamic Missionary Committee, and other charitable committees that support the committee in its work. We have close contact with them.

[AL-MUJTAMA'] Do you have any closing words to say?

[Al-Fallah] I would like to stress that all the efforts being made to help Palestine and al-Aqsa are insufficient and inadequate to the size of the required task, especially at this stage when our children in the holy land of Palestine have sacrificed and are still sacrificing what is dear and precious and everything they possess.

Were we to compare what we are offering for the sake of this central issue that is part of the Muslim's creed with what the "children of the stones" are offering, we would feel shame. After 12 months of this blessed intifadah, let each of us ask himself what he has offered. But opportunity still presents itself in this field. In closing my remarks, I would call attention to the noble hadith:

"From Ziyad ibn Abi Sawdah, from his brother: Maymunah bint Sa'd, the freed maidservant of the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace!), said, 'O Prophet of God, tell us about Jerusalem.' So he (may God bless him and grant him peace!) said, 'The land of the place of resurrection and of congregation for judgment. Go to it, and pray in it; for a prayer in it is as 1,000 prayers elsewhere.' 'And what of someone who is unable to set out for it or go there?' she asked. He replied, 'Then let him send to it as a gift oil for lighting a lamp; for whoever sends a gift to it is as one who has prayed in it.'"—related by Ahmad [ibn Hanbal].<sup>1</sup> (Another version reads "500 prayers.")

Will we be among those who send something as a gift to Jerusalem to burn as a light after this long darkness?

[AL-MUJTAMA'] May God reward you well! We pray to Him that He will inspire you with true guidance. Peace be upon you and God's mercy and blessings!

#### Footnote

1. Al-Fath al-Rabbani, XXIII, p 393 (hadith 660).

#### Sinyurah Discusses Treatment of Media in Territories

44040173 London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic  
28 Dec 88-3 Jan 89 p 11

[Interview with Hanna Sinyurah, editor in chief of AL-FAJR, by Mustafa al-Yahyawi in Paris—date not given]

[Text] [Al-Yahyawi] How do you evaluate the Palestinian press situation in the occupied territories in the light of current events?

[Sinyurah] Since the beginning of the intifadah and up to this day, all the Palestinian establishments, including the press establishments, have been suffering from daily Israeli interference in their affairs and from attempts to disrupt their function. The Arab Studies Institute has been closed down by the occupation authorities for 1 year. The license of the Arabic and English language magazine AL-'AWDAH [The Return] has been withdrawn and the magazine was closed down. The Jerusalem Press Service was once closed for 6 months and later for 1 year. Small press establishments in the West Bank and Gaza have stopped completely following the issuing of military orders closing them down. Palestinian journalists are working under extremely difficult conditions, their rights are usurped, and their mouths are gagged. Five elected members of the committee managing the League of Palestinian Journalists have been arrested for 6 months. At one time 12 journalists of the AL-FAJR editorial team were under arrest. Last year the paper was banned from circulation in the West Bank and Gaza five times, for periods ranging between 1 week and 45 days. The military censor deletes 70 percent of the local news.

[Al-Yahyawi] How do you deal with this situation?

[Sinyurah] Many of Israel's friends, including Henry Kissinger, have advised Israel to close the West Bank and Gaza sector to the press and to prevent it from covering the intifadah events. This was what actually happened. Most of the areas are banned to journalists and have been declared military zones. This means that whenever serious incidents occur neither the foreign press nor the local press can cover them. Journalistic work is restricted to Jerusalem only. This has harmed the intifadah with regard to reporting its events and conveying a live picture of it to the outside world. Incidents now occur with nobody to witness them.

[Al-Yahyawi] How do you go about your normal daily business under occupation?

[Sinyurah] Every day we send to the Israeli military censorship in successive batches the material we decide to publish. Nothing can be published without the censor's permission. Even commercial advertisements are sent to the censor in order to permit publishing their contents. On the other hand, no paper is allowed to publish showing blank spaces. Therefore, we double our efforts and prepare press material in advance. Some 70 percent of the local news is banned from being published.

[Al-Yahyawi] Are journalists allowed to circulate in the occupied territories and to contact foreign delegations?

[Sinyurah] So far the occupation authorities do not object to our contacts with foreign delegations that visit the occupied territories. But the problem lies in the fact that freedom of movement in the occupied territories is

nonexistent. The residents of Jerusalem do enjoy some privileges, however. Not only is moving in the occupied territories a problem, but travelling abroad is also banned.

[Al-Yahyawi] Do you believe that the Western press has covered the intifadah events objectively?

[Sinyurah] World television coverage of the intifadah was better during the first few months, before the occupation authorities' decision to close the occupied territories. This has negatively affected coverage of the intifadah events and reporting of violations of the Palestinian human rights in the occupied territories, such as beating, torture, bone breaking, and shooting. The suspension of transmission of live coverage by world television services has led to a decline in international interest, and it is feared that this will negatively affect the intifadah's image in the world.

[Al-Yahyawi] There are in the West associations for defending freedom of expression, including the press. Have these associations played their role and contacted you?

[Sinyurah] It must be admitted that these associations play an effective and constructive role in following Palestinian press affairs and in condemning violations of press freedom in the occupied territories, whether with respect to individuals or establishments. These associations have played a positive role in the release of many Palestinian journalists arrested during the intifadah, including Radwan Abu-'Ayyash, dean of journalists, and other colleagues. But, unfortunately, all this did not prevent Israel from pursuing its repressive policy against us and trying to gag our mouths.

[Al-Yahyawi] Palestinian universities are closed and cultural and activities of educational institutions in the occupied territories have been suspended. What is UNESCO doing for the Palestinians in these difficult times?

[Sinyurah] We notice that world organizations, such as UNESCO, which is not playing its desired role of looking after science and education, are showing some kind of impotence. With regard to the press, the services and assistance which UNESCO is offering are very little and almost negligible. There is great potential for action. UNESCO presence is needed in the media and cultural fields, to which it can offer assistance and services. We as Palestinians do not see the world organizations doing any significant work during the intifadah, and so we are surprised.

#### **Gaza Lawyer Discusses Palestinian Exports to Europe**

*44040195 London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic  
11-17 Jan 89 p 11*

[Interview with Gaza Lawyer Fayiz Abu-Rahmah by Mustafa al-Yahyawi in Paris; date not given]

[Text] En route home from a visit to the United States, Fayiz Abu-Rahmah, dean of the Gaza Sector lawyers,

stopped in Paris to attend a media day on the "Palestinian Economy under the Uprising" organized by the Arab-French Chamber of Commerce in cooperation with the Arab League office in the French capital. AL-MAJALLAH correspondent Mustafa al-Yahyawi met Abu-Rahmah and had an interview with him on the difficult economic conditions in the occupied territories, at a time when the Israeli occupation authorities are seeking to destroy the Palestinian economy in order to starve and weaken the Arab inhabitants in a desperate attempt to put an end to the stones revolution. The following is the text of the interview:

[Al-Yahyawi] How far have the occupation authorities gone in their attempts to destroy the Palestinian economy, and how is the situation today with regard to the sectors of this suffering economy?

[Abu-Rahmah] The economic situation in the occupied territories has suffered severely because of current events there, and its structure has weakened to a great extent. Because of the uprising and its complications, there were continuing all-out strikes during the first 6 months of the uprising, when work in the various sectors was only 3 hours a day, from 0900 to 1200 hours. Later there were intermittent and various strikes. All this has adversely affected the Palestinian economy. What is even more serious is that the Palestinian farmers were prohibited by the military authorities from exporting their products via Jordan and even from selling them inside Israel. For instance, the watermelon season last summer was a total waste, and the farmers incurred heavy losses. There is now a surplus of olive oil estimated at 25,000 tons looking for a buyer. Moreover, citrus in the Gaza Sector is faced with the threat of either going to waste or of being sold at low prices because of Israeli restrictions and constraints on purchase and sale and on transportation of goods. Despite the fact that the EEC is committed to purchasing 16,000 tons of citrus out of 130,000 tons of local produce during the current season, the Palestinian economy is suffering from serious deterioration and needs to be rescued.

[Al-Yahyawi] The Israeli economy too has suffered because of the continuing uprising.

[Abu-Rahmah] This is true, but the damage suffered by the Palestinian economy is by far greater than that suffered by the Israeli economy, which also suffered because of the uprising. The Israeli tourist sector suffered a 30 percent drop in the number of tourists. The field of construction and contracting in Israel was almost paralyzed during the first months of the uprising. The textile industry has also suffered and came to almost a complete standstill. To compensate for the loss of Palestinian manpower, Israel tried to import Portuguese workers. What matters to us is that our economy has suffered because of the continuing uprising and the restrictions imposed by the occupation authorities. Nevertheless, the Palestinian citizens have endured and have shown patience toward the difficult living conditions.

They will continue to endure and to be patient until a peaceful settlement is reached, self-determination is realized, and a Palestinian state is established.

[Al-Yahyawi] What are the priority requirements to bolster the Palestinian economy and prevent its total collapse—which would give Israel a suitable opportunity to strike at the uprising? What do you want from the Arabs and Europeans?

[Abu-Rahmah] We want the Arab countries to purchase all our agricultural products and not let them go to waste or be sold at low prices inside the occupied territories because of the abundance of such products. The Arab countries in this respect would be rendering us a real service; it is a legitimate service that will not be opposed by the military authorities because marketing and exporting Palestinian agricultural products, although suffering from certain restrictions, remain open. We also demand that the Arab brothers support inhabitants of the occupied territories in the field of education by allowing Palestinian young men to enroll in Arab universities, particularly since the six Palestinian universities have been closed for 1 year, during which they did not open their doors for a single day. Therefore we hope that the Arab countries will take our difficult conditions into consideration and stand on our side during our calamity. We also intend to establish a Palestinian bank for construction and development which will offer loans to inhabitants of the occupied territories who wish to build private dwellings. There is no doubt that this will help stimulate construction and the depressed labor market and, consequently, enable the inhabitants to stand fast and continue the revolution against military occupation.

[Al-Yahyawi] Israel is imposing new taxes on exports and legislating laws organizing the economic life in the occupied territories. This is in violation of international laws that stipulate that an occupying power cannot legislate new laws for people under occupation. How serious are these laws for the Palestinian economy?

[Abu-Rahmah] All that matters for Israel is the protection of its agricultural and industrial products against local competition. For example, for years the occupation authorities have been objecting to the establishment of a Palestinian citrus juice factory in Gaza, to which Italy donated money to build long ago. It also donated money to build a commercial port in Gaza. But Israel aborted both projects. In Hebron the occupation authorities banned the building of a cement factory despite the fact that all the legal, financial, and marketing conditions for establishing it were met. So, there are many projects that are awaiting licensing, but Israel turns them down because no factory or economic project can be established without licensing from the military occupation authorities. With regard to legal restrictions, they are numerous. These, for example, include the imposition of new taxes in the form of value added tax on Palestinian agricultural products marketed locally and abroad so that they will be unable to compete with the Israeli products.

[Al-Yahyawi] The EEC has asked Israel to lift restrictions on Palestinian products in accordance with the agreement concluded with it in this regard. Has Israel responded to the European request?

[Abu-Rahmah] As I have already said, the EEC has contracted the purchase of 16,000 tons of Palestinian citrus from the Gaza Sector. When I left the sector a few days ago, negotiations were underway regarding organizing exports so that shipping will be carried out on time. The occupation authorities made it a condition that Israeli employees should be present in the packaging and waxing plant in order to supervise exports. This could be for the purpose of creating endless obstacles in order to undermine the agreement reached with the EEC. When plant owners protested against and objected to the presence of Israeli employees, the occupation authorities' answer was that it is determined to implement this. Negotiations are still in progress. This means that though Israel has approved the agreement with the EEC, it is preventing exports from being carried out in the best manner.

## ALGERIA

**Algerian-Belgian Shipping Company Formed**  
*45190029c Algiers ALGERIE-ACTUALITE in French*  
*29 Dec 88-4 Jan 89 p 22*

[Article by Arezki Mokrane; first paragraph is ALGERIE-ACTUALITE introduction]

[Text] Brussels—International Shipping Agencies (ISA) is the symbol of a new experiment by the CNAN [Algerian National Shipping Company]—pending a possible partnership among maritime shipping companies in the Maghreb.

There it is: The first joint Algerian-Belgian shipping company, known as the ISA, has just been formed in Antwerp. For the Algerian National Shipping Company, this is a world first.

The CNAN came into existence at the same time as that other big giant of our national economy, SONATRACH [National Company for the Transport and Marketing of Hydrocarbons]. This December it is celebrating its 25th birthday, and at that age one is entitled to want to procreate.

A quarter of a century after its establishment, the CNAN has a fleet of 49 ships which link practically all the continents as the months pass. Our national company also operates a second fleet that carries mainly bulk cargo.

In 1987, the tonnage handled by the CNAN exceeded 6 million metric tons, representing 30 percent of our foreign trade. The company's turnover: 1.2 billion dinars; personnel: 2,700 employees, three-fourths of whom are seagoing.

It is a company that has attained a good cruising speed: "We control 50 percent of the tonnage leaving Belgium," we were told by the CNAN's general manager, Mokhtar Amar, "in the city where Rubens, the famous Flemish painter of the early 17th century, had a studio. We decided a few months ago to establish a joint company with a Belgian partner because Antwerp has become a very important port to the CNAN.

"Antwerp was the economic capital of the West in the 15th century, and it is still an extremely important economic center in Europe.

"The ISA has been operational since 1 November 1988. The event deserves to be emphasized because, in fact, it is a world first for the Algerian National Shipping Company. The choice of Antwerp was not a neutral one: it was the result of lengthy commercial experience—about 20 years—with the Furness Company. The partners have made personnel available for managing the new company, which is organized under Belgian law. Except for the acquisition of ships, the objects for which this new firm was established cover every activity, examples being consignment, warehousing, transit shipments, preforwarding, and chartering," says the CNAN's general manager, who incidentally is also chairman of the board of the ISA, "and we have even thought about operating ships. We made the company's purposes very broad. Who knows? In a few years, if it wants to, this company may even consider the acquisition of ships." The ISA can therefore "take to the sea" with complete peace of mind, and the officers of the new company seem determined not only to master the maritime shipping end but also all the related upstream activities.

For his part, the ISA's general manager Bousbaa does not conceal his satisfaction, because the idea of establishing such a firm has been in the air for about 15 years. To that former official in the transportation sector, the undertaking is an exciting one.

"Our partner agreed to a certain number of principles," he says, "whereas others probably would not have adhered to those principles. Since 1 November, we have been the CNAN's shipping agent in Antwerp and Belgium's other ports, but the objects of this company are not limited to the Kingdom of Belgium."

As everyone knows, Belgium is headquarters for the European institutions and, in such a context, occupies a key position. Negotiations are also underway in the Maghreb with a view to coordinating the activities of North Africa's shipping companies. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the CNAN is by far the most dominant African shipping company.

"Our concern in the beginning is limited to creating a partnership of maritime shipping companies in the Maghreb," says Mokhtar Amar, "and I have proposed to my other colleagues and friends who head companies in the Maghreb that we meet in Algeria to begin talks, conduct

studies, and coordinate a certain number of activities. Structures already exist for coordination among the three Maghreb companies, and a club for protection and indemnification has been set up as a result of those contacts. Warehousing contracts have been negotiated, and now a single warehousing agent has been appointed to work with those different companies."

From the standpoint of a Europe without frontiers in 1992, that initiative will not fail to attract growing interest. "We are expecting a great deal from this undertaking," the CNAN official emphasizes, "because it will have everything necessary for helping us achieve greater transparency in costs."

## EGYPT

### Al-Mahjub on Israeli Satellite, Other Issues

JN2501114889 Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic  
22 Jan 89 p 6

[By Mahmud Mu'awwad, 'Abd-al-Jawwad 'Ali, and Sharif al-'Abd]

[Excerpts] In his comment on the fears expressed by the opposition and majority deputies concerning the Israeli space satellite, People's Assembly Speaker Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub has asserted that Egypt has an advanced arms industry and sufficient resources to defend and preserve the safety of the homeland. During the assembly's discussions of the government's statement yesterday, the opposition demanded the cancellation of the state of emergency during the Consultative Council elections to guarantee neutrality under the independent list system.

The assembly began its session to discuss the government's statement with a speech by Fathi Bayyumi. He said: "The Egyptian economy will not be supported by the government alone, but also by stability. Every Egyptian must participate in stability and reconstruction."

He added: "We all suffer from inflation and feel its effects. The present inflation is no less than 25 percent and it has its great impact on the working classes. Therefore, it is the government's duty to reduce this inflation, revise wages, and cut prices."

Bayyumi said: "I appeal to the prime minister to issue a decision to the public sector companies ordering them not to dismiss their employees who reached retirement age from the houses which were provided to them by these companies before the government provides them with new houses." [Passage omitted]

Sayf-al-Islam al-Banna said: "I still insist on demanding more real democracy, freedom of the press, and the formation of new parties. In the past, no permit was issued to establish a single party. We should open the doors."

He added: "If we are on the threshold of new elections and are dissolving the Consultative Council, the electoral process should be the full responsibility of the judiciary. The electoral rolls should be in accordance with reality, and the emergency law should be lifted during the election campaign."

He said: "I demand the launching of an Arab space satellite to provide ourselves with a complete deterrent force against Israel. I say that the internal situation has reached a serious stage." Sayf-al-Islam continued: "We want the assembly to take a position with regard to the tyrants of the secret police because torture and detention are still continuing. The people listen only to truth. The solution is only through frankness, ending torture, and releasing the Islamic groups that demand applying God's Shari'ah." [passage omitted]

Hasan Radwan said: "The government has tackled various problems for which it was not responsible. They emanated from past mistakes, which is why our generation is facing so many problems."

He added: "The government of Dr 'Atif Sidqi is the government of tackling problems. Therefore, I ask it to solve the problems of the youth, particularly providing work opportunities and appropriate housing so that these people will be able to play an effective role in achieving national awakening. The base of the youth is good and Egypt's youth always carried the banners of well being of the homeland."

When some speakers referred to the statement of the Muslim ulema on terrorizing some youths under the cover of Islam, Rif'at al-Mahjub said: "The Muslim ulema said the word of truth; namely, Islam has never been a religion of terrorism and Muslims have never been terrorists, but they were fighters for spreading the Islamic call. What is wrong with the ulema saying the word of truth? I respond to those who are trying to criticize the position of Muslim ulema in their statement on the extremism of some youths by saying: I hope you will not attribute to Islam something it has nothing to do with. Islam is the religion of mercy and dialogue."

When Sana' 'Ulaywah asked Arabs to cooperate with Egypt to launch a space satellite as Israel did to protect Arab countries against any danger threatening their security in the future, Dr Al-Mahjub said: "I am not against having a satellite in space, but against being disturbed by the Israeli satellite, particularly since we have an advanced arms industry and sufficient resources to defend the safety of the homeland, even if we do not have a space satellite. I wanted to say this because I know its effect, and it is not right to say more."

### Political Scientists Study Islam's Role in Foreign Policy

45040186 Cairo LIWA AL-ISLAM in Arabic  
9 Jan 89 pp 40-41

[Article by Ibrahim al-Bayyumi Ghanim: "Where Is Islam in Egypt's Foreign Policy"]

[Text] It is well known that the directions and goals of a state's foreign policy are governed by domestic conditions, especially by the special considerations of self-identity, of the cultural and civilizational heritage and, of the nature of the social and political forces affecting and influencing the domestic policy arena.

For example, we find that U.S. foreign policy is largely governed by the influence of the Zionist and Jewish pressure lobbies generally, and that the Israeli enemy's foreign policy is governed by the historical Zionist structure and by the Torah-oriented vision, even though this vision is founded on allegations and myths.

But what about Egypt's foreign policy? Is it governed and are its objectives and directions determined by the principles and rules of Islam, which is embraced by the overwhelming majority of the Egyptian people, which constitutes the axis of the Egyptian people's existence and identity, and which is constitutionally stipulated as the official state religion? If there is a clear separation between society's will to live governed by Islam's law and the government's policies which are governed by elements other than God's revelation, then is it that easy to disregard this will and the Islamic movement reflecting this will politically and socially in matters pertaining to foreign policy? And what are the consequences of all of this?

The simultaneously clear and precise answer has come from the experts and specialists in this area; from prominent officials in the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, led by the minister of foreign affairs; and from a number of political science researchers and academicians during the second political research conference which was organized by Cairo University's Economics and Political Science College from 3-5 December 1988. This year's topic was "Egypt's foreign policy in a changing world."

It doesn't strike one as if the said conference paid enough attention to the above questions and to the issues connected with them. Out of 33 studies, the conference devoted just one to examining the question of "Islam in Egypt's foreign policy." This study was presented by Dr 'Ula Abu-Zayd from the political science section of the Economics College.

However, there was a common denominator in most of the conference's studies and in the discussions held on these studies; on Dr 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid's lecture, delivered on opening day; and Dr Usamah al-Baz' lecture, delivered the following day. All stressed, directly or

indirectly, wittingly or unwittingly, that Egypt's foreign policy is not founded on clear principles, that it is monopolized by the government, and that it is therefore distressed, inconstant, and more strongly influenced by the outside world than this world.

### Minister of Foreign Affairs: No Ethics in Politics

In the discussions which took place on Dr 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid's lecture on Egypt's foreign policy, the lecturer was asked about the principles and values that govern and determine the objectives of Egypt's foreign policy. His response was that politics know no ethics and that Machiavellianism, i.e., unethicness, is one of the elements determining Egypt's policy. However, this answer is tantamount to an unsuccessful avoidance of the question. Instead of talking about the principles on which Egypt relies or must rely in its foreign movements—principles such as Arab unity, Islamic solidarity, independence, and elevating the nation's identity vis-a-vis the world imperialist powers—the minister said that our policy has no ethics and no principles. To put it simply, it is as if we are hearing the foreign minister of any European country.

But does merely talking about principles and values, even from the Islamic perspective, change the reality under which Egypt's foreign policy lives? In his lecture, Dr Usamah al-Baz talked extensively about the importance of the Islamic identity in directing and determining Egypt's foreign and domestic policy. Dr al-Baz even proceeded to respond to one of those who nonsensically reiterate on every occasion that Arabism is more comprehensive than Islam, that it is the base, and that Islam is one of its components. He stressed that he believes differently and that Islam is the broader and more comprehensive circle as an ideological and cultural bond. However, Dr al-Baz was unable to explain Egypt's position on some of the Islamic world's issues, such as its decision to prevent the Afghan mujahidin leader from entering Egypt last year and the striking difference between Egypt's position on Israel's invasion of Lebanon and its position on Iran's threats against the Gulf states, for example.

So much for the vision of the prominent officials of Egypt's foreign policy. But what about the academicians' vision and what are the conclusions of their scientific studies and research in this regard?

If we view the conclusion of the only study which dealt with Islam in Egypt's foreign policy and compare it with the conclusion of the study which dealt with the elements of change and continuity in Israel's foreign policy, we find that the [first] conclusion calls for lamenting the condition of Egypt's foreign policy and for anger over the features characterizing Israel's policy. In her calm study on Islam in Egypt's foreign policy under President Mubarak's administration, Dr 'Ula Abu-Zayd says: "Islam cannot be considered one of the elements influencing the awareness of the Egyptian foreign policy

decisionmaker." (Page 36) On the other hand, she says: "Even though the Islamic forces have attained under Mubarak's administration a degree of organization, activity, and legitimacy they had never attained under his predecessors, the current regime has made it more explicitly known that foreign policy is a state monopoly. The objectives of Mubarak's foreign policy are clearly stated and do not give any consideration, not to mention priority, to Egypt's relations with the Islamic nation." (Page 38) In Dr 'Ula's opinion, the current regime is not different from 'Abd-al-Nasir's and Al-Sadat's regimes insofar as its position vis-a-vis Islam is concerned. Despite their eagerness to appear concerned with the Islamic nation's interests, the two former regimes took "oppressive measures against the domestic Islamic currents. Their foreign positions contradicted their claims of concern for the Islamic world's interests." (Page 38)

As for Israel's policy, a study by an expert at AL-AHRAM's Political and Strategic Studies Center concludes that "it is more closely tied to its actual domestic environment" and is "governed by the special circumstances of the Zionist-Israeli historical makeup, especially by the Zionist ideology and the Jewish historical legacy." (Page 40) Therefore, one of its most prominent features is its constant adherence to ideological principles derived from the Talmud, from the myths of the "promised land from the Nile to the Euphrates, God's chosen people," and from slogans still hanging on the Knesset walls and at Lod and Ben Gurion airports.

#### Some Examples: Egyptian Policy and Nuclear Option

In her important study on "Egyptian policy and the nuclear option," Dr Nadiyah Mustafa, a professor of international relations at the Economics and Political Science College, says that since the 1960's to this date, "Egyptian policy has failed to neutralize or contain the Israeli nuclear monopoly." This is, in fact, a natural consequence of the difference in the principles and values on which the policies of each Egypt and Israel are founded and of how clear or unclear are these principles. What is amazing, despite this failure, is that Egyptian diplomacy continues to stress the need for efforts to create a demilitarized zone while, on the other hand, the aggressive Israeli policies and Arab division persist." (Page 49 of Dr Nadiyah's study)

Affirming Egypt's failure to abide by the Islamic perspective in its foreign policy, another study on the special relationship between Egypt and the United States reveals that Egypt's positive stances on Islamic issues in the UN General Assembly sessions of 1980, 1983, 1985, and 1987 were not tied so much to the fact that those were Islamic issues as they were tied to the U.S. position on those issues. The most prominent example is that in the four sessions, Egypt took the same position on the Afghanistan and Cambodia issues as did the United States. Perhaps the picture is clearer where the position on the Palestinian issue is concerned. It is true that Egypt supported all the resolutions connected with this issue.

But it refrained from voting on the resolutions demanding sanctions against Israel "due to the considerations and obligations of the peace treaty." (Dr Halah Saudi's study, page 24)

The question raised now is: Until when will Islam continue to be absent from guiding Egypt's policy in an ever-changing world? The most prominent feature of this change is the disappearance of the currently predominant ideologies and their replacement by new ideologies which will be led by Islam. Numerous political scientists expect Islam to be the predominant ideology in the next century. The early signs of this predominance are seen in the Islamic revival movement which is spreading to all parts of the world. Is it acceptable for this separation between foreign policy and the nation's identity and society's to continue?

Dr Anwar 'Abd-al-Malik, a prominent intellectual, stresses that determining the Egyptian direction requires "mobilization of all capabilities and utilization of all intellectual schools, without exception." Even though we agree with Dr 'Abd-al-Malik, we must add that each ideological current's or school's contribution must be commensurate with its social and political weight and proportionate to what the current or school represents to the nation historically and culturally. "And then the faithful shall rejoice with God's victory."

#### Muslim Scholar on Social Affairs

JN2101161689 Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic  
19 Jan 89 p 11

[Interview with Shaykh al-Ghazali, Egyptian Muslim scholar, by Mustafa 'Abd-al-Ghani—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [AL-AHRAM] In which of the current trends do you think you should be classified?

[Al-Ghazali] I do not belong in any particular trend or school. However, I belong in the moderate Islamic stream, which seeks to apply the Islamic Shari'ah and build education on the tenets and ideals of Islam. Credit should go to martyr Hasan al-Banna [Muslim Brotherhood founder], who led the way in raising the banner of such principles. [passage omitted]

[AL-AHRAM] What, in your opinion, are the reasons behind religious extremism?

[Al-Ghazali] Religious extremism is the outcome of a religious vacuum in Egypt and the Arab world at large. If a moderate religious stream is given the opportunity to make an honest, sound presentation of Islam, extremism will disappear and its proponents will have no case. The religious vacuum and the social and economic ills afflicting the Arab nation may also be to blame. There are those whose African affiliation overshadows their

Islamic affiliation. Furthermore, the application of the Shari'ah laws as enshrined in the Constitution is moving, if at all, too slowly for some people.

[AL-AHRAM] Are you saying the state should assume the responsibility for reform?

[Al-Ghazali] Reform of the laws is a matter for the government rather than individuals. The state could have rehabilitated Egyptian society by overhauling the legislation that has permitted countless crimes—take, for instance, the thousands of murders and concomitant vendettas as well as family feuds. If the law of requittal were to be applied, there would not be this level of corruption.

Punishment is applied in no more than 3 or 4 percent of murder cases, with the remainder of the offenders being let off with life sentences at hard labor. It is not uncommon for a killer convicted of premeditated murder to be spared punishment. The relevant laws should be reformed. If Islam stipulates such a change, there is no reason why it should not be decreed. Rape is the sort of crime that ought to be extirpated. Why is it that convicts in rape cases are not killed?

[AL-AHRAM] Where do religious scholars come in?

[Al-Ghazali] Religious scholars are called upon to make denunciations, give guidance to the confused, and sound the alarm when there is deviation from the right path. I think a good many religious scholars are doing as much. Others, however, would rather not stick their necks out.

[AL-AHRAM] The Awqaf minister is said to be behind the statement issued by His Eminence Shaykh Sha'rawi.

[Al-Ghazali] Suppose the minister of Awqaf did say he would like to sound out leaders of the religious community on the conduct of some of those who make mistakes in their manner of propagating Islam or in understanding it, what's wrong with that? On the other hand, when we answered, we did not seek to appease anyone. We had the satisfaction of God on our mind.

[AL-AHRAM] What do you think should be done to tackle the so-called extremist trend now?

[Al-ghazali] Moderate trends, of which there are many, ought to be invigorated. Different aspects of social life in Egypt could be Islamicized.

**Government Encourages Expatriate Investment in Small Industry**  
450000088 Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic  
7 Jan 89 p 37

[Text] Preparations are currently underway to implement a small industries project for expatriates and Egyptians returning from abroad to invest their money in production projects. These preparations are through

cooperation between the Ministry of Manpower and the ILO, financed by the UN Nations Development Program. Manpower Minister 'Asim 'Abd-al-Haqq announced that he will form a supreme committee from certain ministries and offices to oversee the project's implementation, and at the end of the project expects to establish an office to assist the returnees to get the information and support they need in this area. He will also provide them with studies and organize training courses. He said Egyptian labor representation offices abroad will provide Egyptians with the information and bulletins that will help them set up these projects according to the size of their deposits and capabilities. These projects will be diversified so as to cover most economic activity in Egypt.

Some manpower offices in governorates characterized by the large number of their citizens returning from abroad will also offer these services.

**Arab Fund To Finance Dumat Power Station**  
JN0801105688 Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic  
6 Jan 89 p 13

[Text] Economic talks between Egypt and the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development [AFESD] concluded in Cairo yesterday. During talks held over the past 2 weeks, agreement was reached on the projects the fund will finance in Egypt. These include the second stage of the Dumat power station, which the fund will fully finance with a 35 million Kuwaiti dinar loan with a 5-year grace period and a 4 percent annual interest rate.

'Abd-al-Latif al-Hammad, chairman of the AFESD board of directors, said the loan agreement will be signed at the fund's head office in Kuwait this month and work on the project will start in March. He added: Egypt agreed to pay its share to the fund, estimated at about 10 million Kuwaiti dinars, which it stopped paying in 1979 when its membership was frozen.

In a related development, other AFESD delegations are expected to visit Egypt during the next 3 months to agree on financing some projects related to Egypt's infrastructure. These include electricity, energy, irrigation, and some industrial and agricultural projects.

**Egyptian-Jordanian Meat Production Firm Set Up**  
NC2401130689 Cairo MENA in Arabic  
0855 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Cairo—The General Assembly of the Egyptian-Jordanian holding company ended its meetings in Cairo last night under the chairmanship of Hamdi al-Tabba', Jordanian minister of industry and trade. The meeting was also attended by Dr Maurice Makramallah, minister of state for international cooperation, and members of the company's board of directors.

During the meeting, the establishment of an Egyptian-Jordanian company for the production of red meat and fodder was announced. The company will be set up in Al-Nubariyah, on the Cairo-Alexandria desert road, with capital of \$20 million, of which 20 percent will be paid by the holding company, with the remaining amount covered through subscriptions by Arab finance institutions and the Arab public.

Minister al-Tabba' has stated that the project was studied from all aspects. According to the project's feasibility study, it is expected to yield approximately 131 million pounds in revenue annually, not to mention its importance for both countries' economies.

The project will be set up in an area covering 5,300 feddans and will include the breeding and fattening of livestock using advanced methods, addition to producing fodder and cereals.

#### **Rice Factories Projected for 1989**

*45040171b Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI in Arabic  
31 Dec 88 p 5*

[Article by Salwa Ghunaym]

[Text] Minister of Supply Dr Jalal Abu-al-Dahab at the beginning of the new year will open five factories that will produce 203,000 tons of boiled rice in Kafr al-Shaykh, Alexandria, al-Daqahliyah, and al-Sharqiyah. The minister will also open several food security factories, including a complex for food canning in Madinat al-'Ashir min Ramadan with a production capacity of 300,000 tons a year. It will produce 200 tons of canned vegetables and 15 million square meals daily.

Investments in these projects totalled 100 million pounds. The first boiled rice factory will begin operating in Kafr al-Shaykh with an output capacity of 110 tons daily. This new kind of rice is distinguished by its high content of protein and vitamins which are added to it while being boiled. The process reduces the percentage of broken rice and waste.

The second factory will be established in Alexandria with an output capacity of 48 tons daily.

A new product which will be marketed for the first time is a rice substitute in the form of a synthetic rice patty. The first factory for the production of synthetic rice will open in al-Daqahliyah in February with an output capacity of 15,000 tons. Synthetic rice is a combination of rice powder, flour, and starch.

A new milling capacity of 800 tons daily will be added to mills operating in Idfu, Tanta, and Damietta. Also, traditional bread output will be increased by about 1,000 tons of flour daily by operating 12 new bread lines in the popular neighborhoods of greater Cairo.

#### **Faculty Clubs' Conference Condemns Israeli Visit** *45040154B Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 13 Dec 88 p 10*

[Article by 'Abd-al-Rahman Abu-al-'Aynayn: "Important Developments at Conference of Faculty Clubs"]

[Excerpts] Faculty clubs at Egyptian universities announced their complete rejection of the draft universities law that the minister of education had sent to the conference.

They decided to send the minister an immediate reply condemning the draft and stating that it contained merely opinions and suggestions, not the report the committee had agreed upon in its previous meetings.

Representatives of the clubs in the committee on university law said that they were surprised when the committee's work ended before debate on the clubs' demands. This showed that there were unfortunate pressures and that the minister of education had responded to them.

The draft did not include the clubs' demands: selection of university leaders by election, immunity of faculty members, student rules, and democracy in the university.

They expressed extreme displeasure at the manner in which this law had been handled, and said that they would rigorously oppose anyone who infringed upon their legitimate rights and violated the sanctity of the university.

They decided to demand the rejection of any dealing with Israeli universities and expressed disapproval that the head of Haifa University, a Zionist, had been invited to the Association of Mediterranean Universities conference held at an Egyptian university (Tanta).

They announced their support for the establishment of the Palestinian state; the sending of a telegram to the Palestinian leader, Yasir 'Arafat; and their extreme disapproval of America's position in refusing Yasir 'Arafat an entry visa. A telegram to that effect had been sent to the UN general secretary.

This took place at the conference of faculty clubs held at Banha University last Thursday. Representatives of clubs at most of the Egyptian universities attended. [passage omitted]

Concerning the repressive role played by the university police, Dr [Badr] Ghazi, [representative of the Cairo University clubs], went on to say, "The government says, 'The university police are under university administration.' But at night we find the police and state security arresting students from inside university cities or the university campus itself, after attacking students and impeding their activities."

He indicated that the largest part of the university budget was utilized for the university police service in the form of remunerations and bonuses for officers, while students were deprived of these funds. [passage omitted]

#### Learn a Lesson From Asyut

Dr Faruq Raghieb, representative of the Asyut University club, spoke angrily and passionately. Rights, he stated, could be gained only by practical, serious, and strong positions; expressions of sorrow and disapproval were a waste of time and an insult to all members.

Affirming this he said, "When they were established, the Egyptian universities were supposed to be free, but they declined and deteriorated when their heads allowed them to be attacked. We even find some university heads sending group lists containing the names of members of Islamic tendencies, so that they can be deleted from nominations or even arrested or brought before the disciplinary council. This is a mark of infamy on the brow of the university, indicating that [state] security has infiltrated all institutions, including the universities."

Throwing a bombshell into the conference, Dr Faruq Raghieb stated that the president of the country had sent Dr Mustafa al-Fiqi to Asyut to meet the university's professors, measure up the situation, and neutralize feelings. This shows that rights cannot be obtained by recommendations and decisions, but only by practical and serious positions.

#### Suspicious Missions That Must Be Stopped

Dr Sa'id Salamah, representative of the Suez Canal University club, pointed out that some university heads had become state security men. "We find their doors wide open to state security, but forbidden to professors. At a signal from the head of the university, state security intervenes in student affairs and arrests them, and in professors' affairs, destroying departments and intervening in their affairs so that they have been turned into police departments!"

Dr Salamah demanded that a decisive position be taken on the proposed American scientific missions in Egypt. He stated that they were clearly espionage—suspicious missions injuring the security of society and wanting to destroy it. They had become a means to line up certain scholars. He warned that they might penetrate the universities and strike at them from within. [passage omitted]

In his speech, Dr 'Abd-al-Rahman Sa'd, representative of Banha University, raised an explosive subject that shook the conference: Tanta University's having hosted at a conference the head of Haifa University, a fanatical Zionist who hates Arabs. This had led to the withdrawal of the heads of Egyptian and Arab universities.

Dr 'Abd-al-Rahman Sa'd added that the dean of letters of Tanta University had hosted the Zionist university head in a tour of the university and had visited the archaeological museum, defying the feelings of students and professors.

Dr 'Abd-al-Rahman stated that the Haifa University head had asked to visit the Mosque of Sayyid Ahmad al-Badawi, but that security had refused his request for fear of his life. He announced that an official of the university had been appointed to an important post in the Association of Mediterranean Universities, which includes the Israeli universities in its membership.

Finally, the speaker demanded that a decisive stand be taken against Tanta University for violating faculty club conference resolutions forbidding dealings with any Israeli university or normalization of relations.

#### Tanta Representative Defends

A response and defense were provided by Dr Muhammad 'Atiyah Nu'man, representative of the Tanta University club. He said that the conference had concerned the Association of Mediterranean Colleges, which includes all Egyptian, Arab, and Israeli universities in its membership. Two meetings had previously been held, both attended by Israeli representatives—one in Cairo, the other in Alexandria—and no one had withdrawn. He said that Dr Ashraf al-Bayyumi had tried to stop a representative of the Israeli university from entering Alexandria University, but the dean of one of the faculties had attacked him.

Dr Husayn 'Uwaydah, head of the al-Azhar University club, stated that the clubs would be surprised by passage of this law and its approval by Hilmi 'Abd-al-Akhir's committee. "It will be forced upon us without our knowledge."

#### Writer Says Israeli Lobby, Intifadah 'Defeated' America

45040154A Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 13 Dec 88 p 8

[Commentary by Hasan Ruh: "And America Was Defeated!"]

[Text] Yes, America has been defeated! This is a fact I think no one will deny, even the people of America. The owner of the largest nuclear arsenal, with which it terrorized and still terrorizes the world; the owner of the largest food reserve, with which it threatened and still threatens the world with hunger as long as the world does not beg from it—the weapons did not protect her, and her bread did not seduce the hungry into lowering their heads. Who defeated America? Her own great men, hirelings of the Zionist gang that controls the destinies of the American people, defeated her. Reagan, and Bush after him, and those who were before them—the Zionist gang carried them in the palm of its hand and seated them on the throne of the United States. They became

prisoners of this favor, moving, governing, and making decisions only after consulting this gang. These were the first who defeated America. They defeated it by their striving for authority. With them, all their Republican and Democratic helpers and all the members of Congress were defeated. They defeated their nation and scored this defeat in the face of an insurgent who owned on the face of the earth not even a room in which to sleep. Yasir defeated them without weapons, wheat reserves, or power such as theirs.

They were afraid of the man's words—only his words! All their strength and the strength of their helpers was unable to confront these words, because they issued from the truth and with all truth. Before Yasir spoke, the world pricked up its ears and attended to his words because it wanted to hear the word of truth. The defeated leaders were apprehensive of words still in the man's mind!

These leaders that Zionist policy created were the ones who defeated America. They defeated all of America's assets; they defeated its history, they defeated Washington, they defeated Abraham Lincoln, and they defeated all who proclaimed freedom before them. They lowered the head of the United States and humiliated its pride.

Who next defeated America? Youths in the prime of their lives defeated it. They defeated it with stones, pelting the sin of Zionism and all who befriended and helped it, especially America. The stones thrown at the Israeli Knesset hit the White House in Washington. They hit all the haughty, upraised heads playing God on earth. No weapons could stand up to these young people, for they carried the weapon of truth, and the weapon of truth is invincible. "[Say:] 'My Lord hurls the truth—the Knower of the Unseen.' Say: 'Truth has come; falsehood originates not, nor brings again.'" [Koran 34:48-49]. These youths will never be defeated. These youths gave America such a headache that it no longer knew the way to the truth and could not tell bad from good. Finally came this confused decision to stop the leader of the brick-throwing youths from casting stones at the United States. Defeated by stones in the heart of their settlements in Palestine, defeated in America and everywhere, they surely know that Yasir's will is from the will of these youths and that he speaks only in the language of stones. These youths were behind the defeat that America perpetrated upon itself.

The third group that defeated America was all the nations of the world. The world attended to the words of truth from the leader of the greatest revolution in our age. It was eager to hear news of this revolution, its sons, and its uniqueness. All of a sudden, America tried to stop up their ears and muzzle their mouths. The world was indignant for itself and its honor. America's friends and enemies, one and all, were indignant; having decided to deprive America of listening to the word of truth, they removed the pulpit from America, erected it in Europe, and set Yasir on it. Isn't this a hideous defeat for

America? The world is saying to America, "You are no longer the pulpit of freedom, no longer the people and home of freedom. The world hates you and scorns you. It no longer listens to you—or even to the word of truth, if it is spoken on your soil.

These are the three who defeated America: first, America's leaders dominated by lust for power, authority, and money; second, the youths who undertook the task of stoning the people of the Knesset and of the "Black House" that people call the "White House."

As for the third group, I think it scored the greatest victory when it withdrew its confidence from America and its leaders and bestowed its confidence on Yasir 'Arafat and the carriers of bricks and stones.

You have been defeated, America! It is divine vengeance—vengeance from God upon those who did not respect the sanctity of His house in Jerusalem, who did not respect the sanctity of an afflicted people, and who did not respect the freedom of nations. This is your recompense, America!

"Surely We shall help Our messengers and those who have believed, in the present life, and upon the day when the witnesses arise" [Koran 40:51]. God Almighty has spoken truly!

#### **Article Examines Earthquake Threat, Measurement**

*45040154C Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 22 Dec 88 p 3*

[Article by Muhammad al-Sa'dani: "Japan Draws First Earthquake Safety Map in Egypt"]

[Excerpts] We are not far from the earthquake. From time to time, therefore, earthquake experts visit us. The last of these, a few days ago, were three from Japan. They inspected seismological stations throughout the length and breadth of the land and agreed to begin drawing the first map for earthquake safety laboratories. The map consists of a long-term research project that includes the completion of seismological stations and the establishment of required designs for important installations (nuclear plants, electrical plants, tunnels, dams, super-highways, factories, and major residential buildings), so that they can resist earthquakes.

In order to begin drawing this map, which will cost about \$10 million, Egyptian and Japanese seismologists will exchange visits. Joint information and research will be analyzed. Egyptian scientific and technical personnel will be trained in the field in the context of cooperation between Egypt and the Japanese Organization for Technical Assistance (JAICA).

Although there is a developed network of seismological observatories in Egypt, including stations in Hulwan, al-Qutamiyah, Aswan, Abu Simbel, and Marsa Matruh, in addition to 13 stations covering the northern part of

the High Dam lake in what is called the Regional Earthquake Center at Aswan, the Japanese have stated that this network should be supplemented by stations in the Red Sea, Sinai, and the canal governorates since seismic activity in Egypt is centered in the Red Sea region, the Gulfs of Suez and 'Aqabah, the northwest of Alexandria, and the southwest of the Western Desert. This activity has caused many earthquakes. The most important of them were the strong al-Ghardaqah earthquake in 1969, the Aswan earthquake of 1981, and the series of earthquakes in the canal governorates in 1983, 1984, and 1987.

### Equipment Modernization

Agreement has therefore been reached with Japanese experts to modernize some of the aging equipment in the Matruh and Abu Simbel stations so they can keep up with the most modern scientific methods of seismological observation. A form and method of operation for this large network of stations has also been agreed upon as well as the manner in which the information from them will be transmitted by radio, using solar power to overcome problems resulting from electricity outages or from the absence of electricity in a particular area.

In this context, Dr Rashad Qabis, head of the National Institute for Astronomical and Geophysical Research and of its seismology department, stresses the importance of Egypt taking more precautions. Egypt was subjected to a large earthquake at al-Ghardaqah in 1969, measuring 6.9 on the Richter scale. All the governorates of Egypt felt the quake, and its effect extended to Addis Ababa and Jerusalem, where a few houses were affected. The earthquake was considered to be characteristic of seismic activity in the region of the Horn of Africa, in addition to the Red Sea, Ethiopia, and Uganda. If we realize that the Red Sea region and the Mediterranean influence Egypt seismically due to the approach of the African Continent and its thrusting under the European Continent, we see that precautions against earthquake dangers in Egypt are very important and not a matter of exaggeration.

There is an area in Egypt called Abu Diyab, northwest of Qusayr in the Eastern Desert, where between 30 and 40 earthquakes occur daily. These quakes are small, but the local Bedouins feel them and have therefore called the area Abu Diyab. These earthquakes have continued from the time when seismological instruments were introduced to the present, and they were certainly present long before. In 1955, a large earthquake occurred in the area, and another in 1984. Studies of the area are continuing.

Now that we have learned that Egypt is not completely distant from earthquake dangers, the usual question is whether earthquakes can be predicted. [passage omitted]

### Skyscrapers Sway

Dr Qabis states that as a precaution in Egypt there is coordination between the National Institute for Astronomical and Geophysical Research, Cairo University, and the concerned ministries and agencies in the area of calculations by earthquake safety laboratories when large or strategic buildings are constructed. Some agencies, however, have not to date taken an interest in such scientific studies and are erecting skyscrapers in many areas of Cairo without any calculations. Naturally, one cannot be confident that their towers will sway with the earthquake, like the Tokyo Tower now does. [passage omitted]

### Trucks Cause Vibration

'Abd-al-Samad Mujahid, supervisor of seismological stations in Hulwan, said, "Each group of instruments is composed of three pieces of equipment, including three pendulums; the first vertical, the second east-west, and the third north-south. Just as with radio waves, so these pieces of equipment can observe earthquakes on a short (local) level, medium (area) level, and long (international) level. [sentence as published] The pendulum in each instrument moves with extreme precision when any shaking occurs as a result of an earthquake. It was therefore necessary for the observatory to be on top of a rocky hill far from any human influences that might cause even small vibrations, since that would interfere with the receiving instruments. The observatory is therefore asking that the earthen track leading to it from the highway be closed to large trucks, since the movement of these trucks causes a kind of earth vibration that interferes with the instruments and makes the pendulum move as if there were an earthquake."

In the room above this room, there is a highly complicated electronic instrument, including a chronometer. It receives time signals from the most important seismological centers in the world, according to Greenwich time. There is also an apparatus to receive vibrations resulting from earth tremors, as well as a generator capable of operating the station at full power for 12 hours in case of a power outage. In the two rooms to the right and left of the entry of the old building, with its wooden doors that speak of great age, there are pieces of observing apparatus that record earthquake movements in a form resembling an electrocardiogram. [passage omitted]

### Today's Egyptian Faces Growing Economic Dilemma

45040133 Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI in Arabic  
24 Dec 88 p 3

[Article by 'Izzat al-Sa'dani: "Saturday's Feature Story: This Is Not Just a Fair Which Comes to an End When Everyone Goes Home"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

Just imagine: the enthusiasm and the fervor were evident in their eyes as they spoke. "We were deeply moved by what Dr 'Atif 'Ibayd said." Dr 'Ibayd, who is minister of the council of ministers' affairs, said that an Italian, Greek, or Spanish citizen was three times as productive as an Egyptian citizen. He also said that a Swede, a Dutch man, or a British man produced eight times what an Egyptian produced. He said a Japanese worker produced 9 times as much as an Egyptian worker, and an American produced 10 times as much as an Egyptian.

What happened to the Egyptian? He stretched; he yawned; and he went to sleep. Is this the time to go to sleep? Is this the time to be lazy and to day dream?

When the young women spoke, their worrisome look was piercing as they seemed to carry the weight of the world on their shoulders. The young women said, "The bread we are eating now is American, Australian, or Canadian. We are now importing from abroad 80 percent of what we eat and drink. Above and beyond his many worries, President Husni Mubarak must now worry every day about how he can squeeze \$8 million out of this country with the dawn of every single day. The president, who needs this money to import food to feed 50 million Egyptians for 1 day only, must come up with that amount of money 365 days a year. Where can he come up with that kind of money and why does he do it? And where do we stand on all of this? We no longer show or feel any shame. Then [we turn around and] say that we are really and truly the grandchildren of the great pharaohs. There is definitely something wrong here!"

I was at my wit's end, trying to figure out what had happened to Egypt and what Egyptians had done to the country. [Passage omitted]

I conveyed to the young men and young women around me what the world has been saying about us and about the pyramids of Egypt which are still with us, but they said, "All this is true, but what is happening now is quite different."

"How different?" I asked.

They said, "You know more about this than we do. Can you accept the fact that we graduate from the university to stand in the longest line in Egypt's history? Can you accept the fact that all we have is a place in a line that offers us no hope?"

I said, "Are you talking about the line of university graduates who have not yet received letters of employment?"

"Yes," they said. "The number of university graduates who are now in that line, without work and without hope, is 2.8 million graduates. We are adding new figures to that number."

"And you are adding to the state's worries," I said. "In planning its budget, the state has to come up with money to provide jobs for 450,000 university graduates every year. It must also come up with 8 billion pounds to create work opportunities for those who are still standing in that long line."

This is what Dr 'Atif 'Ibayd had told me.

"Where will all this money come from," they asked. "You know our situation, and all of us know our situation."

To those who know and those who don't know, our situation is this: we are a nation that does not work and does not produce. As my grandmother used to say, we are a nation that worries about what it will eat. Is there any nation on earth that spends 85 percent of its foreign currency to import food? Is there any nation on this earth besides ours that produces only 20 percent of what it eats and drinks and imports the remaining 80 percent?

But it seems that it has become our hobby or our habit to thrive on the glories of the past and what our ancestors did. But we are not talking here about the very early days; we are talking about recent years, no more than one generation ago. Until 1960, that is, only 28 years ago, we were almost self-sufficient, producing everything we ate and drank. Only 48 percent of the wheat we needed was imported. Now, however, praise the Lord, we are importing 80 percent of our wheat, our bread, and our flour. Except for rice, vegetables, and fruits, we have a real shortage in all food stuffs.

Let it be known that I did not come up with these facts and figures. The Advisory Council discussed these facts and figures during its meeting last week, which was chaired by Dr 'Ali Lutfi. The council talked about these facts and figures, and council members screamed about them and expressed their fears for Egypt because of them.

Who can believe that 28 years ago we used to import food for \$14 million? Who can believe that in 14 years the value of the food we import rose to \$900 million? Praise the Lord! And then, somehow, only 3 years ago, that figure rose to \$3 billion, but that was not somehow: that was our own doing. Let's do some arithmetic here together: how many times has that figure been doubled during only 28 years?

Who can believe that about us when, according to official figures, we have approximately 6 million feddans in land which is being cultivated, weeded and harvested? Who can believe that about us when satellite pictures and aerial survey airplanes claim that we have 7.2 million feddans? Actually, ever since the day God created the earth, the Nile Delta and the Nile Valley, we have not had more than 5 million feddans to cultivate. During the past 36 years no more than about 20,000 feddans were added to our arable land. I hope someone

will say I am lying, but construction has eroded our arable land. All the land that we reclaimed and cultivated—the best and the oldest soil—has been attacked by the government's as well as the people's bricks and cement.

Who can believe that all these millions of feddans produce no more than 20 percent of our food? Who can believe that an Egyptian, according to Dr Nabilah al-Ibrashi, gets 1 egg every 5 days, or 6 eggs a month? Who can believe that an Egyptian's intake of animal protein, that is meat, poultry, or fish, is no more than 12 grams a day?

As we know and as scientists say, the minimum intake of animal protein should not be less than 25 grams a day. Otherwise, a person would become afflicted with all kinds of horrible ailments and diseases associated with malnutrition, chiefly anemia. Dr Shafiqah Nasir brought up an explosive issue when she asked, "Does the Egyptian citizen have the basic food he needs to have?"

It is because of this situation in which we find ourselves that conferences, seminars, and meetings were held in Cairo during which many debates, deliberations, and interviews were held. At these gatherings a lot of facts, figures, and references were placed on round discussion tables and reported from platforms and microphones.

What matters to me here is one of those conferences which I followed with my eyes, my heart, and my mind. I am talking about the conference which dealt with utilizing human resources. The sessions of that conference were held over a 3-day period in the meeting rooms of the Arab League, a building which is finally of some use to us.

[Passage omitted]

I took my worries and fears [about the outcome of the conference] to the minister of manpower who told me confidently, "You are the one who should know best whether the conference has been a success or a failure. I am the one who is supposed to ask you that question."

I said, "As far as its form, organization, and the sense of responsibility it created, the conference was a success, but...."

"But what?" asked the minister.

"What matters," I said, "is what will happen after the discussions, the studies, and the recommendations have been made."

The minister said, "What matters is that public opinion and the people understand that government does not have a magic wand it can wave to solve all the people's problems. Government cannot find a solution overnight to the lines of young people who are looking for jobs. It cannot find a solution to the tremendous food shortage

which has grown and is now costing us \$3 billion a year. Government cannot find a home for every newly married couple. It cannot find a place on the bus for people; it cannot find a seat in school for every newborn child; nor can it find a place in the university for every young man. Government cannot find a hospital bed for every citizen. We have to change the way people think. The conference was an invitation to everyone to join the government in finding solutions to their problems and to Egypt's problems. Unless the people themselves change, not even the greatest conference in the world can come up with any solutions."

I asked, "How is that?"

He said, "Who is responsible for the fact that there is a long line of university graduates who are without work? Is it the government or the people?"

I said, "Eighty percent of the responsibility rests with the government. The people are responsible for 20 percent of the problem."

He said, "I believe that government and the people are equally responsible for the problem. We inherited the mistakes or the results of mistakes made by successive governments before ours. That aggravated the problem of surplus workers in Egypt. But people are also responsible. Their thinking must undergo a radical change. It is the Egyptian family that chooses unemployment for its children. If you ask me how the family does that, I will tell you that every father and every mother wants his or her son and daughter to become a physician or an engineer. Every parent wants his child to get at least a diploma or a bachelor's degree first. The last thing parents think about for their children is work, a job, and production."

I said, "Do you mean that the foundation of the Egyptian educational system has to be changed?"

"Yes," he said, "it has to be changed, and this change which is taking place now is being carefully watched by Dr Ahmad Fathi Surur, minister of education."

Author's comment: The most recent studies and figures presented at the conference indicate that by the year 2000 Egypt's population will be 73 million persons. This means that we will add 20 million persons to our present manpower. Food, drink, housing, employment, and an endless amount of services will be required for these people. Are we ready for that now?

Once again I asked, "Exactly how large is the problem of unemployment in Egypt?"

The minister replied, "According to our figures no more than 9 percent of our work force of 12,875,000 workers are unemployed. In the United States the unemployment rate is 6.9 percent; in West Germany it is 9 percent; in Italy it is 12 percent; and in Japan it is 3.2 percent."

Author's comment: I discovered that all the figures which were presented at the conference were contradictory and conflicted with each other. Each agency had its own figures and calculations. For example, the figures of the Central Statistics Agency which were presented at the conference indicated that the 2.8 million persons who are standing in line waiting for work represented 20 percent of the work force, which is 14 million persons. Now the number of unemployed persons is 3 million, according to the figures of the International Labor Office. As the population grows, 6 million people will be added to the ranks of the unemployed by the year 2000. Are we ready for that?

[Passage omitted]

I had nothing to say to [this widowed mother of four]. But I heard Dr 'Atif Sidqi, the prime minister, answer her question. Prime Minister Sidqi announced at the conference that the government was serious about finding new work opportunities for young graduates. "Most of these new jobs, which are outside the government sector, are in the field of land reclamation. Reclaimed land is being distributed to the unemployed. In 1987-1988 we put 450,000 young men to work, and the private sector too hired 160,000 graduates."

Was the prime minister's reply enough?

During the conference sessions I heard that there would be 3 million new employment opportunities in the areas of agriculture and land reclamation by the year 2000. By that date that sector will take in 12 million workers.

I heard that the six new cities we now have are Tenth of Ramadan, al-Sadat, 6 October, New al-'Amiriyah, New Damietta, and New al-Salhiyah. I heard that the number of factories in those cities—1,140 factories so far—will be increased to 1,742. I heard that 550 million pounds were invested in those factories where 25,000 workers are now employed. I heard that these factories will take in 142,000 new graduates.

I found out that there were 300,000 employment opportunities in the fields of investment and free zones and in projects for tourist villages and engineering industries as well.

I found out that the Ministry of Reconstruction had presented a plan to cultivate 1 million feddans. This land, which would be distributed to young people, would be financed by remittances from Egyptians living abroad.

I heard that there were 295,000 new employment opportunities in the construction sector; 264,000 employment opportunities in the industrial sector; 490,000 in the agricultural sector; 34,000 in the commercial sector; 24,000 in the banks; 79,000 in the educational sector; 18,000 in the health sector; and 170,000 in the transportation and communication sector.

Dr Yusuf Wali told me on the telephone, "The young people of Egypt have a date with President Husni Mubarak next October. During the celebrations that will be held then, 11,000 new feddans will be distributed to them. Each young man and woman will get 5 feddans and a house."

Dr Wali told me, "Over the next 10 years there will be 5 million employment opportunities in 1 million feddans which are now being reclaimed."

I found out that today President Husni Mubarak and the minister of industry will look into a project submitted by the Ministry of Industry to encourage small industries. Small industries will be distributed to young people, or small factories will be established where young graduates can work. [Passage omitted]

Behind the scenes at the conference and at conference receptions I heard that family consumption had risen from 4.445 billion pounds 13 years ago to 30 billion pounds this year. This is a sevenfold increase.

I asked experts in finance and economics, "What does this mean?"

They said, "It means the purchasing power of the Egyptian pound, which is 100 piasters, is now divided by 7, and that comes out to less than 15 piasters."

A more optimistic statement indicates that the purchasing power of the Egyptian pound in 1986 fell to 50 piasters. If conditions remain unchanged, as far as wages and prices are concerned, the purchasing power of the Egyptian pound will diminish further, and it will be 25 piasters only.

"And what is the solution," I asked.

They said, "Wages are to be raised 19 percent in 1987. In 1988 they are to be raised 18 percent; in 1989, 16 percent; in 1990, 13 percent; and in 1991, 10 percent. This is the minimum which is required in the coming stage until conditions for people improve."

We don't want the major conference to be like other conferences where the big gathering is dispersed, everyone goes home, and nothing happens.

We don't want 3 million young men to go on waiting forever for a place in a line which offers them no hope.

[Passage omitted]

We want to tell the world around us that the Egyptian is really and truly the grandchild of the great pharaohs who woke up the inhabitants of the world when all of them were in deep slumber and gloomy darkness.

We want to tell the world around us that the Egyptian never sleeps even though he may yawn, stretch, and occasionally doze off.

## IRAQ

### Plans for Tikrit University Engineering College Described

44000279 Baghdad BAGHDAD OBSERVER in English  
27 Dec 88 p 2

[Article by staff reporter: "Final Designs Completed for New Engineering College"]

[Text] Baghdad, Dec. 26—The final designs for the 2nd and final stage of the Engineering College, Tikrit University, have been completed, Director General of the Idrisi Centre for Engineering Consultancy, Mr Sa'd 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Zubaydi, told the BAGHDAD OBSERVER here on Saturday.

He said that the College will be built on an area of 8,230 sq metres adding that the college comprises Civil and Electricity Engineering Departments with all necessary laboratories.

He said the Centre feels proud that it has completed its work in a record time even before the time fixed in the contracts.

This year, the Centre completed designs and consultancy services to more than 44 projects worth 200 million Iraqi dinars.

Thus the Centre has met the designed objective of its establishment, Mr al-Zubaydi said, namely offering consultation services for construction, ranging from architecture and town planning, structural and engineering services, besides covering electrical, mechanical and public health.

The Director General of the Centre added that the completed designs include construction of 13 buildings in the health sector at a cost of ID 90 million, 7 buildings in the education sector at a cost of ID 30 million, 10 housing sites at a cost of ID 70 million.

These projects include health centres in al-Durah area, the expansion of two hospitals in Baghdad, Saddam Law College, Ramadi Health College, Maternity Hospital in al-Basrah, housing projects in Rusafa and Karkh in Baghdad for the handicapped and the erection of hills in Babylon tourist area.

Nine other projects, he said, are under implementation.

The Centre has won a design contest for the development of Babylon tourist city which it is to complete before the holding of the 1989 Babylon International Festival.

Furthermore, the Centre has completed numerous studies in engineering, consultancy and designs, Mr al-Zubaydi said, adding that training of personnel has been the main concern of the Centre. A number of courses have been held inside and outside Iraq to raise the standards of personnel and enrich their knowledge with practical experience.

Mr al-Zubaydi underlined the tasks of the Centre as including feasibility studies and assisting clients and users in the formulation of their projects. The tasks also cover areas like conducting preliminary studies such as master plans, cost estimates and system of realisation.

He added that the Centre also helps clients analyse their bids, offers them necessary recommendations and supervises the work during construction.

## ISRAEL

### Gush and Peace Now Each Claim the Nation

44000278 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST  
in English 20 Jan 89 p 2

[Article by Dan Izenberg]

[Text] Leaders of Gush Emunim and Peace Now, holding rival protest vigils in Jerusalem, claimed yesterday to represent the majority of Israelis and said that their views on the future of the West Bank and Gaza Strip would prevail.

Leaders of Peace Now launched protest vigils outside Prime minister Shamir's home in Jerusalem and the Defence Ministry in Tel Aviv yesterday and vowed to "for a long time."

Janet Avi'ad, a leader of Peace Now since its establishment a decade ago, said Israelis have changed dramatically in the past year and are now ready to accept an independent Palestinian state in return for peace.

"We think we represent the majority of public opinion," said Avi'ad, seated at a rickety table around the corner and out of sight of Shamir's home. "Over the years I've developed a sense for what the man on the street feels, and I can tell he's with us now."

Avi'ad said she hoped the constellation of "moderation on the part of the PLO, American and European pressure, the groundswell in Israel which we are trying to mobilize and the surprising new openness on the part of the Likud, will lead us to the negotiating table."

The decision to set up the vigils was sparked by the "dramatic increase" in the number of Palestinian casualties in the "occupied territories" and a series of tough measures introduced by Defence Minister Rabin earlier in the week, said Avi'ad.

One sign, perched on a police barrier, declared that 87 Palestinians aged 16 or younger have been killed in the uprising so far. Another recorded all the casualties on both sides since the beginning of the intifada—more than 5,000 by IDF count.

Peace Now also issued a communique saying: "Stop shooting children in the back, start talking to the Palestinians face-to-face."

Across town, Rabbi Moshe Levinger, a leader of Gush Emunim and the Jewish community in Hebron, said he was not concerned about the new left-wing initiative.

"Most of the nation is against giving up Judaea, Samaria and Gaza and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state," said Levinger, seated in one of 4 army tents pitched by Gush Emunim 38 days ago opposite the Prime Minister's Office.

Levinger and six of his comrades have been on a hunger strike to protest against the government's failure to put an end to the intifada.

"There is no reason why security in the coastal area should be greater than in Qiryat Arba', Bet El and the Jewish settlements near Nablus," said Levinger, who drinks juice during the week and eats meals on Shabbat.

Levinger said he was not satisfied with the new measures introduced by Rabin earlier this week. The measures include shooting at Palestinian stonethrowers and demolishing their homes.

"So he gave a couple of orders," said Levinger. "They're very, very far from sufficient. That's why we haven't halted the strike."

In the early afternoon, the Gush Emunim campsite was virtually empty. Hidden on a hill above an almost-deserted street, it seems to be a poor location for a public protest.

But Levinger said the sit-in was accomplishing its aim. "The Knesset discussed our cause last week and will discuss it again next week," he said. "We are making our views heard."

**Arab MKs Remain Divided But Optimistic**  
44000273 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST  
in English 20 Jan 89 pp 8, 14

[Article by Marda Dunskey]

[Text] "If I didn't have an optimistic outlook, I wouldn't have stayed in this Knesset for 40 years," says Tawfiq Tubi, one of Israel's two most veteran legislators. "One needs a deep-rooted optimism to sustain the strain."

That strain comes with representing Israel's Arab minority in the Knesset, a task Tubi currently shares with five other Arab MKs [members of Knesset]. Together, the six speak for five different parties, from Labour leftward. But even though their constituency has a well-defined set of concerns, they did not speak, in recent interviews with THE JERUSALEM POST, in a single voice about priorities, and strategies for addressing them.

The lack of equality between the Jewish and Arab sectors and the larger Palestinian national question dominate the political agenda of Israel's Arab population. But between the two issues, MK Muhammad Mi'ari of the Progressive List for Peace (PLP) unequivocally accords the national question priority, "because the challenge to the Palestinian citizens of Israel is a question of identity," he says.

"Who are the Arab citizens of Israel? Ten years ago, 25 per cent of Israeli Arabs identified themselves as Palestinians," he says, adding that today the figure has jumped to 85 per cent. "The PLP has pushed in this direction to fix the Palestinian identity for Israeli Arabs.

"We are very much interested in improving the daily situation," he says, referring to the equality issue. Yet he argues that the Israel-Palestinian conflict remains at the core.

Mi'ari himself has chosen the path of activism. Since the intifada began, he has routinely visited Palestinians hurt in confrontations with the IDF [Israel Defense Force] in West Bank and Gaza refugee camps and hospitals. He encourages Israeli Arab drives to collect food, clothing and medicine for those staging the intifada on the other side of the Green Line.

But his Labour Party colleague, Nawwaf Masalhaf, believes that domestic issues are uppermost in the minds of Israeli Arabs.

"We are in solidarity with the Palestinians" in the territories, he says, "but not more. We are continuing with our own lives." Among the primary concerns Masalhaf cites are inadequate government funding of Arab local councils, a shortage of more than 1,000 classrooms in the Arab sector and an unemployment rate among Arab university graduates that hovers around 40 per cent.

Such bread-and-butter issues are the focus of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE), or Hadash, two of whose four representatives in the Knesset are Tubi and Nazareth Mayor Tawfiq Ziyad.

"We are a party of specific social characteristics, especially active among the working class," Tubi says, "the strata that is socially harmed by the policies of the government. We are concerned more with the daily problems of working people than with nationalist perspectives in general."

While stressing that the DFPE advocates a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict Ziyad focused his comments on the equality issue, which he says stems from a policy of national discrimination.

He ticks off examples: Arabs cannot buy property in Upper Nazareth; the Histadrut over the past 15 years has built more than 150,000 apartments, but none of them in Arab towns or villages; of 519 Arab physicians in Israel, only 25 are graduates of Israeli medical schools.

Yet the equality issue is linked to the nationalist struggle, he says. "We are part of the Palestinian people, and part of the state at the same time. What Kahane and Gandhi are saying, many MKs are thinking.

"It's now fashionable to talk about transfer, not just for crazy racists. And that's very worrisome to us."

That linkage is more than worrisome, says 'Abd-al-Wahhab Darawishah, whose Arab Democratic Party (ADP) was the first independent Arab entity to win a seat in the Knesset. In his view, it will ultimately determine whether Israeli Arabs will succeed in their bid for equality.

"There is a real linkage between peace and equality," he says, but in the context of recent events, Darawishah has made the peace issue his main priority "because one will influence the other."

In the face of such critical problems, the approaches of the six MKs also diverge on the issue of unity and coalition building.

"I'm a realist," says MAPAM [United Workers Party] MK Husayn Faris. "In a state with a Jewish majority and an Arab minority, there must be Jewish-Arab cooperation. I don't see any way to coexist except through cooperation between the two."

Faris, who says MAPAM is the only party with Jewish majority that supports equality for Israeli Arabs and self-determination for the Palestinian people, believes that the best sources of support for Arab interests will come from the Zionist parties of the left rather than the so-called "Arab" or "nationalist" parties, the ADP, the PLP and the DFPE.

Masalhah, his Labour Party colleague, agrees. "If we want to change the situation, we have to convince the Jewish majority to change. If Jews vote as Jews, and Arabs vote as Arabs, we will always be defeated because we are the minority," he says.

Despite its inclusion by conventional definition as a nationalist party, Hadash also works "in cooperation with Jewish democratic forces," and has tried to establish a framework for the widest possible unity among the Arab population, Tubi says. That framework includes RAKAH [New Communist List], the core of which is the

Israeli Communist Party, the Black Panthers, the National Committee of Heads of Arabs Local Councils and individuals who identify with the struggle but do not affiliate themselves with any particular party or movement.

Similarly, support from within the Knesset should come, Tubi says, from all MKs who identify themselves with the issues of peace and equality, be they members of the Citizens Rights Movement, MAPAM, Shinuy-Centre, Labour, the PLP or the ADP.

Mi'ari advocates a modified version of RAKAH's broad coalition approach, an Arab-led parliamentary bloc that would encourage the participation of any and all MKs, regardless of party affiliation.

"We don't want to isolate ourselves, but to invite others to support us. But the initiative would be in our hands," he says, citing as an example the religious parties' combined efforts to get the "Who is a Jew" legislation passed.

Darawishah, however, believes the Arab MKs influence in the Knesset is severely limited. The lack of vote-sharing agreements among the Arab parties and the voter turnout among the Arab electorate of only 75 per cent in the past two elections have relegated the Arab MKs to "the edge of the political map," he says.

With such a limited influence within the Knesset, Darawishah says, the Arab sector should press to achieve its aims from without by forming a lobby consisting of its MKs, the local council heads, religious groups and student organizations.

Failing such a lobby's ability to use public opinion pressure to get the government to meet Arab demands, "if there is a need to go to the United Nations to complain, I will be among the initiators," he says, "because we have failed here inside Israel to persuade the government—all governments of the last 40 years—to stop this discrimination against us."

If a panorama of philosophies on strategy and tactics aren't enough to divide the Israeli Arab body politic, the situation is further complicated by an almost bitter divisiveness that exists among the three of the most left-wing elements, Hadash, the PLP and Darawishah ADP—which in the recent elections won 34 per cent, 15 per cent and 12 per cent of the Arab vote, respectively.

Darawishah himself, who left the Labour Party to form the ADP a year ago, remains the target of criticism over the move, a fact of which he is well aware. "The Communists and the PLP accuse me of still being a part of Labour. They say: "He left from the door; he will return through the window."

Darawishah does some finger-pointing of his own, saying RAKAH, as the traditional recipient of the majority of the Arab vote, is chiefly to blame for failing to get more voters to turn out to the polls and to cast their ballots for Arab parties.

Instead, he said, it hoped to retain a monopoly over political power in the Arab sector. "But they failed to increase their percentage, they failed to convince the Arab voters," Darawishah says. "People are fed up with their slogans and leadership."

The notion of new elements challenging the established order is central in RAKAH MK Ziyad's analysis of the situation and the rivalry it has bred.

"Our programme, since 1948, has been two states for two people," he says. "Now everyone is talking about it."

Ziyad sees Darawishah and the PLP as Johnny-come-latelys. "Apart from slogans, they have nothing," he says. "They were meant to be an alternative to us, but there is none. We are the only ones with the power in the street, the power to mobilize the confidence of the people."

The PLP, he says, "speaks in two languages, one to the Jews and one to the Arabs. We have spoken in one language, the same in Arabic and in Hebrew, for as long as we have existed." RAKAH rejected the idea of a vote-sharing agreement with the PLP, Ziyad says, because "we weren't ready for an agreement with the side that has built its case on hostility and lies."

The PLP's Mi'ari says that RAKAH, while advocating an independent state, has relegated the nationalist agenda to the No. 2 spot behind the equality issue.

"This doesn't fit our situation as part of the Palestinian people," he argues. "The Communists say the Israeli Arabs' first priority is to identify as Israelis, then as Arabs, then as Palestinians. We try to make the struggle more intensive; they try to put it on a low fire."

Darawishah, in Mi'ari's view, "relies on protection from Labour, and hasn't changed his ways and methods. Although he speaks of an independent Palestinian state, he doesn't believe deeply in it, while the PLP was created to serve these purposes." Philosophical differences and intra-party conflicts notwithstanding, Tawfiq Tubi's sense of optimism is one sentiment shared by all six MKs—an optimism generated by events of the last two months revolving around the PLO.

From Algiers to Geneva, the PLO, in accepting Israel's right to exist and renouncing terror, has gained worldwide legitimacy, especially from the United States, says Darawishah, and in the process "the rejectionist Israeli policy began to be clear to the whole world."

Despite the movement on the international front Darawishah sees rough times ahead in the immediate future for the Arabs of Israel. "There will be more polarization, more extremism and more harsh measures," he predicts, and these will be generated by "a continuation of the traditional policy of discrimination against Arabs, Arab sympathy toward the intifada, and an attempt to satisfy the extremist elements among the Israeli population."

Moreover, the broad-based government formed in recent weeks will not help advance Arab interests, he says. "When the two big powers [Labour and Likud] cooperate, the Arabs lose. They won't pay attention to us."

Masalah concurs, calling the new government "a coalition at our expense." He adds that the economic situation will also complicate the picture. But the government will have to close the gap between Arabs and Jews, he believes. "If not, the Arabs will suffer more and struggle more."

Those struggles have begun to pay off, in Faris's view. "In the Jewish sector they began to wake up to the fact that there are problems in the Arab sector," he says. "For 40 years Israeli Arabs have proved their loyalty to the state, and this is starting to sink in." Combined with the possibility of talks with the PLO, he says. "I think the situation will improve."

But in order for that to happen, Mi'ari believes that pressure must be exerted on the Israeli government from three sides. First, Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza must continue the intifadah, he says. Second, world opinion in favour of the PLO needs to be further mobilized by European states, the U.S. government and the American Jewish community.

Finally, he says, a change in Israeli public opinion must be achieved—primarily by the Zionist parties of the left—so that the Israeli government will ultimately have no choice but to recognize the PLO as a negotiating partner.

Four years ago, only the PLP and RAKAH spoke in these terms, he says, "but today, this is a fact on the Israeli political map."

Recent changes in the world political map make Israeli recognition of the PLO more likely than ever before, Ziyad believes, as a new detente between the superpowers, the reduction of nuclear arsenals and the resolution of regional conflicts from Cambodia to Namibia mark the beginning of a new era.

"This world cannot wait another 20 years for a solution to our conflict. There are other more dangerous, more important problems to be solved."

**New Rubber Bullet Said To Be Less Lethal**  
44000274 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST  
in English 12 Jan 89 p 2

[Article by Michal Sela]

[Text] In its efforts to find less harmful means to put down demonstrations in the territories, the IDF [Israel Defense Force] recently introduced a new type of bullet. But the new weapon seems to be proving as harmful and fatal as some of the others introduced during the past year.

It is a round, nut-size metal bullet, wrapped with a thin rubber cover and is termed by soldiers "the improved rubber bullet." It is shot either from a rifle with a special magazine or from a cannon-car similar to the gravel shooting cannon, hatsatsit. According to a military expert who asked not to be named, it has a longer range than the old type of rubber bullet.

The advantage of the new weapon is that it causes pain but will not explode inside the body.

Nevertheless, 15-year-old Farid al-Maghari from al-Nusayrat refugee camp in the Gaza Strip was, according to Palestinian medical sources, killed on 26 November when such a bullet hit his head. His family told reporters that the army had confiscated medical documents and X-rays which they had received from the hospital.

Eight-year-old Ashraf Abu-'Ammar, from Rafah, was shot in the face by a metal-rubber bullet on 7 December when the army was quelling a demonstration. X-rays handed to THE JERUSALEM POST showed that the bullet had lodged a few centimetres below the skin of his face. Yusra Abu-Namus from Jabaliya was also reportedly wounded in the face by the same type of ammunition about two months ago.

Questioned by THE POST, the army spokeswoman said yesterday that "the IDF as a rule neither comments nor gives details about ammunition used by the army."

The task of quelling the violent disturbances is complicated, according to the military expert quoted above. In many respects, the intensity of the intifadah sometimes resembles that of a war. On the other hand, it is a confrontation between a civilian population and a well-trained army.

Too often, it is a struggle with children and their mothers. Commanders and soldiers face a dilemma. "Were it a normal battlefield, the soldier could simply shoot to kill, but today a soldier needs a doctorate in shooting," said the military expert. He added that the soldier has to keep thinking what ammunition to shoot in different circumstances, from what distance, in what direction. And then, without notice, a stray bullet enters a window and injures uninvolved persons.

The army is constantly studying new means of averting such tragedies, according to a high-ranking military source.

But the result seems to be different. During recent weeks, there have been far fewer demonstrations. Many incidents which end up as violent clashes start only when soldiers enter a village or town on a security mission.

At the same time, the number of casualties is much higher.

According to the military expert, there are two main reasons for this. First, soldiers think they have a weapon that does not kill so they shoot more freely. Secondly, the shooting policy has been changed. A year ago, the soldiers were shooting only in life-threatening situations—even though there is no clear-cut definition of such a situation's limits. "Now the policy is to shoot at any group of children who hold a stone in their hand." And because they no doubt think they have a weapon which will merely disperse a demonstration, they shoot right at the target's face.

## JORDAN

**Prince Calls for Replacing Foreign Farm Workers**  
44000252 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English  
3 Jan 89 p 1

[Text] Amman (Petra)—His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hasan held a meeting Monday with members of a committee responsible for the agricultural sector at the Higher Council of Science and Technology (HCST) and members of a centre in charge of agricultural research and transfer of technology sponsored by the Ministry of Agriculture.

The time has come for the ministries of education, higher education and the community colleges in the country to help the work of the researchers by drawing up plans designed to replace non-Jordanian workers in the agricultural sector with Jordanians, the Crown Prince said. The national research centres in agriculture are now turning their attention to this issue, the Crown Prince noted.

He said there should be a real interaction among developmental sectors, specially in education, health and industry and research centres should help such a process and so stimulate the role of the agricultural sector.

Prince Hasan urged agricultural engineers to help carry out resolutions passed by the various development council meetings and underlined the importance of providing extension service staff with sufficient guidance instructions.

Minister of Health Zuhayt Malhas and Minister of Agriculture Yusif Hamdan al-Jabir attended the meeting.

The agricultural research centre was established in Jordan in 1985 to conduct research designed to promote farming and to propose new administrative and organisational matters governing agricultural processes.

The centre is also in charge of conveying the results of research to farmers and of laying down plans for development.

### **A Budget To Reflect Adjustment**

44000259 Amman *JORDAN TIMES* in English  
8 Jan 89 p 4

[Article by Dr Fahd Fanak]

[Text] The market was attentive to the announcement of the budget for 1989 to make a judgment on the seriousness of the government in carrying out its commitment to financial austerity and prudence, especially after the monetary crisis which shook the market in 1988.

Expectations varied widely, but the budget came as no surprise. Its normal size is 1 per cent down, recurring expenditure is 4.2 per cent up, and capital expenditure is 10 per cent down.

Perhaps the best way to read a budget is to start from the bottom up. The bottom line in 1989 budget indicates a deficit of JD122.2 million. This amount is around half the actual deficit sustained in 1988, but double the deficit envisaged by the budget of 1988. If what happened in 1988 is an indicator to what may happen in 1989, the final deficit may be much higher, especially in view of the natural tendency to overestimate revenues and under estimate expenditure resulting in an understated deficit.

Deficit in 1989 budget is actually higher than the above suggested figure, because the developmental loans of JD103 million were—as always—classified as revenues. Thus the planned deficit is effectively JD225 million or 13 per cent of GDP [Gross Domestic Product], of which JD103 million will be covered from external development loans (70 per cent) and internal borrowing (30 per cent), while the balance will be covered by commercial loans and from the Central Bank.

In order for the government to keep the deficit within the determined limits, it has not only to achieve the estimated revenues but also to receive more Arab aid than was actually received in 1988. This is of course an optimistic position which could not have been taken by the Ministry of Finance unless they have dependable assurances that Arab aid will be forth coming.

Of course, economists have to take into account that the purchasing power of the JD in 1989 will be around 20 per cent lower. The fact that the government kept its public expenditure within 99 per cent of the actual expenditure of 1988, means an implicit cut in expenses

of over 20 per cent. This is a remarkable measure of reduction, provided of course that the government will adhere strictly to the allocations stipulated in the budget document.

Over 20 per cent of the budget or JD209.7 million were devoted to debt service, local and external. Around half of this allocation or JD108.4 million represents interest, and the other half or JD101.3 million represents installments. The share of external debt service is 70 per cent of the total debt service, while 30 per cent only will go to service domestic public debt.

The allocations for external debt service came out at below 50 per cent of the independently estimated debt service of the country for 1989. Apparently the public corporations and military loans were not included in the central government budget. It is also very likely that a rescheduling arrangement may take place in 1989, to scale down debt service for sometime, to enable the country to readjust the economy.

The minister of finance pointed out strong and weak areas in the economy. On the positive side he cited enlightened leadership, flexibility of the economic system, the openness of the economy, the stability and security of the society, the maturity of the people, and the adequacy of the public services.

On the negative side the minister pointed out four imbalances, such as the insufficiency of commodity output, the deficit in the budget, the deficit in the balance of payments, and the unemployment in the labour market. He did not elaborate on how the budget will specifically deal with each of these important imbalances. Overall, the budget could not be dismissed as irrelevant to the current economic difficulties. It is rather realistic and can be considered a step in the right direction, provided of course that the government will observe its limits strictly as the minister promised.

## **KUWAIT**

### **Higher Planning Council Approves Long-Term Development Strategy**

44000257 Kuwait *ARAB TIMES* in English  
29-30 Dec 88 p 4

[Text] Kuwait, 28 December, (KUNA)—The Higher Planning Council today approved a provisional prospective long-term development strategy for Kuwait. The council held its meeting this morning and was presided over by its chairman HH the Crown Prince and Prime Minister, Shaykh Sa'ad al-'Abdallah.

The strategy put strong emphasis on "Promoting the role of private sector in development." It said that this should be based upon changing government policy towards the private sector. Putting a stop to free grants and linking any future support with performance has been suggested.

The strategy also called for establishing labour intensive industries outside Kuwait, meaning that only skilled manpower should be brought into the country.

This reduction in unskilled labour will be achieved by developing certain objects in the concept of employment in public service and by adopting a selective immigration policy aimed at controlling numbers and quality of expatriate manpower.

The strategy was included in a report submitted to the council by the Public Policies Committee. It investigates the long-term goals for Kuwait which are based upon general principles in the country's constitution, and also calls for preserving security and political stability and adherence to Islam as the basis for building society.

Following scientific and technological development and employing its techniques for serving national development has also been called for.

Fu'ad Mulla Husayn, the secretary-general said that the strategy is based upon an economy resulting from the joint-operation of public and private sectors and the establishment of a diversified infrastructure. He added that the strategy aims at consolidating the national feelings of Kuwaitis, as being part of the Gulf family and part of the Arab nation and at the same time working to serve mankind through Islamic vision.

The report containing the strategy said that in working it out, the present situation of the various social and economic aspects in Kuwait were explored and discussed. It said that the most important factor available for Kuwait society is the political stability throughout the history of Kuwait which is mainly the outcome of unity and co-operation between the people and its leaders. Kuwaiti society is characterised by its ability to stand against all economical and political challenges.

Kuwait also enjoys a well established legislative base, a complete infrastructure, a highly experienced and efficient commercial body and a young society that ensures a steady supply of manpower.

The strategy also sees three major challenges facing Kuwait. First among these is the 'demographic imbalance,' in which, the strategy calls for adopting policies to prevent aggravation. The second challenge is what the strategy calls 'Technical Depletion' of oil resources. The strategy said that although Kuwait has a huge reserve of oil, it is threatened by depletion and difficulties in increasing production.

The strategy pointed out that the third challenge is 'limited natural resources' and the small local market of Kuwait, thus calling for horizons outside of geographical borders. The strategy emphasised that true wealth for Kuwait is Kuwaiti human resource which must be developed.

It said that two factors must be taken into consideration in developing Kuwaitis, a civilised humanitarian factor and an economical one.

### **Labourers Leading a Wretched Life**

*4400258 Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English  
21 Dec 88 p 3*

[Text] Unscrupulous recruiting agents fleece them...employers exploit them. Dreams of riches fade fast as they find on reaching Kuwait, that they have been given false promises. For months they are not paid their salaries. Fatimah Ahmad makes an in-depth survey of the labour problem.

A large majority of employers in Kuwait are exploiting labourers, cleaners and maids due to the absence of a minimum and maximum wage scale. Coupled with the recession, the lot of the working classes had deteriorated in the last couple of years.

In keeping with the widespread trend of cutting costs by reducing pay packets, most employers have slashed salaries of the lowest paid workers in Kuwait—the labourers, cleaners and maids, houseboys and drivers. Wages have slumped to as low as KD [Kuwaiti Dinar] 18 per month for some workers.

Hundreds of unskilled and skilled Asian workers have been waiting for months to receive their overdue pay cheques. A small minority of white-collar workers, drawing salaries of between KD500 and KD900 per month, are also facing a similar problem.

Many Sri Lankan, Indian, Filipino and Bangladeshi workers have not been paid for periods ranging between 3 and 18 months.

Unpaid Sri Lankans—are owed more than KD100,000 in back pay from their employers, according to reliable sources.

Foreign diplomats believe the recession has no bearing on the situation. "Most cleaning companies are paid by ministries, but they simply don't pay wages to cut costs—that is the only way they can cover their expenses. Others are simply indifferent to the plight of workers," they said.

Salaries for cleaners, who are the worst hit, have fallen to as low as KD18 in some cases, in other cases salary varies between KD25 and KD27. The maids, who earned over KD75 a few years ago, now receive an average of KD40 a month.

A majority of delayed payment cases are not reported in the first two months because workers believe they'll get their dues. After three months, panic sets in and anxious workers approach their embassies, who can only play the role of mediators.

Disputes over non-payment between employers and workers come to public attention if large groups are involved, like the recent case of 500 Indian construction workers, who had stopped work demanding back pay, but went back on the job after promises of settlement.

### Malaise

It is difficult to say how widespread the malaise is because labour officials at embassies review non-payment on a collective basis even if it involves more than 100 workers.

There are about 50,000 Indian labourers, which include between 20,000 and 25,000 maids; 35,000 Filipinos, a majority of them domestics, about 52,000 Bangladeshis and 10,000 Sri Lankans, of whom nearly 40,000 are maids.

Labour officials at various embassies believe that nearly 50 per cent of the workers in the domestic, cleaning and construction sectors are victims of the delayed payments. Under 30 per cent have not been paid at all. It has become a serious problem among the workers of small, recently-established cleaning companies, each employing between 500 to 800 cleaners. Smaller companies have mushroomed in recent years, allegedly to cash in on the business which has grown over the years. Cleaning contracts are awarded to the lowest bidder and undercutting has reportedly become rife.

Smaller companies bid the lowest, getting the contracts in most cases, and to cut costs they slash cleaners' salaries or fleece workers. Such firms recruit cleaners directly from Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and in some instances from Thailand and the Philippines, assisted by recruiting agents in those countries who also have representatives in Kuwait.

The labour problems are familiar but what is disconcerting is that their troubles have multiplied over the years. Workers are lured by false promises of high wages, free food, accommodation and other perks like overtime. They are invariably told they would receive KD60 (minimum), plus food and accommodation. In Kuwait, their actual take-home pay varies between KD18 and 27 (Sri Lankans) and KD25 and 40 (Bangladeshis and Filipinos). Workers allege that employers deduct KD5 each month for repayment of air fares. In some instances, KD10 is deducted for food and accommodation. Only the lucky ones receive overtime of 150 fils per hour. Most cleaners work non-stop from 4 am to 11 pm.

Yet they stick to their jobs in the hope that they will be paid their dues. The problems of Filipino maids have grown by 70 per cent in the last two to three years. Delayed or non-payment of salaries is one aspect. They also face harassment, molestation and work long hours.

### Trend

A small minority of Indian workers—maids and labourers—suffer the same fate but their main grouse concerns the dishonouring of contractual obligations. One publicised example concerned a group of 75 Indian labourers who, in April 1988, camped in the Indian embassy for a week, demanding back pay as stipulated in the contract.

Diplomats confirm this trend, but say they are helpless to resolve such issues, as they must work within the prescribed limits of the law. Diplomats say they "provide moral support and guide them to follow up the matter with the ministry."

The only ray of hope is provided by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour, which has a separate department that deals with labour disputes. A nominal fee is charged to lodge a complaint and the ministry negotiates or fights the case on behalf of workers. Labourers don't pay legal fees but the process, though sympathetic to workers, is long drawn and time consuming.

The trouble for workers actually begins at home due to exploitation by unscrupulous agents. Kuwait's labour law stipulates that all contracts must be written in Arabic. In most cases, contracts are signed by workers in the country of origin in the vernacular. Such documents are not valid in Kuwait. Once the workers arrive in Kuwait, they are asked to sign fresh Arabic documents. It is at this point they learn about the real terms of employment and their actual take-home pay. Disillusionment sets in and workers feel "trapped" in a "no win situation" but go on anyway.

"We pay large amounts to buy our passage and it seems worthwhile to stick on and earn a living in the hope of repaying our debts," said one worker, blaming illegal recruitment agencies "who victimise workers."

No one can provide concrete evidence but all allege that it is "common knowledge illegal recruitment is done by some companies under the banner of trading company licences." Recruiting agencies are not permitted by the law in Kuwait.

Most labour camps are situated in Hasawiya, where 5 to 10 men live in a room huddled in poorly ventilated rooms reeking of foul odours. Most labourers sleep on bare floors, or on borrowed mattresses. The lucky few are given bunk beds. Most camps have no air-conditioners, no electricity and no water supply. The labour camp quarters are multi-purpose rooms and are used as bedrooms and kitchens, apart from storing the meagre belongings of the workers.

The Kuwait labour law has a provision which stipulates "decent living quarters." Inspectors from the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour visit the labour camps.

"When inspectors come, they are shown the clean quarters and the employers claim that cleaners living in the laundry are just washing clothes," said one worker.

The nationality of workers has little bearing on their dilemma and sadly their woeful tales have similar, familiar themes.

**Sri Lankan cleaners—a case study:** Ten months ago, a group of Sri Lankan workers was recruited by the "International Manpower Recruiting Consultants" in Colombo. To get these jobs, the workers mortgaged their property and paid amounts ranging between Rs22,000 and 26,000 to the Sri Lankan agent in Colombo and the "managing partner" (allegedly a trader) in Kuwait. The workers, paid Rs9,000 (KD90) for the ticket; Rs13,000 (KD130) to buy travellers cheques; Rs400 (KD4) for the medical test and spent Rs600 (KD6) on miscellaneous items.

Ten months later they said: "We have reported regularly for work but we have not been paid on a regular basis. We are co-operative, punctual and obedient to our employer but we have to beg money for food from our well-wishers."

A few months ago, one employee from this company approached the company manager for his salary. "He was verbally abused and chased away," said his colleagues.

These workers, like other cleaners, are not paid overtime and their monthly salaries have been withheld for three months. "We are facing starvation," they said.

They are "dumped in one room." They don't have such basic amenities like toilet facilities and they don't hold any identification—social, health or civil.

**Bangladeshi workers—a case study:** Their lot is no better. A group of 50 cleaners signed a contract in April 1986 with a cleaning company. The contract said they would earn KD60 per month and would get a free return ticket, accommodation and food. Forty-seven workers arrived, in batches and received "work permits." On arrival they were taken to their camps in Hassawia.

They came to work for a non-existent company. "The company existed only on paper," said a disgruntled worker. In late November 1986, they filed a case against the alleged company and in December the same year, they approached their embassy.

Like the Sri Lankans, these workers had no visas, no IDs, no jobs and no company to work for.

In June 1987, the court decided in favour of the workers, asking the "company" to pay a total sum of KD85,000 in back pay. Later that year the Kuwait government gave amnesty to illegal residents, asking them to leave within three months. The 47 workers left Kuwait, perhaps

taking bitter memories of a sore experience. They were victimised by an unscrupulous agent who had extracted between Taka 60,000 and 70,000 from them. These poor people mortgaged or sold their possessions to "buy" their way to Kuwait.

Hundreds of others, who have entered Kuwait legally live in fear because the companies don't provide ID cards.

**Filipino maids:** The Philippines government ban on export of maids has been "fairly successful." But there is still a steady flow of domestics, with an average of 20 maids arriving each day in Kuwait.

According to the Philippines government guidelines for employment, certain categories of maids are exempted.

These include maids who are employed by heads of state, members of the ruling family and senior government officials; or diplomats or hired by employers in countries with whom the Philippines has bilateral labour agreements. Those recruited under these guidelines, enter Kuwait legally and face no difficulties, according to Philippines Ambassador to Kuwait, Alunan C. Glang.

Glang, however, said "illegally recruited maids" are in big trouble from the moment they leave Manila on false pretenses and are invariably recruited by "illegal agents."

Agents apparently have the knack of giving the slip to the law. Although maids are banned from leaving the Philippines, there is no ban on tourism. The Filipino maids leave Manila as tourists, carrying dual passports and dollar cheques. It is a vicious plot, hatched by the recruiters allegedly in complicity with the immigration authorities in Manila.

The agents obtain two passports for the candidate. She presents the passport with the tourist visa for the first leg of her journey, frequently terminating in Karachi.

The women, in complicity with the agent, hoodwink the customs authority at Manila airport. As tourists, they carry cash—a minimum of \$200—a tourist visa and a return ticket. All the documents and the money are taken back from the candidate after she clears customs.

#### **Innocent**

In some cases, the women are innocent victims; in others they are willing partners. The innocent victims are told they'll join nursing or teaching and are shocked to learn they are domestics. Others who come as maids are hit hard when they are not paid the promised salaries—KD60 or 70.

Glang said "two passports" are made by the agents, faking birth certificates and involves the "connivance of illegal practices by some elements in the customs, immigration and administration in Manila and the airlines which fly them.

In all labour dispute cases, labourers blame the recruiting agencies, operating in the countries of origin, allegedly with representatives in Kuwait, who hoodwink the law.

"Most agreements are verbal; and agents are largely 'licensed' trading companies, operating from one-room outfits; some operate their business from homes," diplomats and workers said.

The recruitment of maids: a maid can be "selected" from any agents' files, collecting dust in dingy trading company offices. The woman's photograph, age, religion and other data is enclosed in the "albums."

The agents fees in Sri Lanka range from KD120 to KD70, depending on the religion and age of the maid wanted by an employer. A Muslim aid, much in demand, costs KD120, Christians, between KD80 and 90; Hindus KD70 or less. The maids pay their passage in Sri Lanka, in some instances dishing out as much as Rs12,000 to 26,000, plus agent's fee ranging between KD30 and 50.

Recruiting is a lucrative business with minimum investment and high returns, as there is a high demand for labour.

Concern is increasing among people about the welfare of workers. Recently, the chairman of the Kuwait Labour Union Rashid al-Falah, called on the authorities to review the situation on non-payment of salaries. Al-Falah, expressed anger and described non-payment of wages as an "unjustifiable practice." He also urged the authorities to put a "speedy end" to the problem.

Labourers also make a similar appeal. "The government must help us. We work hard and obey the laws. Please tell the employers to pay us on time," they said.

Embassies play a limited role. They "put up" the case before the employer and request him to pay. It is up to the employers to give the workers a fair deal. The labour law makes generous provisions, and enforcers implement rules when discrepancies are noticed.

The Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour is sympathetic to labour disputes; the law gives the right to labourers to seek legal redress. The police also show sympathy. But there are hurdles. If any action is to be taken labourers must lodge a complaint.

There is no law however, governing the employment of domestics and no protection for them. In a free labour market economy, salaries are based on supply and demand, with no minimum pay scale.

Workers and diplomats call for a basic wage scale, rules to ensure "regular" payment to labourers and restrictions on the import of labour.

As most labourers are the victims of unscrupulous agents, the governments of labour exporting countries should weed out unrecognised, unregistered recruiting agents. In Kuwait, there is a need to track down the alleged "illegal recruiters" and take stringent action against them.

"If I could I would impose a blanket ban on the export of labour from my country," said one indignant diplomat.

"We would like to impose a ban on it, but we can't because it is impractical due to unemployment back home. These people come in search of a good life; they are put in a worse situation," said another diplomat.

The workers look up to the government to redress their grievances.

"Please rush to our help, please do something. We need your help," they said.

## OMAN

### Underground Water Resources Discussed 44040151 Muscat 'UMAN in Arabic 26 Oct 88 p 5

[Article by 'Awad Ibn-Muslim Za'banut and 'Abdallah Ibn-Hamd al-Maskari]

[Text] It is not merely a flow of water that changes dust to gold, nor is it merely a pen dipped in a bottle of blue ink that reacts with the brown soil and turns it into a green Omani carpet. It is a spring coming from the past, climbing through centuries and centuries, to water all the present and all the future. When you descend to its channel, you touch history. You sip a bit of water from your hand, but your thirst is not quenched; for the drops of water in it contain joints of time that crowd together and cancel the feeling of satiation, impelling you to drink more.

The channels of an irrigation canal, whether exposed on the surface or hidden among rocks in the depths of the earth, are pillars of time whose stones thousands of generations joined together to arrange. Their restoration now adds 20th-century efforts to the efforts of those who built them before history existed.

The Omani that pours forth as a pure spring onto our brown soil is a poem. The mother well of the canal is its title; its opening line is the broad area that receives the virgin drops that flow from the womb of the rocks; its verses are the lovely sweep of its channel; and its concluding line is the outlet that distributes fertility and growth to a plot of alfalfa, a planting of bananas, and a stand of date palms.

In this series of reports on irrigation canals, we shall stop to consider many important points that we ought to know when we speak about canals and their importance as a fundamental support of agriculture in Oman.

We shall consider estimates of their numbers and their distribution in various parts of our beloved Oman. We shall consider the efforts of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries to maintain them, the technical steps and stages in the repair of the canals, and the technical requirements that must be taken into account when the canals are repaired and maintained. From the many stories about the canals we will gather as many as we can select and publish in these pages. We hope the reader finds in them the knowledge about the canals he is seeking.

We had a number of meetings with several officials in the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, General Administration of Irrigation. We asked Engineer 'Abdallah Ibn-Hamdan al-Wahaybi first to give us an idea about the ministry's interest in maintaining and repairing the canals in order to preserve and develop water resources and provide them to agricultural areas. Eng 'Abdallah Ibn-Hamdan al-Wahaybi said, "While there are no firm statistics about the number of canals the Omanis constructed of old, they are estimated at about 11,000. Because of the antiquity of their construction and the factors of exposure and passage of time, only about 4,000 of them are flowing at the present time. Following the directives of His Royal Highness that canals be repaired by Omani hands in accordance with the traditional Omani method, the ministry, represented by the General Administration of Irrigation, has made annual plans to repair and rebuild canals located in all administrative divisions of the sultanate."

#### **Maintenance Program**

Eng 'Abdallah Ibn-Hamdan al-Wahaybi, general director of the Irrigation Administration, continued, saying, "The administration's canal maintenance program takes many considerations into account. Naturally, maintenance is distributed among canals, so that the benefit extends to all parts of the country—not to mention many considerations, such as the importance of the canal, its length, damage that has occurred to it, the agricultural area benefitting from it, and the density of the population that depends on it. Under the second 5-year plan, full or partial maintenance took place for 1,000 canals. As for included in the annual program of the next 5-year plan, repair, maintenance, and full or partial rebuilding along the course of the canal has taken place for 300 canals. The administration has used modern methods and heavy equipment in uncovering operations to reach the depth of the canal. Modern materials—cement or iron—have been used in constructing canal channels."

#### **Repair and Maintenance Personnel**

Having learned about the ministry's annual program in the area of canal maintenance, we wanted to get an idea

about the personnel ready for this job. Eng 'Abdallah Ibn-Hamdan al-Wahaybi, general director of irrigation, replied:

"The Irrigation Administration has a Department of Canal and Well Maintenance—a full team that works continually to present monthly reports through regular visits to canals in various parts of the sultanate. Eight engineers work in the team, spread throughout the sultanate, and there are 24 supervisors to help the irrigation engineers. Their work is considered a connecting link between the department and the people of the canals.

#### **Monthly Canal Inspection Program**

Because of his busy schedule, Eng 'Abdallah Ibn-Hamdan al-Wahaybi, the general director of irrigation, referred us to Mr 'Abd-al-Muhsin Ibn-Salih al-Ru'aydan, director of the administration's Department of Canal and Well Maintenance, so that we might continue the conversation about the ministry's interest in canals and their maintenance as a foundation, as we said, for progress toward agricultural achievement—indeed, toward preserving every drop of water flowing in them.

'Abd-al-Muhsin Ibn-Salih al-Ru'aydan: "The policy of preserving available water resources is implemented by repairing and maintaining canals. After preparing the annual program for canal repairs according to ministry policy, we distribute this program to the engineers of the department. Once the repair program has become known, the department lays out another program, a monthly one for technical inspection of the canals. The engineer gives the canal system a technical inspection according to the established monthly program. He is accompanied by some of the people who live near the canal, the canal agent, and the canal inspector in the administrative division. The latter assists the engineer in clarifying the sites of villages and towns."

#### **Length From 500 Meters to 10 Km**

'Abd-al-Muhsin continued, saying, "As is well known, canals differ in length. Deep canals range in length from 2 km to tens of kilometers. Surface canals range in length between 500 meters and 2 to 3 km."

#### **Determining Collapsed Places of Canals**

Continuing his discussion of the information that the department engineer obtains when he inspects the canal, 'Abd-al-Muhsin al-Ru'aydan said, "As we said previously, the engineer from his inspection learns which places of the canal need repair and which are most damaged and fallen in. These places and distances are listed, and the resources available to the department are computed. The canal agent and the people are questioned to learn the kind of canal and its current interior

condition, in view of their long experience and knowledge of it. Often, the supervisor, canal agent, and engineer go down into the canal, sometimes 20 meters underground, and inspect the channel of the canal from below."

#### Collecting Technical Information

Continuing, 'Abd-al-Muhsin al-Ru'aydan gave us an idea of the information that the engineer submits in his monthly report about the canal he visits according to the program prepared for visiting canals periodically. He said, "The engineer collects needed technical information, such as the depth of the canal, the length of the section that must be repaired, and the type of earth that has collapsed from the canal. He measures the quantity of water flowing through the canal, so as to compare it with the flow after repair and with the actual water needs of the farmed area. The engineer also submits a report about the course of the canal and its place in relation to other canals or natural land features such as mountain escarpments or other things. He records observations for choices of the best designs required for improving and the canal and protecting it from seasonal streams and rivers. Naturally, many factors must be taken into account when settling on the design required for the canal. It would be difficult to list them all in this space, since they differ from canal to canal and from place to place. The engineer records these factors, so that specifications can be made as suits the nature of the canal required to be repaired either in full or in part."

#### Carrying Out Maintenance and Repair

From 'Abd-al-Muhsin al-Ru'aydan, we went to Mr 'Isa Ibn-'Abdallah al-'Amiri, an official of the implementation and follow-up section of the Department of Canal and Well Maintenance, an expert in the areas of maintenance. With his skill in Omani irrigation engineering, he is considered a founder of the department and one of those interested in preserving this abundant heritage. 'Isa Ibn-'Abdallah al-'Amiri said, "In my view, the project of maintaining canals, whether in the past or in the future, should be considered a single project—continuance in the protection and maintenance of canals, raising their capacity, and continuing in their service. We are preserving this heritage left to us by our ancestors, who expended much blood, sweat, and spirit to construct them and preserve the agricultural wealth based on water provided by these canals. We must therefore continue earnestly to work to maintain them, however many difficulties and however much toil we face. The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries lays great importance on the preservation of these treasures that our country bestows and that our venerable forefathers left to us. Following royal directives, we maintain and repair them in the ancient Omani way. The most modern equipment, cement, and reinforced concrete will be used, in accordance with the expertise of the sons of Oman who have preserved the traditional method of repairing them."

#### Difficulty of Maintenance Operations

'Isa Ibn-'Abdallah al-'Amiri continued, saying, "The nature of the land of the sultanate, with its irregularities, is varied, diverse, and hard to deal with. The canals throughout Oman are not located in one place. Some of them are located high in the mountains, some in the plain, and some in very rugged areas that we can reach only by air, by using ropes, or through huge, difficult gorges. Nevertheless, as workers in the department, we feel absolutely no fatigue, as long as we are working to maintain and repair our local canals that are a symbol of culture and stability through time. Indeed, our ancestors constructed them, and they can truly be considered virtual underground rivers watering vast areas of agricultural land."

#### Technical Provisions of Implementation

'Isa Ibn-'Abdallah al-'Amiri continued, speaking about the technical requirements that are taken into consideration when carrying out maintenance of any canal. "There are many technical requirements of maintenance. Merely as an example, the water of the canal must continue to arrive, lest the agricultural land that depends on it be damaged. The flow must not be cut off from the town while digging is taking place. Other parts of the canal must not be affected by the equipment of the contractor or the person who has been put in charge of maintenance and repair." 'Isa al-'Amiri said, "Drawings of technical specifications are made, and preliminary estimates are made of the cost of repair."

#### Inviting Public Bids on Performing Maintenance

'Isa Ibn-'Abdallah al-'Amiri, an official of the implementation and follow-up section, said, "After setting the specifications and making drawings, as I said before, of what is needed for repairing and maintaining any canal, and after preliminary estimates of the costs, we invite public bids from local contractors whom we know have a good reputation and experience in the areas of repairing and maintaining canals. Prices are then set, and the appropriate contractor and appropriate price are chosen, in accordance with the estimated costs. The order to start work then goes out to the contractor who wins the bidding, based on the analyses we have made."

#### Maintenance Specifications

To learn the technical specifications for maintaining any canal, we turned to the department's irrigation engineer, Mahmud 'Abd-al-'Aziz, who said, "As al-Ru'aydan told you, we in the department set a monthly program of periodical visits to canals by engineers of the department. This is based on the general program set by ministry policy on maintaining and repairing various canals in the sultanate in general. Inasmuch as we are talking about maintenance, which is among the stages and steps of canal repair—after the visiting engineer collects the necessary technical information, the information is put into the form of engineering specifications

and explanatory drawings." Continuing, Mahmud 'Abd-al-'Aziz said, "This information, which we put into the specifications, clarifies for the contractor the manner and method of digging and the depth that must be reached, according to the required slope of the floor of the channel. It also mentions the dimensions of the shape of the channel, whether the channel is on the surface or deep underground, and the necessary ways of protection, if the course of the canal needs such protection. Also, the distances that must be repaired are clarified and their location relative to the total length of the canal and whether the canal is to be repaired by cutting or digging, which is done in case the depth of the canal is more than 15 meters."

Eng Mahmud 'Abd-al-'Aziz said, "In addition, we set written specifications and make explanatory drawings of the various sectors of the channel, with their dimensions and diameters—illustrating, that is, everything relating to technical specifications."

#### **Training Canal Maintenance Contractors on Modern Equipment**

Continuing, Eng Mahmud 'Abd-al-'Aziz said, "After the order to start is issued to the contractor, the engineer hands over the work site and the stretch that needs repair with an explanation of the specifications, each item separately, and instructs the contractor in the type of equipment needed for digging, according to the kind of ground. Then the levels of the floor are adjusted after the digging, using modern equipment. The contractor is trained on it and also trained in setting the proportions of concrete and in pouring it so as to preserve its strength. In other words, the engineer in the department here follows the work step by step. He directs and trains the contractor, helping him overcome obstacles that appear during the carrying out of maintenance and repair, so that the canal is repaired properly.

"Finally, after accepting the work from him in accordance with what was required of him, we draw up for him a written certificate of having completed the maintenance operation. On its basis, the sums payable to him are disbursed, according to the contract that was concluded with him."

We left the Ministry of Agriculture with our hearts full of joy and gladness at what the ministry is doing to maintain and repair canals and hoping to give the reader in the coming series of these reports an idea of the stories and history of the canals in olden times with men who had experience and many years of dealing and living with them every day.

#### **Water Programs, New Dams Planned**

*44000271b Muscat TIMES OF OMAN in English  
12 Jan 89 pp 1, 48*

[Article: "New Dams Planned in Water Programme"]

[Text] The Government's water resources development programme includes a number of projects to be carried out during the third Five Year Development Plan.

These include the construction of recharge dams at a total cost of RO 20.3 million and programme of maintenance and repair of falajs, wells and canals at a total cost of RO 5 million.

Small flood-control dams will be built at a total cost of RO 7 million and drilling projects will be carried out in exploration for new water resources in various areas in the Sultanate.

Research and studies will be conducted to explore new national water resources and maps prepared for the areas liable to face flooding.

The Government is making great efforts to improve the level of the underground water by the construction of recharge and flood control dams.

#### **Surveys**

A number of dams, already constructed in Wadi al-Khawd, Wadi al-Hatt and Wadi Sifah, are giving good service.

Several water surveys were carried out in various areas during the past years but there is a need for further surveys and continuous monitoring of water resources, in order to determine the best means of developing natural water and rationalising its use.

The Sultanate's water resources are relatively limited, as rainfall registers, on an average, some 10 mm per annum. Vast areas do not have rainfall at all.

The areas which enjoy the highest level of rainfall are the Southern Region, the Jebel Akhdar, the Sumayl Valley and the Batinah-Coast.

#### **Well Water**

In view of the low level of rainfall, agriculture has to depend on the underground water through wells, which are commonly used in Batinah and the Southern Region and the falaj system for irrigation used in the Interior.

The implementation of the Government's programme of constructing dams will help in reducing the quantity of water seeping into the ocean and improving the water table.

The purpose of the dams currently in existence is to tap the run-off rainwater, which occurs when storms break over the mountains and to ensure that it seeps into the ground to recharge the subterranean aquifers.

The Wadi Kharab dam in Musandam is serving the dual purpose of flood control and re-charge dam.

The al-Khawd dam, near Muscat, built in March 1985—the first in Oman—is meeting its goals after two years of good winter rains.

To make a final assessment of the dam's effectiveness, collection and evaluation of ground water levels, salt water intrusion and pumping records over a period of several months will be required.

The wells and desalination plants are the principal source of potable water used in Muscat for drinking and other domestic purposes.

The two additional desalination units at the Ghubrah thermal power and desalination plant, which came on stream two years ago, making a total of four units—have brought the total capacity to 23 million gallons a day.

The total output is boosted by the two wellfields in Wadi 'Uday and Sib areas both of which produce 3 million gallons per day each.

Six million gallons per day is provided by 82 wells comprising the Muscat area's total ground water resources, in addition to the half a million gallons per day received from the Oman Refinery Company.

The Government is tackling the problem of water wastage, following estimates that 30 per cent of production is wasted.

A programme of mains repairs and checks on water meters may help reduce wastage and aid conservation and efficient use of water resources.

#### **New Port Plan Prepared**

44000271 Muscat *TIMES OF OMAN* in English  
12 Jan 89 p 16

[Article: "New Port for Oman"]

[Text] A new port is to be constructed in Oman and three locations are being considered, the Minister of Communications said Wednesday last week.

Shaykh Hammud ibn 'Abd-al-Allah Harithi said sites between Muscat and Sur, Sur, Masirah and along the Batinah coast were being studied.

The new port will ease pressure at Port Qabus, opened in 1973.

Shaykh Hammud, addressing members of the State Consultative Council, said a development plan had been prepared to take care of the port's needs for the next 10 years.

The plan includes flattening of a hill in Shutaify Bay to create space for stacking cargo, deepening and enlarging the port basin and the conversion of two general cargo berths into container berths.

Port Qabus has 13 berths including two used for bulk cargoes, mainly wheat and construction material, one for ro-ro cargo and one for port craft. Total berthing space is 1.7 million square feet.

Shaykh Hammud also said a study was under way to determine how many of the country's dirt roads should have asphalt surfaces.

Dirt roads now total 19,000 km against 1,817 km in 1970.

He said high priority would be accorded to road construction as a base for socio-economic development.

Shaykh Hammud said says were being sought for reducing the costs of road construction so that money saved could be utilised for building more roads in needy areas. The asphalt road network now stands at 4,000 km against 10 km in 1970.

Discussing airports, Shaykh Hammud said Sib International Airport had advanced greatly since it was opened in 1973. He also referred to the linking of towns by the domestic airline, Oman Aviation Services.

## INDIA

### Winter Maneuvers Cancelled as Gesture to Pakistan

#### Correspondent's Report

46001210 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
29 Dec 88 p 1

[Article by Subhash Chakravarti]

[Text] New Delhi, Dec 28. India has sent Pakistan a significant signal to demonstrate its goodwill by calling off the annual winter exercise by the armed forces in Rajasthan.

This is seen here as a major initiative taken by the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, to strengthen the process of mutual confidence-building prior to his talks with Pakistan's democratically elected Prime Minister, Ms Benazir Bhutto.

A prior notification about this exercise was duly sent to Pakistan's army headquarters. Obviously, the hawks in Pakistan's military establishment, who are yet to come to terms with the developing shift in the country's political atmosphere, were not amused by the Indian gesture.

An elaborate exercise by the armed forces in Pakistan was routinely mounted on the Punjab border.

It seems to give the impression that the new political masters in Pakistan are yet to run their writ vis-a-vis the army which ruthlessly ruled the country for so many years and in the process developed its own vested interest to maintain an adversary relationship with India.

This is a sensitive factor to which Indian policy planners are inclined to give some importance while considering a meaningful dialogue with the new government of Ms Bhutto on any long-term understanding on peace, security and cooperation.

India has been particularly circumspect about the movement of troops on the border with Pakistan after its experience in the wake of "Operation Brasstack" in October 1987.

The two countries have developed a reasonably perfect physical mechanism to avert the type of contingency faced during "Operation Brasstack". A hotline between the two service headquarters has already been established. An additional link has also been set up between the two foreign offices.

The need for developing such a mechanism is evident from what happened between Egypt and Israel in 1973. Egypt was thought to have been carrying out routine annual exercises when its troops launched into Sinai, marking the start of the Yom Kippur war.

The latest gesture shown by India is aimed at opening cooperation even in areas which till recently were thought to have been beyond the talking point between the two countries.

The pace for making a new beginning has already been set by agreeing to sign an agreement under which the two countries will undertake not to attack each other's nuclear facilities. The agreement marks a high point in bilateral relations.

#### TELEGRAPH Correspondent's Report

46001210 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English  
30 Dec 88 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, Dec 29: In a rare gesture of goodwill, India has called off its annual winter military exercise due to take place in Rajasthan desert, *THE TIMES OF INDIA* reported this morning.

The report by Subhash Chakravarti, said this was being viewed as a major initiative by the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, to strengthen the process of mutual confidence-building before his talks with the new Pakistan Prime Minister, Ms Benazir Bhutto.

Mr Gandhi left here today for Islamabad to attend the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] summit being held there, and during his three-day stay in the Pakistan capital, will be holding prolonged one-to-one talks with Ms Bhutto.

The decision to cancel the exercise by the armed forces was apparently taken in the past few days. A prior notification that the exercise would be held had already been sent to the Army headquarters in Pakistan.

Mr Chakravarti said: "Obviously, the hawks in Pakistan's military establishment, who are yet to come to terms with the developing shift in the country's political atmosphere, were not amused by the Indian gesture. An elaborate exercise by the armed forces in Pakistan was routinely mounted on the Punjab border.

"It seems to give the impression that the new political masters in Pakistan are yet to assert their writ on the army which ruthlessly ruled the country for so many years, and in the process developed its own vested interests to maintain and adversary relationship with India."

The report continued: "This is a sensitive factor to which Indian policy planners are inclined to give some importance while considering a meaningful dialogue with the new government of Ms Benazir Bhutto or any long term understanding on peace, security and cooperation."

Calling off the winter exercise of the Indian armed forces, routinely held in the desert areas of Rajasthan, was a significant signal to Pakistan to demonstrate its goodwill, the report added.

It said the gesture by India was aimed at opening cooperation even in areas which till recently were thought to have been beyond talking points between the two countries.

The signal came even as the pace for making a new beginning was being set by the decision to work for an agreement under which the two countries will undertake not to attack each other's nuclear facilities.

Since the "Operation Brasstacks" exercise of the Indian armed forces held in October 1987, India has been especially circumspect about the movement of troops along the border with Pakistan. The two countries have established a physical mechanism to avert the type of contingencies faced at the time of "Operation Brasstacks."

A hotline between the military headquarters of the two countries has already been in existence. An additional link has also been set up between the foreign office of the two nations.

Every three years the Army conducts exercises at the corps level involving about 50,000 soldiers. The then Chief of Army Staff, Gen K. Sundarji, conducted Operation Brasstacks, a corps-level exercise.

However, the annual exercise of the Army is conducted at the division level, involving about 15,000 soldiers. Such exercises are conducted regularly to keep the soldiers fighting fit. Both India and Pakistan inform each other beforehand so that no misunderstanding arises.

About three weeks ago, there were several reports in the Pakistani press, saying that the Indian Army was preparing for exercises along the Rajasthan border. A spokesman of the external affairs ministry had described it as a routine matter.

### Reportage, Comment on 13th Congress of CPI-M

#### Namboodiripad Opening Speech

46001219 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
28 Dec 88 pp 1, 13

[Text] Trivandrum, December 27. The short opening speech of the CPM [Communist Party, Marxist] general secretary, Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad, at the opening of the party's 13th Congress here today highlighted the need to strengthen the unity of "left and secular" opposition parties and forge closer ties with "fraternal" parties of the world communist movement.

The CPM leader said the occasion was "unique" in that the party had invited delegations from communist parties worldwide for the first time since it was formed 24 years ago.

He told the 648 delegates and 50 observers, more than half of whom are from Kerala and West Bengal as the CPM strength has mainly been in these states, about the "magnificent" world response to the initiatives of socialist countries in preserving world peace.

He said the "conscious" efforts by "communists and other patriotic forces" in the country had made for closer and more cooperative relations between the government and the socialist countries, especially the USSR and China.

The CPM stalwart also noted, "our country's relations with the non-aligned countries have always been and continue to be particularly warm and fraternal." This, he said, was important in the "struggle against imperialism and its drive towards war". But the CPM's lackadaisical attitude towards India's foreign policy came in for criticism from the leadership later.

Mr Namboodiripad underlined the emergence of "a big challenge of communal and divisive forces" and said, "our party endeavors to bring about the unity of left and secular opposition parties to fight and isolate these reactionary forces, while striving to oust the Congress."

The conference hall prominently displayed peace doves as the traditional communist symbol against "imperialist warmongering." It also placed Stalin alongside Marx, Engels and Lenin. But chairman Mao was missing even from city walls, which prominently feature national and international communist leaders.

Only two of the CPM's five allies in the ruling Left Democratic Front of Kerala responded to the leading partner's invitation to attend the inaugural session.

While ministers belonging to the RSP [Revolutionary Socialist Party] and the Congress(S) attended it, the CPI ministers are understood to be away in Delhi for their own party's pre-congress national council session.

Inquiries revealed the Lok Dal and Janata ministers were away "on tour".

#### Draft Resolution Introduced

46001219 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English  
28 Dec 88 pp 1, 9

[Article by Pijush Kundu]

[Text] Trivandrum, Dec 27—While fixing its immediate political task as ouster of the Rajiv Gandhi Government at the Centre in alliance with other Left and secular parties, the CPI(M) draft political resolution moved on the opening day of the party's 13th congress here today called for a sustained struggle against communal and secessionist forces trying to destroy the unity and integrity of the country aided by imperialist agencies. The

draft political resolution finalized by the central committee of the party yesterday was introduced by the Politburo member, Mr B.T. Ranadive, immediately after the party general secretary, Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad, concluded his inaugural address.

The draft resolution which will be debated by the delegates attending the congress during the next few days describes as "criminal failure" the Rajiv Gandhi Governments "incapacity" to combat the forces of "national disruption" and alleges that it has compromised with these forces to keep itself in power.

Asserting that a new situation has arisen from the one prevailing about three years ago when the last party congress was held in Calcutta the resolution says, "it is no longer enough to expose the Congress(I). But the battle has to be carried directly to the people". It calls for a mass movement to make the people aware of the designs of these divisive forces.

The resolution stresses the need for maintaining the unity of the Left Fronts which run the two Governments in Kerala and West Bengal although it admits that these Left Fronts will have to pass through stresses and strains. The performance of the Governments of Kerala and West Bengal has been to the satisfaction of the party despite the fact that these two States have been discriminated against by the Centre.

Reiterating its stance on the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] which is dubbed as a communal party, the resolution leaves room for manoeuvrability when the question of fighting the Congress(I) in the next Lok Sabha polls by the Opposition parties comes up for discussion at the appropriate forums such as the National Front.

Earlier even during his speech Mr Namboodiripad did not dwell much on the BJP. He said a combination of Left and secular parties would fight the Congress(I) in the next parliamentary election to oust it from power. The BJP and other communal parties would also contest the parliamentary election. He added that the combination of Left and secular forces would isolate the communal and divisive forces.

According to the draft resolution, the secessionist forces are active in Assam, Punjab, Darjeeling, Kashmir and the north-eastern States where the challenge to national unity is most. It singles out the Assam Gana Parishad which oppresses the Bengalis and incites secessionist Assamese chauvinism. The resolution says: "It will be opportunistic to join the open separatist forces in Assam in the name of defeating the Congress(I) at the hustings. No clear cut statement regarding the BJP except those off-repeated cliches of the party has been made in the resolution. Nor has it made any comment on the statements of the party's West Bengal leaders which had said that they did not consider the eventuality of a more reactionary Government taking over the reins of power at the Centre than the one headed by Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

Understandably, the CPI(M) is aware of its limitations as also of the combination of Left parties to influence the shape of national events in course of the next one year or so.

It recognized the weakness of the National Front the formation of which the CPI(M) has welcomed. The CPI(M) wants the National Front leaders to spell out their stand on the country's economic and foreign policies. This, though demanded by the CPI(M), has been scrupulously avoided by the National Front leaders. The draft resolution also regrets the "constant squabbles inside the Janata Dal and admits that that factional politics in the Dal of some of its leaders had done great harm to the prospects of Opposition unity".

The CPI(M) is obviously aware that some leaders of the National Front as well as those of the Janata Dal may very much like to "befriend" the BJP and the RSS [Rastriya Sangh Sabha] while seeking the help of the Left parties in the Lok Sabha election. Evidently the ambivalent attitude of some of the National Front and Janata Dal leaders in respect of ties with the BJP has forced the CPI(M) to tread a middle course while keeping the pressure on these leaders to sever all trucks with the BJP in any electoral arrangement. The resolution notes that till now the BJP has been kept out of the National Front, a development which is to the linking of the CPI(M). But at the same breath it says, "no one knows what shape things will take when election fever starts and principles and policies get a back seat".

UNI and PTI add: The former West Bengal Minister and RSP leader, Mr Jatin Chakraborty and the CPI unit in Andhra Pradesh have come in for severe criticism at the CPI(M) congress here today.

Introducing the draft political resolution, Mr Ranadive said there were bound to be differences among Left parties on certain issues.

#### More on Resolution

46001219 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
28 Dec 88 p 4

[Article by Manini Chatterjee]

[Text] Trivandrum, Dec 27: The CPI(M) has considerably watered down its reservations regarding the reforms initiated by the Soviet general secretary, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, and has even warmly supported aspects of perestroika and glasnost.

It was ironical that the draft political resolution containing the new assessment was read out by the senior Politburo member, Mr B.T. Ranadive, here today because it was he who had earlier been the chief critic of perestroika and glasnost.

Mr Ranadive, who had at one stage openly expressed the view that the emphasis on material incentive under perestroika was likely to undermine socialist consciousness, today asserted that the changes in Soviet economy had been necessary in view of a stagnating economy and would promote socialist enterprise.

Admitting their earlier reservations the political resolution noted; "Many of our comrades have been puzzled by recent reports that socialist countries including the Soviet Union were in need of radically reorganizing their economies and were facing difficulties. This was partly due to an idealistic belief that once socialist revolution is successful there could be no problems."

It goes on to say, "But a rapidly developing socialist society demands rapid changes in management of the economy and the state. Any lag leads to distortion, stagnation, and development of bureaucracy and erosion of socialist consciousness. Both the CPSU and the CPC [Communist Party Council] have been, of late, aware of these problems and are trying to tackle them."

However, despite this broad support there is still a veiled reservation when it states, "but there is no doubt that with the existence of a working class state, the guiding role of Marxism-Leninism and the party and socialized means of production, concrete solutions are bound to be reached whether there are some initial mistakes or slips." The use of the word mistakes indicates that the party still does not agree with some of the measures being initiated.

Apart from perestroika, sections of the CPI(M) had had strong misgivings over Mr Gorbachev's alleged "accommodative spirit" with capitalism and imperialism. Senior party leaders had earlier said that the threat of war remained imminent because the imperialists were bent upon destroying the socialist system and third world independence.

Even on this score, the CPI(M) appears to have altered its position considerably and come around to the view that war is no longer a threat and all progressive forces in the world should back the Soviet initiative for peace.

The draft resolution notes, "During the last three years the most outstanding change in world developments is that the struggle for peace has entered a decisive phase and there are now strong prospects for avoiding a nuclear war and holocaust."

In fact, the highlight of the international section of the draft political resolution is the emphasis on world peace pointing out that more and more people, even in the capitalist world, were talking the language of peace.

It said, "This has, to an extent, changed the international landscape and created very favorable conditions for the advance of the democratic and social forces all over the

world. This is the great difference in the atmosphere in which our Calcutta congress met and the atmosphere in which we are meeting today."

The resolution goes on to attack Indian politicians in general and sections of its own party in particular for not appreciating the changed political environment. "... it is because of this indifference to international changes that the peace movement in our country has been dragging out a sectarian existence unable to have any link with the mass of the people."

### Stand on CPSU, Corruption

46001219 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English  
29 Dec 88 p 1

[Article by Pijush Kundu]

[Text] Trivandrum, Dec 28—In sharp contrast to the CPI(M)'s earlier stand on the present Soviet leadership's attitude towards Stalin, the party wants to keep in abeyance any debate on the issue at least for the time being. Only in May this year, the CPI(M) denounced the Soviet leadership's move to set up a commission to reassess the role of Stalin.

During a formal briefing here, the CPI(M) general secretary, Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad, was asked why no reference had been made to this ideological issue in the political resolution moved by Mr B.T. Ranadive. Mr Ranadive then, in a series of articles and interview, had criticized the CPSU move, obviously with the consent of the Politburo of the party. Mr Namboodiripad said, "A cryptic answer to the question is that the party had adopted the stand on the issue and the party congress has not disapproved it". Evidently the CPI(M) does not want to take up the issue again so soon.

In reply to another question regarding several corruption charges levelled against Mr Jyoti Basu, Mr Namboodiripad brushed aside those charges calling them "a part of the slanderous campaign against Mr Basu".

He added: "I have come here neither to denounce nor to defend Mr Jyoti Basu. There was no serious allegation against him."

When reporters wanted an explanation from the CPI(M) leader as to why the party was accusing Mr Rajiv Gandhi of corruption, Mr Namboodiripad replied that the issue was very important as never before had the Prime Minister of India been charged with corruption.

Mr Namboodiripad made it quite apparent that the CPI(M) had no objection to the experiments being made in the Soviet economy, particularly the move to invite foreign capital and enter into collaboration agreements with foreign firms. The CPI(M) leaders emphasized that there was nothing to be afraid of because the means of production in the USSR were owned by the State itself.

In China also the means of production were in the hands of the State, although the country was passing through the preliminary stages of socialism.

However, citing the examples of the Soviet Union and China one could not make a plea for the entry of the foreign firms in India, he said. Mr Namboodiripad disclosed that some opposition parties were putting pressure on his party to come to an understanding with the BJP before the next parliamentary elections. He declined comment on the subject as the party congress delegates would debate on the issue.

#### **Stand on Electoral Alliance**

46001219 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English  
29 Dec 88 p 1

[Article by Manini Chatterjee]

[Text] Trivandrum, Dec 28: The CPI(M) leadership's call to forge ties with all secular opposition parties is likely to be accepted by the party's rank and file but the exact nature of its ties with these parties in general and the National Front in particular remains to be spelt out.

The draft political resolution dealing with the issue of the National Front and Janata Dal is divided into two parts and while the first part concentrates on attacking these parties the final conclusion is that a combination of left and these parties is crucial in the next elections.

Speaking to newsmen here this afternoon, the party general secretary, Mr E.M.S. namboodiripad, said it was too early to say what kind of alliance would be forged in the next elections. The situation was fluid and "we cannot imagine what will happen in the next six months," he said. When it was pointed out that the draft political resolution spoke about electoral strategy, Mr Namboodiripad countered. "Elections are not the be all and the end all of our political line. The political resolution talks of the big mass struggles ahead. Elections are only part of the political struggle."

Mr Namboodiripad's statement is significant because it appears to differ with the line spelt out at the end of Mr B.T. Ranadive's speech on the draft political resolution, in which he states: "The left parties have to support these parties (constituents of the National Front particularly Janata Dal) so that a combination of secular and left parties is able to defeat the Congress(I) in the coming elections. Any hesitation about working for this combination will mean the loss of initiative for the people and the left."

Clearly, there appears to be two lines, not necessarily contradictory to each other, working in the CPM [Communist Party of India, Marxist]. The first is the long-term strategy of forging a left and democratic alternative

and the second is the more immediate concern of forming an electoral alternative of left, democratic and secular parties. While Mr Namboodiripad appears to be concentrating on the first line, Mr Ranadive spelt out both and in the end emphasized the latter.

The difference between the two strategies is not just a matter of semantics, party sources said. By left and democratic alternative they mean a combination of parties holding similar views or as party leaders put it "anti-monopoly, anti-capitalist and anti-feudal forces." In this case, parties like the Lok Dal, Telugu Desam or even the Janata Party and Janata Dal would not be acceptable.

But after attacking these parties for their lapses, Mr Ranadive states "And yet on many other democratic issues like centre-state relations, democratic liberties they take a stand along with the democratic forces. Elections have to be fought in this complex situation."

The party, therefore, has to go along with these forces in order to increase its own strength and prepare for a long-term alternative. Given the fact that the left has decided to fight both the Congress(I) and the BJP, it has only two options—either go it alone or go with the rest of the Opposition, whatever be their shortcomings.

#### **Soviet Delegate's Press Conference**

46001219 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English  
30 Dec 88 p 1

[Article by Pijush Kundu]

[Text] Trivandrum, Dec 29—The Soviet Union does not find any contradiction in developing relations simultaneously with the Congress(I), the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India, Marxist] and the CPI [Communist Party of India]. There was no element of "opportunism" in maintaining relations with these parties, Mr G.V. Kolbin, CPSU delegate to the CPI(M) congress, said at a Press conference here today.

Mr Kolbin said that Congress(I) delegates had talks with the CPSU leaders in Moscow in the past and CPSU delegates had met Congress(I) leaders in this country. The principle applied to the CPI(M) also. CPI(M) leaders had participated in the 70th anniversary celebrations of the October Revolution in Moscow and before. Mr Kolbin emphasized that developing relations with the CPI(M) would not affect the CPSU's long-standing relations with the CPI. Every Communist party in any country had its right to determine its political and tactical line, he added.

Mr Kolbin was asked how the CPSU could hope to improve its relations with the CPI(M) when the latter was currently engaged in the ouster of the Rajiv Gandhi

Government. Mr Kolbin replied that the CPSU General Secretary, Mr Gorbachev, had supported India's policy of non-alignment in the interest of global peace during his recent visit to Delhi.

Mr Kolbin, a member of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Kazakhstan, said perestroika was intended to bring in a qualitative renovation of all aspects of Soviet society following the basic tenets of Socialism. He said that since 1985 when perestroika was launched foodgrains production in Kazakhstan had increased at a higher pace than before. Housing accommodation for each family had been promised in this region.

He admitted that there had been some distortions of the Socialist system which the present leadership of the party was trying to rectify. Of course, the CPSU wanted constructive criticism of perestroika which was yet to traverse a long journey. He, however, did not envisage any multi-party system coming up in the Soviet Union replacing the present socialist one.

In its journey forward, perestroika would involve all individuals and the leaders. He admitted that there had been a gap between the party and the people in policy formulations as well as in their implementation.

He added that the CPSU was striving to normalize relations with China for global peace and for ensuring a better life for the people of the two countries and of the region in general.

#### **Andhra Pradesh, More on Soviets**

46001219 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
30 Dec 88 p 1

[Text] Trivandrum, Dec 29. The CPM politburo said here today that the Congress was trying to fish in the troubled waters of Andhra Pradesh.

Referring to the murder of the Congress MLA [Member-Legislative Assembly], Mr Mohaniranga Rao, and two others, the politburo said in a statement: "it is unfortunate that the Congress instead of joining with other forces to restore peace is helping in giving it a caste complexion and thus aggravating the situation."

While expressing "deep concern" over the deteriorating law and order situation in that state, it said that some Congress leaders were keen on demanding a presidential intervention.

"Such a course is very harmful for the unity of Andhra Pradesh as well as for democratic fabric of the country", it added.

The politburo welcomed the Telugu Desam government's decision to order a judicial probe into the murders and said that it would help in bringing the culprits to book.

PTI adds: Mr G.V. Kolbin, member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union's (CPSU) central committee, today said there had been improvement in Sino-Soviet relations and the USSR was now ready for a summit between the leaders of the two nations.

Mr Kolbin, who is heading a four-member delegation to the 13th CPM Congress now in progress here, told newsmen here that the USSR stood for further improvement of relations with China.

Replying to questions, Mr Kolbin, also first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan republic, said under 'perestroika' every Soviet republic was free to have direct contacts with foreign countries and the Kazakhstan republic had started direct trade relations with China.

On 'perestroika' and 'glasnost' Mr Kolbin said the former was 'not an overnight business' but something to be done in a phased manner by means of which the country's further development had to be achieved through solving economic, social and other problems.

Under perestroika concrete results had begun to emerge in his own republic, he said. He also referred to the growth in production rate and consumption of meat and some other products and the initiatives taken to solve the housing problem. Seven per cent of houses constructed recently in Kazakhstan had made use of personal savings, he said, adding further steps in this direction were being taken.

The Soviet delegation today clarified that the CPSU's relations with the CPI would not affect its relations with the CPM.

The delegation leader, Mr Kolbin, and Dr F.N. Yurulov, of the CPSU's international department, told newsmen that its relations with other parties were on the basis of equality and mutual respect.

Asked whether the delegation approved of the draft political resolution before the CPM congress, the main thrust of which is against the Congress government, Dr Yurulov said "It is for the members of the CPM attending the Congress to judge the contents of the resolution? The Soviet delegation was not here to discuss the draft resolution, he added.

Asked to comment on a reference in the draft resolution before the CPM that "even the most advanced forces" underestimated the peoples' massive struggles against reactionary regimes, Mr Yurulov recalled that Mr Gorbachev had expressed support to the countries of the third world and liberation movements.

On whether there was any special significance to the presence of both Chinese and Soviet delegates at the CPM congress, they said the delegations' presence here and the Soviet Union's ties with China were not related.

They said there was no 'opportunism' involved in having relations with the two communist parties as well as with the Congress.

They said they had visited the congress headquarters and had discussions on matters of mutual interest. They had also had similar discussions with the CPI leaders.

The delegation also recalled the long standing relations with the Congress and the CPSU and the exchange of delegations between the two parties.

Asked to comment on the fragmentation of the Indian communist movement Mr Kolbin and Mr Yurilov said: "This is a problem for the Indian communists".

They said the CPSU appreciated India's foreign policy based on non-alignment which was an important factor in the struggle for world peace. They positively viewed the CPM's stand for further strengthening Indo-Soviet relations.

#### **Foreign Delegates Attend, Speak**

46001219 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
29 Dec 88 p 5

[Article by Manini Chatterjee]

[Text] Trivandrum, Dec 28: After nearly a quarter century of isolation from the international Communist fold, the CPM emerged as an important member of this fraternity as it received warm greetings from sixteen foreign delegations that assembled here last evening.

The greetings from the delegations including the CPSU and the CPC gave a clear enough signal that times had changed and no party, however large or powerful, any longer had monopoly over the Communist grail. Both the parties also praised the roll played by the CPM in the Indian political scene.

The attendance of foreign delegates for the first time at a CPM congress not only indicated that the party was now accepted by the rest but also showed that the spirit of glasnost had ignited relations between Communist parties with varying and even antagonistic beliefs. The Chinese were there but so were the Vietnamese and if the Soviets had been invited, so had the Kampuchians. And the Japanese Communist Party which has ties with neither of the two Socialist giants rubbed shoulders with them, thanks to the CPM congress.

#### **Peace, Peace, Peace**

In keeping with the times, the theme of the speeches was no longer working class solidarity or world revolution but peace, peace and peace. As the East German delegate put it: Peace does not mean everything to us, but everything else means nothing without peace."

The CPSU delegation made the longest speech and outlined in detail the meaning of the reforms taking place in the Soviet Union. In a significant paragraph the CPSU delegates said, "The weaknesses in our party as we see it are largely due to the fact that the fundamental changes in the world in the last few decades have not been reflected quite fully enough in the theory and practice of the Communist parties...neither devotion to old schemes nor running ahead of events can resolve the complicated problems facing the communists of the world today."

The CPC delegation too harped on the theme of "peace and development" and echoed the Soviet view that relations between communist parties should now be based on the principles of independence and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

#### **Ho Chi Minh**

Fraternal delegates from several other countries Czechoslovakia, France, Afghanistan, Italy, Japan, North Korea, Kampuchea, Mongolia, Rumania and Nepal—delegates from Cuba and Bulgaria did not arrive in time—spoke. But despite the principles of equality, the CPM delegates gave the maximum applause when the CPSU delegation was introduced. The next most popular team, if the sound of clapping is any criterion, was the Vietnamese. When the delegation presented a portrait of Ho Chi Minh to the party leadership, a spontaneous cry of "Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh" rang out.

Though the Soviets and the Vietnamese were the clear favorites, Bengal delegates appeared to prefer the Chinese for as soon as the Chinese came down to speak. Mr Biman Bose left his seat and came to embrace them and spent the next few minutes clicking photographs of the CPC team.

Delegates, all of whom have not quite caught on to the new party line emphasizing peace, were also overjoyed by the speech made by the Japanese Communist Party delegate who did not talk on this theme. Instead, the JPC delegates hoped that the CPM's thirteenth party congress "will be a new springboard for greater success in the struggle of the CPM...against the savage, authoritarian and repressive policies of the central government which serves monopoly capital and big landlords." It was music to the ears of many comrades who were wondering if peace and fighting communalism are all there is.

### All the Starts Are Red

The party leadership, however, seems as keen on emphasizing the importance of world peace as the rest of the foreign delegates. The huge stadium which is the venue of the congress deliberations gives an indication of this. On the wall facing the stage is one cutout of hammer and sickle on a red backdrop flanked by four blue drapes on either side with four white doves each flying towards the sky. On the wall above the stage are portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin but they are placed in such a manner that the foreign delegates do not get a glimpse of them and can only stare at the white doves.

The rest of this town, however, is all red. Every street corner every tiny byline and almost every wall is festooned with red flags, bunting, posters banner and if color and decor could be a measure of revolutionary fervor, Trivandrum today perhaps has more of it than Petrograd in 1917. As one party worker put it, "Christmas and the Congress have become one here—all the stars now are red stars."

### Afghan Delegate's Revelations

46001219 Madras THE HINDU in English  
30 Dec 88 p 10

[Text] Trivandrum, Dec 29. It has been revealed, perhaps for the first time, that the Afghan Government had very recently made an offer of nation-wide elections, preceded by a ceasefire, to the Mujahideen rebels. The offer was, however, not accepted by many of the rebel groups.

Mr Najmuddin Kawyani, member of the politburo of the ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) who led the Afghan delegation to the 13th Congress of the CPI(M), said here today that the offer formed part of the recent proposals put forward by the Afghan Government to the rebels for national reconciliation. He replied in the negative when asked whether it was made in any of the international forums.

Mr Kawyani, however, said that the proposal was placed before the U.N. Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, when he recently visited Afghanistan. He had responded positively to it. The response of the rebels was, however, not at all encouraging. While some of them accepted it, many either rejected it outright or remained silent.

He said the direct talks between some of the rebel groups based in Peshawar and the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister and Ambassador to Kabul, Mr Yuli Vorontsov, remained suspended because the rebels were not willing to accept a single agenda for the dialogue.

He felt that Opposition's preparedness to hold the talks in itself was significant because it showed there was increasing realization among them about the impossibility of finding an answer to the Afghan issue through military means.

Mr Kawyani accused the United States and Pakistan of consistently violating the Geneva accord and funneling arms to the Mujahideen. "But for the active support of the two countries, the Mujahideen rebels would not have been able to survive," he said.

Asked about his Government's response to the change of government in Pakistan, Mr Kawyani said "we are interested in improving ties with the new Pakistan Government."

### 30 Dec Press Briefing

46001219 Madras THE HINDU in English  
31 Dec 88 p 4

[Text] Trivandrum, Dec 30. After an evaluation of the CPI(M)'s performance on the organizational front during the last three years, the 13th congress of the party in progress here has decided to have a Central Secretariat to work under the direction and control of the Politburo.

Briefing presspersons about today's deliberations at the congress, the CPI(M) General Secretary, Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad, said the formation of the secretariat was felt necessary because of certain lags in the implementation of decisions taken by the party leadership and the challenges thrown up by the growth of the party.

The party, he said, had made considerable achievements in all parts of the country including the Hindi heartland since the last congress at Calcutta in 1985. The membership of the party and its mass organizations and the circulation of various party organs went up during the period. However, certain lags were also noticed. The central one was that while the mass movement was growing, there was no corresponding growth in the party membership and circulation of party organs.

The congress was of the view that though the situation in the traditional strongholds of the party like West Bengal and Kerala had become better, the party continued to be weak in areas where it had traditionally been so.

Main job: Clarifying that the proposed secretariat would not be an independent political body as in the case of the CPI, Mr Namboodiripad said its main job would be the implementation of decisions subject to the directions of the Politburo. He pointed out that several fraternal parties including the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had similar secretariats.

Refusing to commit himself to the number of members the proposed secretariat would have, he said "all that is left to the Central Committee to decide."

Speaking about his party's political line for the coming years, Mr Namboodiripad said the thrust would be on winning over the large sections of people who now owed allegiance to the ruling Congress(I) and the bourgeois Opposition parties. Indian people at large were divided into three groups politically—a minor segment of about 10-15 percent rallying behind the Left forces and the rest divided between the Congress(I) and the bourgeois Opposition parties.

The party, he said had given to itself at the Salkia plenum held over two years ago, the goal of building a mass revolutionary party. However, there were certain lags and weaknesses in implementing the guidelines of the Salkia plenum and the attempt now was to overcome them.

Mr Namboodiripad said the congress had after a review of the party's performance on the national scene, concluded that it had succeeded in evolving a broad left unity and in broadening the platform of anti-authoritarian unity. There was now a broad unity of four left parties. On their own, the left parties had successfully organized the Delhi rally of December last and the Bharat bandh of March 15 indicating that they could independently mobilize the masses even in the Hindi heartland.

**Independent force:** By emerging as an independent political force, the Left parties had succeeded in actively intervening in the national political situation and turning it to their advantage. The activities of the Left were not carried out in isolation, but often in association with other secular forces. These included the Janata Dal on the one hand and the National Front on the other. The BJP had been studiously kept out.

Asked how the congress viewed the performance of the CPI(M)-led governments in West Bengal and Kerala, the CPI(M) General Secretary said the congress was of the view that the two governments were doing a good job. The congress considered the severe restrictions and limitations within which the two governments were functioning and was of the view that they were doing well, he added.

**Organizational report:** The discussion on the organizational report of the CPI(M) pertaining to the last three years began today.

Over 20 persons took part in the discussion on the report which was presented by Mr Namboodiripad yesterday. The main thrust of the discussion was on the organizational position of the party and its feeder groups and the gains and failures after the Salkia plenum.

Introducing the report Mr namboodiripad had given an assessment of the work done by the party in the political sphere during the last three years and cited certain weaknesses and lags in the implementation of the Salkia plenum guidelines.

Resolution adopted: Yesterday, the party congress unanimously adopted the political resolution after a reply to the discussion by Mr B.T. Ranadive. About a dozen out of the 79 amendments received at the congress were accepted. Some of the amendments were in the nature of updating certain developments on the international and national scene.

### **Gandhi's PRC Visit Hailed**

46001219 Madras *THE HINDU in English*  
31 Dec 88 p 4

[Text] Trivandrum, Dec 30. The 13th congress of the CPI(M) in progress here has expressed the hope that the restoration of friendly relations between India and China will have a profound influence on international developments.

A resolution adopted by the congress today said the CPI(M) was of the firm opinion that the restoration of relations will help the forces fighting for peace, freedom and socialism. It, however, warned that the old anti-China lobby in the country was busy rousing chauvinism and distrust between the peoples of the countries. This, it said, would only serve imperialist forces.

Welcoming the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi's 'successful' visit to China, it said the reassertion of the Panch Sheel principles by both sides and the appointment of a joint committee to settle the border dispute constituted important steps to break through the existing stalemate and restore the former understanding and friendly relations.

The CPI(M) which stood for the peaceful settlement of disputes between the two countries even in the darkest days of Sino-Indian relations, felt specially satisfied that the two Governments had decided to do away with the earlier inhibitions and take steps to overcome the alienation of the earlier period, the resolution said.

Through another resolution, the congress convened its warm greetings and solidarity to the peoples of Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal and Burma in their struggles against imperialism and forces of internal reaction and for democracy and a better life.

### **Political-Organizational Report Discussed**

46001219 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA in English*  
1 Jan 89 p 1

[Article by Anand K. Sahay]

[Text] Trivandrum, Dec 31. The 13th CPM congress is understood to have prescribed ideological reinforcement of the West Bengal unit.

This sprang from the two-day deliberations on the political-organization report which ended today, signaling the virtual end of the congress. The "pol-org" draft report is kept under tight wraps, as it contains the inner-party

analysis of the functioning and performance of the different state units and mass fronts and scrutinizes their shortcomings and achievements.

The need for ideological refurbishment of the West Bengal unit as a political meaning in the context of perceived differences between the thinking of the party in that state and the party leadership on tactical questions pertaining to relations with the BJP and other parties. Fortunately for the CPM, these did not raise any piquancy at the congress itself where the main political resolution went off without hiccups and was adopted unanimously.

In the context of Kerala, the other state where a CPM-led front is ruling, the "pol-org" deliberations have stressed the need to maintain unity among the LDF [Left Democratic Front] partners and take pertinent steps to speedily implement the LDF programme.

Clearly, this constitutes the CPM's self-assessment of the performance of the government it leads, and is of consequence as it tallies with the broad public verdict in a state where even a borderline shift in the voting pattern causes changes of government.

The "pol-org" report, running into some 70 pages, has once again stressed the need to lay firm foundations for the growth of the party and its mass organizations in north India, especially the Hindi belt.

This perspective had first been advanced ten years ago at the CPM's Salkia plenum, but the party had now observed that gains in the Hindi belt had continued to elude it. Conference sources said the reason for this was ascribed to the party's preoccupation with Kerala and West Bengal affairs.

Among the north Indian states, the CPM is understood to believe that it stands a good chance of making headway in Bihar where working coordination with the Indian People's Front, a group of former Naxalites who have reassessed the role of the Soviet Union and now go in for electoral politics as well, is being contemplated.

In Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, the CPM will keep faith with the Telugu Desam and the DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] respectively. The trend of the "pol-org" deliberations support the tactic of using the relationship with these alliance partners to broaden the party's base.

However, in Andhra Pradesh there might now be some inclination to keep pace with day-to-day movements on issues concerning the poor. This accords with the CPM's understanding, developed at the current congress, that retrogressive tendencies have caught popular imagination in areas where the party's own work has been slack. These include a phenomenon like Mr Mahinder Singh Tikait in UP and the Naxalites elsewhere, especially in Andhra Pradesh.

In the party's reckoning the chief growth centers since the Calcutta congress three years ago have been Kerala and West Bengal. In other states the growth has been "slender," though some progress has been seen in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. Appreciative mention has also been made of the party work in Himachal Pradesh.

Special emphasis in the "pol-org" discussions has been placed on the education and training of the swelling ranks of cadres and mass front workers. The party membership has increased by 100,000 since the last congress when the strength was about 350,000. But it is the mass fronts led by the CPM for which a far more impressive claim is advanced.

From some 15 million in 1985, their membership is now recorded at 22 million, and is especially spectacular on the youth front and in the party-led Kisan Sabha. The CPM will have to stretch itself to equip the increased numbers of its adherents ideologically and politically and to narrow the widening gap between party membership and the membership of the mass organizations.

The "pol-org" discussions have also pointed to the importance of setting up the party in north-eastern states where it does not exist, and spoken of channeling the urges of the scheduled castes and tribes by establishing contact with them through non-party individuals now leading their organizations.

It is understood that the monitoring of the revived efforts in the Hindi belt and among the Harijans and the adivasis is to be done by the proposed secretariat set up at this congress.

The secretariat is expected to comprise five central committee members working directly under the supervision of the politburo.

The CPM is also understood to have decided to establish a news agency in order to more effectively propagate its activities.

**Namboodiripad Relected, Concluding Speech**  
46001219 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
1 Jan 89 p 1

[Article by Manini Chatterjee]

[Text] Trivandrum, Dec 31: Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad, who was relected general secretary of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) for the fourth term today, made a stirring concluding speech to the delegates at the 13th party congress and expressed confidence that a front of Left, democratic and secular forces would be able to win the forthcoming general elections defeating both the Congress(I) and communal forces.

Mr Namboodiripad, who has effectively defeated the line of "all in Opposition unity" and managed to get his line of left, democratic alternative endorsed by the

Congress, made a long extempore speech outlining the significance of the party's new position and urging party members to improve their organizational strength on the basis of this line.

Pointing out that in the 1977 elections, the Opposition which gained power was dominated by right, reactionary and communal forces, he said the situation had changed considerably and the new combination of Left, democratic and secular forces had greater chances of victory today. "I am confident that the left, democratic and secular forces will win the elections and form the government. It is with this promise that the delegates to this congress will go back to their areas."

Mr Namboodiripad, who was effusively cheered by all the delegates on his reelection, also explained that the ultimate aim of the CPI(M) was the formation of a left and democratic alternative which would implement a radical programme at home and join with the forces of anti-imperialism throughout the world. But besides this main objective it was also necessary to form a "broad front" where not only Left and democratic forces, but also all secular forces, formed a part. This would be the combination for the next elections, he noted.

The general secretary, whose speech was heard by the foreign delegations attending the CPI(M) congress for the first time in the party's 24-year-old history, explained the significance of the presence of the foreign delegates and linked the party's new line of isolating communal forces with its international commitment to step up the fight against imperialist forces. Mr Namboodiripad asserted that communal forces in India such as the BJP and others were also served as agents of imperialism in the country.

At this stage he was also critical of the "bourgeois Opposition parties" who he said had "no other aim except the removal of Rajiv Gandhi." Lest this line be misunderstood by people (the Press was allowed to attend both the opening speech by Mr Ranadive and the concluding speech for the first time) Mr Namboodiripad quickly added that the removal of Rajiv Gandhi "is of course the universal demand of all the Indian people."

He then went on to add, "But the mere removal of Rajiv Gandhi will not be enough...the requirement of the day will be broad unity on the basis of a radical socio-economic programme internally and anti-imperialism externally. Such a programme is developing and the restoration of fraternal relations with the international movements will help us in all this...and that is the main significance of the presence of so many fraternal delegates here."

#### Organization Criticized

But, while Mr Namboodiripad was full of enthusiasm while noting the significance of the emergence of the

CPI(M) as part of the international Communist fraternity abroad and an important segment of the Opposition at home, he expressed disappointment at the continuity lack of organization of the party in vast areas of the country.

He said discussions on the political organizational report had already noted that "we have not come up to the expectations of the country and the people." Asserting that the "growing mass initiative may not be channelled along revolutionary lines" if the party organization lagged behind, he said, "our party must take the initiative and forge militant working class unity."

Special plenum: Since the party leadership was disappointed with the growth of the party, the central committee had decided that after the next general elections, the party would hold another special plenum only to discuss organizational matters, he said. Though he did not give the details, the plenum will be on lines of the Salkia plenum which was held in 1978 and first worked out ways and means to strengthen and spread out in the Hindi belt.

The formation of the five-member central secretariat, which will help in administrative, organizational and political work under the directive of the Politburo, was also a measure to help improve the organization and growth of the party, specially in the Hindi belt.

Mr Namboodiripad repeatedly stressed that while the party's political line would help the CPI(M) in the next elections, the main factor would be the organizational ability to implement the line and register growth. "The decisions taken at this congress, if implemented in the true spirit, and I emphasize the word if, will help us register a big victory," he said.

#### New Politburo, Central Committee Members

46001219 Madras THE HINDU in English  
1 Jan 89 p 2

[Text] Trivandrum, Dec 31. The CPI(M) will hold a party plenum after the Lok Sabha poll to evaluate the implementation of the decisions of the 13th Party Congress, the business sessions of which concluded here today.

EMS [Namboodiripad] reelected general secretary: Scotching all rumors to the contrary, Mr Namboodiripad was today reelected general secretary of the party.

The over 600 delegates to the party Congress stood up to greet the announcement, made by the veteran Presidium member, Mr Harkishan Singh Surjeet, with thunderous ovation, Mr Namboodiripad, who is nearing 81, and whose political life spans more than six decades, came forward from his seat and acknowledged the greetings with a raised fist.

The Congress also approved the election of the members of the Politburo which has been expanded with the addition of two more members—Mr L.B. Gangadhara Rao and Mr A. Nallasivan. There is no other change in the Politburo.

In an apparent attempt to build up a new and younger line of leadership and to assist the Politburo, a five-member Secretariat was newly created with Messrs Sunil Moitra, S. Ramachandran Pillai, P. Ramachandra, Sitaram Yechury and Prakash Karat as members.

Central committee: The six-member Central Committee has three new faces: Mr Kanak Mukerji, Mr M.A. Baby and Mr Jogender Sarma.

"All elections were unanimous," Mr Surjeet said. Another party senior to receive loud cheers was the Politburo member, Mr B.T. Ranadive, who had piloted the draft resolution of the party. The West Bengal Chief Minister, Mr Jyoti Basu, acknowledged the greetings.

After the announcement, Mr Namboodiripad addressed the delegates. Earlier, the representative from Sri Lanka, Mr Ossie Abeygoonsekara was introduced to the delegates, who stood up to cheer him.

### Closing Rally

46001219 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English  
3 Jan 89 p 1

[Text] Trivandrum, Jan 2 (UNI): The prospects are bright to bring about unity among Indian communists, according to Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad, general secretary of the CPI(M).

Addressing a huge rally at the Shankhummughom beach at the end of the six-day 13th congress of the CPI(M) here last night, he said the "way is becoming clear" for communist unity as the communists now had identical views on almost all issues.

### Basu's Warning

Speaking at the rally, the West Bengal chief minister, Mr Jyoti Basu, charged that the number of unemployed people and those below the poverty line had registered a steep rise during the four-year rule of the Prime Minister Mr Rajiv Gandhi. More than 4 lakh private industrial units had become sick during the period, he alleged.

Calling upon the people to be wary of communal and separatist forces, Mr Basu said these forces were enjoying the support of the imperialist forces who "want India to go down and down."

Mr Namboodiripad warned that any party which opposed and criticized the latest initiative to solve the Sino-Indian border dispute peacefully could not hope to form a government at the Centre.

He said there was an Opposition party which had ridiculed Mr Gandhi's discussions with Chinese leaders on settling the border dispute. Unless this party gave up its attitude, all attempts to dislodge the Congress(I) from power and set up an alternative government would fail, he said.

Political observers see this as a warning to the Janata Dal that it could not hope to ally with the CPI(M) if it did not change its foreign policy.

Though the CPI(M)'s ties with the National Front and Janata Dal were strong there were still many issues on which unanimity of views was yet to be reached. For instance, it was not clear what stand the National Front and the Janata Dal would take in regard to various international issues. The statements made by some of their leaders in this respect gave room for concern, Mr Namboodiripad said.

Mr Namboodiripad described as a "bold step" Mr Gandhi's visit to China and the agreements signed with the Chinese Prime Minister to amicably solve the border dispute.

The fact that a joint committee of Indian and Chinese officials had been constituted to settle the dispute showed that even Mr Gandhi had now adopted the stand that he (Mr Namboodiripad) had taken in the Sixties, he said.

### Trivandrum Correspondent on CPI, CPI-M Relations

46001222 Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
1 Jan 89 p 6

[Text] As the thirteenth congress of the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India, Marxist] draws to a close literally sounding the war drums for the 1989 battle of the ballot, Kerala has focussed its attention on the election in neighboring Tamil Nadu. An Assembly election or for that matter any event of political significance, immediately becomes a topic for discussion in this State and in the case of Tamil Nadu it is more so because it is after two decades that the Congress (now the Congress-I) is making a serious bid to capture power there and that it is after a decade that a combined centrist national Opposition with the active support of the left parties is making an equally serious effort to unseat the Congress from the Centre.

### CPI(M) and Left Unity

Yet another point of interest, against the background of the CPI(M)'s professed programme of leftist, and particularly communist, unity, is that the two communist parties which are partners in Kerala and West Bengal Governments, find themselves in opposing camps in Tamil Nadu. Whether that is the consequence of, among other things, the hiatus in neighboring Andhra Pradesh, where the two parties differ violently in their approach

to and relationship with the Telugu Desam and its leader, Mr N.T. Rama Rao or not, the Tamil Nadu scenario has provided an occasion for the Opposition in Kerala to question the CPI(M)'s sincerity about left unity.

The CPI [Communist Party of India] which is also busy preparing for its 14th party congress in Calcutta next month, feels that in Tamil Nadu it did not get enough fraternal support from the CPI(M) to deal with the "high and mighty" DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazaghham]. However, there is hardly anything surprising in this development because the two parties still view each other with suspicion and the CPI's post-split record till 1979 is something which the CPI(M) has not condoned fully yet. This is exactly the cause of the hiatus.

At its Bhatinda congress, the CPI admitted openly that it had erred. That did not apparently satisfy the CPI(M) which had by then organized itself into a well-knit, militant organization. Its growth, impressive by any reckoning, proved, if such was necessary, the correctness of its line which, in other words, meant that the people had accepted "us as the real communist party." That is also the reason why the CPI(M) is hastening slowly on the question of communist unity. It does not see any urgent need for that.

#### Party's Growth

The party's growth was graphically described in the "Communist Party of India (Marxist). Some Facts," released a day before the congress began. It made a comparative study of the strength of the CPI(M) and the CPI and said: "In the general elections in 1967, soon after the formation of the CPI(M), its candidates polled a total of 5.2 million votes. The CPI candidates polled 6.2 million votes. In the general elections in 1980, the CPI(M) candidates polled 15.2 million votes to the CPI candidates 5.2 million votes. In the general elections of 1984, held in the background of Indira Gandhi's assassination, the per candidate vote of the CPI(M) increased by 20,000 on an average." Why was this comparison necessary at this point of time? Was it to show that the relevance of the CPI was on the wane?

#### CPI's Appeal

However, the CPI is not prepared to let the CPI(M)'s claims go unchallenged. On the day the CPI(M) congress began, the CPI ideologue in Kerala, Mr C. Unniraja, wrote an article in the party's official organ Janayugam. Quoting Mr Mikhail Gorbachev's observation at the 27th congress of the CPSU that "nobody should claim monopoly over truth," he appealed to the CPI(M) not to adopt the dangerous posture that "other communist parties have sent their fraternal delegates to the congress because they have realized their mistakes and because the CPI(M) alone has been following the correct line and policy all along." He added: "The new leaderships of the Soviet and Chinese parties have abandoned their old

belief that they have been right all along. These two parties have accepted the importance of rallying all forces that stand together in the international arena for averting a nuclear holocaust, for disarmament and for the lowering of tension. That is why they have, for the first time, sent their delegates to a party congress in India. It has also to be remembered that the CPSU had, for its 27th congress as well as for the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution invited, besides the CPI, the CPI(M), the Congress(I) too." Mr Unniraja's remark would imply that the CPI(M)'s "holier-than-thou" attitude was unwarranted. He then pointed out that "old habits die hard," but extended a hearty welcome to the CPI(M) congress.

The next day, the CPI daily carried another article by its National Council member, Mr Satyapal Dang, challenging the CPI(M)'s claim on its growth. "That claim, at least in some States, is exaggerated," Mr. Dang said and cited the admission in the party's draft resolution that "in a majority of the States our party (CPI-M) has only nominal membership. During the last three years, in some States we did not have any substantial growth."

The CPI(M) is yet to respond to these observations. Probably, the way in which the CPI(M) organized its congress may be the best retort. Anyone who visits Trivandrum now will readily concede that the CPI(M) is a force to reckon with. The British High Commissioner in India, Sir David Goodall, who was here for a brief visit after the commencement of the CPI(M) congress, remarked to a group of pressmen: "I have never seen so many red flags." One cannot say that the High Commissioner is in a minority. It is not flags alone and Trivandrum is not the only place which has gone red. Every nook and corner of Kerala testifies to the presence of the CPI(M).

#### First Task

But to Kerala as the curtain comes down on 1988, the question that needs to be answered is how to ensure its economic development. For the Nayanar Government, the first task in the new year is to defeat the no confidence motion given notice of by the Opposition. It will come up when the Assembly resumes its sitting on January 4. The fate of the motion is hardly in doubt but the defence of the Government will have to be vigorous.

#### Singh Announces Janata Dal Officeholders

46001204 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English  
27 Dec 88 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Dec 88—The much-awaited announcement of the office-bearers and members of the Central Parliamentary Board [CPB] of the Janata Dal was made by the Dal president, Mr V. P. Singh, here today.

Mr Devi Lal has been appointed chairman of the powerful 22-member CPB, and Mr R. K. Hedge is the sole vice-president of the party. Mr Ajit Singh is the secretary general of the Dal and ex-officio secretary of the CPB.

The Janata Dal would have eight general secretaries—Mr George Fernandes, Mr Sharad Yadav, Mr Rashid Masood, Mr S. Jaipal Reddy, Mr Arif Mohammad Khan, Mr Ram Bilas Paswan, Mr Yashwant Sinha and Mr Ram Punam Patel.

That meant five of the general secretaries would be from the Janata Party, two from the Jan Morcha, and one from the Devi Lal faction of the Lok Dal. The three parties had resolved months ago to merge and form the Janata Dal, but the modalities of merger could not be completed owing to bitter infighting between the constituent groups over the posts of office-bearers and membership of the CPB.

The Central Parliamentary Board announced today would replace the steering committee of the Dal announced by Mr V. P. Singh earlier. The 139-member national executive would reportedly remain unchanged, though the Chandra Shekhar-Ajit Singh group of the Janata Party were unhappy with the omission of some of their followers from it.

The Janata Party would have 11 members in the CPB. The Lok Dal (Devi Lal faction) would have six and the Jan Morcha five. The controversial leader, Syed Shaha-buddin, has been included in the CPB. The Jan Morcha members had been against his inclusion, because he is chairman of one faction of the Babari Masjid action committee, which is generally perceived as a communal organization.

The 22 members of the CPB would be Mr Devi Lal (chairman), Mr Ajit Singh (ex-officio secretary), Mr V. P. Singh, Mr Chandra Shekhar, Mr R. K. Hegde, Mr Madhu Dandavate, Acharya Ramanurtp, Mr Biju, Patnaik, Mr S. R. Bommai, Mr Sharad Yadav, Mr Chiman Bhai Patel, Mr Ram Naresh Yadav, Mr Arun Nehru, Mr Mulayam Singh Yadav, Mufti Mohammad Syed, Mr Beni Prasad Verma, Syed Shahabuddin, Mr Upendra Verma, Mr Kripa Ram Puniya, Mr V. C. Shukla, Mr Tulsi Singh Yadav and Mr Mange Lal.

## IRAN

**Council Elections To Be Held Next Spring**  
46000084b Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL  
in English 27 Dec 88 p 2

[Text] Tehran, Dec 26 (IRNA)—More than 300,000 village, district, town and provincial councilors will be elected next spring in Iran's first council elections, if the plan receives final approval.

"The Interior Ministry has the means to hold the elections early next year (starts March 89) and we have firm intention to carry it out but we are waiting for approval," the Interior Ministry's director for social affairs told IRNA Monday.

Hussein Malek Ahmadi said the plan had been proposed to the heads of three branches of state and ministry's officials were scheduled to meet them soon to explain the preparations. In any case a decision had to be taken soon since elections prior to or after early spring would be difficult to carry out. In winter ballot boxes would not reach rural areas in the mountainous regions and later there was the presidential elections, he added.

The ministry is hoping for a date in the month of Ordibehesht (April 21-May 21).

Council elections was proposed last year but was postponed because of the war.

There are currently 30,000 village councils, which operate under the supervision of the Construction Jihad Ministry.

**Non-Oil Exports Register Sharp Decline**  
46000083b Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL  
in English 25 Dec 88 p 2

[Text] Tehran, Dec 24 (IRNA)—A sharp fall in the export of all of Iran's major products—carpets, and fresh and dried fruits such as pistachios—contributed to a one-third drop in non-oil exports.

The Customs Office reported that in the first eight months of this year (March 21-November 21) 667,000 tons of goods worth Rials 35.4 billion (\$521m) were exported, down 32.6 percent in value and 19 percent in weight compared to the same period last year.

Carpets exports were slashed by 44 percent to Rials 12.8b, pistachios by 32.6 percent to Rials 6.4b, various kinds of hides 30 percent to Rials 2.9b, and fresh fruits by 53.3 percent to Rials 1.3b.

The report did not mention the reasons for the fall.

**Iran, Oman To Expand Trade Ties**  
46000083c Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL  
in English 29 Dec 88 p 6

[Text] Tehran, Dec 28 (IRNA)—The Islamic Republic will spare no effort to promote trade ties and exchange of goods with Oman, announced Acting Commerce Minister Abdul-Hussein Vahhaji.

In a meeting with visiting Omani Minister of Commerce and Industry Salim ibn 'Abdallah al-Ghazali Tuesday Vahhaji expressed hope Tehran and Muscat would endeavor for betterment of mutual relations.

Also discussed at the meeting was expansion of cooperation in various fields.

#### **Iran To Train Omani Manpower**

Making a courtesy call on President Ali Khamene'i earlier on Tuesday Ghazali told the president that his country was ready to expand cooperation with Iran.

President Khamene'i in response emphasized that regional Muslim states should strive to promote mutual cooperation in various fields.

In related news, Al-Ghazali, who arrived here Monday, conferred with Minister of Industries Gholam-Reza Shafeie on industrial cooperation, including import of Iranian goods and training of Omani personnel in Iran.

In a separate meeting, the Omani minister also informed the head of Mostaz'afan (the oppressed) Foundation Tahmaseb Mazaheri of Muscat's readiness to broaden relations with Iran in various areas.

Mazaheri replied that Iran is prepared for training Omani personnel and specialists from other Muslim countries.

Later, in his meeting with Prime Minister Hussein Musavi, he was told by the latter that expansion of friendly ties between the Islamic Republic and the Persian Gulf littoral states is in the interest of all regional countries.

The premier told Ghazali that in view of common cultural ties between Iran and Oman, it was necessary to expand bilateral ties in political, economic and cultural fields.

Al-Ghazali briefed Premier Musavi on the outcome of the recently-concluded summit of the (Persian) Gulf Cooperation Council in Bahrain.

#### **Iran, Turkey To Resume Train Operations**

*46000086b Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL  
in English 27 Dec 88 p 8*

[Text] Orumiyeh, W. Azarbaijan Prov., Dec 26 (IRNA)—The border checkpoint of Seru, 50 km west of here on the borders with Turkey, will be reopened to travelers as of Monday to reduce traffic jams at Bazargan further north.

West Azarbaijan Governor-General Yousef Ataie also announced that passenger trains would start operating again between Iran and Turkey starting next week.

The railway track passes through the Iranian border town of Razi, located between the towns of Salmas and Khoy.

The railroad already plays a prominent part in Iran-Turkey trade exchanges, and in view of Ankara's agreement passenger trains will soon start operating, he added.

Seru—closed due to the Iraqi war—is opposite the town of Bajiran in Turkey.

"The customs office at Seru would further facilitate commerce. Also visitors to and from Syria would have less distance to travel than before," Ataie said.

Seru road will be widened in the course of the next two years and once connected to the causeway presently under construction over Lake Orumiyeh, it will be the closest border exit to Tabriz, capital of East Azarbaijan Province.

"Once all facilities are made available, Seru can be an ideal alternative for the busy Bazargan exit point higher up on the western borders with Turkey," he noted.

#### **Iran, USSR To Dam Border Rivers**

*46000075b Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL  
in English 8 Dec 88 p 6*

[Text] Tehran, 7 December (IRNA)—Iran and the Soviet Union are to cooperate in the construction of two dams across the Aras border river at Khoda Afarin and Qezqalasi in northwestern Iran.

The agreement was inked in Moscow by Iran's Minister of Economic and Financial Affairs Muhammad Javad Iravani and chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev.

The terms of control and exploitation of the dams' installations and use of water and energy resources of the Aras River will be decided later by the two countries' experts.

Iravani is leading an economic delegation to attend the 11th Session of the Iran-USSR Economic Commission which started work Monday.

#### **Government Control on Newsprint Lifted**

*46000080b Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL  
in English 19 Dec 88 p 2*

[Article: "Prices Crash: Government Control on Newsprint Lifted"]

[Text] Tehran, Dec. 18 (IRNA)—The price of paper has dropped dramatically after the government's announcement two weeks ago that it was lifting its control over distribution.

The daily ABRAR reported Sunday that the Pars Paper Factory near Ahvaz in Khuzestan Province had taken a "big step in breaking the black market price of paper" by directly supplying paper to consumer cooperatives.

Paper was being sold at Rials 500 per kilo. Previously the black market rate was Rials 1,650 per kilo.

Pars had already delivered 2,200 tons of paper to the Book Binders Guild and the Paper Sellers Guild were due to receive their 1,500-ton order this week, ABRAR added

The factory can produce 700 tons per day but was damaged during the Iraqi war. It has been given top priority by the government for rectifying the damaged portion in the first phase of the war reconstruction effort.

The end of state control over the paper distribution was one of the government's recent decisions to give a greater role to the private sector, particularly in the import of some items which are in short supply.

Poultry feed was one item, which private businessmen were allowed to import as well as distribute freely and butchers say this has already brought down the price of nonrationed chicken from Rials 2,000 per kilo to about Rials 1,200.

#### **Editor Fired for Printing Article Without Permission**

46000086a Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL  
in English 22 Dec 88 p 1

[Text] Tehran, Dec 21 (IRNA)—A leading newspaper has sacked its cultural editor after a prominent Iranian intellectual harshly protested the printing of his article without prior consent.

In respect to "Dr Abdulkarim Soroush we announce the closure of the Culture and Education Page until a new organization is formed," said a statement signed by ETTELA'AT's Board of Editors Wednesday.

The action followed the serial publication of a speech delivered to the International Hafez Congress by Dr Soroush, Tehran University's respected philosophy professor and member of the Cultural Revolution Council.

"This is a blatant act of scientific theft," he said in a letter published in Wednesday's ETTELA'AT.

"This short note is a cry of pain and a stern protest to the undiscipline, disorder, robbery, disrespect and profit-drive motivation of a section of the press," he added.

ETTELA'AT's Board of Editors expressed "deep regret" over the affair and said the person in charge of the Cultural Section had printed other articles without permission in the past.

#### **Female Soloists Banned on Radio, TV** 46000084c Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 2 Jan 89 p 6

[Text] Yazd, Jan 1 (IRNA)—The Islamic Republic's Radio and Television (IRIB) will continue to air music with the voice of women singing in chorus, but not from woman soloists, Managing Director Muhammad Hashemi said.

Despite rumors that songs with women singing alone would be aired soon, such songs would not conform to the IRIB's Islamic code, he said.

"In a country with more than 50 million people, naturally there are different tastes and the organization certainly cannot hope to satisfy all of them," he said.

Hashemi traveled to this central province to inaugurate a 50-kilowatt radio transmission center.

He said the IRIB has prepared diverse programs for radio and television on the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the Victory of the Islamic Revolution (February 11).

"The programs will be better than the previous years," he promised.

#### **Exploration Activities Under Way at Kapeh Dogh** 46000085a Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 13 Dec 88 p 6

[First two paragraphs are KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL introduction]

[Text] Kapeh Dogh basin sedimentary lies northeast of city of Mashhad and Sarakhs Khangiran region, which is a part of Kapeh Dogh Basin Sedimentary and is located on the west side of Mashhad and neighboring Russian border with Iran.

The discovered gas anticline field stands at 180 kilometers northeast of Mashhad in the vicinity of the border.

Tehran, Dec 12—Kapeh Dogh Basin Sedimentary Sarakhs region with its thick marine sediments is an attractive area as far as technical explorations are concerned.

Geological activities in the region were initiated by Iranian Oil Company in 1937, but could not succeed on account of the elementary nature of the work.

After a long delay, exploration operations began in the area by the then Iran Oil Company, which was established in 1952. Desert geological efforts were carried out by Iranian geologists of National Iranian Oil Company in 1956. Following the aforementioned study and operations, formation units were introduced and named in

1961, exploration operations and construction topography of Khangiran anticline were also initiated. In the relevant geological reports, Mozdooran lime stone was discovered and it was decided to exploit and produce this substance, existence of hydrocarbon in sand stones of Shooricheh formation was revealed for the first time.

#### Geophysical Activities

Geophysical operations have been commissioned within three processes in the region, which are as follows:

##### (a) Gravity

These operations were successfully concluded, by UGC contracting company, in an area of 1840 square kilometers in 1960.

##### (b) Seismology: First Phase

The first phase of seismology operations was commenced by UGC in an area of 2,500 square kilometers in 1966, the outcome of which was the discovery of Khangiran anticline.

##### (c) Seismology: Second Phase

Following the detection of Khangiran gas field, in order to solve the problems pertinent to construction of the site, second process of seismology operations were executed by National Iranian Oil Company in an area of 3,500 square kilometers in 1974, which threw more light on Khangiran and Gonbadly anticlines.

#### Drilling Activities

The first exploration well at Khangiran field was drilled in 1968, by which the existence of sweet gas within lower sandstones of Shooricheh formation as well as sour gas within limestone of Mozdooran were proved. It should be noted that, in order to attain gas from Khangiran fields, 26 wells have so far been drilled in the region, 6 of which are allocated to maintain sweet gas from Shooricheh formation and the remaining wells for sour gas from Mozdooran formation.

Following the extensive studies, drilling operations were suggested in upper sandstones of Shooricheh formation, particularly southeast portion of the field, after which Khangiran Well No 25 was successfully, drilled in November 1987, from which 25 million cubic feet of sweet gas are produced, daily.

#### Gonbadly Field

This field is located in southeast of Khangiran anticline, where the first exploration well was drilled in 1969. The second well was also completed in 1981 in the area by which the availability of sweet gas was confirmed.

Nine wells have been completed in this field so far, four of which are currently operating.

#### Yazd Mineral Reserves Exceed 1.7 Billion Tons 46000079c Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 6 Dec 88 p 6

[Text] Yazd, Dec. 5 (IRNA)—Reserves in mineral-rich Yazd Province exceed 1.7 billion tons and according to primary studies over 90 mines have been found to contain iron, lead and zinc ores in addition to industrial clay, and ornamental and construction stones.

In Bafq region alone, there are 40 iron ore mines with estimated reserves of one billion tons, of which the two most important are Chader-Malu and Choghart mines.

The two with reserves of 420 million and 215 million tons respectively, meet the iron ore requirements of the Mubarakeh Steel Complex, currently under construction and Isfahan's steel mill.

Over 343,000 tons of concentrated lead and zinc, barytes and construction stones from the province valued at \$48.08 million were exported from 1979 till March 1988 according to released statistics.

#### Data Collection on Mineral Reserves Begins 46000085b Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 3 Jan 89 p 8

[Text] Tehran, Jan 2 (IRNA) Iran's Statistics Center Monday started estimation of reserves in the country's chromite, barite, iron ore, lead, zinc, white clay, dolomite, manganese, turquoise, perauxite and orpiment mines. The estimation will last forty days and will also include other minerals such as gypsum, decoration slabs, kaolin, coal, limestone and salt reserves, in addition to gathering of mineral related data.

#### Over One Billion Dollars Allocated for Education 46000079a Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 5 Dec 88 p 6

[Article: "\$1.1b To Be Spent On Education This Year"]

[Text] Tehran, Dec. 4 (IRNA)—Education has been given an added impetus following the Islamic Revolutions' triumph, with over 27,000 new projects and 120,000 classrooms built all over the country during the last decade.

According to the deputy education minister for development plans Saturday, a total of Rials 75 billion (\$1.1b) was allocated for construction of schools this year, out of which \$6 million are meant for building 5,000 new classrooms in order to solve problems facing multiple shift schools.

The number of pupils and high school students is expected to reach 18 million within the next 5 years and this means the ministry should build more schools by executing a series of fundamental development plans, said Br. Habibollahian.

Educational centers in Iran suffered an estimated loss of Rls. 50 billion (\$735m) during the nearly 8-year-old Iraqi imposed war, he said.

### **Compulsory Literacy Plan Proposed**

46000084a Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL  
in English 22 Dec 88 p 2

[Text] Tehran, Dec 20 (IRNA)—The Literacy Movement, set up after the revolution exclusively to educate people above school age, has proposed a plan making it compulsory on illiterates to join classes.

"There are 14 million unlettered people and because of the lack of educational facilities one million children who must go to school are standing at school gates waiting for a chance to get in," said the head of the movement, Hojjatoleslam Mohsen Qara'ati.

He said the compulsory literacy plan has been submitted to the High Council in charge of Matters of Expediency for approval.

Qara'ati was addressing literacy teachers working in factories run by the Mostazafan Foundation.

"The only way to fight illiteracy is to mobilize all our resources to educate illiterates and build schools," he said.

He added that there was an urgent need for 20,000 schools in rural areas and unless something was done soon at least 500,000 would be added to the illiterate population every year.

The movement is currently negotiating with the foundation to expand literacy classes for workers in the foundation's factories.

### **Millions Spent on Martyr Beheshti Port Facilities**

46000080c Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL  
in English 20 Dec 88 p 6

[Article: "Martyr Beheshti Port Facilities Cost \$357m"]

[Text] Tehran, Dec. 19 (Kayhan Int'l)—Minister of Road and Transportation Engineer Muhammad Saeedi Kia said in Chahbahar (in the Sistan and Baluchestan Province) on Monday that so far Rls. 25b (\$357m) had been spent on construction of new port and transportation facilities for the Chahbahar's Martyr Beheshti harbor.

According to the Persian daily KAYHAN, he said despite economic problems caused by the Iraqi imposed war, the ministry had been successful in implementing the port's development projects during the past eight years.

### **Efforts Under Way To Improve Electricity Shortage**

46000079b Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL  
in English 5 Dec 88 p 6

[Article: "Electricity Shortage To Improve Later This Month"]

[Text] Tehran, Dec. 4 (IRNA)—The Energy Ministry hopes to cut electricity shortages in the next few weeks by bringing more power stations damaged in the war or facing fuel problems into operations.

Energy Minister Bizhan Zangeneh said the war reduced the country's electricity production capacity by 2,500 megawatts and if the necessary foreign exchange is made available this amount would return to the network by the end of 1368 (March 1990).

President Ali Khamene'i said Thursday that the Neka plant in Mazandaran Province, one of the country's largest, was only generating a quarter of its capacity.

Fuel shortages at power stations, and low water levels behind hydroelectric dams in Khuzestan Province has cut production by 500 to 400 Mw respectively, he said.

Natural gas, the primary fuel of some power stations, has been distributed to a growing number of residential areas, increasing consumption and thus putting pressure on supplies to power plants.

On the other hand gasoil, a substitute for natural gas, is not being sufficiently supplied to meet demand at the plants. Low gasoil production is related to war-damaged refineries, he added.

"With the repair of two power plants and also with some facilities being provided in regard to needed fuel, we expect to reduce blackouts by the end of this month (of Azar, December 21)."

### **Irrigation Facilities Exploitation Starts**

46000075c Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL  
in English 20 Dec 88 p 6

[Text] Tehran, 19 December (Kayhan Int'l)—The gradual exploitation of irrigation projects in Hamidieh, Qods and Behbahan regions in the Khuzestan Province has started and by the end of 1367 (20 March 1989) 30,000 hectares of farm lands will be supplied with water by modern irrigation canals.

Deputy director of Water and Electricity Organization of the Khuzestan Province, Engineer Ali Foroughi recently told newsmen in Ahwaz, the capital of the province that 30 percent of the river water of the country is in the Khuzestan Province.

The Persian daily, Kayhan quoted Foroughi as saying that within 20 years, 600,000 hectares of additional farm lands in the province would be provided with modern irrigational canals.

**Work on Iran's Largest Dam Under Way**  
*46000075a Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL*  
*in English 7 Dec 88 p 6*

[Article by Karkheh Sefr]

[Text] Tehran, 6 December (Kayhan Int'l)—Managing Director of Water and Electricity Department of Khuzestan Province, Engineer Foroughi announced in Ahvaz, the capital of the province on Monday that the work on construction of Iran's largest dam called Karkheh Sefr on the Karkheh River has begun in the Khuzestan Province.

According to the Persian daily, Ettela'at told a press conference that the height of the dam would be 130 meters with a capacity to hold 7 billion cubic meters of water.

He pointed out that the dam would provide agricultural water for 185,000 hectares of land.

"The construction of the dam would help to increase Iran's agricultural output by 10 percent," he said.

He added that the dam would have the capacity to generate 600 megawatts of electricity.

Elsewhere in the press conference, he said that currently the construction of Marroun Dam was under way in the Khuzestan Province.

"The Marroun Dam will have the capacity of 1.1 billion cubic meters of water and it will generate 140 megawatts of electricity," he added.

With regard to the future programs of the department, Engineer Foroughi said that two dams would be built over the Roud-e-Zard and Allah rivers near the Ramhourmuz, which would irrigate 20,000 hectares of land.

The daily reported that the Khuzestan Province currently had 1,700,000 hectares of land under cultivation and within the next 15 to 20 years, 60,000 hectares would be supplied with the irrigation water.

**Money Allocated for Dam Construction**  
*46000083a Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL*  
*in English 13 Dec 88 p 6*

[Text] Tehran, Dec 12 (KAYHAN Int'l)—Executive manager of Saveh Dam project Engineer Ali Darabi said in Arak, the capital of the Central Province on Sunday that an additional Rls 10.5b (\$150m) have been allocated for the construction of the Saveh Dam, scheduled to finish in 1991.

According to the Persian daily, ETTELA'AT he said that the work on the construction of the dam is being carried out by a Romanian and an Iranian construction company jointly since 1983.

Darabi said that the dam would have the capacity of 300 million cubic meters of water and would provide agricultural water for 20,000 hectares of farmlands.

"By construction of two electricity power plants near the dam, 10 megawatts of electricity will be produced," he added.

He said that the length of the dam would be 276 meters and its height 128 meters.

**Damaged Industrial Units To Become Operational**  
*46000080a Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL*  
*in English 18 Dec 88 p 8*

[Text] Tehran, Dec. 17 (Kayhan Int'l)—Most of the damaged industrial units located in war stricken provinces are being repaired and will begin to operate at full capacity by the end of March 20, 1990.

Engineer Hassan Kolahdouz, the deputy minister of Industries, told the Islamic Republic News Agency (IRNA) on Saturday that total of \$300m has been allocated by the Ministry of Industries for renovating and reconstructing the war-damaged industrial units throughout the country.

Meanwhile, Fathi Industrial Firm affiliated with the Martyr Foundation was inaugurated in Shiraz, the capital of Fars Province, on Saturday.

IRNA said that the factory manufactures electrical door openers and it has created jobs for some 600 workers.

**Millions To Be Spent on Road Repairs**  
*46000079d Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL*  
*in English 6 Dec 88 p 6*

[Article: "\$214m Allocated For Road Repairs"]

[Text] Tehran, Nov. 5 (Kayhan Int'l)—Managing Director of Roads Repair Department of the Ministry of Roads and Transportation, Engineer Majid Ariaeepour

said in Semman, the capital of the Semman province on Sunday that the Islamic Republic government had allocated Rls15b (\$214m) for repairing roads throughout the country.

According to the Persian daily, ETELA'AT, he said that Rls10b (\$142m) of the budget would be delivered to the ministry by the end of March 20, 1989.

**Official Announces Data on Iranian Tribes**  
*46000081b Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL*  
*in English 19 Dec 88 p 6*

[Article: "Latest Data on Iranian Tribes Announced"]

[Text] Tehran, Dec. 18 (Kayhan Int'l)—Head of Iran's Statistics Center, Dr Majid Jamshidi disclosed latest statistics and information on the tribal societies of Iran on Sunday.

Addressing a press conference here at the center's headquarters, he said that according to census taken in 1966 (March 21, 1987-March 20, 1988) a total of 1,152,000 tribal people, members of 180,000 families, 547 tayefehs (a sub-division of tribe and 97 Il's (tribes) live in Iran.

He said, "Bakhtiari tribe with 182,000 tribal population, is the largest tribe in Iran."

He said that the Iranian tribes currently breed 17,000,000 sheep and goats as well as 186,000 cows and calves.

"The Iranian tribal people produce 277,000 tons of milk, 10,000 tons of sheep's wool, 2,300 tons of goat's wool and 60 tons of camel wool, annually," he added.

He said that only 27% of the tribal population, over the age of six, is literate and 1.5% of the total work force among the tribal people of Iran is jobless.

Dr Jamshidi added, "For every 108 tribal men there are 100 tribal women."

He pointed out that the age of 51% of the tribal population of Iran is below 15 years, therefore, the figure indicates that the Iranian tribal communities are young.

Dr Jamshidi stated that 42,000 tribal families in Iran produce hand-knitted carpets and 50,000 tribal families knit Gelim and Jajim (tribal rugs).

**Periodical Details Economic, Population, Social Statistics**

*46000081a Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL*  
*in English 15 Dec 88 p 6*

[Article: "Iran Suffers From Enormous Trade Deficit"]

[Text] Tehran, Dec. 14 (Kayhan Int'l)—According to the recent issue of THE NEW STATISTICS a publication of Iran's Statistics Center, during 1366 (March 2, 1987-March 20, 1988), Iran imported Rls. 855b (\$12b) worth of goods and exported Rls. 78b (\$1b) worth of commodities, minus oil.

The Persian daily ETELA'AT reported that the recent issue of the publication contains various statistics about different population, economic and social issues of Iran along with selective statistical information about Iran's neighbors (Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Turkey and the Soviet Union).

"The recent issue has 240 pages containing 14 chapters, which provides statistical information on the area and population of all the provinces of Iran, housing, water, energy, agriculture, industry, cooperatives, transportation, communication, banking, stock market, prices, rental payment, salary, budget, taxes, tourism, internal and external commercial relation of Iran as well as retail and wholesale business of the country," the daily said.

A glance at the publication shows that during 1366, 54.6% of Iranian tenants lived in houses with 50 Sq. meters of space, while 27.2% lived in houses with 51 to 100 Sq. meters space.

The publication reported that the Islamic Republic of Iran's Tobacco Company had produced 15,066,000 cigarettes in 1366.

"During the same period, 192,000 hectares of land was under cotton cultivation in Iran and each hectare produced 550 kg of cotton," the publication said.

It is worth noting that the recent issue of THE NEW STATISTICS has been published with limited circulation and distributed only to ministries and government and revolutionary organizations.

**PAKISTAN**

**Text of Fourth SAARC Summit Islamabad Declaration**

*46001217 New Delhi PATRIOT in English 1 Jan 89 p 7*

[Text] Islamabad, Dec 31 (PTI)—Following is the text of the fourth SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] Summit Islamabad Declaration.

1. The President of Bangladesh, the King of Bhutan, the Prime Minister of India, the President of Maldives, the King of Nepal, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, and the

President of Sri Lanka met at the fourth summit of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation at Islamabad on 29-31 December, 1988.

2. The Heads of State or Government expressed their deep satisfaction at the progress achieved by the association since the last summit. They reiterated their commitment to the SAARC Charter and renewed their determination to cooperate in promoting the welfare of the peoples of South Asia and to improve their quality of life by eradicating poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy and unemployment.

3. They recalled that their countries were linked by cultural, social and historical ties and they had at their disposal substantial human and natural resources. They recognized that these provided a sound basis as well as immense opportunities for regional cooperation. They therefore, expressed their determination to make optimal use of their resources for the benefit of their people by working jointly to pursue their shared objectives. They were aware that by acting in concert they could realize the full potential for regional progress taking into account growing complementarities and inter-dependence.

4. The Heads of State of Government reaffirmed their abiding commitment to the purposes and principles enshrined in the UN Charter, particularly those enjoining respect for the sovereign equality, territorial integrity and national independence, non-use of threat of use of force, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states and peaceful settlement of all disputes. They reiterated their faith in the United Nations as the most important forum for the maintenance of international peace and security and for the promotion of international cooperation aimed at the progress and prosperity of mankind.

5. The Heads of State or Government noted with satisfaction the relaxation of global tensions through intensified super-power dialogue on a broad range of international issues and welcomed the progress towards the resolution of protracted regional disputes and conflicts. They agreed that these developments enhanced the prospects for disarmament, security, peace and progress for all peoples of the world. They appreciated the important role played by the United Nations in bringing about these positive changes in the international political environment. They also called upon all states to strengthen the capacity of the UN system to achieve the purposes of the UN charter. They further underlined the importance of member-states fulfilling their financial obligations to the UN.

6. The Heads of State or Government reiterated their deep commitment to the principles and objectives of the Non-Aligned Movement as an important force for strengthening world peace and harmony as well as for promoting development with justice and equity. In this context they expressed satisfaction over the results of the

ministerial conference of the Non-Aligned Movement held in Cyprus in September 1988 and expressed the hope that the decisions of the conference would contribute to the reduction of tensions and to the promotion of development. They hoped that the current discussions on the improvement in the methodology of the Non-Aligned Movement would result in strengthening the movement and enable it to play its role in keeping with contemporary realities.

7. The Heads of State or Government welcomed the INF Treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union which would eliminate an entire class of nuclear weapons. They expressed the hope that the negotiations going on between them would soon result in an accord on a fifty percent reduction in their strategic nuclear arsenals. They firmly believed that the process of nuclear disarmament set in motion by the INF Treaty must be taken to its logical conclusion by complete elimination of nuclear weapons. The other nuclear weapon states should join in the process. On their part they declared their intention to continue their efforts to contribute to the realization of the objective of halting and reversing the nuclear arms race and eliminating nuclear weapons. They noted with satisfaction that all the South Asian states had expressed their determination to keep their countries free of nuclear weapons. They urged that no action should be taken which might deviate from this objective. They called for the adoption of urgent measures for the prevention of an arms race in outer space and the early conclusion of a comprehensive test ban treaty and a convention to ban chemical weapons. Pending the elimination of nuclear weapons, the international community should enter into a legally binding commitment forswearing the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, together with negotiations on nuclear disarmament measures. Negotiations should be carried out on the balanced reduction of armed forces and of conventional armaments. They also stressed the organic link between disarmament and development and urged the major military powers to divert resources through disarmament measures to development purposes.

8. The Heads of State or Government noted with deep concern the continued structural disequilibrium from which the world economy had long suffered. This had resulted in slower growth in the developing countries, downward trends in commodity prices, decline in the net export earnings of the developing countries and deterioration in their terms of trade. These developments combined with the overwhelming debt burdens, the reverse financial flows from the developing to the developed countries and the sharp rise of protectionism in the developed world had further aggravated the economic system and to establish the new international economic difficulties of the developing countries.

9. The Heads of State or Government emphasized the inter-dependent character of the economies of the developed and the developing countries. They called for the resumption of the north-south dialogue with a view to

restructuring the international economic order based on justice and equity. They called for coordinated actions by the developed and the developing countries to increase the net flow of developmental assistance, overcome debt difficulties, expand the access of the developing countries to the markets in developed countries, arrest the deterioration in terms of trade of the developing countries and stabilize commodity prices.

10. The South Asian leaders reiterated the need for preserving and liberalizing the multilateral trading system with renewed efforts both within and outside the Uruguay round of multilateral trade negotiations. They also underscored the importance of the developed countries (?) respecting the commitments made in Punta Del Este on "Standstill and Rollback" arrangements and called for the early and effective implementation of his commitment. They expressed concern that on account of differences between major trading entities on the question of agricultural subsidies, the Montreal meeting on the mid-term review of the Uruguay round was inconclusive. They particularly regretted that there was no progress in the negotiations on such issues of major interest to developing countries such as trade in textiles and safeguard system. They were disappointed that on some of the issues of interest of developing countries on which there was agreement, particularly tropical products, it would not be possible even to implement the decisions taken, from the beginning of 1989 as envisaged. They emphasized that the development dimension must be taken into account in the negotiations on new issues, particularly services and intellectual property rights. They agreed to take concerted action to this end in the forthcoming negotiations.

11. The Heads of State or Government fully supported the call for the initiation of a comprehensive process for the preparation of an international development strategy for the fourth United Nations development decade as well as the proposal of the Group of 77 for convening a special session of the General Assembly in 1990 to revive growth and development in the developing countries.

12. The Heads of State or Government re-emphasized the need for increased resource flows and special measures in favor of the least developed countries within the framework of the Substantial New Programme of Action (SNPA) for these countries. They supported convening of a high level United Nations conference on the least developed countries in 1990 to review progress and formulate national and international policies and measures for accelerating the development process in the least developed countries during the 1990's especially in order to help them achieve their long-term socio-economic objectives.

13. The leaders endorsed the decision of the Council of Ministers that any country in the region subscribing to the objectives and principles of the SAARC Charter may be admitted as a member of the association by the unanimous decision of the Heads of State or Government.

14. The Heads of State or Government expressed satisfaction at the progress so far made in the implementation of the SAARC Integrated Programme of Action. They underlined the need for closer cooperation in the activities undertaken under this programme. They took note of the measures to streamline and reorient various SAARC activities to make them more action-oriented so as to improve the quality of life of their peoples. They welcomed the establishment of the SAARC Agricultural Information Centre (SAIC), as well as the steps being taken for the establishment of other regional institutions.

15. The Heads of State or Government lauded the smooth functioning of the SAARC audio visual exchange programme which had proved to be a useful medium for promoting a South Asian consciousness amongst the peoples of the region. They decided that save programmes should also emphasize socio-economic and technical themes. They also noted with satisfaction the successful launching of the SAARC chairs, fellowships and scholarships scheme and the youth volunteers programme.

16. The Heads of State or Government expressed satisfaction that the South Asian Food Security Reserve had become operational on 12 August 1988. The reserve would serve as a cushion against food shortages and was a tangible manifestation of the spirit of cooperation in the region.

17. The Heads of State or Government noted with satisfaction that the SAARC Convention on Suppression of Terrorism had been ratified and had come into effect on 22 August 1988, thus reflecting the sincere desire on the part of the member-states to enter into meaningful cooperation to eliminate the scourge of terrorism from the South Asian region. They called for adoption of enabling measures by the member states to implement the convention at the earliest.

18. The Heads of State or Government expressed their deep sense of sorrow and profound sympathy on the loss of valuable lives and extensive damage to properties suffered during the year by Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Pakistan as a result of unprecedented floods, cyclones and earthquakes. In this connection, they recalled their earlier decision at Kathmandu in November 1987 to intensify regional cooperation with a view to strengthening their disaster-management capabilities and took note of the recommendation of the meeting of SAARC group of experts on the study on the causes and consequences of natural disaster and the protection and preservation of the environment that met in Kathmandu in July 1988.

19. The Heads of State or Government noted with satisfaction that modalities for studies to be carried out for cooperation in the areas of trade, manufacture and services had been worked out by a group of experts which met in Islamabad recently. They emphasized the need for completion of studies within the agreed time schedule.

20. The Heads of State or Government reviewed the progress on the situation of children in SAARC countries. They reiterated their commitment made in the Bangalore Declaration to accord the highest priority to the needs of children in national development planning and stressed that the concept of human resource development should lay particular emphasis on the welfare and well-being of children especially in the literacy and health spheres. They also reiterated their call for an early conclusion and adoption of the UN Convention on the rights of the child and hoped that progress in this area would be made in the near future.

21. The Heads of State or Government noted with satisfaction the effective functioning of the SAARC Secretariat and its role in coordinating SAARC activities. They also noted that a headquarters agreement had been signed between the Secretariat and the host government. They thanked His Majesty's Government of Nepal for the assistance and coordination extended to the Secretariat.

22. The Heads of State or Government noted that the decision, to involve regional NGOs [nongovernmental organizations] or professional bodies in SAARC activities, taken at the 5th session of the Council of Ministers, pursuant to the Kathmandu Declaration was an important step towards the promotion of people to people contact which has always been emphasized by the association.

23. They further noted with satisfaction the mandate given to the Secretary General by the Council of Ministers at its 5th session on the question of contacting organizations with similar aims and purposes.

24. The Heads of State or Government expressed their determination to give concrete shape to the objectives of SAARC. In this context they emphasized the need to progressively carry out the SAARC activities within a broad framework of a long-term perspective and to harmonize their efforts to ensure tangible benefits to the peoples of South Asia as a whole. They were conscious of the fact that all South Asian countries faced problems in varying degrees in areas such as food, clothing, shelter, education, primary health care and population planning. Towards this end all perspective plans or prepare plans and consolidate them into a regional plan to be called "SAARC-200 - A Basic Needs Perspective" with specific targets to be met by the end of the century.

25. They recognized that human resource development is one of the means of realizing these objectives. In this context they welcomed the offer of the Government of Pakistan to host a center for human resource development and directed the Secretary-General to set up a group of experts from member states to examine the proposal on the basis of a paper to be prepared by the Government of Pakistan and to submit its recommendations to the standing committee.

26. The Heads of State or Government of Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal and Sri Lanka expressed their deep appreciation for the exemplary manner in which the Prime Minister of Pakistan chaired the meeting. They expressed their profound gratitude for the excellent arrangements made for the meeting and for the warm and generous hospitality extended to them by the Government and the people of Pakistan.

**Commentary: Zia Died Due to Afghan Policy**  
*46000082 Karachi JANG in Urdu 8 Jan 89 p 3*

[Article by Z. A. Suleri: "Who Killed Zia-ul-Haq?"]

[Text] The official report on the crash of C-130 which killed President Zia-ul-Haq along with his several distinguished military colleagues (as well as the American ambassador) made it absolutely clear that the blow-up of the plane was not due to any technical fault. That being the case, what remained to be resolved was the enigma who hatched the diabolical plot to eliminate the head of a State. The motive behind the heinous crime could not have been personal. The objective must have been hatched on to some grand design of achieving cataclysmic results and repercussions in the affairs of Pakistan. Now apart from striving to govern the country on the lines of Islamic values and moors, the late President was wholly preoccupied with and absorbed in the issue of Afghanistan. He had fought for the liberation of that Soviet-ravaged country for over eight years. What is more, his struggle had succeeded and his efforts had told. At long last, admitting defeat, Gorbachev had unilaterally announced the withdrawal of Soviet troops within a year, beginning May 15. The Russian leader had envisaged only one condition—that the Geneva Accords should be signed beforehand, by March 14.

That was the finest moment in the life of Shaheed Zia-ul-Haq. But there was a fly in the ointment. Since the administration had been passed on to Prime Minister Junejo from the date of the inception of the 1985 National Assembly—it was in exercise of his executive power that the services of the Foreign Minister, Sahebzada Yakub Khan were dispensed with—he (Zia-ul-Haq) was left with no role other than that of counselling the government on matters on which he felt more strongly. Now one of the matters on which he felt most strongly was that Pakistan need not hurry to sign the Geneva Accords. I know it for a fact as my personal knowledge that his considered opinion was that since the withdrawal of the Soviet troops was on the cards, it should be taken for granted, and the Junejo government should pitch for the next target—namely an interim government in Kabul which was bound to have Afghan mujahideen at its core, and inevitably bear an Islamic complexion. To him then the prize to be fought for was not withdrawal which would take place in any case but induction of an interim government. On that point, however, he was badly let down. Although Junejo's representative in Geneva, Zain Noorani made futile gestures in token of independence by not signing the Accords on March 14

for wholly extraneous reasons, that until the symmetry issue between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. was not settled, he would not proceed with negotiations but ultimately succumbed and signed without realising the objective of an interim government in Kabul. Zia felt terribly upset because according to him such a government constituted the crest and crux of the jihad in Afghanistan. The confrontation between Zia-ul-Haq on one side of the fence and the USSR and USA on the other had begun to crystallise when it was all-round recognised that the Russians could not prolong their stay in the soil of Afghanistan. It was at that point of time—sometime in the middle of 1987—that against the background of growing mutual reconciliation, America and Russia, came to an understanding that while the latter were prepared to leave Afghanistan, the former should not become instrumental in installing an Islamic regime in Kabul. That America readily responded to the Russian plea was due to the fact that Washington was equally allergic to an Islamic regime. It had enough to do with Islam in Iran. It is that understanding which held throughout the rest of the period until the Geneva talks resumed in March 1988. It was however, the conviction of Shaheed Zia-ul-Haq that if Pakistan dug in its feet for the formation of an interim government at that critical moment, it could have got it. His conviction was based on the knowledge that Moscow was so keen to please, placate and accommodate Washington for the sake of larger and long-term Soviet causes that it would do any of its bidding. But it was the late President's feeling and grievance that the Junejo government did not sufficiently pull its weight in that behalf and therefore failed to persuade America to pressurize Russia into yielding an interim government in Kabul. It was in Zia's view, lack of vision and guts which betrayed the cause.

Since then the issue of an interim government has been hanging fire and is proving an obstacle to the establishment of peace even when the Soviet Union is ready and willing to call it a day. One of the main aims of the dissolution of the National Assembly and the consequent removal of the Junejo government was to renew efforts to achieve an interim government for the Afghan mujahideen. As Pakistan was still a crucial factor in the settlement of the Afghanistan issue, under the late President, it began to reassert itself even as it maintained intimate relations with Washington and tried to improve its equation with Moscow. One thing Zia made quite clear—India could have no part in the business of Afghanistan and that is why he spurned Delhi's invitation to discuss it then with Gandhi. Thus in a way, he got enmeshed and ensconced in a three-cornered battle. All the three zeroed on Zahir Shah as all three arrayed

themselves against the prospect of an Islamic regime in Kabul whose cause the mujahideen and Shaheed Zia-ul-Haq advanced. Big objectives, big hurdles, big stakes.

Some four months after the crash of C-130, the scenario seems to have undergone a perceptible change. At the Saarc Conference not only takes place a close, heart-to-heart exchange of ideas and plans—three agreements were signed—but glowing tributes were paid to Mrs Indira Gandhi (who invaded East Pakistan in 1971) and Sheikh Mujibur Rehman (who engineered a secessionist movement) while President Hussain Ershad sat mute. What is of significance in this context is that Afghanistan was specifically mentioned as a prospective member-country of the Saarc fraternity and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vorontsov visits Islamabad to canvass support for Zahir Shah.

That is to say that the future of Afghanistan has been predetermined and it has already fallen under the auspices of a regional organisation whose destiny seemed to be put in the control of India. How can thus Delhi be excluded from shaping the form and forum of a new broad-based government in Kabul especially when it concurred in with Moscow and Washington for forging a semi-religious—certainly not fundamentalist to which Gandhi is on record for strongly objecting—liberal and even secular governmental set-up. What is shocking is that presently, quite antihetically to Zia-ul-Haq's way of thinking, Pakistan appears to stand behind the consensus of this trimvirate. Hizb-i-Islami leader, Hikmat Yar Gulbadeen has been quick to discern this slight change in the posture of the Pak Government.

It is manifest that while the Soviet Union, the United States and India stood on the same side on the vital issue of the character of an interim government in Kabul, under Shaheed President Zia-ul-Haq Pakistan stood on the opposite side. And as the decisive moment approached, the divergence of views turned into a head-on clash. No room was left for co-habitation. And one party—the weaker party—had to go under if the matters were to be finally clinched. And now one can see that the matters are being clinched without let or hindrance according to the strategy of super-powers. Against all solemn Geneva commitments, the new Kabul regime is being made a counter for bargaining. Unless the regime is cast in the mould of Soviet-American-Indian image, there will be no withdrawal of Russian troops. What is tragic is that the fundamental interests of Pakistan and the Islamic region around are being sacrificed at the altar of an obsession for personal vendetta.