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Study Estimates $5 Billion Drop in OPEC Revenues

44000101 Dubayy GULF NEWS in English
29 Oct 88 p 13

[Text] Dubayy—OPEC oil revenue will drop $5 billion this year because of low crude prices, the Dubayy-based Emirates Industrial Bank said in a study on the oil market published yesterday.

The study prepared by the Emirates Industrial Bank (EIB) also pointed out that OPEC's oil production rose by 11 percent this year compared to last year's production level.

It noted that the total oil revenues of the Gulf Cooperation Council will fall by six percent to reach about $37 billion, adding this will adversely affect a number of economic and industrial sectors.

"As a result of this temporary fall of oil prices, a number of social and economic development projects will be negatively affected in oil producing states," the study noted.

Due to lack of a clear-cut pricing and production strategy, OPEC member states have experienced more difficulties during this year, the study said.

"Although OPEC's conference in December 1987 affirmed the organization's commitment to the fixed production ceiling of 16.6 million bpd with the price of $18 per barrel, the beginning of 1988 witnessed violations of agreed on production quotas, a fact which led to the fall of prices in spot markets," the study said.

But it said OPEC still is able to restore stability to the oil market if it adopted an appropriate strategy.

"OPEC is still able to restore market stability, but this requires a strategy that conforms to the market dynamism and forces and it is better for OPEC to have a lower output and higher revenues," it said.
REGIONAL

Economic Impact of Ceasefire on Region
44000684 Cyprus MEMO in English Oct 88 pp 6-7

[Article by Samir Subh]

[Text] In turn, the direct impact on the different sectors of the Iraqi and Iranian economies will not be less important than the impact of oil production and sale in the near future, bearing in mind that oil will always remain the support base of the economic structure in both countries. Ever since both parties announced their adherence to the U.N. resolution No. 598, economic, financial and reconstruction experts in the world started to prepare their plans and projects to meet the requirements of the post-war period in such a way as to serve the medium and long term strategies. Technical and feasibility studies were carried out by the different trade and economic institutions and companies whether in the east or in the west focus on one issue, namely how to benefit from peace just like arms manufacturers benefited from the war for eight years.

Before studying the expected economic prospects in the Gulf, we shall try first of all to assess and estimate the volume of losses incurred in this region in order to have an idea about the requirements of reconstruction. This means that we should understand the dimensions of the “economic implication” of the world leading specialized companies in this region upon the signature of the peace agreement. These companies’ experts had started more than a year ago to determine the cost of 8 years of war. Some of them went to the extent of preparing an almost complete “inventory” with losses on one side and reconstruction requirements on the other. In this context, reports from Western specialized institutions estimate that the destruction of infrastructures, industries and hospitals in addition to the purchase of arms have cost Iran $80 to $170 billion and Iraq $30 to $87 billion. This does not include, however, the indirect losses such as the decrease in oil earnings and in industrial and agricultural revenues. If this is added, total cost for Iran would reach $216 billion and $193 for Iraq. No doubt that the mere handling of such figures is in itself sufficient motivation for all construction, public works, industrial equipment and oil companies all over the world. It will definitely drive them into a race to penetrate these countries’ markets. They will offer all sorts of facilities to have the lion’s share. In fact, this is what happened lately when these companies and their governments received some preliminary information about the possibility of ending the Gulf war.

Competition Between the Partners of Baghdad and Teheran: Advance and Caution

As the first round of talks started in Geneva under the auspices of the United Nations, competition started between the trade partners of Baghdad and Teheran. Their experts meet every day to evaluate “available opportunities” and hold specialized economic conferences to discuss export and lending issues which could help them get more contracts and commercial deals during the period of reconstruction and development.

The case of South Korea in this context is remarkable. The facilities it offers to both parties are unlimited despite the high financial risks they involve such as repayment delays and postponements which would occur particularly during the first period following the signature of the peace agreement. It seems that Seoul is aware of these risks but is ready to make sacrifices. According to economic observers in Britain, South Korea wants to consolidate its position in this region facing its West and East European competitors in addition to the fact that it is betting on the long term future even if it implies not making any profits or even incurring some losses in the short term. The Korean move became more obvious after the meeting held by the two groups “HUANDAI” and “SAMSUNG” on July to meet any request whatsoever concerning the reconstruction of Iraq and Iran. Both based their offers on their own forecasts which also estimated that contracts worth $6 billion will be available in these countries’ markets each year during the five coming years. On the other hand, the Korean association for overseas construction has expressed its hope that Korean construction companies will receive contracts in Iraq and Iran at a value of $15 billion until 1993. Officials from this association say their share in these contracts would be about $9 billion in Iran and $5.9 billion in Iraq. The Korean construction minister, Shu Dong Sob announced that his country will send a trade delegation to the Gulf to study the possibility of establishing a work unit to coordinate between the various construction projects in the Middle East in general and in these two countries in particular. According to this association, Iran is expected to issue construction tenders for $45.4 billion and Iraq for $32.2 billion during the above mentioned period. It should be noted that Korean companies were awarded contracts worth $6.4 billion in Iraq and 1.3 billion in Iran in 1970. Yet the most important element in this field is the announcement made by officials from the ministry of finance and economic planning that Seoul is ready to grant loans to both Iraq and Iran to allow them to finance their reconstruction. It is not easy for other countries to make similar offers.

The Eastern bloc also made attempts to have a share of the market. The first offer came from Hungary when its official news agency announced that Hungarian companies were ready to participate in the reconstruction of Iran and Iraq after the cease fire. But its offer was nevertheless less spectacular and more cautious. It linked its initiative to the readiness of both countries to settle the problem of overdues. Furthermore, the news agency underlined in its economic report the capacity of Hungary to face the expected fierce competition which will take place in this field.
Hungarian relations with both Iran and Iraq were mainly trade relations. Iraq has been Hungary's major traditional trade partner and exchanges between both countries reached their peak in 1982 when Hungarian exports to Iraq reached $290 million and Venezuelan imports from Iraq reached $3 million. But these exports decreased in 1987 to $344 million only. Iraq imports mainly consumption goods from Hungary such as eggs, drugs, vegetables, and plastic raw materials whereas Hungary imports mainly crude oil and industrial cement from Iraq.

Iran made barter deals with Hungary. Its exports to Hungary reached $119.4 million in 1987, four times as much as in 1986. Nevertheless, Hungary expects to increase its exports to Baghdad and Teheran in the near future especially after the agreement on the rescheduling of the Iraqi debt and after its successful experience in barter exchanges with Iran.

Difficult Economic Organization After the War

Industrial countries also made their calculations and estimates. They nevertheless, remained more cautious as they are convinced that the organization of a peace economy after the war will require a lot of effort and time from both Iraq and Iran. In fact the economic situation in both countries have several characteristics in common especially as far as the difference between future requirements and available means is concerned. Industrial countries also took into account that a large part of future earnings will depend to a large extent on the amount of their accumulated debts on the one hand and on the decline of their oil and non oil production capacity due to the war on the other. Iraqi accumulated debts are somewhere in the vicinity of $60 billion half of which are due to Gulf countries (which will probably not be repaid) and the other half to Western countries. Iran's debt is only $4 billion approximately as this country did not resort to external borrowing to finance the war. Teheran's problem remains, however, its great need to revive its oil industry in the short term.

In the long term it needs to expand its nonoil industries particularly in the mining sector. Iran is planning to implement a large number of projects after the war. But the question remains who will finance them and how. If radicals keep the upper hand in Iran, it will mean that this country will continue to abstain from borrowing abroad. In other words the money available for reconstruction no matter what the situation is will not exceed, at least during the first stage after the cease fire, the only oil revenues currently made in the country which are less than $10 billion per year. This explains of course the rush of industrial countries. As the Iranian oil minister, Gholamreza Agazdeh has put it: Iran will need external assistance to increase its production after the war. In fact, the above mentioned factors prevailing in the Western countries cannot continue indefinitely without change. The economic and political interests and particularly the necessity to gain more market shares are the ones which finally govern the economic decisions in these countries.

In this context, we could note the special role of the Federal Republic of Germany which has succeeded in maintaining the equilibrium of its interests in both Baghdad and Teheran. It was able to play the role of the reconciling mediator who encouraged Iran to accept the U.N. resolution No 598 and had promised both countries substantial economic assistance if peace talks were to be actually undertaken. Anyway, West Germany has remained Iran's special trade partner at a time when most Western countries had cut their economic relations with Teheran. Iran is Germany's first customer in the Middle East until now with exports to this country reaching in 1987 DM2.8 billion in addition to the fact that more than 100 German companies are working in the Iranian market.

In short, the Iranian economy is dependent in many areas on West German products especially in the field of industrial production. Thus, the Iranian economy has to resort to West German companies to a large extent, whose products will constitute Teheran's main imports.

On the other hand, experts believe that the existing privileged economic and trade relations with Iran do not imply the absence of West German interest in Iraq. The Iraqi markets remained opened for West German products during the war if not at the same level as in Iran. In fact, West Germans promises to Iraq concerning the assistance are but the means of participating in the reconstruction of Iraq.

Japan also announced its readiness to provide assistance. In this respect, the Japanese minister of foreign trade and industry, announced on July 20 that his government resumed the negotiations with Mitsui group concerning the Bandar Kharmi complex for petrochemicals where work stopped in 1973 without any financial compensation to the Japanese companies and banks. Japan has carefully planned a strategy for the post war period by concluding an agreement whereby the entry visa to both countries is cancelled. Furthermore, observers believe the consolidation of Japanese interests in Iran due to its transportation of 200 thousand barrels of oil per day and its acceptance in crucial times to conclude barter deals with Iran will undoubtedly increase its chances of participating in this country's projects.

As for France, despite its cautious attitude, it is in fact making great efforts also in secret to benefit from both countries' needs. No doubt the French military assistance to Iraq will allow this country to conclude many civil contracts which will sooner or later be tendered. Thus, France will have its share in this field beside Japan, Italy and South Korea. Anyway, the future French-Iraqi economic relations will not be subject to any change as a result of the pro-Iraqi political position...
France adopted during the war. In addition to this the French assistance promised to Iraq and the rescheduling of the Iraqi debt, will undoubtedly—according to experts—put the French companies and establishments in a good position to win the civil contracts.

At the same time, France is also attaching great importance to the Iranian market. Nevertheless, it prefers to adopt a careful policy. The maintenance of the volume of exports to Iran (small spare parts, foodstuffs and agricultural products which were either exported directly or through other European countries such as Switzerland, Germany and Italy) which have reached about $365 million during the first four months of 1988 and its potential increase are good indications of the improvement of relations between both countries. Paris is still hesitant however concerning guaranteed loans and new important contracts before settling the pending financial problems not to mention putting an end to the uncertainties which still hinder the reestablishment of confidence between both countries.

On July 28, the Iranian ambassador in Paris announced his country’s view of the economic relations with France. He said that France may become his country’s first economic partner in the field of reconstruction. French observers for their part believe that the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between both countries last June, the removal of the French embargo on Iranian oil imports and the expected mutual visits of ministers of foreign affairs before the end of the year are all indications of the possibility of giving France an important role to play in Iran’s reconstruction.

No doubt that the removal of the embargo mentioned above will pave the way for the implementation of industrial, trade, oil, agricultural and foodstuffs projects which were prepared during the recent visit last July of a delegation of Iranian officials from the oil sector and the central bank to Paris. France can also sell its military and technological products now to Iran starting thereby a military cooperation often requested by this country since the war with Iraq has come to an end.

This shows that a promising outlook exists for light and heavy industries, agricultural, foodstuffs, ship building, petro-chemical, energy and railways industries. Iranian officials believe it is necessary that France gets its share in these projects. Some went to the extent of evoking the Iranian metro project again and its implementation by France.

Which Role for Gulf Countries?

A lot has been said that far about competition between foreign companies for the reconstruction of both Iran and Iraq. But what is the role of the GCC companies in particular in this field? In fact these companies also announced their wish to participate in the reconstruction of these countries. The UAE in particular had maintained good relations with Iran during the war and had often played the role of mediator to establish peace in this region. Competition between Gulf companies will be fierce. The president of the chamber of commerce and industry in the UAE, Mr Sa’id Ahmad al-Eteiba, called on the establishment of common bases among GCC members to allow them to compete against foreign companies in this field.

Although financial organizations in the Gulf announced their readiness to provide substantial resources to finance the reconstruction, industrial circles there still doubt the chances of their companies facing international firms. Optimists believe however that trade exchanges between Iran and the UAE will regain their former level and exchanges between Kuwait and Iraq will be resumed. The Gulf banking sector is expected to play an important role by providing short term loans in particular.

The Political Factor and Future Choices

Attempts made by Arab and foreign companies and firms to get civil contracts which will replace the military contracts in the Gulf area will come through only gradually. But all observers agree that the economic relations with Baghdad and Teheran in future will depend more than any other time on the political factor. Therefore, each country’s trade partner during the war will have priority for concluding post war contracts. This is clear as far as Iraq is concerned but gets more complicated as far as Iran is concerned for ideological reasons in particular. Deep political changes must occur in Iran in order to establish new economic relations. The resignation of the prime minister, Mr Hoseyn Musavi and the return of ‘Ali Khamenei to this post are the result of the internal disputes concerning the choices to be made for the future reconstruction in Iran. While Musavi maintains that the State role in the economy should be intensified and that no cooperation should be established with Western countries which were opposed to Iran, Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani calls for the reduction of the State role in the economy and for the increase of cooperation with foreign countries. All this shows that peace in the Gulf will not be easier in the economic field than war time. Both require great efforts, assistance, difficult choices and careful attitudes.

Islamic Bank To Finance Development Projects

[Article by Muhammad Ibrahim]

[Text] Jeddah, Oct 20—The Islamic Development Bank (IDB) has approved new finances totaling $35.642 million for development projects, technical assistance and foreign trade operations in a number of member states in addition to special grants to the Muslim communities in non-member countries.
Since the beginning of the new Hijrah year 1409, the bank has allotted $166.5 million in the form of loans and technical assistance to a number of member states.

The new finances were approved by the board of executive directors of the bank in its 101st session which concluded here last night under IDB President Dr. Ahmad Muhammad Ali. The session, which began last Sunday, also considered the progress of work in a number of development projects being financed by the bank in addition to other matters relating to the general policy of the financial institution.

The board approved $35.622 million to finance five new development projects. These included:

—$8.9 million for Senegal to finance a water project that will supply 52 villages in the eastern part of the country with potable water. The loan will be repaid in 25 years including a five-year grace period.

—$6.902 million for Oman to finance the construction of a dam that will help preserve underground water and provide an additional amount of 2.5 million cubic meters of water daily. The loan will be repaid in 15 years with a four-year grace period.

—$15 million to Algeria to purchase a 36,000-ton ship to carry cereals. The loan will be repaid in 10 years.

—$2.480 million to Uganda to purchase equipment necessary for a pottery factory that will produce six million blocks of red bricks annually in addition to one million tiles. The loan will be repaid in eight years including a grace period of two years.

—$2.340 million to Cameroon to finance the construction of a tomato-sauce factory which will produce 4,000 tons. The loan will be repaid in 10 years including a two-year grace period.

The board approved special grants amounting to $8.890 million. These included $8 million to Sudan to reconstruct 65 elementary schools in rural areas which were destroyed by the recent torrential rains and floods and $894,000 for the Muslim community in India within the $30 million grant the bank had earlier allotted for them.

The board also approved the financing of seven foreign trade operations at the tune of $41.130 million. These were as follows:

—Imports of raw materials for medical accessories for Malaysia worth $630,000.

—Imports of electrolyte copper, also for Malaysia, amounting to $500,000.

—Imports of $15 million of crude oil from a member state to Morocco.

—Palm oil from a member state to Pakistan at $15 million.

—Ammonia from a member country to Tunisia at $3 million, sulfur for the same amount and cotton at $4 million.

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

Attempts To Attack PNC Session, ‘Arafat’s Security Described
JN24N143288 Amman AKHBAR AL-USBU’ in Arabic
24 Nov 88 pp 1, 21

[Text] Palestinian sources confirmed to AKHBAR AL-USBU’ reports about three attempts to blow up the building in which the PNC held its latest meetings in Algiers during which a Palestinian state was declared and UN resolutions on the Palestinian question were accepted. The sources said Palestinian and Algerian intelligence foiled three attempts to blow up the Club de Pines where the PNC meetings took place. More than nine people were arrested for collusion with the Zionist enemy.

Meanwhile, another group of nine Israelis held back the execution of its plot in Algiers after it felt that it was under surveillance by Palestinian and Algerian intelligence.

These Israelis traveled to Algeria with forged passports, including Tunisian, Moroccan, and Gulf passports. The members of the group are eastern Jews of Moroccan, Yemeni, and Iraqi origin. Since they felt they had been discovered, they left Algeria a few days before the PNC went into session.

As for the first group, the sources said its members are Arab nationals. The sources requested that their names not be published, although some of these names were known. They came from Arab countries in North Africa and Europe.

This group was led by a person using the codename Abu Rabi’. All members of the group were handed to the Algerian authorities.

Palestinian security organs are currently interrogating a Palestinian student from the occupied territories. He came to Algeria in 1983 and lived a luxurious life. He was held while trying to obtain a card to attend the PNC session. He offered an employee a large sum of money for this card, but the employee informed Palestinian security organs. He was watched and then arrested. He admitted that Israeli intelligence recruited him after threatening him with a sexual assault against his mother and sisters, video taping this assault, and distributing the video to all Arabs in occupied Palestine.
The spy also admitted that he received instructions to place a highly explosive charge inside the PNC hall. When he asked the intelligence men how he would obtain the explosives, they told him that he would receive them before entering the hall. He also admitted that he put more than 20 people in Israeli prisons before leaving the occupied territories. He said he received training at the Tel Aviv Hilton Hotel for a month and was then sent for 2 weeks on rest leave to an Israeli settlement before leaving for Algeria in 1983. There, he joined a university, taking advantage of the fact that one of his brothers was martyred during an operation to seize a bus carrying Israeli soldiers.

He also admitted that he was conveying to the Israelis information about the PLO office in Algiers and Palestinian bases and students in Algeria.

The Palestinian security forces are conducting a thorough investigation of him, trying to reveal many points including methods of contact with Israel, apart from the invisible ink in the use of which he received training. It is believed that he is hiding a radio. He was found to possess scores of pictures of naked women, whom he had seduced and demanded their cooperation under the threat of distributing their pictures.

Palestinian sources very close to Palestinian leader Yasir ‘Arafat admitted that ‘Arafat himself discovered more than one attempt on his life. It is said that he enjoys a very strong sixth sense. He is, therefore, eager to constantly change his guards. He always discovers the attempts on his life, the last of which was before the convening of the last PNC.

According to workers for the Algerian airlines, ‘Arafat’s plane was intercepted by three planes while enroute to Tunis. The planes were believed to be either Israeli or American. The captain of one of these warplanes talked with the pilot of ‘Arafat’s plane, which was an Algerian plane, not ‘Arafat’s private plane. The pilot told the warplanes that there was a senior Tunisian official on board, not Yasir ‘Arafat or any other Palestinian official.

After decisive minutes during which the warplanes contacted their command, their leader apologized and the planes vanished among the clouds of the Mediterranean.

Therefore, when ‘Arafat traveled from Tunis to Algiers, three civilian planes left Tunis airport simultaneously. ‘Arafat’s private plane was one of them, but it was PNC Spokesman ‘Abd al-Rahman and his wife who were on board. ‘Arafat immediately boarded a civilian plane by a rear door.

The Palestinian sources say that ‘Arafat began to move via other planes for deception purposes.

There was another attempt 7 weeks ago when ‘Arafat’s plane was flying over the Mediterranean. Warplanes intercepted ‘Arafat’s plane and ordered it to accompany them. ‘Arafat’s private plane was forced to land at a U.S. military base in Europe. When it was searched, no Palestinian official was found. An apology was offered to the plane’s crew, and the plane returned to Tunis.

Bulletin Contradicts Israeli Statistics on West Bank and Gaza
44000079 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English
22 Oct 88 p 2

[Article by Najwa Najjar]

[Text] Amman—Ever since Israel occupied the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1967, figures on Palestinian statistics—population, economy, education, etc.—have never been accurate. According to Dr Fu’ad Basisu, secretary-general of the joint Jordanian-Palestinian Committee for the Steadfastness of the Palestinian People in the Occupied Homeland—the inaccuracy of figures and fact released by the occupation authorities is part of the Zionist state’s political strategy. A new project seeks to rectify the situation.

The first statistical bulletin from the West Bank and Gaza covering 1967-1986, compiled mostly from Arab sources, will soon hit universities and research centers throughout the world.

Since the Israeli occupation in 1967, the Arab World has received most of its statistical information on Palestinians under occupation from Israeli sources. This information, according to Secretary General of the joint Jordanian Palestinian Committee, Dr Fu’ad Basisu, “is not accurate.”

Initially, the information on the occupied territories is gathered by Arab employees at the Israeli Department of Statistics, but is published by the head of the department, “who is always Israeli,” said Basisu, adding “when the information reaches Israeli authorities’ hands, numbers are altered.”

Playing with the statistical information has allowed the Israelis to show the world “the occupation is a blessing, not a burden, and that life in the occupied territories has been improving, not deteriorating since 1967,” he said.

Moreover, these indicators are basic for analyzing the situation, needs and services, and consequently responsible for improving life in the occupied territories, Basisu said.

For example, the joint Jordanian Palestinian Committee, responsible for the bulletin, discovered that Israeli statistics on agriculture and produce stated that the Gaza Strip produces milk and eggs for export. “This is not true,” Basisu said, “but it shows that the occupied territories are producing enough to export” and are not poverty stricken as has been portrayed by the media.
Israeli statistical indicators have also shown that the Palestinian population has decreased. "Their statistics say that the Palestinian population is 1.5 million instead of 1.8," said Basisu, attributing the play with numbers to the "demographic struggle."

He explained that the Israelis do not include Palestinians who left Palestine in 1967 or those Palestinians who leave their homeland for one year. Both are considered permanent immigrants. In the Israeli count of the inhabitants of the occupied territories, "they (the Israelis) only count the number of birth certificates," said Basisu, pointing out that a large number of Palestinians do not register their children.

Even though there is a 300,000 inhabitant difference between the Israeli and Arab statistics, the data bank on occupied Palestine has registered the number of Palestinians at 1.5 million. "Unless we have an accurate number of the inhabitants, all we can say is that the number of Palestinians in the occupied territories far exceeds 1.5 million," he continued.

Although the committee has had to depend somewhat on Israeli sources "we are aiming to liberate ourselves totally from this dependence." The committee has cooperated closely for the past nine years with ministries and statistically departments in Jordan; research centers of the Palestine Liberation Organization; the statistical bureau in Damascus, Syria; regional and international bodies to accumulate statistics from 1967 to 1986.

The tables within the bulletin cover population resources, Israeli colonies, foreign trade, foreign aid, education, health, local administration and production in the occupied territories.

There are statistics which show that the number of Israeli colonies built in 1967 to 71 were only 19. This number jumped to 222 colonies in 1987. The number of hospitals in the occupied territories was 31 in 1967, which had increased to only 33 by 1987. Curiously enough, the numbers of beds in hospitals dropped from 3082 in 1967 to 2822 in 1987.

These tables will serve as raw data to help facilitate the analysis process for researchers and all official, public and private bodies interested in the occupied territories or working for the steadfastness of Palestinians. "We want them to have accurate information which will allow them to help the Palestinians on an accurate basis."

Three main studies prepared by the committee will supplement the data bank by providing analysis to the statistics compiled. Population and demographic struggle; labor force development; and realms of industrializing food are presently being translated into English.

The committee has already started distributing the bulletin, which appeared in June 1988, to ministries and statistical departments in Jordan. Distribution of the bulletin will reach Arab universities, universities worldwide which have Middle East centers, main research bodies regionally and internationally and all international bodies.

The only drawback of the bulletin is that the statistics are not up to date. Basisu explained, "there is usually a time lag between publication and statistics." Since the committee depends on Israeli statistics, "we will be delayed since not all their (Israeli) statistics for 1987 have not yet been published."

However, Basisu hopes that the second bulletin will be published in 1989 updating the statistics on the occupied territories, with conservative bulletins following. Basisu added that specialized bulletins with more detailed tables will accompany the yearly bulletins, "for example a bulletin on combat statistics: the numbers of fighters, detainees and martyrs."

A network is presently being planned which will allow for individuals in the occupied territories to feed their computers information. The information will reach the main data bank in Amman "in one way or another." "This data bank will serve as an information bank on the ongoing social and economic developments in the occupied territories," he said.

Also on the agenda is information gathering by referring to all PhD theses on Palestine done in Jordanian universities. This project is to start within a few months, according to Basisu.

In addition to updating the data bank on the occupied territories, the committee has started gathering information on all of Palestine, including statistics on the Israeli economy and society; and on the Arabs living in Israel. Basisu hopes this bulletin will be out in 1990.

The fourth project included plans for the near future is a bulletin containing statistics on Palestine during the British Mandate period.

The joint Jordanian Palestinian Committee was formed during the 1978 Baghdad summit for the purpose of assisting Palestinians in the occupied territories. Jordan's decision to sever administrative and legal ties with the occupied territories did not affect the status of the joint committee.

Basisu pointed out that the Jordanian government officially announced that the severing of ties would not affect Jordan's assistance to the Palestinians. During the last meeting between Jordanian and PLO officials, a decision was reached to keep the joint committee.
Israeli Taxation of West Bank and Gaza Discussed in Symposium
44000080 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English
23 Oct 88 p 5

[Text] The following is the summary and recommendations of the symposium on taxes and taxation policies in the occupied Arab territories held in Amman on July 20, 1988.

On July 20, 1988 a professional symposium was held at the conference room of the office of the secretariat general of the Jordanian Palestinian Committee for the steadiness of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories. The symposium dealt with tax and taxation policies of the Zionist occupation authorities in the occupied territories.

The symposium was inaugurated by Marwan Dudin then minister of the occupied lands affairs being the head of the Jordanian side to the Joint Committee. The Palestinian side in the committee was represented by Muhammad Milhim who also participated in the discussions.

The secretariat general—symposium organizer—was represented by Dr Fu’ad Basis, the secretary general who administered the event and gave the opening speech.

Other senior officials from the government of Jordan and the PLO participated in the symposium as well as a group of financial economic and tax experts from universities, research centers and specialized government departments. Discussions and study analysis had disclosed that, taxation policy is the crux of the exhaustive practices of the Zionist occupation authorities to the socio-economic potentials of the occupied lands. This was mirrored in the direct and indirect effects of that socio-economic tax policy. Such policies have especially contributed to the impoverishment of the Palestinian people in addition to paralysing most of the production and service activities. They also lowered the standard of living to a point below the level delineated to less fortunate countries in LDC’s.

After comparing tax policy with the spending policy of the occupation authorities, the discussions have all agreed that the Israeli authorities use tax as the main source for financing the occupation expenditures. These expenditures arose as a result of oppressing the resistances. In accordance to this, the general effect of the absence of the Arab national development in the West Bank and Gaza Strip which was presented prior to the Israeli occupation begot more financial exploitation in addition to the looting of the natural resources (land and water) of the Palestinians.

Israeli Taxation Policy

The main characteristics of the Israeli tax policy can be classified in the following:

1. The occupation tax policy aimed not only at destroying the Palestinian economic infrastructural base but also at tying the Palestinian economy and society to the Zionist substance economically, socially and culturally.

2. Incorporating fundamental changes on the tax systems which were prevalent prior to the occupation. In so doing, occupation authorities imposed new taxes: Value Added Tax and Armona Tax in Arab Jerusalem. Tax scale, exemptions and tax rebates were drastically changed to serve the occupation goals. The Israeli authorities have also appointed Israelis to manage the tax departments. Local courts were deprived the jurisdiction to reconsider appeals against the decisions of the tax assessors. Instead, military committees were vested with powers to look into the appeals.

3. The study, follow up and discussions have unveiled the tax burden on tax payers in the occupied territories. It found that the tax burden in 1987 amounted to $600 million, equivalent to one third of the occupied territories GDP. In the meantime, 1986 per capita income in the West Bank did not exceed $1,410 and $578 in Gaza Strip in comparison to $1,656 in Jordan and $6,369 in Israel.

4. A heavy tax burden has interrupted the process of capital accumulation in different economic sectors. This in turn led to the shutdown of many corporations and the termination of their personnel who became unemployed and were forced to immigrate or work in the Israeli labor market.

5. The symposium has clarified the arbitrary measures practiced by the Israeli authorities as far as tax collection in the occupied territories is concerned. Of these practices are:
   - Raiding industrial and business firms and stores and seizing their assets.
   - Breaking in people’s homes and seizing their assets.
   - Setting inspection barriers by blocking the roads to seize the cars of tax payers who did not pay taxes.
   - Seizing identity cards and detaining persons by the blockades until they pay taxes.

6. The study has also shown that the absolute amount of the occupation spending did not exceed $180 million in 1986—per capita spending reached only $120 compared to $825 in Jordan and $2,413 in Israel—belying the radical disparity of allocation of such spending in Jordan, Israel and the occupied lands where in the latter spending only serves the Israeli settlement and security policy.

7. In connection to what has been mentioned thus far and to the available information, it has been manifested
that tax revenue surplus in 1986 reached approximately $420 million injected in the Israeli economy.

Recommendations

Having discussed, analyzed and scrutinized these situations, the symposium has come up with the following recommendations:

(A) As regards to the occupied Palestinian land:

1. Supporting the current uprising in its legitimate stance of refraining from paying taxes to the military rule especially taxes whose proceeds are used to finance occupation and repression. The symposium hence recommends the formulation of a work programme for the national tax policy that aims at defying the Israeli policy and deals with the issue of tax boycott in a national, practical and subjective manner.

2. Creating a tax consultative centers in Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza Strip through cooperation with specialists at the Palestinian universities and professional associations. This is envisaged by cooperation between lawyers and certified accountants in order to offer legal and accounting tax consultations to the Palestinian citizens and their firms and to initiate activities targeted towards educating tax payers by using means such as holding symposia and publishing researches and studies on the issue.

3. Encouraging and expanding home economics as well as inculcating family mutual responsibilities and social solidarity, both being the appropriate remedy to avert taxes.

4. Enhancing national and people’s committees and corporations especially those exempted from taxes including Zakat committees in order to expand their productive activities.

(B) As regards the Arab World:

1. Display before the Arab public opinion the tax suffering of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories so as to educate and indoctrinate people against the Israeli occupation.

2. Ascertaining the perpetuity of securing financial and moral support for the Palestinian people in the occupied lands.

3. Encouraging marketing of the occupied territories products in the Arab markets and granting them preferential treatment.

(C) On the international level:

1. Unveil the Israeli arbitrary measures and practices in tax aspects to the world public opinion and international bodies.

2. Exert pressure on the occupation authorities with all available means to publish the actual data on tax revenues collected from the occupied territories as well as the expenditures.

3. Oblige the occupation authorities with all possible means to spend tax and other revenues collected from the occupied territories on the services and public utilities provide for the Palestinian people. Spending must be supervised by the United Nations.

4. Study the possibility of trying the Israeli occupation authorities before the international courts for their arbitrary tax policy.

5. Seeking documentation of the entire financial rights which resulted from Israel’s exploitation of financial resources out of tax revenues illegally collected, as in seeking documentation of rights pertaining to lands and water and strive to claim them in the United Nations.

General Recommendations

Emphasizing the illegitimate Israeli jurisdiction to change and/or amend the tax systems in the occupied territories. In this capacity, it is rather urgent to prepare a professional study on this topic and to hold a special symposium on it.

—Proceed in taking all measures which are necessary to protect tax payers who refused to pay taxes from Israeli retaliatory and tyrannical measures. This could be fulfilled through escalating solidarity in the occupied territories and exerting Arab and international pressure.

Prepare, publish and distribute a summary of the study in foreign languages on different international corporations.

ALGERIA

Prospects for Political Pluralism Discussed
45000055a Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic
12 Nov 88 p 6

[Text] Informed Arab diplomatic sources have reported that a system of political pluralism will not be implemented in Algeria for several years and not before successfully testing “the new role” which the ruling FLN party will play in the coming phase. This “new role” as defined in the plan drawn up under the supervision of President Chadli Bendjedid, and which he will submit to the 6th party congress next month, stipulates that the FLN be a party truly open to all currents and ideas and that it allow these currents to freely express themselves without being forced to join the FLN or to be part of an
official party. These sources underscored that the implementation of a system of political pluralism requires a popular referendum which will take place “at the appropriate time and when conditions have sufficiently developed.”

Kabyle Region Reluctant To Challenge Government
45190013 Paris LE MONDE in French 15 Oct 88 p 3

[Article by Jacques de Barrin, special correspondent: “Kabyle Did Not Want A Fresh Confrontation With the Regime”]

[Text] Rebellious Tizi Ouzou would not want anyone to think it was actually expressing support for the regime. So groups of Kabyle youths thought it would be useful to protest the street demonstration the FLN had organized for Wednesday afternoon, 12 October—a demonstration that bore all the signs of a provocation, considering the unfriendly attitude of the people here toward the government. Rocks were thrown, shots fired in the air: These brief skirmishes ended with two people slightly wounded but no one killed (see LE MONDE of 14 October).

Many Algerians hoped that the proud and volatile Kabyles would join their protest movement to amplify its effects. And some dissidents from the capital, tired of waiting for them, decided to form delegations to make the pilgrimage up to Tizi Ouzou to convince the Kabyles—usually so prompt to leap into action—to get involved. To their great astonishment, they were politely shown the door.

In reality, there never was any possibility that the Kabyles, with their long memories, would come to the aid of their Arab brothers, since the latter had not lifted a finger when, on several occasions in recent years, the Kabyles had gone out into the streets to challenge the government.

The Berbers, who like to consider themselves the “real” fighters of the country and who jealously cultivate their ethnic idiosyncrasies, were not reluctant to pay their countrymen back with the same coin. Neither did the Kabyles entertain any notion of panethnic solidarity. Their demands obviously had much in common with those of other Algerians, but they were also unique in some respects. Once again, it was the differences that had to be emphasized. “To make common cause with the rest of the country might have played into the hands of the government, which would have reproached them for using any pretext to protest,” notes one observer. “It would also have meant reopening hostilities with the regime without any real desire to do so, without being in control of events.” There is a right time for everything...

The “hurricane” blew in from Algiers. Kabyle did everything it could to protect itself. “We went the violent route back in 1980. Nobody wants to start smashing things again,” explains Nouredine Ait Hamouda, a member of the Berber Cultural Movement and the son of Colonel Amirouche, who was killed in battle in March 1959. “We must have a more responsible attitude now, we must have a strong message, especially now that the Muslim fundamentalists are pushing their own political agenda and talking about an Islamic republic.”

Reasons for Hope

Were the Kabyles running the risk that some malevolent people would interpret their passivity as a sign of allegiance to the regime, even though in fact relations are bitterly strained? Did the “mountain,” for the sake of solidarity, budge just a little? Well, perhaps a few harmless gestures, like burning down the sub-prefectures at Azazga, L’Arba Nath Iraten (formerly Fort National), and Ain el Hammam (formerly Michelet). Just to tweak the lion’s tail.

The city of Tizi Ouzou itself was paralyzed for 48 hours by a general strike “in memory of the dead on both sides, and in support of popular demands.” The students who spearheaded the Berber “resistance” kept a close eye on things to make sure none of the protest activities got out of hand. “We showed that we were capable of mobilizing the population,” said Ait Hamouda.

“It was the least the Kabyles could do,” says one observer. No matter if some of them seemed downcast, unable to take the game seriously. “At any rate,” says one Tizi Ouzou businessman humorously, “three-fourths of the population of the capital is of Berber origin. So you might say we were indirectly involved in the recent events...”

Entrenched as they are up in their mountains, the Kabyles continue as they did in “times long past,” as a local expression has it, to grumble about a regime which they believe is abusing their cultural identity, ignoring their language, and trying to Arabize them.

They have not forgotten how they were cheated after the country achieved independence. Their service during the war, they say, should have earned them more consideration. “Once an Arab government gets in power, it never lets go,” says one elderly Tizi Ouzou resident with bitterness. Then, in a sudden outburst of anger: “We got rid of the Turks and the French. We’ll get rid of the Arabs, too!”

These uncouth mountain men have gone up against the government many times. Without success. In April 1980, a genuine upheaval seemed to be brewing, and it was put down harshly. The “thrashing” they received 2 years later was quite severe. “We always lost,” they conclude, though they are still not ready to give up the fight.

But today—perhaps the battles of the past are finally bearing fruit?—the Kabyles are once again hopeful. According to Amirouche’s son, the reforms announced...
by President Chadli “will mean the liquidation of the whole political system as it was from 1962 up to the present.” In his opinion, “all Algerians who aspire to democracy can support the head of state.”

Just now Tizi Ouzou is getting ready for the 23 October celebration of Mouloud, the birth of the Prophet. Under gray and rainy skies, street urchins are already setting off firecrackers. Today in the streets of the Kabyle capital, which so recently seethed with excitement, no other unusual sounds disturb the peace.

LADH Report Details Torture Methods
45190012 Paris LE MONDE in French 18 Nov 88 p 7

[Article by Frederic Frischler: “Human Rights League Denounces Systematic Torture During October Uprisings”]

[Text] The Algerian Human Rights League (LADH), headed by Mr Miloud Brahimi, has released the reports of its commissions of inquiry on “human rights violations” and “distortions and absence of news” connected with the bloody riots last October. The reports were made public at a press conference on Wednesday, 16 November, with French attorney Jacques Vergès in attendance. The league, with the help of its 226 witnesses, has painted a staggering picture. Without publishing any exact figures, the league nevertheless concludes that the official figure of 161 deaths given out by the Ministry of Interior is “less than the real number.”

According to the president of the LADH’s Western Committee, Mr Mahi Goudani, an attorney from Oran, arrests were made “with the most flagrant illegality” and “absolute arbitrariness,” often outside the hours prescribed by law, by people who never revealed their identity or position but were sometimes accompanied by “civilians,” notably businessmen victimized by looting, who were recognized. Several individuals because of their political views, were put under preventive arrest even before the rioting broke out.

The arrests, like the house searches—during the course of which passports and academic writings were seized—were carried out without judicial warrants. Close relatives of those arrested were misled whenever they tried to make representations or ask for an explanation. The LADH alleges that security officials did not hesitate to exploit the opportunity to settle private grudges. “This tragic and irresponsible attitude was shown up to the end of October in Tiaret (west), where 11 people died tragically,” Mr Goudani said that the chief of security in Tiaret had recently been relieved of his duties, a fact which he interprets as showing an “intention to chastise.”

The arrested individuals were “brought to stadiums, and in Oran to the arenas, where they were separated into groups” before being taken to “inappropriate” detention sites such as barracks and military camps, or “unidentified” sites “which everyone talks about and which are connected with certain agencies,” Mr Goudani said. “Under such conditions,” says the report, “the wounded did not receive the care they needed,” particularly at Hadjout (west) where “five people with bullet wounds were not hospitalized until 12 days later.” “What was done was deplorable beyond all words,” Mr Goudani said of the torture practiced systematically by the various security services, both civilian and military. “It is unbearably painful to read some of the testimony,” said the attorney from Oran, who confirmed that in various locations torture was administered in the presence of civilian authorities, including the daira chief (sub-prefect) of Boufarik (between Algiers and Baida).

Near-Drowning and the ‘Little Generator’

The league has amassed a large, impressive body of testimony showing that the following methods of torture were used: “corporal punishment; bludgeoning with blunt instruments; assault and battery with sharp weapons; individuals forced to strip and crawl naked on ground covered with gravel and pieces of broken bottle-glass (at the Sidi Ferruch military camp near Algiers); victims held underwater or hooked up to the ‘little generator’ with electrodes applied over all parts of the body; sexual violence; sodomy by instruments such as bottles and axe handles (Boufarik police station); the infliction of cigarette burns (Boufarik); forcible administration of various liquids and noxious products, urine, and waste water.” Mr Goudani also confirmed that doctors and paramedical personnel had observed the torturers at several locations.

“There were violent deaths in the streets, on balconies, inside houses,” added Mr Goudani, noting that according to some of the testimony shots were fired “with deliberate intent to kill at El Harrach, Belfort, Bouzarea, Cheraga (near Algiers), Baida and Sidi Lakhidar, Ain Defla.” The league said that “observations of various physicians have disclosed the fact that explosive bullets were employed.”

The LADH also referred to some dozen disappearances in Algiers. These are “persons who were taken away during the riots who never reappeared,” said Mr Goudani, who said he even made inquiries at the municipal offices where death certificates are registered, without results. In his opinion, the judiciary was also “dragged into the institutional breakdown” and functioned “outside the law for at least 48 hours.” According to the league’s report, “quasiclandestine judgments” were handed down by tribunals “at night and behind closed doors” at Ain Defla and Rouiba. The league notes that “27 people brought before the military tribunal at Baida are still incarcerated,” despite strict presidential instructions that those arrested during the riots should be released.
In concluding its report, the league calls for “the creation of a national commission of inquiry.” It demands “publication of a full and complete list of those who were wounded, killed, or disappeared.” It demands that those responsible be prosecuted, and wants to see the creation of an “inspectorate general of the services,” to monitor the actions of the police and military security. It also announced that it will “institute civil proceedings in any venue provided for under the law.”

In reporting on its other investigation, the league notes that the “disinformation which prevailed in the Algerian press” during the events of October was caused by “the obstacles journalists have faced in the exercise of their functions ever since 1962: humiliations, professional and police repression, blacklists, loss of employment, reporting bans, arbitrary transfers, falsification of texts, juridical use of paid informers, distortion of the intent of writings, and systematic censorship.” The LADH therefore demands “abrogation of the information law as quickly as possible” and the creation of a “high-level national communication council composed of eminent individuals who are independent and have credibility.”

**EGYPT**

**Egypt Reinstated Into Arab Organization for Industrial Development**

45000043 Cairo EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English
6 Nov 88 p 2

[Text] Arab Industry Ministers have agreed to reinstate Egypt in the Arab Organization for Industrial Development. At a two-day meeting in Bahrain which ended last Thursday, the Ministers agreed to re-admit Egypt. An Arab League Summit last November authorized member states and Arab Organizations to act on their own initiative in the issue of re-establishing relations with Egypt. Following the decision, most Arab states reopened their Cairo missions. The organization, formed in 1969, also agreed to accelerate industrial development in the Arab world.

**Mubarak Visit Prompts Simplified Export Procedures**

45000041b Cairo EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English
4 Nov 88 p 2

[Text] Measures for simplifying exporting procedures are currently being undertaken by the Customs Authority at the cargo terminal in Cairo International Airport according to President Mubarak’s directives issued during his surprise visit to the terminal last week. The Authority will shorten exporting procedures to be 3 steps only instead of 13. Parcels prepared for export will not be opened, exporters will be exempted from paying any. Customs duties and export measures will not take more than half an hour, said the Under Secretary of the Ministry for Customs Affairs at the Cargo terminal.

**Satellite Conference Urges Third World Involvement in Satellite Use**

45000041a Cairo EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English
27 Oct 88 p 3

[Text] The Egyptian space scientist, Dr Faruq al-Baz, yesterday said that the exact purpose of launching the Israeli satellite has not yet been defined pointing out that the satellite revolves in a low orbit to take pictures for the ground, which may be the main task of the satellite.

In a dialogue made through satellites between Dr al-Baz and a number of Egyptian and Arab media men and scientists, he also said that launching the Israeli satellite should cause some sort of change in the Arab area pointing out that launching the U.S. satellites caused several changes as scientists started to work put plans and programmes to utilize space research in the different fields.

Concerning the possibility of cooperation between the United States and other countries of the world to launch satellites, Dr al-Baz said that the U.S. cooperates with several countries in this field and that it is ready to provide aid to the Arab countries.

Answering a question raised by Prince Sultan ibn Salman, the first Arab astronaut, on the possibility of establishing international cooperation to work out certain programmes for the use of satellites, Dr al-Baz said that such scientific cooperation already exists and expressed hope that it would be increase in future.

He also pointed out that the advanced countries get benefit of satellites in drawing maps to locate the sites of their natural resources while the Third World countries cannot draw such maps which are vital for the development programmes.

Concerning the right of the Third World to space, Dr al-Baz pointed out that the peaceful use of space is of more benefits to the Third World than to the advanced countries. He also referred to the fact that out of 206 astronauts all over the world, the Third World’s share has been small—MEN.

**Crude Oil, Gas Production Totals Given for First Half of 1988**

45000062 Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic
3 Dec 88 p 29

[Text] Crude oil production in Egypt during the first 6 months of this year reached 21,456,000 metric tons. Gas production during the same period reached approximately 3,356,000 metric tons, of which 2,662,000 metric tons were natural gas and 233,000 tons were liquefied natural gas.

The amount of crude oil treated in Egyptian refineries over the first half of 1988 reached nearly 10,991,000 metric tons.
By comparison, total domestic consumption of petroleum products and natural gas during the first 6 months of this year reached approximately 12,603,000 tons.

The total number of production and exploratory wells that were dug during the same period was 84, of which 44 were production wells, [passage omitted in original] in addition to another 17 wells, part of which were dug before the end of June.

The number of agreements for petroleum exploration and drilling in Egypt during the first half of this year totaled 35, of which 9 were conclusively signed and the rest are still being legislated. Egyptian officials are optimistic about the possibility of reaching new production levels in light of the discoveries made by international oil companies.

**NDP Leader al-Sayyid Reportedly Resigns in al-Qubbah**

45000069 Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 29 Nov 88 p 2

[Text] Muhammad al-Sayyid, one of the distinguished leaders of the NDP in Hada'iq al-Qubbah, has submitted his resignation from the party to Dr Yusuf Wali to protest the deteriorating corruption and favoritism that governed the preparation of party lists in the local elections. During the elections, People's Assembly Member Ahmad Idris, the NDP secretary in al-Qubbah, proceeded to reward the deviants, the corrupt, and those with criminal records, and placed them on the lists.

**Paratroops Announce New Launcher, Build Housing Complex**

45000056 Cairo AL-AKBAR in Arabic 14 Nov 88 p 6

[Text] Yesterday Field Marshal Muhammad 'Abd-al-Halim Abu-Ghazalah, deputy prime minister and minister of defense, opened a housing complex which the paratroops had built themselves. He also attended the celebration of training day and handed out trophies and prizes to the top paratroopers of the training year.

Paratroop Commander Brigadier General \(^*\)Abd-al-Mu'in Hasan Ahmad stated that the complex had cost 1.4 million pounds and was built in 9 months, after the Armed Forces had spent 250,000 pounds annually in payment for tents to house paratroopers.

Field Marshal Abu-Ghazalah also opened a model farm on an area of 100 feddans planted with 1,000 date palm trees. With the help of the Ministry of Agriculture, the rest of the area is being cultivated to achieve nutritional self-sufficiency for the troops.

The paratroop commander announced that a 122-mm 4-barrel towed launcher had been developed, 3 heavy pallet platforms had been test dropped from C-130 aircraft and an American M-113 armored vehicle, and the multimission equipment of military engineers had been test loaded to support the paratroopers in their operations.

**IRAQ**

**New Dam Project Described**

44000109 London MEED in English 21 Oct 88 pp 26, 27

[Text] A $208 million contract to supply hydro-mechanical equipment for the Bekme dam has been signed with Yugoslavia's Ingra. The client is the Agriculture & Irrigation Ministry's State Commission for Dams (MEED 23:9:88).

Contract 4B is to supply and install six 260-MW generators and six 260-MW turbines, plus associated electrical equipment. The order, signed in Baghdad on 1 October, will take seven years to complete. The main suppliers are members of the Ingra business association—Rade Koncar, responsible for generators, and Litostroj, for turbines.

There will be a 10 percent advance payment. The rest of the contract will be financed according to an agreement between the ministry, Ingra and Yugoslav banks.

The $1,450 million Bekme dam is being built on the Greater Zab River by a joint venture of Turkey's Enka and Yugoslavia's Hidroggradnja. The latter is responsible for the power house construction and underground work.

At least two subcontracts remain to be finalized in the next two months. Talks are under way between Litostroj and Canada's Marine Industrie about supplying turbine parts; Rade Koncar is expected to appoint a subcontractor to supply generating equipment. Some form of credit line will probably have to be arranged to finance these orders.

Ingra, which has provided electro-mechanical equipment for the Hamrin and Haditha dams, is expected to bid for tenders to supply similar equipment for the Badush dam. With Rade Koncar and Litostroj, it will tender for turbines and generators; and, with another Yugoslavian company, Metalna, it plans to bid to supply hydraulic equipment.

**Bids Invited for Badush Dam**...

Prospective suppliers have picked up documents for the first tender package for work on Badush dam. Bids for the supply of hydro-mechanical equipment are for return by 10 November, although a 15-day extension may be granted.
The documents were drawn up by Yugoslavia's Energoprojekt, which was awarded the $23.8 million consultancy contract in April 1988 (MEED 6:5:88).

Badush will be built about 40 kilometers downstream of the Saddam dam on the Tigris river. The 115-meter embankment structure will impound water for irrigation, and there will be a 400-MW hydro-electric station.

The second package, to supply mechanical and electrical equipment, is expected to be ready at the beginning of November. Energoprojekt has completed basic designs for this and the client—the Technical Corps for Special Projects (Teccorp)—could start civil works before the end of 1988.

... and for Mandawa

Three companies have bid for a contract to design a dam on the Greater Zab, a tributary of the River Tigris. The dam, at Mandawa, will act as a re-regulator for the Bekme dam, which is being built further upstream. The client is the Agriculture & Irrigation Ministry's State Commission for Dams (MEED 23:9:88).

The companies are understood to be:

—Energoprojekt (Yugoslavia) with the quasi-state Al-Dijla Centre for Studies & Designs of Irrigation Projects—ID 4 million ($12.9 million).

—Selkhpromexport (Soviet Union)—ID 5.9 million ($19 million).

—Binnie & Partners (UK) with al-Mawsl university's design department—ID 7.8 million ($25.2 million).

The scheme will encompass a 70-meter-high rockfill dam and a 450-MW power station. The consultancy contract entails preparing preliminary studies, designs and tender documents, and supervising construction, and could last seven or eight years.

The ministry has still to appoint consultants to do detailed designs for Bekme, and to review and check designs for the Badush dam, where Energoprojekt is the consultant (MEED 6:5:88).

A standard Jewish Israeli criterion for assessing internal trends in the minority communities is the balance between the number who voted for Zionist parties and those who supported Palestinian nationalist parties, and more specifically in recent years, those parties openly identified with the PLO.

In these elections, the proportion of Arabs and Druze who voted for various Zionist Parties was 40.7 percent, a clear drop from the 51.3 percent who voted for them in the 1984 elections.

Conversely, the vote for the Arab parties adhering to a Palestinian nationalist line was 59.3 percent, a similar rise from the 51.3 percent who voted for the communist DFPE [Democratic Front for Peace and Equality] and the PLP [Progressive List for Peace] in 1984.

Despite the growth in the absolute and proportional sizes of the Arab electorate between these two elections, the 4 percent increase in their voter participation rate, and the higher proportion of Arabs voting for the Palestinian nationalist parties as opposed to the Zionist lists, the Arab parties will have six seats in the 12th Knesset—four for the communists, one for the PLP and one for Darwishah's Arab Democratic list—the same number as in the outgoing Knesset.

These lists could have won an additional one or possibly even two seats had they concluded surplus-arrangements among themselves. They did not do so because the rivalry between them is as great as, if not greater than, the hostility we are now witnessing between the various haredi parties among the Jews.

Why then do I speak of an optimistic, half-full glass, interpretation of the meaning of the Arab vote?

Because anyone familiar with the tenor of opinion in the Arab communities in Israel since the outbreak of the intifadah 11 months ago would have expected a much more massive turnout in support of the Palestinian nationalist parties. All the more so, when one considers the clear messages coming from the PLO abroad, calling on the Israeli Arabs to vote on the basis of their feelings on the issues connected with the intifadah and the legitimation of talks with the PLO.

That did not happen. In fact, even the 59 percent figure for the pro-Palestinian nationalist vote is questionable, because of the conflicting images projected by Darwishah's list, which garnered over 10 percent of the Arab vote.

On the one hand, Darwishah clearly competed with Rakah and the PLP for the support of the PLO. He went out of its way to woo the Muslim fundamentalist vote and to voice his support for the intifadah.
On the other hand, Darawishah, who had previously been in the Labor Alignment, took pains to differentiate himself from the other two Arab parties by projecting an image of a party fully prepared to participate in a Labor-led coalition of Zionist parties.

Speaking in terms of half-full or half-empty glasses, or of optimistic or pessimistic interpretations, is of course an undistinguished value-loaded approach to the question of the role of Israeli Arabs in politics. In a democratic Israel, Arab citizens should be entitled to freely register their opinions in periodic elections—and they do.

I believe, however, that in a situation in which Israel's Arab neighbors maintain their basic hostility to her existence, a hostility that is at present highlighted by the intifadah, it is bad both for Israel and for their Arab citizens that they diverge too sharply from the mainstream of Israeli politics and identify to blatantly with the causes of Arab enmity to Israel and Palestinian nationalism.

It is against the backdrop of the impression created during the intifadah that Israeli Arabs totally support their Palestinian brethren in the territories, to the exclusion of all other local and Israeli-linked Arab interests, that the 40 percent Arab vote for the Zionist parties appears to me an extraordinarily encouraging expression of Arab political maturity.

Let me not go overboard. Despite PLO exhortations not to boycott the elections, the Arab participation rate rose by only 4 percent. That means that a significant number of Israeli Arabs did boycott them because such political identification with Israel is tainted in their eyes.

The high proportion of Arab voters for Zionist parties is also somewhat exaggerated, because it also includes the Druze, who account for about 10 percent of the minorities' electorate, but who voted for the Zionist parties by a lopsided 80 percent majority.

Still, even if only 30 percent of the Muslim Arabs, who are so closely tied to their Palestinian kinfolk in the territories, and for whom the intifadah is a soul-wrenching experience as they watch their state fighting their people, could bring themselves to vote in favor of their pragmatic interests, that is indeed a heartening expression of the breadth and intensity of Arab integration into Israel.

The Arab and Druze population of this country is as large as that of the Jewish Orthodox population. Potentially they form as large a reservoir of good citizens who can take part in and contribute to the growth of an exemplary and prosperous state. In the other direction, however, they can potentially cause much greater harm to an Israel from which they remain alienated.

The Arab vote reaffirms an earlier view of an Arab population which is split three ways in its attitudes to Israel.

A significant minority remains totally hostile to Israel as a Jewish state, and would be ready to support continuing attempts to erase that distasteful reality. A possibly larger minority has come to terms with the reality of Israel as a Jewish state with an Arab minority, in which they see their own interest in making as good a life as possible for themselves and their children. The majority in the middle is pulled, at times to one pole and at other times to the other pole, by changing circumstances.

Influencing that large middle majority of the Israeli Arabs to throw in their lot with the Israeli of which they are citizens, despite the emotional pain of the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict, is one of the major tasks facing the Jewish establishment.

It is today as much a task of the Likud, which has been chosen to rule Israel for the next few years, as it has been of Labor and the left, which in previous years usually attracted most of the Arab votes.

Druze-Labor Post-Election Tensions Surface
44000104 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 8 Nov 88 p 2

[Article by Ya'akov Friedler]

[Text] Haifa—Druze Labor Party activists have launched a vigorous campaign for the seating of their candidate, Salah Tarif, in the new Knesset. He was number 40 on the party list, of whom 39 were elected.

Tarif told a news conference yesterday that it was a "tragedy" that for the first time no Druze has been elected to the Knesset "to represent the feelings of our hearts that only a Druze can understand." There were between two and four Druze in all previous Knessets.

Tarif, mayor of Julis, warned that if the community's "pressing problems" are not tackled as a "number one national priority," the country may face a "Druze intifadah." But he stressed that this would not affect their IDF service.

His colleague Yusuf Qurah, a member of the Histadrut central committee, called for "one of the older Labor Knesset members to resign in favor of Salah." Musbah Alabi, another Labor activist, announced they had formed a "Forum for Salah," which is petitioning party leaders.

Presenting himself as a "new generation Druze"—young (38), educated (B.A. in psychology), a fine service record (segen, or first lieutenant, in an elite unit)—Tarif said that in the five years he has been mayor, he has turned
the village around. He dismissed charges that he had embezzled funds during his IDF service, as "pre-election allegations," which the district attorney had sent back for further consideration.

He claimed that the 10,401 Druze votes for Labor, more than 42 percent of Druze ballots, had been for him more than for the party.

The Likud, though it fielded no Druze candidate, got 22.5 percent of the Druze vote, "thanks to last-minute appointments of dozens of ex-officers to government posts and a five percent income tax reduction for our Galilee villages."

Problems are particularly pressing in Bayt Jann and Peqi'in, where there are land disputes with the Nature Reserves Authority. And hundreds of young couples forced to build homes without licences have been denied a link to the electric grid.

Mayor Discusses Effects of Uprising on Jerusalem
44000102 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 10 Nov 88 p 5

[Text] When in December 1987 the unrest in the West Bank and Gaza reached Jerusalem, the optimists were shocked and disillusioned, and the pessimists saw their direct predictions confirmed. The realists, including myself, were surprised and astonished, but not for long. Eleven months later I still affirm that our reserved optimism was and is justified.

This, of course, is not to say that the uprising in the territories has not had an effect on Jerusalem: Arab shops are closed half the time; tourism has been badly hurt; the inhabitants of the Jewish Quarter in the Old City feel isolated; several Jewish-owned cars were set afire in the half-Jewish and half-Arab neighborhood of Abu Tur; one Arab Christian high school student was fatally shot just beyond the municipal border in the north; following his funeral a policeman was seriously hurt by a brick thrown from the roof of a building; one young Arab was shot to death in Jabal Mukabir in a confrontation with the border police; a 24-hour curfew was imposed on al-Tur once; the Arab city schools, closed in February, opened in May and gradually reopened after the summer vacation, are now fully operative; and one young woman was badly burned by a Molotov cocktail. And maybe worst of all, after 20 years of—on the whole—admirable patience and moderation in the face of occasional terrorist acts, the present outbreak of stone-throwing and fire-bombing is causing a growing anger and resentment among the Jews, which I fear may one day explode.

However, the overwhelming part of the violent incidents took place in the outlying communities such as Jabal Mukabir, Silwan, al-Tur, 'Isawiyya, Sur Bahr, Shahaf, and Bayt Han nahah, that were incorporated into the Jerusalem municipality only after 1967. In most of them a different kind of Arabic is spoken from in Jerusalem, education levels are lower, occupations are rural, their inhabitants are generally much poorer, Islamic fundamentalism is stronger and violence is commonplace.

This does not mean that a terrorist attack could not take place in downtown West Jerusalem, or that mass riots by Arab youths could not happen in the future, but the fact remains that there have been no mass demonstrations and no spontaneous popular unrest, despite the efforts of the intifadhah leadership—and in spite of some actions which are seen as provocations, such as Mr Ari'el Sharon’s taking up residence in the Muslim Quarter.

The subdued character of the intifadhah in Jerusalem is even more noteworthy when one considers that the formerly Jordanian-occupied part of the city, after two decades under Israeli law, has become a center of Palestinian public and political activities, such as the publication of a number of newspapers and journals (mostly forbidden under Jordan). Practically all political, academic, cultural, social, economic and religious activities are centered here, and most prominent Palestinians live in Jerusalem and not in the West Bank.

In the meantime, services are being supplied as usual. The municipal welfare office in Wadi Jawz has never closed; the Arab Health Centre in Shaykh Jarrah, a project of the Jerusalem Foundation, treats 700 patients a day irrespective of the unrest; the 1,500 Arab employees [out of our total work force of 5,000] come to work every day, as do most Arab employees of Jewish enterprises; and most joint Jewish-Arab cultural and educational youth activities keep taking place without much ado.

In fact, in Jerusalem the conflict has not become a clash between the two local populations. Therefore I believe that within a united Jerusalem, the capital of Israel, we can find a viable solution for all who live here. The overall problem must be dealt with by the national government as soon as possible. What we can and must do in Jerusalem is persevere until a solution is found.

Giv'ati Commander Discusses Unit's Actions, Future
44230014 Tel Aviv BAMAHA NE in Hebrew
12 Oct 88 p 5

[Interview with Colonel Efi Ey tam, brigade commander at Giv'ati under the title "It's Less Than Frivolous" by Ran Raviv—date and place not given; first paragraph is BAMAHA introduction]

[Text] "...to go and infer from an exceptional case about an entire brigade and about an entire period of command." Thus [says] the Giv'ati brigade commander, Colonel Efi Ey tam, in an interview with BAMAHA
following the criticism directed recently against the brigade and against him, as its commander. Colonel Efi about the brigade that he leaves behind him:

[BAMAHANE] Colonel Efi Eytam, you will soon complete your assignment as Giv'ati brigade commander. What [kind of] brigade are you leaving behind?

[Eytam] I am leaving behind a better brigade than the one that I received, in every component, and I assume and hope that whoever receives the brigade from me will leave behind him a better brigade. That is the correct way for a unit to develop.

In the operational sphere, the brigade has passed from the status of making excuses or assumptions to the status of being sought after without preconditions. We have passed some sort of threshold of ability and recognition [by others], which enables us today to compete for our place as equals, from the professional viewpoint, with the regular infantry units.

I leave behind me a brigade in which there also were failures. I—we had operational failures that definitely pain us in the emotional sense as well as the professional sense. But I think that what characterizes us today is the ability to learn from these mishaps, and to proceed without any fear of falling apart or disintegration.

[BAMAHANE] Up to a few months ago, the press praised Giv'ati, especially during the period when you manned a line on Har Dov [Mount Dov], and behold, in the last 2 weeks there is hardly a newspaper that doesn't attack, doesn't criticize. Thus passes glory?

[Eytam] I advise us not to turn the press into the criterion for the quality of a unit. Not to rock ourselves with [self] over-estimation when the articles are positive, and not with self-deprecation when there is criticism. Therefore, just as I did not think that what the press wrote about the firefight at Har Dov being perfect made it unnecessary to conduct a review afterwards, so I do not think that if they now brought into the picnure—as serious a case as it can become, but a case of four soldiers among thousands made it into a representative case—does that mean we have to go wild?

Giv'ati is confronted by a serious case, which certainly for us, as commanders, is painful. It pains me that this involves superb fighters, who have already passed a baptism by fire, and these men fell into a situation in which, apparently, they deviated from the army's orders.

In this case, the brigade was torn between its love for every soldier in the brigade—and certainly for these soldiers—and the awareness that the only thing that differentiates an army from a gang is the discipline and the orders, and the need to obey them precisely in situations that make their implementation difficult.

The situation in Gaza makes very difficult the implementation of orders to the letter, but this fact by itself does not justify any exceptional case.

[BAMAHANE] How did the brigade handle other exceptional cases that arose during duty in the [Gaza] Strip? [Eytam] Every exception that was brought to the attention of the commanders or became known to them was investigated and handled at some level of seriousness, according to our judgement as commanders. In this context, I also want to deny the assumption as if this case, in fact, is the tip of an iceberg. This is an assumption without any foundation.

Giv'ati is confronting the struggle in Gaza, and has been guiding it since it broke out at various levels of intensity. We are speaking about thousands of hours, the friction of thousands of people—soldiers and locals—with very violent means, and if you weigh the very problematic situation in the field against the exceptional cases that we handled—only a few score—then this is definitely a certificate of honor for the unit and the army. It also should not be forgotten that the locals are definitely trying to create a situation [in which] it will be difficult to conform to the orders. To go and infer from an exceptional case about an entire brigade and about an entire period of command that is less than frivolous. [BAMAHANE] Do exceptions of the kind you noted not have, in the case of Giv'ati, a very great influence due to the fact that we are speaking about a young brigade?

[Eytam] The combat heritage and norms that were laid down over the years have a very great importance, but in the end, the level of a unit, or the morale of a unit, is determined by the character and level of its current performance. In this context, I do not think that either negative or positive events have a different weight in Giv'ati than, for example, in Golani Brigade.

[BAMAHANE] Were the last [few] days difficult for you? Do you feel that an injustice has been done to you? That “your blood is being spilled”?

[Eytam] The only difficult thing for me in the past 2 weeks is the fact that I am going to be leaving Giv'ati. All the rest is “a marginal matter.”

[BAMAHANE] And the criticism of the brigade by one of its officers?

[Eytam] I am ready to assume that persons have left the brigade who have criticisms of Giv'ati, but not criticism of that sort, not in that way, not on those points, and certainly not with the absurd descriptions that were presented, which are far from the truth.

[BAMAHANE] Does it hurt to leave Giv'ati precisely in a period when it is under withering criticism?
[Eytam] If I am about to leave Giv‘ati, and the chief of staff finds it necessary to call me and to say to me forthrightly “You have an excellent unit,” then must my criterion for the quality of the brigade be a doubtful report in a newspaper? In my opinion, the chief of staff demonstrated comradely courage, which is truly an example. This is, in fact, the expression of the concept of friendship and of warriors’ amity, even when he may lose by it. I was very encouraged by his words.

[BAMAHANE] Due to the fact that you are an observant [religious] believer, did you try to impart to the brigade, to a certain extent, a traditional [religious] tone?

[Eytam] As every other commander, I aspire to influence by my personality, my lifestyle, and my world of values and faith. It is not possible to speak about leadership or command as if they were not also connected with the desire to influence people spiritually. The very fact that I am a commander, and precisely my care regarding certain matters, have influence; the influence is not always positive.

I never made use and never will make use of my authority as commander to force an opinion or belief upon someone. The only thing that I do is to compel persons to act, as is customary within the framework of military action.

By the way, on the subject of keeping a kosher kitchen, one must be just as precise as in enforcing the safety instructions in an exercise, not because I am a religious person, but because that is part of overall army discipline. This is the only sphere in which I’ve held myself responsible to compel things, which is in the framework of our order and procedures as a Jewish army. [Ideological] compulsion—in no way. Influence, persuasion, discussion—yes, and if not that, then what?"

[BAMAHANE] Don’t you naturally have greater sympathy for a platoon commander who wears a kipa than for one who is a secularist from Tel Aviv?

[Eytam] Definitely not. Some of my best friends, my brother, are secular, and are they inferior in my eyes? Don’t they have rights? Heaven forbid. This is an unacceptable approach in my eyes, also from the Torah’s viewpoint.

[BAMAHANE] Are you in the brigade involved in comparisons of Giv‘ati’s standing today compared with other brigades?

[Eytam] We are always making comparisons. I, too, I think that this competitiveness, as long as it is conducted in a relevant manner and within military parameters, is healthy competition. Giv‘ati is competing in very many spheres—both in the handling of manpower and in operational topics—in the same house with Golani. There are definitely things in which Golani is for us something to be surpassed. Both brigades have the experience of handling persons whose characteristics are not ideal, and this stubbornness regarding each person, and the belief that every person can be made into a fighter, is definitely a sphere where Golani constitutes for us a source for imitation.

[BAMAHANE] Giv‘ati’s soldiers are in these very days on operational duty in the Gaza Strip. Should I assume that you are now scrutinizing their moves carefully and precisely?

[Eytam] Certainly, and that’s good. The last case was a crossroads for all of us in the brigade, and certainly for the battalion that is stationed in Gaza, and, naturally, persons examine themselves more and are more critical regarding their interpretations of different situations that develop. We cannot and will not be immune to interpretations of situations as long as there is such friction on such a scope.

The soldiers definitely feel more under pressure, and I don’t see that as something negative. Soldiers are not afraid to act, and have not ceased to function. That will not happen in Giv‘ati; [the men know that there is a watchful eye and that to the same extent that the army demands that they act in certain situations, it also demands that they refrain in certain situations.

[BAMAHANE] In conclusion, how do you regard the recently published demands for an overall investigation of the brigade with the aim of determining if Giv‘ati is indeed, as it was termed, “a brigade without law”?

[Eytam] Giv‘ati is an army unit, and the army has very clear and effective tools for examining everything that it wants to examine in the Giv‘ati Brigade. From the soldiers’ clothing, their rations, and the manner of training, to morale. The Giv‘ati Brigade is open to every examination, audit, research, or investigation that the army wishes to conduct by means of its appropriate bodies.

MIMAD Leader Rabbi ‘Amital Profiled
44230013 Tel Aviv YEDI’OT AHARONOT in Hebrew
7 Oct 88 pp 34-35

[Article by Amos Nevo: “Rabbi ‘Amital, a Different Kind of Rabbi”]

[Text] Mrs Hannah Gottlieb of Bene Beraq is angry with Rabbi ‘Amital. The elections are upon us, and she worries: What is going to happen with the National Religious Party [NRP]? The party was split for a long time, then united again, and now tragedy has struck: A rabbi and educator of the people of Israel is making the same mistake as his predecessors by preparing an independent party to run for the Knesset. “The forces of darkness must have blurred your reason,” the above lady
wrote in a letter to the TZOFE. How can the respected rabbi declare a priori that he is willing to give up territories? “This is painful, bewildering, shocking, and humiliating.”

“Please, Rabbi ‘Amital, I implore you, go back to your trusted old party. We all expect a prominent personality like yourself to bolster and support our movement and to increase the number of our representatives in the new Knesset.”

[Question] So, Rabbi ‘Amital?

[Answer] “Thanks for the compliment. We will continue on our path.”

Moshe Ona of the NRP has defected. So have Shai Itzhak Rafael and Yehuda Ben-Me’ir. NRP leader Professor Avner Shaki, who describes his colleagues as racists, is under pressure. “Most of them have already crossed over to MIMAD,” he said. “If you look there, you will not find one Sephardi among the top ten.”

They are also called spies. Splitters, too. “The innerly perplexed who sow faint-heartedness and alarm.” And during all this the MIMAD people keep silent, because they have decided not to do damage and not to defame. Rabbi Yehuda ‘Amital said: “I told the NRP that if they start vilifying us, we will pay them back tenfold by remaining silent.”

MIMAD feels confident. It is a matter of both polls and feeling. Rabbi ‘Amital said that he sometimes gets calls from well-known NRP members who whisper to him: We are with you. That is a good sign.

At the moment he still moves in familiar circles. He talks about disappointment and hope. Secular people come to him. The kibbutzim belonging to TEQEM [United Kibbutz Movement] also want him. He has some difficulty with that.

“All of a sudden there is all this exposure, big signs, photographs. It makes me feel bad. At the yeshiva I talk about modesty and humility, and it is not simple. I insisted that my picture not appear more than once in the electoral announcements.”

It had been a difficult decision that took a long time maturing. At the height of the Lebanon war, Rabbi ‘Amital, the head of the Har Etzion Yeshiva in Alon Shevut, met with the poet Abba Kovner.

“Kovner,” he remembers, “was worried about what is happening in the secular camp. He said to me, we must bring some Judaism to them. I said, OK. Kovner went off to investigate, and came back discouraged: We have lost a whole generation. They do not want to hear anything, they say Judaism is militant. That seriously scared me. One officer told me: I can talk to anyone on the right because their reasoning is rational, but with you I have no common language, because you offer religious arguments, which are tantamount to mysticism.”

Rabbi ‘Amital was stunned. What we now have, he said, is a generation stripped of Judaism. He began to gather around him rabbis and intellectuals from both the right and the left who wrestled with shaping the Jewish character of the state and tried to provide a solution to the tense relations between the secular and the religious camps. But their voice went unheeded. The NRP became more extreme. Rabbi ‘Amital feared that the polarization of the nation would increase.

“We did have contacts with the NRP. We asked them to change their platform, to examine every possible peace option, and not to dig their heels in about the ‘Not One Inch of Land’ issue. We requested flexibility in the matter of religious law. They replied that they were willing to talk about personal requests but not about principles. I viewed that as blasphemy. It became clear to me that change could only come through political means.”

That nucleus of MIMAD was formed by Professor Shalom Rosenberg, lecturer in history and Jewish thought; Dr Daniél Tropper, director general of the Nesher movement; and Professor Moshe Bar-Asher, chairman of the faculty of Jewish Sciences at the Hebrew University.

Politicians seeking asylum from the NRP came to join them. Even Knesset member Rabbi Menahem Hakohen of the Alignment offered to transfer the support of the Histadrut’s Religious Worker to the new party, provided their representative was put on the list.

Confusion struck the NRP ranks. Dr Yosef Burg rushed to ‘Amital. “You will not succeed, you do not have a chance.” Burg spoke like a true politician and Rabbi ‘Amital listened like a true rabbi. They parted on friendly terms. In the evening, Rabbi ‘Amital summoned his friends to his house. “We are on our way,” he said, “for the sanctity of the Lord, and those who do not join us contribute to the blasphemy.” The announcement was printed the next morning and MIMAD was off and running.

Time was pressing. How do you engage in politics without politicians? They put together a central liberal religious list featuring 16 candidates, among them two women. Rabbi ‘Amital said he wanted to run even if there was no chance of exceeding the minimum quota. But the membership did not agree. “I thought we had to present the message to the public. That was the most important thing.” The membership gave their approval only after investigating and verifying that they did have a chance.
No one wanted to be the chairman. Rabbi 'Amital hesitated because his family was against it. Pressure was brought to bear on him for 2 whole months. He said that rabbis should not deal in politics. He feared that his Torah work at the yeshiva would suffer. His reasoning, which so far remained at a high level, would be corrupted.

But this is a state of emergency, he was told, there is no choice. MIMAD knew that they did not stand a chance without Rabbi 'Amital. His name was known. In the end, he gave in. One of the chief rabbis even gave his blessing to the party.

In the morning he went to the yeshiva to tell his students. Silence fell upon the audience. I am not seeking a career, he told them, it is the order of the day.

It was difficult. The students feared that they were losing their rabbi. He promised to stay with them. They love him, he is their entire world.

He educates them in a spirit of love for the people and country. He is both tough and nice. He is very moderate. His students fear him and his opponents like him. Among the rabbinical world he is a controversial figure. He is aware of the fact that he is not always popular.

He places the people of Israel above the land of Israel. He talks about compromise and concessions. Yes, says Rabbi 'Amital, according to the law, territories can and must be given up for peace.

"What Gush Emunim are doing is reversing the order of priorities, giving the Land of Israel the first priority. Moreover, they claim that that is the position in religious law. In so doing they antagonize all the secular people and turn them against religious and against the Torah.

"All this creates the impression that the Torah stood in the way, God forbid, of solving Israel's existence problems. We claim that precisely from the viewpoint of religious law, the interests of the people of Israel must take precedence, because as far as values are concerned, the people of Israel come ahead of the Land of Israel.

"If peace can bring greatness to the country and stop the emigration, and if the choice is between more Jews in Israel on less holy land under Jewish government, or less Jews on more holy land, then I prefer the first option.

"I do not view this as a political message, but as an educational message. If we can prevent war, then we must concede. I am willing to give up something of mine, like a sick person who will give up a finger, or a whole hand, for the sake of his health."

When Gush Emunim was established, he was consulted and he gave his support. He asked them to stop the ostentatious settlements. "They did not listen to me and created hotbeds of conflict with the Arabs. For example, they went to Bet Hadasa. For what purpose? Instead of selecting spots that do not create friction with the Arabs, and instead of emphasizing coexistence, they escalate the problem. This only hurts our hold on Judaea and Samaria. I want a responsible and mature approach. There are rights attached to each place in the Greater Israel, the question is whether it is worth it."

His moderate views alienated Gush Emunim from him. They accused him of being an atheist. He gradually broke off with them. He began to view their approach as dangerous. Rabbi 'Amital forbade his students to go out on demonstrations in the settlements. The rift deepened. Their militancy scared him.

"They emphasized the religious side and weakened the national side," he claimed. Their hawkish militant policy not only violates the ways of the Torah, the spirit of Judaism, and the customs of religious Jewry, but it also greatly damages the strengthening of the consciousness of Greater Israel among the people. In the final analysis, this policy saps the willingness of the people to fight in an emergency and deters the seculars from coming closer to religion.

"Gush Emunim causes Jews throughout the world to feel frustration, rather than pride in their nationalism. It causes them to distance themselves from us. We are losing the country in this manner. It must be made clear that without the willingness of the entire people of Israel, here and in the diaspora, to make sacrifices and to fight for the Land of Israel, we will not be able to hold on to it. Those who ignore public opinion are tragically and dangerously short sighted."

His students are often afraid that they will be ostracized and banished because of their Rabbi's views. Not so, Rabbi 'Amital reassures them. It is a matter of time. Everyone will eventually agree with me. Everyone will see that I was right. These things, he says, have to be said for the honor of the Torah and of the Land of Israel.

'Amital is a man of principles. 'Amital is also a brave man.

When he was born, 64 years ago, in the Hungarian town of Groszvardyn, his name was Yehuda Klein. His father was an accountant. He was sent to the Verzsinetz Yeshiva, after which he studied at a Lithuanian Yeshiva. One day he discovered the writings of Rabbi Kook and succumbed to their magic. The Rabbi's books accompanied him everywhere on his way.

He was shipped to a concentration camp and survived. His parents and brothers perished. The fear stayed with him. To this day he does not understand the meaning of the Holocaust. He says that the Holocaust sharpened his sense of mission. Rabbi Kook's philosophy shaped his national-Zionist outlook.
Upon arriving in Israel he joined the Hagana and studied at the Hebron Yeshiva in Jerusalem. At the Pardes Hanna Yeshiva he met Rabbi Tzvi Yehuda Meltzer, whose daughter he later married. In the War of Independence he fought at Latrun. During his military service he changed his name to 'Amital.

After the war he joined his father-in-law in Rehovot and studied Torah. For many years he kept a low profile, never exhibiting his knowledge and scholarly talents. One rabbi once said about him that he knew by heart thousands of Talmudic questions and responses.

His personal experience in the War of Independence convinced him that there was nothing wrong about combining the book and the sword. Together with Rabbi Meltzer he proposed the idea of the Hesder Yeshivot, and the "Southern" Yeshiva became the first in the country to send its students to the army.

In 1968, when the Hesder Yeshiva was established in the Etzion Bloc, he was called upon to be its leader. The Har Etzion Yeshiva became an open and liberal yeshiva. No one there ostracized because of his views. Rabbi 'Amital believes in democracy. He cultivates in his students openness and independence. He does not want the yeshivot to be elite societies and does not want them to be cut off from the rest of Israel. Elitist education is a source of trouble, because it brings about extremism.

Rabbi 'Amital devoted himself to his work and developed a model yeshiva. That is, until the Yom Kippur war came and slapped his face. His students fell in the war. For a long time he did not return to the yeshiva. The bereavement took a heavy toll on him. His friends say that something happened to him then, he became more moderate.

He began writing "Steps from the Depth." He wrote that the war was the beginning of the realization of the prophetic vision of the return to Zion, that the steps were Messianic steps, that salvation was gradually occurring under our very eyes, and that implies obligations. Gush Emunim loved his views.

However, something happened in the country in the meantime. An evil spirit seized the people and Rabbi 'Amital became afraid. He forbade his students from going to Yamit. He could not understand the rabbis who went to Yamit. When Rabbi Levienger gave permission to violate the Sabbath and to commit suicide, he became furious. Not everything is permissible for the sake of Greater Israel, he said.

The specter of tragedy became clear to him there in Yamit. That is where he perceived the seeds of the Jewish Underground, the Messianism, and the Talmudic law pitted against loyalty to the government and the national interests. He felt that it was a powder keg. It was only a matter of time. The leaders and heads of yeshivot, he said, were not aware of the threat.

Two of his students were arrested in the underground affair. Rabbi 'Amital was incensed. "I screamed and screamed. Why did people not listen? I blame myself, too, for not raising a bigger hue and cry." The underground woke him up to reality. But his views remained within the walls of the yeshiva. The public did not acknowledge him.

That is, until the Lebanon war broke out and until the horrible news came from Sabra and Shatila. Rabbi 'Amital did not remain silent. He wrote a manifesto for his students and hung it up in the yeshiva hall.

"The massacre in Beirut, which occurred while under Israeli occupation," he wrote, "has brought to light unacceptable moral corruption, as well as great desecration in Israel and among the nations. We are now on the eve of the Day of Atonement, and I dread and shake in fear of the judgement day, because, as is known, the sin of desecration cannot be commuted by the Day of Atonement either. No rabbi can claim honor in a place of blasphemy. Unfortunately, representatives of the religious Jewry in the government and the Knesset did not realize that through their vote they put the honor of the prime minister above the honor of the Almighty."

Minister Zvulun Hammer was insulted. Extremist yeshiva students preferred threats against 'Amital. He went to visit his students near Agam Qir'on, and was shocked. They did not know why they were fighting. He found there soldiers without any motivation. He went to Jerusalem and met with cabinet ministers. He asked them not to invade Beirut. He asked the NRP ministers to neutralize Sharon. That was his first contact with politics.

He said that the human losses were unjustified. He did not think that the war was a "commandment" war. He did not understand how Minister Hammer could support the invasion of Beirut. When he heard Gush Emunim people say that Lebanon was a part of Greater Israel and should not be given up, he was horrified.

People gradually became conscious of him and occasionally listened to him. It is difficult to remain indifferent to him: he has a piercing look and rolling "r"s. His statements are logical and very pragmatic. He does not like to hear talk of miracles. He sees a danger in people who are disconnected from reality and who think that Greater Israel can be built solely on the basis of Bible verses, sayings of the sages, and ideologies.

It is said that deep down he is something of a bohemian: he reads poetry, likes music, smokes Dutch cigars, and appreciates good art. In the past he used to go to Zefat to search the galleries for pictures. Oil paintings hang on the walls of his house. 'Amital likes the impressionists. In his library, art books stand next to religious books: Gauguin, Cezanne, Toulouse-Lautrec. He visits museums overseas.
The NRP viewed him as a force; he was offered the top place on their list. Hammer even agreed to cede him his seat, but ‘Amital was not interested. ‘To go in without power? I did not agree to implement their decisions.’ Even when Rabin offered him the post of Chief IDF Rabbi, he refused. ‘I wanted to preserve my freedom of expression.’

He strives to remain calm in the morning, faced with the tough press headlines, and in the evening, watching the ‘Mabat’ news show. What has happened to the nation? He fears the religious Zionist violence and is afraid for the Jewish character of the state.

“What has happened to the religious public? Why did the religious parties not cry out in protest about the health crisis? I am ashamed. The Torah has a lot to say about social matters.”

He says that the secular public must be attracted, not persecuted. He would like to put a stop to religious legal rulings tied in with coalition agreements, because the matter is harmful. Religious compulsion goes against his philosophy. He does not like fanaticism. He travels throughout the country and meets with secular people. He is convinced that they, too, want the country to have a Jewish character.

“We must be cautious, because every such ruling causes rift and hatred among brothers, and does not contribute to the fear of God. Any law that the public is not willing to accept will not stand up. A law was passed about abortion; so what, there are no abortions?! And the law on ‘Who is a Jew,’ what good does it do? We will not support it. It divides the nation. The other currents are hurt by it. They fight against the religious Jewry. There is a fear that they will stop identifying with the state.

“The losses are greater than the gains. The price we pay is great. We must remember that the secular public feels threatened by everything concerning religious laws. We must free them from this fear, because it is one of the causes of polarization.”

From the window of his Volvo, Greater Israel looks divided and split. He has been traveling the road to the Etzion Bloc for some 20 years now. He has a two-way radio in the car and a gun close at hand. For a long time he did not realize that it had no bullets in it. He was pelleted with stones and escaped miraculously. He does not know what the future will bring. A strong hand? Yes. A contemptuous attitude toward the Arabs? No. Transfer? “It is neither moral nor practical.”

He knows that a Palestinian state will not bring peace. The Intifadah will perhaps lead to a positive process: The PLO may become pragmatic.

He passes through Jewish settlements. Memories of Yamit flash before his mind’s eye. The wound inflicted by Yamit has not healed. “It freed religious Zionism from mystic dreams—no more.” He believes that the threat of the underground has not disappeared.

Between Etzion Bloc and Jerusalem he muses about the future. Perhaps he will be a different kind of politician. He is told that has no experience, but he is confident that the will manage. He trusts in his resources. He will be glad to be finished in one term, once the NRP is back on track.

“I hope that MIMAD will constitute a catalyst for the NRP, and that the party will become more moderate after the elections. I hope and pray that the NRP returns to its original policies, so that in the future we will not have to run separately. Already now, because of MIMAD, they refrain from emphasizing their extremist side. That is already a blessing. They have toned down their platform. Perhaps there are good days ahead.”

**KUWAIT**

**Value of Non-Oil Exports Assessed**

44000083 Cyprus MEMO in English Oct 88 p 16

[Text] The Kuwaiti Ministry of Trade and Industry published a report recently in which exported goods in 1987 are valued at KD 40.9 in 1986, a decline of 7.3 percent.

The report also indicated that most exports went to the GCC countries with KD 38.2 million representing 93.4 percent of total exports. Saudi Arabia alone accounted for 75 percent.

Exports include mainly iron, car bodies, prefabricated houses, cables isolating materials, chemicals, plastic dyes, insecticides, leather, drinks oils, vegetable oils and some foodstuffs.

On the other hand, total customs exemptions in 1987 in favor of national firms and industries reached about KD 1.23 million.

**SAUDI ARABIA**

**Report Gives Al-Jubayl Industry Statistics**

44000015 Jeddah ARAB NEWS in English 21 Oct 88 p 2

[Text] Riyadh, Oct 20—There are 16 primary industries in al-Jubayl, of which 14 are operational, one under construction and one in active planning, while two are undergoing an expansion program. Estimated total investment in the first 15 industries amount to SR58 billion according to al-Jubayl Development Quarterly, issued by the Royal Commission for al-Jubayl and Yanbu and which covers the second quarter.
Moreover, there are eight secondary industries, total investments of those approved amounting to SR387 million, 84 support/light manufacturing industries with SR1.2 billion investments. On the commercial side, there are 147 establishments with total investments of SR411 million. In addition SR1.3 billion has been invested in community development.

The period under review witnessed some developments in various activities. Petrokemya, an affiliate of SABIC, added in March a new commodity, polystyrene, at its Al-Jubayl complex. It was the first production in the Kingdom. In April, Petrokemya completed a major expansion to its ethylene plant, the addition of two new cracking furnaces with a nominal capacity of 150,000 tons a year. The two furnaces were built by the Al-Jubayl firm of Bellenti-Saudi Heavy Industries Ltd. Petrokemya can manufacture over 650,000 tons of ethylene annually.

The report shows that there are eight secondary industries: one operational, four under active planning and three proposed, while in support and light manufacturing 62 are operational, eleven under construction and eleven in active planning.

On the commercial side, the booklet gives a detailed breakdown, showing that operational firms total 116. Of these there are 20 groceries, eleven restaurants, 30 retail, eight finance, six offices, and 41 services. Establishments under construction amount to 24, of which two are groceries, three restaurants, 13 retail, one financial and five services. The leases under process cover one restaurant, three offices and three services.

On the community development side, the report indicated that there were 1,555 occupancy permits issued, of which 1,425 were for companies, 127 for investors and three for individual units. Another 218 were under construction, of which 68 are for individuals, 21 for investors, 129 for companies and 20 for government agencies. Units in lots leased total 1,293, of which 501 are for companies, 582 for investors and 210 for individuals, while units of lots allocated amount to 272, of which 262 were for individuals, four for investors and six for companies.

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Chancellor Interviewed on New Colleges of Technology
44000068 Abu Dhabi EMIRATES NEWS in English
29 Oct 88 p 2

[Excerpts] Last month, the first of the country's new Higher Colleges of Technology opened in Abu Dhabi and Al-'Ayn, first of a series that is eventually intended to expand to cover the whole of the Emirates.

With nearly two months of the first academic year completed, both staff and students of the Colleges are settling down to hard work that will eventually produce a whole new crop of skilled para-professionals designed to meet the acute shortage of such people in the local labor market.

Complementing the twelve year old Emirates University in Al-'Ayn, the Higher Colleges are an important new part of the country's higher educational systems. Established at the direct instructions of, and with the constant encouragement of, His Highness President Shaykh Zayid Ibn-Sultan al-Nuhayyan, they are, according to their Acting Vice Chancellor and University Chancellor, Shaykh Nuhayyan Ibn-Mubarak, "being developed to meet the urgent demands thrust upon us by the rapid changes in advanced technology."

They will also, he says, "enhance our abilities to face the challenges of the future, stressing the expeditious Emiratization of the workforce."

Shaykh Nuhayyan Outlines College's Role

In the interview that follows, University Chancellor Shaykh Nuhayyan Ibn-Mubarak, who is also the Acting Vice Chancellor of the Higher Colleges of Technology, explains their purpose and function, and announces that plans to open Colleges in Dubayy, Al-Shariqah, Ras Al-Khaymah and Fujairah are "proceeding on schedule."

[Question] Why was it necessary to start the Colleges when the University exists for those students wishing to proceed to higher education?

[Answer] The Higher Colleges of Technology are an integral part of the country's educational system. They are being planned and implemented in response to the directives of His Highness the President, Shaykh Zayid Ibn-Sultan Al-Nuhayyan, who places the utmost importance on the proper education and training of our citizens. His Highness' instructions are to concentrate and direct our efforts toward the development of our youth, encouraging their full participation in all socio-economic activities in the country.

The UAE University, now in its twelfth year, has been successful in meeting demands for a university-type education in the country and in supplying all sectors of economic activity with university-trained national manpower.

Our analysis of the labor market, however, indicates an acute shortage in skilled para-professionals, i.e., persons trained in the applied aspects of various professions and skilled in the application of existing knowledge in the actual practice of it. The Colleges of Technology will address this shortage and will complement the University by providing a new type of higher education that
stresses vocational, technical and technological training. This training will be tailored to the changing manpower needs of local business, industries and Government.

Skills Needed

Not only will the Colleges address the critical national need for more skilled manpower, they will also help alleviate the pressure on the University to supply more post-secondary education opportunities. The College programmes are being developed to meet the urgent demands thrust upon us by the rapid changes in advanced technology and will enhance our abilities to face the challenges of the future, stressing the expeditious Emiratization of the workforce and providing varied educational opportunities that will satisfy the needs and aspirations of individuals and maximize their contributions to society.

[Question] The original plan was for a series of colleges that would cover the whole of the UAE, starting, I believe, in Abu Dhabi, Dubayy, al-Shariqah, Ras al-Khaymah and Fujayrah. In fact, colleges have opened only in Abu Dhabi and al-'Ayn. Can you explain why? Are there plans to open colleges in others parts of the UAE for the 1989-1990 academic year—in Fujayrah for example?

[Answer] That is correct. Our plans call for the establishment of colleges in all major population centers in the UAE. Furthermore, it is our resolve that these colleges should operate at international standards. Strict criteria and procedures were established at the outset to ensure the attainment of these standards. Such criteria include the availability of adequate facilities; the desire and ability of the local community to support and sustain their college and the readiness of needed financial resources. Taking stock of the situation, we decided to proceed with the opening of the Colleges in Abu Dhabi and al-'Ayn, and to postpone the start-up of the other Colleges until next academic year. Our plans to open colleges in Dubayy, al-Shariqah, Ras al-Khaymah are proceeding on schedule. Land for permanent sites in al-Shariqah, Ras al-Khaymah and Fujayrah have been allotted; drawings for the facilities are almost complete; and plans to start construction are in the offing.

You must also be aware of the draft federal act establishing the College System as a federal entity. This act has been approved by the Cabinet and forwarded to His Highness the President for signature. The College System is a federal institution aiming to serve the entire country.

[Question] Why are the Colleges restricted to UAE nationals, and do you plan to review this policy in future years, perhaps by offering fee-paying places to non-nationals?

Colleges' Mission

[Answer] The decision to restrict enrollment in the Colleges to UAE nationals was made in view of the Colleges' mission and goals. The College System is going on line in the context of its assigned role of helping the UAE meet the intense demand for skilled national technologists in major sectors of the economy as well as the need for all national institutions of higher learning to cater to the increasing numbers of national high school graduates.

A major component of each college’s mission is its involvement in the total development process of its community—reflecting the needs and priorities of that community and helping to lead it into the future. The current needs and priorities of our communities call for the increased participation of nationals in the workforce and the gradual Emiratization of the country's manpower; hence, the total commitment of the Colleges to the education and training of nationals.

The Colleges, however, will be offering continuing education programmes as part of their community service activities. Such programmes aim at the development and upgrading of skills of current workers in local and national institutions. Some of these current workers are non-nationals who will have an opportunity to benefit from the Colleges’ activities.

[Question] The Colleges make a particular point of providing their teaching in English, rather than in Arabic. Is this because of a demand for fluency in English from employers?

Do you feel that the benefit of a degree from the Emirates University is limited because of an insufficient of English language training?

Could you comment on plans by Acting Minister of Education Ahmad al-Tayir to introduce the teaching of English at elementary levels in the Government schools?

[Answer] Your assertion as to the language of instruction in the Colleges is incorrect. In fact, the Colleges make a point of conducting many courses in Arabic.

We realize, however, that many of the technical jobs our College graduates will be filling require a good understanding of English. This is particularly true for graduates in technology and health sciences. Accordingly, some courses in these areas will be offered in English. On the other hand, many of the courses in business and communication programmes will be offered in Abarib. We place great importance on developing strong Arabic competency in our students. At the same time, we are also aware of the labor market demands for fluency in English in the graduates. These dual demands are well recognized and we plan our programmes of study accordingly.
Article Discusses Prospects for Re-Exports to Iran
44000044 Dubayy GULF NEWS in English
24 Oct 88 p 11

[Text] How far will the end of the Iran-Iraq war help Dubayy boost its re-exports is a question asked often by local businessmen and business executives visiting Dubayy over the past few months.

Meanwhile, many local businessmen have built huge stocks of goods, particularly in foodstuffs and fast-moving consumer goods, in anticipation of a sudden demand from Iran soon after it accepted Resolution 598.

Since then it took a month to enforce the ceasefire and a couple of months more to agree upon a lasting peace plan. But business has not picked up in line with many traders’ expectations.

Those who built large stocks are now busy finding other markets and dumping them on the local market through reduced imports to meet normal domestic demand.

However, optimistic traders still feel that re-exports will pick up and a boom is around the corner when the government of Iran finalizes its blueprint for reconstruction.

But a study of the past re-export trend to Iran raises many doubts to the assumption that a re-export boom will follow the end of the war.

The main argument in support of this theory is that re-exports with Iran was hampered by the war which began in September 1980. They say that there was a booming re-export business then to Iran.

But a study of the re-export trade to Iran proves that there was a fall in re-exports soon after the start of the war and even then it was not either very large before the war as compared to the recent years.

Surprisingly, the largest re-exports to Iran was in 1987 at Dh 1305 million when it overshadowed the previous record high of Dh 1278 in 1980.

In the fourth quarter of 1980 re-exports began to slide due to the war. But, it did the same in the fourth quarter of 1987 when monthly average re-exports crumbled to almost a third of that in the earlier months.

New Rules

One crucial qualitative factor which affected re-exports to Iran at both these points was the change in Iranian regulations relating to limits on individuals importing goods. That too, mainly with relation to consumer luxury items.

In 1987, the first quarter monthly average was Dh 144.3 million and in the second quarter it averaged Dh 136.5. It fell drastically to a monthly average of Dh 46 million in the fourth quarter or a third of what was prevailing early that year. There is no sign of recovery even in 1988 from this low until now.

Why is this sudden fall in trade since the fourth quarter of 1987? The main cause is the extremely high customs duty imposed on imports by individuals on their visits abroad along with reduced limits.

This was supplemented with restrictions on designating the use of the ‘export dollar’ to others for importing goods a couple of months later. In 1987, the ID card import facility for people living in the coastal area of southern Iran was also drastically revised.

There were many changes in Iran with regard to import regulations relating to individuals and small businessmen of the south coast area throughout the war.

Even in 1981 the various restrictions, particularly pertaining to this segment, soon after the war began was the main cause for the fall in re-exports after it peaked in 1980.

The historic trend shows that hardly any bulk imports have been sought from Dubayy by Iran and any time, but for a few occasions during the war when there was a critical need to restore supply to eliminate shortage of foodstuffs and items of interest in festive seasons.

It had always been the spillover trade-related imports of small-time businessmen close to the Gulf coasts in Iran and individual shoppers accounting for bulk of Dubayy’s re-exports to Iran.

Therefore, policy changes and shifts in environmental conditions relating to the above areas alone was the major factor influencing the trend of re-exports to Iran from here throughout this decade.

Best Quarter

In this decade, the peak was the first quarter of 1987 when Dubayy’s re-exports totalled Dh 433 million. That was the time Iran’s policies with regard to the above areas were most relaxed and almost on par with what was in the pre-war era.

Therefore, if one considers a similar relaxation in Iran’s policy soon, then trade can pick up certainly from the recent bottom. But the magnitude is not going to be to the extent to which many people are speculating about today.
If restrictions are relaxed there, considering the first quarter of 1987 level when re-exports were the highest ever to Iran, annual re-exports could touch around Dh 1700 to Dh 1800 million—about 30 per cent higher than the record re-exports registered in the whole of 1987.

**Iran’s Share**

There is also an argument in favor of higher re-exports in terms of Iran’s share in Dubayy’s re-exports. In 1987, Iran’s share accounted for only 25 per cent of Dubayy’s total re-exports, much lower than a 40 per cent share in the previous peak in 1980.

But then the share was almost 45 per cent in 1979 when it totalled only two-thirds of the re-export to Iran in 1980. Even in 1978, the share was above 40 per cent while total re-exports to Iran was only Dh 573 million, less than half of 1980.

In the seventies, in fact, Iran was the major re-export destination for Dubayy. In 1975, the total re-export of Dubayy at Dh 567 million was less than that of its re-exports to Iran alone in 1978. But it accounted for 37 per cent share.

Since then, in particular during the eighties, the re-export markets have drastically diversified and Dubayy’s re-exports are not as heavily dependent upon Iran as in the seventies.

Therefore, a share of 25 per cent in 1987 was extremely good and it may be even too optimistic to expect that same figure considering the size of the market segment in Iran which depends on Dubayy for its imports and the expansion of Dubayy’s re-export market over the past decade.

**Kish Island**

Another important negative factor affecting Dubayy’s re-exports to Iran is the opening of the new free trade zone in Iran’s Kish Island in early 1987.

It is true that this zone gave an additional boost to Dubayy’s trade initially as traders there built stocks quickly to take advantage of the new status to Kish.

But after the zone settled down, traders in Kish started directly importing their requirements in bulk. Meanwhile, import relaxations in Iran pertaining to individual importers are now directed towards channelling this business through this island.

During mid-1987, a new list of 32 items allowed under the ‘export dollar’ scheme was earmarked for purchase through Kish Island alone.

Thus Kish Island is fast replacing Dubayy in this market segment.

Considering this development, even the earlier estimate of a 30 per cent rise over 1987 level could be more on the optimistic side, even if relaxations are introduced in Iran.

**UAE Exports**

However, while the picture is not bright on the re-export front, there is certainly a considerable chance for improved exports from the UAE. In the seventies, the UAE did not have any industrial base. But today there is a large capacity installed to produce many construction materials and prices are now internationally competitive.

This is going to be the major advantage, considering the proximity, when Iran makes its reconstruction blueprint. Construction-based raw material manufacturers here are bound to benefit.

Secondly, Western firms seeking a share in Iran’s reconstruction, are likely to do their liaising from outside Iran this time, unlike during the seventies.

Here again Dubayy is strategically placed to provide all infrastructure facilities relating to business and personal needs.

One can expect many regional offices of multinationals and major European and North American companies moving to Dubayy.

**Ports Boom**

The sophisticated port facilities available in Dubayy will also receive a boost since a good part of Iran’s direct imports from outside may be transhipped through Dubayy until port facilities in Iran are improved.

In the Gulf ports of Iran, delays of four to six months had been reported earlier. With increased imports to re-build the economy, the situation could become still worse. Not many international shippers will be able to tolerate such high delays. This could boost Dubayy’s transhipment business.

**Quarterly Re-Exports From Dubayy in 1987 and 1988 (in millions of dirham)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Iran</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Quarter</td>
<td>432.8</td>
<td>1309.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Quarter</td>
<td>407.6</td>
<td>1414.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Quarter</td>
<td>321.5</td>
<td>1250.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Quarter</td>
<td>144.1</td>
<td>1238.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st quarter</td>
<td>161.3</td>
<td>1185.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Even commercial banks can look for avenues in trade financing areas jointly or independently while certainly there is scope for enhancing business on the guarantees side.

Those who are going to be disappointed are the ones still hoping for re-exports to pick up on the traditional lines. Many things have changed during the war—both on the side of internal and external factors. The kind of benefits which Dubayy can accrue will certainly be different this time.

The so-called re-export boom, as expected by many, aided by Iran's economic re-construction might remain a distant dream.

**Article Discusses Garment Quota Issue**

44000100 Dubayy GULF NEWS in English 2 Nov 88 p 11

[Article by Kumar Raj]

[Text] Quotas on UAE garment exports could come much quicker than the expectations of manufacturers here who believed that the two rounds of talks between government authorities had given them a longer breathing space.

According to information reaching here yesterday, the U.S. customs has already informed U.S. ports that the Minimum Hold Levels (MHL) proposed for the UAE during the end of June this year will be implemented from November 4.

Thus, the U.S. customs officials will begin counting imports in the four categories, for which MHL was proposed in June-end, of garments exported from the UAE on or after June 27, 1988.

According to some local manufacturers, when the figures registered with the U.S. authorities for the month of July and August are considered the unilaterally fixed MHL by U.S. will be achieved by December itself.

But others feel that the rate of exports is extremely high at present, as compared to the two months in discussion, and so the limit may be reached within weeks.

However, on the question of what will happen once the MHL on UAE garments is achieved, many had no answer while others offered varied theories.

It was mostly felt that UAE garments will not be allowed to enter the U.S. when the unilateral MHL is achieved, until such time that a mutually-agreed quota is officially fixed for the UAE.

Garment manufacturers say that already there is a considerable slowdown in exports to U.S. following the U.S. notification.

Those who are active in this sector do so either taking the entire risk of delivering the goods in the U.S. even with a valid letter of credit, or export under firm orders, or self-purchase orders.

"U.S. buyers vanished soon after the earlier notification but they started coming back during the past two weeks when some assurance was given after official discussions. now they will disappear once again", said a garment manufacturer in Sharjah.

"When we were told that the visa system will be introduced in January we thought that we have some time in hand," said another manufacturer. According to him, the visa system always precedes a quota system to be followed after a long gap.

"But now it looks like they are going straight for quota discussion in the December meeting. By then further exports beyond the unilateral MHL would have been stopped," he added.

Earlier it was reported that U.S. and UAE government officials had decided to meet again in December after the official meeting last month in which they announced the agreement to introduce a visa system for UAE garment exports.

"No one has a clue of what's been happening between the U.S. and UAE authorities. Now it is certain that quota will be fixed soon after exports from here reach the unilaterally fixed MHL", said a manufacturer.

Many manufacturers have been running at a very low capacity since July because U.S. buyers were reserved following the June-end notification.

"Buyers flooding this market earlier declined to make fresh orders. There were no fresh LCs since July on the quota items. What is being exported on these items are to meet the commitment of earlier orders", said a manufacturer.

However, there is no fresh licence in the UAE to set up garment units since July. But the existing 150 licenced is quite large compared to the paltry quota unilaterally proposed by U.S. authorities.

Meanwhile, since the earlier notification in June-end the number of manufacturing units has doubled to almost 100 factories now. A few of them have diversified into other items while many are desperately exploring markets to diversify their product line as well as export destinations.

However, there will be plenty of idle capacity since a vast majority of them depend mainly on these four categories of garments brought under MHL in U.S. Many also entirely depend on this market for their exports.
According to one estimate the proposed limit of 571,000 dozen pieces for the UAE is less than a month's capacity established until now. Therefore, they had hoped that the UAE authorities would be able to hammer our a much larger quota in its discussion with U.S. authorities in December.

Many felt that, with tough bargaining the quota could be raised to as much as four to six times that of the unilaterally decided MHL of the U.S. However, the uncertainty will continue for some more months.

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

Minister Warns Against Dangers of Foreign Fleets
44000099 Abu Dhabi EMIRATES NEWS in English
28 Oct 88 p 2

[Text] Dubayy (UNI): South Yemeni Foreign Minister Dr 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Dali has warned against dangers of superpowers shifting their naval fleets away from the Gulf to the strategic Red Sea area and urged that the littoral states call for their withdrawal from the Indian Ocean area.

In an interview with All India Radio's Gulf correspon- dent Jagmohan Mathur, he said that his country was concerned about the possibility of the transfer of foreign fleets from the Gulf to other regions due to the cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq war. This could in effect mean transferring of the tensions in the Gulf to other areas and that as the Red Sea was a vital civil and military international sealane, "we are very cautious" of the movements of these fleets.

Dr al-Dali said that it was important to initiate contracts among the Red Sea countries, with the exception of Israel, in this perspective and ensure that no outside forces could establish bases in this area.

Excerpts from the interview were broadcast on Wednesday.

Red Sea, which links the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean, as Egypt, Ethiopia, Djibouti and Somalia on its western shores and Israel, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, North Yemen and South Yemen on the eastern side.

Dr al-Dali said that South Yemen had been against the presence of any foreign forces anywhere but now that the Iraq-Iran war was over, foreign fleets in or around the Gulf region should go back home.

"We must prevent them from establishing new areas of tension," he said adding that South Yemen, Somalia and Djibouti had already held discussions in this regard.

About the coming visit of President Haydar Abu-Bakr al-Attas to Oman this Saturday, he said that despite earlier tensions, the two countries were moving towards closer relations.

"We are looking forward to take much more steps to improve relations with Oman," and Saudi Arabia on the basis of peaceful co-existence and mutual respect for each other's independence and sovereignty despite the differences in social and political systems.

Dr al-'Attas' visit would be the first by a South Yemeni Head of State to Oman since his country gained independence in 1967.

The two countries accused each other of interference till a few years ago when Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates made efforts for a rapprochement between the two.

Oman and South Yemen had signed an agreement in 1982 to sort out their border problems.

About the desire of South Yemen and North Yemen for their eventual merger into one state, Dr al-Dali said that as the people of the two countries wanted it, it would happen.

The agreement signed in this perspective between Secretary General Salim al-Bayd of South Yemen's ruling party, the Yemeni Socialist Party, and North Yemen President 'Abdallah Salih on May four this year was "important."

It could take time due to the different political systems of the two countries but both North Yemen and South Yemen had agreed in principle for the free movement of their citizens from one country to another, Dr al-Dali said.

An important development was that they had also agreed to explore their oil resources jointly and "have one company to manage their oil discoveries."

He reiterated his country's stand for making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace and expressed the hope that the international conference in this regard, planned for several years but blocked by Western countries for several years now, would be held in the near future.

About his country's relations with India, Dr al-Dali said that these were "strong," and that "we look forward for increased cooperation in all fields," ranging from industry to health to trade and education.
BANGLADESH

Paper Reports on Outcome of Ershad-Gandhi Meeting

Government Spokesman's Statement on Link Canal
46001105 Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English
1 Oct 88 pp 1, 8

[Text] A Bangladesh government spokesman last night stated that President Ershad and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi had agreed during their talks in New Delhi that in formulating the long and mid-term solutions of the problem of floods the task force would consult the existing studies and therefore the question of the Indian proposal of 1978 forming the basis of the work of the task force was not in conformity with what was agreed upon, reports BSS.

The spokesman was commenting on an All India Radio report of an Indian official spokesman stating that Bangladesh had agreed that the link canal proposal of 1978 would form the basis of the study of the task force set up by President Ershad and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to find out how the two countries could cooperate to find out a solution to the problem.

Referring to Indian spokesman's statement that the Government of Bangladesh had rejected the link canal proposal totally and finally the Bangladesh official spokesman said there was no question of this proposal being revived in any form whatsoever.

He said President Ershad had made it clear that the setting up of a task force in no way precluded the efforts of the government of Bangladesh and the international community looking for the solution of the problems of floods both regionally and internationally.

On the contrary the spokesman pointed out the two heads of Government had agreed that the task force should look into the possibilities of generating regional support aimed at cooperation in finding a solution to this problem.

Regarding the return of Indian relief helicopters, the spokesman categorically said that President Ershad had told the Indian Prime Minister that some Indian press reaction on the issue was unfortunate. The President clarified to the Indian Prime Minister that in any case these helicopters were going back for servicing after the required hours of flying.

The spokesman said that in suggesting that no replacement was necessary to affront was intended.

SOUTH ASIA

All-India Broadcast Refuted
46001105 Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English
2 Oct 88 pp 1, 8

[Text] India's dogged insistence on bilateralism and her harping on the same string relating to link canal proposal of 1978 have clouded the prospects for long and mid-term flood control measures in the region.

New Delhi's stance though not altogether a surprising one, has however cast shadows over international efforts for support and assistance, both technical and financial, to the region in its search for solution of the recurring flood problem.

Authoritative sources told THE NEW NATION that the world community had shown a very positive and favourable response to Bangladesh's appeal in the wake of the recent devastating floods for international support for a solution of the problem over long and medium term. Several large donor countries and multilateral institutions have also indicated their willingness to aid and assist efforts regionally and internationally for tackling the problem of recurring floods in the Brahmaputra and the Ganges river basins, the sources said. And the international concern for the flood problem in the region has further been heightened, the sources noted by the current global focus on ecology-economy relationships.

The same sources pointed out that a number of world leaders had highlighted at the ongoing session of the UN General Assembly the imperatives for international cooperation for "stabilising the rivers in the region" and for protecting the environment to avoid natural disasters like flood.

But India has not at all appreciated the need for international cooperation for flood control in the region. She is not also willing to consider the problem from its wider regional dimension. This stand will obviously scuttle the current international move to extend support for finding a viable and effective solution to the flooding problem in the Brahmaputra and the Ganges river basins.

At the just concluded Dhaka-New Delhi talks in the Indian capital at the heads of government level, India is reported to have pressed for a bilateral approach to the flood control issue, exclusion of other countries in the related river basins and also of any international cooperation for the same.

Over a dozen drafts for the agreement between the two sides at New Delhi were put up by the Indian side before the final one was reached. New Delhi reportedly wanted the word, "bilateral" inserted in the agreement. But finally the "compromise" was reached to substitute the word, joint for "bilateral" in the agreement.

Meanwhile, a fresh controversy has now emerged after the two sides agreed in New Delhi to set up a joint task force to study waters of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra
for flood management and water flow. An All India Air (AIR) broadcast, quoting an Indian official spokesman, about Bangladesh’s concurrence relating to acceptance of the Indian link canal proposal as the basis of study of the task force had surprised Dhaka. Bangladesh had at no stage accepted at New Delhi talks the link canal proposal as the basis of study by the task force, the authoritative sources reiterated yesterday.

The same sources said that Bangladesh had made it clear at the talks that setting up of a task force would in no way preclude its efforts and also that of the international community, looking for the problems of floods both regionally and internationally. It is a part of such efforts that President Ershad will be holding discussions with King Birendra of Nepal in Kathmandu today. Bangladesh-Nepal talks will be held at Kathmandu airport during President Ershad’s scheduled two-hour visit to Kathmandu.

RAW Accused of Ziaur Rahman Assassination Plot
46001118 Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English
29 Sep 88 pp 1, 8

[Text] The RAW (Research and Analysis Wing), an Indian intelligence network, had plotted and assassinated President Ziaur Rahman with approval from late premier Indira Gandhi. This was revealed by ‘Sunday,’ an Ananda Bazar group of publication weekly from Calcutta. The weekly quoted former Janata Party MP Subramaniam Swamy who said R. N. Kao who headed the RAW and Shankaran Nair, a senior official of the intelligence, were upset about Sheikh Mujibur Rahman’s assassination and had plotted to kill General Ziaur Rahman. The scheme was already at an advanced stage with Mrs Gandhi’s approval. But the Congress Government of Indira Gandhi had fallen and Morarji Desai’s Government was in power.

Prime Minister Desai was “appalled” that RAW would want to assassinate a neighbouring head of state and stopped the murder.

The RAW official Shankaran Nair warned the Prime Minister that it was too late to back out now and that many RAW assets would be endangered if the plan was aborted at this stage, the Sunday reported and continued Morarji Desai was adamant and finally, RAW abandoned the assassination.

“General Zia continued to rule Bangladesh for many more years. He was assassinated after Indira Gandhi returned to power but India said that she was not involved” the weekly reported.

The Weekly reported, “in 1980 when Indira Gandhi regained office, the intelligence community was delighted. Kao was retrieved from limbo and appointed her security adviser. Shankar Nair entrusted with a cadre review of the spy services. RAW once again become the Government’s favourite child and its headquarters at the impressive Central Government Office (CGO) complex in New Delhi buzzed with activity. "New equipment was also imported for the agency’s monitoring unit spread over 100 acres in Delhi’s Mayur Vihar."

the Sunday also quoted former Janata Information and Broadcasting Minister L. K. Advani saying, what did happen is that many of the IB (Intelligence Bureau) officers who had come to RAW on deputation were sent back” when the Janata Government came to power. We weeded out three officers loyal to Indira Gandhi: Kao Shankar Nair and Rajeshwar. And we put an end to political espionage. That’s all, Advani added.

Anti-Smuggling Task Force Chief Replaced
46001117 Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English
24 Sep 88 pp 1, 8

[Text] The Government is going to further strengthen its anti-smuggling campaign.

Talking to this correspondent at his office State Minister for Finance Ziauddin Ahmad who has been looking after the campaign said the chief of the anti-smuggling task force had been removed and was replaced by another member of the National Board of Revenue, well known for his honesty and efficiency.

He said the set up of customs officials manning the Zia International Airport, one of the main entry points of smuggled goods, had also been changed. The office of the joint collector stationed at the airport has been upgraded to the level of an additional collector. Mr Monzur Mannan has been transferred to the Zia International Airport. He will handle the issues with more authority than ever before.

The customs surveillance team’s selection procedure has been totally changed. Earlier, Collector of Customs used to appoint the members of the team. From now on team members will be chosen from the customs officers through an examination and the appointments will be endorsed by the chief of the task force. He will also enjoy full liberty to drop any member of the team on receipt of any adverse report against any member of the team.

Regarding the recent change in the customs setup at Zia the State Minister said, “Well, whenever a government official holds an office at one station for a long time it is quite natural that he develops vested interest.” Moreover, it was also due according to service rules, he added.

World Bank, IMF Support Modest Credit Expansion
46001112 Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English
17 Oct 88 pp 1, 8

[Text] The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund are jointly supporting an official move to formulate
a monetary policy allowing a modest level of monetary and credit expansion under the cover of liberalised financing of both the agricultural and industrial sectors. The issue was at the top of the agenda in bilateral discussions with the IMF during the just concluded visit of its managing director. It dominated the bilateral consultations with the regular SAF (structural adjustment facilities) programme mission which is currently visiting Bangladesh to finalise the third year’s programme. The World Bank is also learnt to have softened its attitude towards the tight monetary policy and is advocating a permissible level expansionary policy, which has been necessitated following the post-flood rehabilitation, instead of imposing the quantitative restrictions exercised during the last few years.

The IMF is also learnt to have agreed during the latest discussions to take a relaxed view about the expansionary policy and also the deficit financing, to help the speedy economic turnaround.

This will be a major departure of both the fund and the bank from their earlier stand as the fund policy framework paper imposed restriction on deficit financing and credit expansion during the last two years. But the fund, however, allowed the government to go for deficit financing up to the level of Tk 100 crore during the fiscal’88. Contrary to expectations, Government has showed surplus in the overall fiscal operation during the last year.

Following the positive indications from the leading international donors about the modest level of expansionary policy, the government has drafted a monetary and credit programme with an underlying objective of achieving speedy recovery by taking anti-cyclical measures.

According to available official indications, government is going to undertake a programme envisaging domestic credit expansion by about 16 per cent at the end of the fiscal’89. Under this programme, the public sector credit has been projected to grow by over 8 per cent as against an estimated growth of 3 per cent last year. The growth of the net credit to the government has been projected at 10.8 per cent while the private sector credit has been projected to grow by about 20 per cent.

The net government borrowing was, however, negative, during the fiscal’88 and the private sector credit expanded by 18.2 per cent last year.

But a section of government officials believe that the proposed programme is highly inflated as it is unlikely to achieve this level of domestic credit growth specially against the backdrop of the persistent deflationary tendency in the economy. The prospects of utilizing about Tk 2700 crore during the current year do not appear realistic in the face of slashing down of the public sector development outlay by about 30 per cent from the original level to meet the exigencies.

Last year’s domestic credit programme was also not achieved due to depressed market demand. But the government is hopeful about the additional demand for credit both in the agricultural and industrial sectors mainly for rehabilitation and reconstruction of the flood ravaged socio-economic infrastructures.

But a section of bank officials said that with more liberalized credit policy, the government would have the temptation to spend money in different fields. Without directing the resources toward creating productive assets. This may lead to a compromise on the quality of public works to be undertaken for economic reconstruction and rehabilitation.

If the government fails to restrain the temptation, this liberalised credit policy will lead to monetary expansion and higher inflation at the end of the year.

But during the last two years of SAF programme the economy has experienced a modest monetary and credit expansion and the rate of inflation was also within the reasonable level except that of the last year. But much was done at the cost of investment, income and employment, knowledgeable sources said.

Environmentalists Request End to Glacier Melting

46001115 Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 6 Sep 88 p 1

[Text] Artificial intervention in melting Himalayan glaciers may have constituted one of the factors responsible for the current onslaught of flood with unprecedented severity.

According to an AFP report, despatched from New Delhi in 1 September, a group of environmentalists from Jawaharlal Nehru University of India submitted a petition to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi on 23 August requesting him to stop melting Himalayan glaciers with coal dust.

They said that the Central Water Commission (CWC) of India has used helicopters to sprinkle coal dust on the glaciers in experiments to see if they could increase water supplies.

They argued that any artificial intervention in the fragile ecosystem might lead to long-term irreversible changes. A scientific study conducted to 1976 had advised strongly against such a plan.

Studies had shown that the glaciers of the Himalayas were receding at the rate of 15 to 20 meters a year and could disappear completely in 250 to 300 years, the Indian environmentalists observed.

It was reported that Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, however, had assured that he would look into their pleas for abandoning the Central Water commission’s plan to melt Himalayan glaciers with coal dust.
Some water experts in Bangladesh do not rule out the possibility that melting of glaciers in the Himalayas may have accounted for the flood reaching an aggravated proportion, although human intervention in melting the glaciers has not been taken into consideration by them.

Referring to the recent earthquakes that hit Nepal, India and Bangladesh they think the glaciers may have melted under the impact of these earthquakes. But they are not sure about it.

The water experts in Bangladesh seem to be ignorant about the Indian move to artificially melt the Himalayan glaciers. When asked one prominent water expert said, "Well, I have no knowledge about such a move by India."

CPB: Blaming India for Flood Not the Answer
46001116 Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English
20 Sep 88 pp 1, 8

[Text] Communist Party of Bangladesh (CPB) has underlined the need for establishing a patriotic-democratic government to deal with all national problems including the flood in view of the failure of the present Government.

Addressing a press conference yesterday at the party office CPB General Secretary Saifuddin Ahmed Manik called upon all concerned quarters to work out a long-term master plan and execute it to ensure solution to the water problem and proper utilization of water resources on the basis of the regional approach without affecting national interests.

He mentioned that effective political, economic and social steps were necessary to control flood and utilize water resources. He called upon all those who are concerned about the national interests to get united on this basis.

Mr Manik said the flood had become a permanent phenomenon and threatened the very existence of the nation since the geo-physical features of the country were not taken into consideration in the flood control measures and the socio-economic and political factors and the issue of regional approach were ignored.

Expressing himself against blaming any country for the catastrophe the CPB General Secretary said it would be futile to do it in the way the Pakistani rulers used to do in the past.

He said that distribution of a large portion of foreign relief through the voluntary organisations (NGOs) had exposed the vulnerability of the government—which was shameful for the nation. He demanded a total democratic control of the activities of the foreign voluntary organisations.

Referring to the involvement of the Armed Forces in relief operations he said that at the moments of national disasters the Armed Forces came forward to help the civil administration while this time the relief operations were being conducted through the Armed Forces. And hence there has been frustration and reluctance in the civil administration, he added.

He deplored that despite the call by the party the national relief committee comprising pro-liberation political parties, various social forces and professional groups had not yet been formed.

Replying to a question he said that such a committee would leave out Jamaat-E-Islami, Muslim League, Freedom Party and Jatiya Party. As for Jatiya Party, he observed, it was a party of the comprador bourgeoisie class which did not have patriotism and was dependent on external forces. He bracketed JSD (Rab) with Jatiya Party.

He put forward a 14-point programme of rehabilitation and reconstruction to deal with the aftermath of the flood.

He told a questioner that it would be possible to harness the spontaneous enthusiasm of the people if the eight-party, seven-party and five-party alliances got united.

Asked about those who are blaming the Farakka Barrage for the current flood in Bangladesh he said this is motivated. Wall writing is possible on the theme of anti-Indianism but it won't solve the problem.

The press conference was attended, among others, by secretaries Mujahidul Islam Selim, Nuh-ul-Alam Lenin, Ajoy Roy, Abdus Salam and Nurul Islam.

Massive Plan for Rehabilitation
46001114 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 30 Sep 88 pp 1, 10

[Text] A special meeting of the Council of Ministers held on Wednesday evening at Bangabhaban with President Hussain Muhammad Ershad in the chair, reports BSS.

According to PID [expansion unknown] handout on Thursday the Council reviewed the overall post-flood situation and relief and rehabilitation programmes taken up for the flood-affected areas of the country. The Council also adopted some important decisions.

The Council decided to set up a "National Disaster Prevention Council" to be headed by President Ershad with the aim of preventing any national level natural calamities in a concerted and coordinated way. The Council includes the Vice-President, Speaker, members of the Council of Ministers, the leader of the Opposition, representatives of the political parties, officials of the Government and autonomous organisations, members of the armed forces, police, BDR [expansion unknown],
ansar and VDP [expansion unknown]. It also includes representatives of teachers, doctors, engineers, lawyers, journalists, experts, women, Krishak Samabaya Samity, sramik karmachari, NGOs [expansion unknown]. Red Crescent Society, different chambers, Socio-cultural and voluntary organisations.

The Council of Ministers felt the need for setting up of Disaster Prevention Council with representatives from all walks of life to consolidate and coordinate the national unity which has been established during the recent flood.

In this context, the Council noted that in the last flood people from different strata of the society, government and non-government employees, students, teachers, journalists, ansar, policy, BDR, voluntary organisations and persons concerned with the NGOs spontaneously took part in the relief and rescue operation which is an unprecedented event in the national life. To utilise the force of the people in a more coordinated way the Council decided to set up a “National Volunteer Corps.”

The Council decided to strengthen the activities of the existing District relief and Rehabilitation Coordination Committees headed by Ministers. With this aim in view, the Council also decided to include the members of Parliament in the Committees and involve them more actively in the overall activities of the District Relief and Rehabilitation Coordination Committees.

Cooperation Bodies

It also decided to set up Relief and Rehabilitation Coordination Committees at upazila, union and ward level to conduct relief operation in a more concerted and planned manner. In addition to government officials, these coordination committees will include important personalities of the locality irrespective of their affiliations, teachers, members of the armed forces, BDR, police, ansar, VDP and representative of the bank samity, imam of the mosque, cooperative societies and local Muktijoddha sangsad.

The Council gave directives to different ministers to take up emergency measures to face the post-flood situation. It also gave directives to the concerned ministry to extend the time limit for repayment of agricultural loan and for its speedy disbursement.

It decided to strengthen modified rationing system and open market sale programme. It also decided to start test relief work on an emergency basis. It also took decision to immediately reimburse test relief rice and wheat which were converted to gratuitous relief during the flood period.

The Council decided to extend time for repayment of loan taken by the weavers and persons involved in fish cultivation in the flood affected areas. It also decided to disburse loan among them on easier terms. The Council decided to disburse loan on easier term among the farmers of the flood affected area to procure bullock for plough under the agricultural credit programme.

The Council directed the Education Ministry to prepare schemes on an emergency basis for repair and reconstruction of the flood damaged educational Institutions.

It directed the ministry of Industries to extend necessary cooperation and undertake programmes for recommissioning of the flood-damaged industrial units.

The Council was informed that approximately two lakh forty thousand hand tubewells have been damaged in the last flood, out of which 54 thousand have already been repaired. Repair work of the remaining ones is in full swing.

Long-Term Plans

It discussed long-term plans for mitigating flood damages. It decided that suggestions pertaining to prevention of the flood be received by the Vice-President from different ministries, agencies, experts and individuals. The Vice-President on receipt of the recommendations and after proper scrutiny will submit the same to the Cabinet for consideration.

The Council decided to set up a special cell headed by the Planning Minister to prepare projects for implementation for prevention of flood in the greater Dhaka area.

Rights of River Sharing Protected Under World Law

46001108 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 13 Oct 88 pp 1, 10

[Text] The rights of Bangladesh over the waters of shared rivers are well protected under the international river law and the upper riparian countries cannot deprive her of its life supporting uses of waters for any earthly reason.

In an exclusive interview with the BANGLADESH OBSERVER, Dr Syed Mynuddin Hussain, Chairman of the International River Law Institute in Dhaka said on Wednesday that no serious efforts were made to protect our rights over waters of the common rivers under international river law.

Under the law, a lower riparian country can claim compensation for the damage to navigation, agriculture, land, trees, ecology and for increased salinity from an upper riparian country.

The upper riparian country India is under obligation to stop the operation of the Farakka Barrage allowing Bangladesh to enjoy its rightful sphere over the water of the Ganges.

Dr Hussain said that if a dispositive treaty (treaties relating to territory boundaries, rivers, lakes etc. come
under the category of dispositive treaty) is entered into for limited period it will expire at the end of the specified time. But the physical situation, such treaties create may outlive the treaty. The physical consequences of the 1975 and 1977 agreements with India have become permanent feature and though the agreements expired, the Farakka Barrage that started operation under those agreements still continue to operate, Dr. Hussain added. According to him, some of the legal consequences and implications of these agreements have outlived the agreements.

He pointed out that the legal rights of Bangladesh in respect of shared rivers are not unprotected in the absence of treaties rather they are fully protected by customary international law governing the international rivers.

He stressed that customary international law is binding on all nations. Before the 1975 Ganges agreement with India for 40 days, Bangladesh's right over the beneficial uses of the water of the Ganges was protected by customary international Law. Under that law, India was required not to divert the Ganges flow without obtaining Bangladesh's consent to the diversion.

Had India operated the Farakka Barrage without Bangladesh's consent and caused harm to Bangladesh by diverting water of the common rivers, India, under the principle of state responsibility would be required to pay compensation for the injuries and damages caused by Bangladesh, opined Dr. Hussain. He however, said that Bangladesh ought to have avoided this agreement, the sole purpose of which was to legalise the illegally constructed Farakka Barrage and deprive Bangladesh of its life supporting water.

Citing an example of state responsibility, Dr. Hussain said the United States under international river law had to amend a treaty concluded with Mexico over the sharing of the water of the Colorado River and the United States agreed to make nonreimbursable grants to Mexico to contribute towards the rehabilitation of the Meixcali valley.

The United States under the amended treaty concluded with Mexico in 1973 had to build at its own cost within its own territory the largest desalting plant in the world in order to provide Mexico water of better quality. This firmly established principle is fully applicable to the flood damage in Bangladesh.

He suggested the formation of international commission on the basis of an agreement to be concluded by the five co-basin states, Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Bhutan, and China. The term of reference for the proposed commission should be carefully drafted by experts in international river law. The following two conditions should be stated very clearly: the commission cannot consider as one of the alternatives the Ganges-Brahmaputra link canal proposal and the water of the Ganges-Brahmaputra basin cannot be transferred to any other basin and therefore expressly or by implication no proposal can be considered for linking the Ganges-Brahmaputra basin with the Indian national water grid plan.

Spontaneous World Support

The devastating flood that hit Bangladesh has drawn spontaneous international support and sympathy and the world communities, the United Nations and other international organisation have offered their help to a regional effort for stopping the recurrence of deluge. Dr. Hussain stated that a situation that has evoked such spontaneous world response and concern cannot be treated as a routine bilateral issue. Nor is it in Bangladesh's interest to diffuse the world wide spontaneous concern. No co-basin state will be doing any special favour to any other state by participating in a regional basin-wide joint management of common rivers. All basin states stand to gain physically, economically, politically in the eye of the world, Dr. Hussain added.

Referring to the international principle of state responsibility Dr. Hussain said that a state cannot do or permit such activities within its territory which may have severe adverse impact on its neighbours or other states. He said that in the upper riparian countries of the Ganges and brahmaputra basins forests and trees were progressively destroyed in the Himalayan region thus eliminating the natural impediments to the Himalayan run off. Many dams and barrages have been built in the upper reaches of the Ganges and other rivers which India shares with Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan and China. Some of the rivers have been trained in India. These acts have created obstacles to the flow of water. Besides, when the water level rises very high in the upper reaches, hundreds of sluice gates are thrown open and the result is devastating floods in Bangladesh, Dr. Hussain opined. Moreover the natural balance of the delicate ecosystem of the Himalayas was seriously impaired by the artificial process of melting the Himalayan ice. The impact of this may be far reaching, he added. Under the binding principle of state responsibility the countries where those things occur are liable to pay compensation to the affected neighbours. Citing another example Dr. Hussain stated that it is under the principle of state responsibility that Canada had to pay compensation to the United States in the 'Trail Smelter' case for damages done in the United States by activities within Canada. The international tribunal held that for the damages caused in the United States to crops, pasture lands, trees, agriculture, livestock by fumes carried through winds from a privately owned Canadian smelting plant located in British Columbia in Canada, Canada was responsible. Canada was asked to pay 78,000 dollars as compensation to the United States.

The tribunal ordered reduction of sulphur emission from the Canadian plant and prescribed a detailed permanent regime of reduced sulphur emission from the plant in order to protect trees, agriculture, livestock, etc, in the United States from being harmed.
Dr. Hussain pointed out that what applies to other states also applies to states in this region and the upper riparian countries where the causes of the 1987 and 1988 floods in Bangladesh were generated are also liable to pay compensation and stop the causes of flood in their territories under the same principle of state responsibility.

**BNP: Agreement Attempts To Bypass Flood Problem**

46001109 Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 16 Oct 88 pp 1, 8

[Text] BNP has termed the recent Indo-Bangladesh agreement on flood control as an attempt to bypass the problem.

This viewpoint was expressed at the BNP standing committee meet that concluded in the city yesterday.

The meeting noted with concern that the bilateral agreement was reached at a time when world opinion was being mobilised for a permanent solution to the flood problem through international moves.

The meet also said that the task force was being formed to share the waters of the major rivers when the issue of exploration of the cause of this years devastating floods and the implementation of a permanent solution to the problem deserved more attention. The meet also termed it as a threat to our national existence. The committee observed that people would never accept the agreement for such a task force.

BNP demanded a solution to the problem through regional and international cooperation by scrapping the agreement.

The standing committee meet that began on Friday at 6 pm concluded last night chief Begum Khaleda Zia the meet was attended by the standing committee members, vice-chairmen and joint secretary generals available in Dhaka. [sentence as published]

The BNP observed that the major rivers flowing through Bangladesh are regarded as international rivers. But the upper riparian country was not following the international norms while going for unilateral withdrawal of waters, water resource structures for blocking the normal flow of those rivers. The meet resolved that the problems to international rivers must be viewed from an international perspective and only through a regional approach by the five countries: Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Bhutan and China could resolve the problem permanently.

The meet expressed the view that bilateral accord had again shown a subservient foreign policy.

The BNP voiced its caution that in the name of the task force the agenda of the Ganga-Brahmaputra link canal was raised tactfully. If said the people of Bangladesh would never accept any conspiracy of diverting the flow of the Brahmaputra waters to the Ganges basin.

It demanded its due share of Ganges waters during the lean period and appealed for international cooperation for the solution to Farakka problems.

The meet called for international and regional cooperation for a permanent solution to devastating floods in Bangladesh by maintaining the natural balance of the ‘water cycle’ in the source of origins of the rivers during the rainy seasons.

**Meeting**

The executive committee of BNP will meet on 10 October at 10 am at the central office of the party.

All members of the executive committee, the standing committee and former parliament members belonging to the party have been requested to attend the meeting.

**Khaleda: Regional Approach Can Solve Flood Problem**

46001107 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 16 Oct 88 pp 1, 8

[Text] Begum Khaleda Zia, Chairman of Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) on Saturday called for a regional approach involving the five nations of the region to solve the recurring problem of floods in the country.

Addressing a big public rally at Gulistan Square Begum Zia demanded scrapping of bilateral agreement with India and formation of the joint task force. She said that problems relating to international rivers could not be solved bilaterally. She termed the bilateral agreement with India on the sharing of waters of the common rivers was nothing but a conspiracy against the nation. She said that the people would never accept the formation of joint task force as it was against the interest of the nation.

The BNP chief also termed the bilateral agreement with India on the sharing of waters was a threat to the sovereignty of the country. She alleged that it was done to bypass the demand for regional approach on the solution of flood problem.

Reiterating the demand for resignation of the Government, Begum Zia called upon all including the professional groups to forge a strong unity towards unseating the Government and establish a true democratic government.

Termining the present Government as illegal and without people’s support she said that it would never be able to solve the country’s problems. She said that only a representative Government could solve such gigantic problem
like flood. Since the flood problem was a political issue it had to be solved politically and there is a need for strong political government for this purpose, she added.

Criticalising the Government for stopping the canal-digging programme of late President Ziaur Rahman, Begum Zia said that the severity of the flood could be substantially contained if the canal digging programme could be continued.

Begum Khaleda Zia said that the present Government had no legal right to stay in power as it had tarnished the image of the nation by pursuing the foreign policy of appeasement with India.

White Paper on Relief Demanded

Demanding a white paper on the relief materials and donations received from abroad for last year's flood and the recent flood, Begum Zia alleged that the Government without distributing relief goods among the people sold those in the open market only to misappropriate the money. She alleged that the present Government had used the foreign donations and relief for organising the party.

Turning to the recent devastating floods, the Begum Zia criticised the Government for its failure to face the flood and alleviating the sufferings of the people. She said that the political parties and NGOs conducted relief works in almost all the flood-hit areas of the country. She alleged that government relief materials did not reach to the bulk of the flood-hit people.

Deploring the recent clashes among the student organisations in many parts of the country, the BNP chief said that these clashes were creating impediment to the process of unity of the political parties. She blamed the Government for provoking these incidents throughout the country for reaping the advantage and perpetuate its power. Begum Zia called upon all concerned to refrain from these suicidal clashes in the greater interest of the movement.

The BNP rally called upon the Government to waive taxes of the peasants, outstanding loans and provide new bank credits to them for rehabilitation. The rally also demanded distribution of seeds, fertilizer, pesticides and cows among the peasants free of cost.

Active Cooperation of Regional States a Must
46001111 Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 17 Oct 88 pp 1, 8

[Text] President H. M. Ershad discarded the theory of link canal and instead firmly restated Bangladesh's commitment to a regional approach for finding a permanent answer to the vexing problem of flood.

Addressing the special session of the Jatiya Sangsad yesterday President Ershad said the international response to his appeal for a regional approach has been encouraging but no headway is possible without the active cooperation of contiguous states.

He spoke effusively of the fortitude of the flood-hit people in confronting the ordeal. He catalogued the losses in the last flood and in the one previous to that which together made a very disquieting reading.

He warned the nation that unless a permanent solution is found which in any event would be time consuming "we must learn to live with flood."

He unravelled a package of reformatory measures aimed at meeting the exigencies and also to rebuild the flood ravaged economy.

The President said all future planning must take into account the effects of flood.

BSS adds: President Hussain Muhammad Ershad expressed his firm conviction that there was no alternative to regional cooperation and international assistance in the resolution of the problem of floods in Bangladesh.

The President said a vast portion of the flood waters that causes deluge in Bangladesh comes from across the border and therefore, the main source of flood control lies across the geographical boundaries of Bangladesh in India, Nepal, Bhutan and China.

Quoting national and international experts he said floods in Bangladesh were a man-made curse caused by systematic deforestation of the Himalayan range, removal of natural barriers that stop the flow of water due to regular landslide, relatively more melting of the Himalayan glaciers and finally, construction of barrages including the Farakka barrage, embankments, spurs and groynes at the upper catchments.

In this connection President Ershad said that the Indian proposal for Ganges-Brahmaputra link canal was under no circumstances acceptable to Bangladesh.

President Ershad made clarion call to the neighbouring countries to take pragmatic steps on top priority basis to resist flood in the interest of economic development, progress and all-round welfare of the 200 crore people of the region.

He also called for a regional appeal to the world community to extend technical, economic and all possible assistance to help save the vast multitudes of this part of the world from the menace of recurring floods.

The President said durable solution to the problem of flood was not impossible but he said the real solution of flood in Bangladesh could be made possible only when
political understanding between the leaderships of the five countries is reached, programmes of action are prepared and necessary fund is arranged and made available.

President Ershad said the floods in Bangladesh had caused quite a stir in the international field side by side with stressing the need for regional cooperation and the floods in Bangladesh had been recognised as a serious human problem of the universe.

He said in spite of the assurance given to us by the United Nations, Commonwealth, the World Bank or the Asian Development Bank the permanent solution of flood problem cannot be achieved without regional cooperation. He said the help of the international community also would be needed to save the process of finding regional solution to the problem from procrastination.

Referring to the quest of Bangladesh for regional cooperation the president said a measure of success had been achieved in this direction through his visit to India, Nepal and Bhutan soon after the recession of flood waters. He said after discussions with the top leaderships of these countries about overall flood situation task forces had been formed.

President Ershad said he would visit China soon and expressed the firm belief that it would be possible to arrive at a just and fruitful decision with China on the basis of regional cooperation.

In this connection he referred to the proposal made by him on 11 September for a meeting of the experts of Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Bhutan and China.

Economic Impact of Floods Colossal
46601110 Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 18 Oct 88 pp 1, 8

[Text] The macro-economic impact of the devastating deluge would be colossal as the preliminary assessment of the damages shows gloomy prospects of economic growth this year.

An inter-agency task force formed by the government and the donors, in a recently prepared report assessed that the growth of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) could either stagnate or even decline from last year's level unless the economy sufficiently recoups its production losses incurred during the floods.

The report estimated severe damages of agricultural and industrial production and its adverse impact on both the public and private sector investment as well as on the mobilization of domestic resources. It has indicated a massive shortfall of the government's tax revenue and slower implementation of the development projects.

The task force has identified some of the impending dangers associated with the increasing level of public development expenditures which might not lead to creation of the productive capacity. On the country the future growth prospects of the economy might be impaired because most of the investment expenditures would be directed at the replacement of the damaged social and physical infrastructure.

The report projected a deteriorating balance of payments situation following the increasing import of foodgrains to meet the food gap caused by flood. The extent of damages has been estimated at 2.5 lakh tons of foodgrains which is about 14 per cent of the expected foodgrains output.

Taking into account all the losses of production, including the cereal crops, the agricultural production would decline by 7 per cent from last year's level (fiscal-88) excluding the compensatory gains through rehabilitation of production last year, the report assessed.

Same gloomy situation has been projected for the industrial sector growth also. The textile manufacturing sector has been identified as the worst affected sector along with the factories and equipment of the other industrial plants. The industrial production during this year might decline by 3 per cent to the level of 4 per cent trailing behind the official target of 7 per cent. The indirect effects in this sector will, however, exacerbate the situation, according to the task force report.

The official post-flood rehabilitation programme in the agricultural sector which is aimed at recovering 8.50 lakh tons of foodgrains might reduce the rate of decline to 2 per cent from the last year's level.

But the planned domestic efforts and external assistance in supplementing the official development efforts, might help achieve a modest increase in the domestic production by 1 to 2 per cent, the report said.

The inter-agency task force report has projected a substantial shortfall of government revenues on account of poor collection of revenues from the dutiable imports during this year. The tax revenue, according to this assessment, is likely to decline by taka two billion. The damages of infrastructures including the shops and business establishments, industrial installations and dwelling houses will also reduce the level of collections of excise duties on gas and electricity. The flows of official imports of high-taxed items also will decline due to depressed market demand.

The report depicted a good prospect for high level of counterpart funds which would be mainly due to increased level of commodity imports both under foreign aid and grants. This has been necessitated to meet the flood exigencies.
But the rate of project aid disbursement will, however, decline following the implementation difficulties of the ADP projects. These factors will contribute in the decline of the overall investment expenditures under the Annual Development Programme (ADP) by about Tk 6 billion to Tk 47 billion from the original level of Tk 53 billion.

The report will be presented before the UN sponsored special conference on Bangladesh's floods in November.

INDIA

Newly Acquired Planes Said To Neutralize Pakistan Superiority
46001098 New Delhi PATRIOT in English
27 Sep 88 p 5

[Text] The induction of the swing-wing MiG-23, MiG-27 and the French Mirage-2000 aircraft in the Indian Air Force has practically neutralized any superiority that Pakistan might have gained in the skies with its sophisticated F-16s, reports PTI.

In the extreme northern skies, authoritative sources say, the Indian Air Force has got more teeth, with the later generations of the Mikoyan aircraft taking over many of the functions of the MiG-21, which was for long the main multi-role fighter.

The MiG-21 aircraft, renamed 'Vikram' by the Indian Air Force is now reserved only for air defence functions—for defending air bases and targets from enemy attacks. The small size, light weight and high maneuverability of the aircraft make it most suitable for the role of interception compared to the other aircraft with the IAF.

The later acquisitions of the air force—the Jaguar, the MiG-23, the MiG-27, the MiG-29 and the Mirage-2000s are all heavier aircraft with more specialized functions and capabilities.

Of the four versions of the MiG-21, in service, the 'Bis' is mainly used for interception roles. The other important role the fighter can be adapted to is that of Close Air Support (CAS) for the ground forces.

Equipped with later generation of IFF (Identification Friend or Foe) system, the MiG-21 can carry a combination payload of 1000 kg. The Soviet built aircraft, which has been updated by Indian research, is also now fitted with up to eight Soviet R-13 air to air infrared homing missiles, which can perform within a range of 500 meters to 12 km. Apart from this, depending on the mission, the aircraft, originally armed with Gasa 23 mm guns, can also be fitted with 57 mm rockets.

But the more sophisticated MiG-23 and 27 and now the Mirage-2000 have, as some officers said put India ten years ahead of Pakistan's air power. While the MiG-23 is meant for more tactical air strikes and support, including cover to bigger bombers, the MiG-27, which also has a swing-wing capability is basically a deep penetration strike aircraft, a role originally kept for the Jaguars.

The MiG-23, in service with the Indian Air Force has been specially fitted with a more powerful engine called the R-29 giving it more efficient thrust to weight ratio.

The MiG-27, which like the 23 has three basic wing positions, giving it an edge over fixed wing aircraft of its type as far as versatility is concerned, is mainly for the close air support role. The 'ML' version of the aircraft, with its 'precision guided ammunition' and an integrated navigation and attack system, greatly enhances the capability of ground forces.

With a maximum speed of 1.7 Mach, and a capability of carrying four tonnes of payload, in the shape of bombs, rockets and missiles, mounted on its seven armament stations, the aircraft can neutralize the advantage that any enemy army might gain on the ground.

One of the special features of the aircraft is the number of TV-guided missiles it carries. A TV camera fitted on the nose of the missile, gives the pilot a full view of the target and the flight path of the missile till the target is eliminated.

The Mirage 2000, which defense strategists felt has clinched the issue of air superiority for India, is a multi-mission combat aircraft capable of carrying out all weather air defence, high accuracy ground attack missions and Electronic Radar Suppression (EW) and Enemy Radar Intelligence Collection (ELNIT) missions.

For better handling, maneuverability and agility, the aircraft has an electrical flight control system or the fly-by-wire system.

The Thomson multi-mode radar, which is capable of air-to-air, air-to-ground and air-to-sea, functions gives the pilot access to most information he might require for a mission flight and the head up display cuts reaction time significantly, a factor crucial in war times.

Steering Committee for Unified Opposition Named
46001092 Madras THE HINDU in English
30 Sep 88 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, Sept. 29. A Steering Committee for the proposed unified opposition party has been formed with Mr V. P. Singh announcing the names of its 17 members drawn from the Janata Lok Dal, Jan Morcha and the Congress(S). The Jan Morcha leader had been asked to set up this committee and head it, in a resolution passed at the meeting of the Parliamentary Board of the Janata party on September 22.
This Janata resolution had been welcomed by the representatives of the three other parties and Mr V. P. Singh had been engaged in several rounds of discussions with the established leadership of these parties to finalize the list. The largest number of seats goes to the Janata which has been allotted six seats on the Steering Committee with one more of its members (Mr Madhu Dandavate, leader of the National Front in the Lok Sabha) being accorded the status of a special invitee. The Lok Dal and the Jan Morcha have been accorded four seats each and the Congress(S) three.

From the Janata Party both present and former presidents, Mr Ajit Singh and Mr Chandrashekhar, as well as Mr Ramakrishna Hegde, Mr Biju Patnaik, Mr Chimanbhai Patel and Mr Ram Bilas Paswan have been appointed. The Lok Dal nominees on the Steering Committee are party president Mr H. N. Bahuguna, the Haryana Chief Minister, Mr Devi Lal, the UP party chief Mr Mulayam Singh Yadav and Mr Sharad Yadav. Besides Mr V. P. Singh, the Jan Morcha representatives on the Steering Committee are its convenor Mr Ram Dhan, Mr V. V. Shukla and Mufti Mohammed Sayeed. All the three prominent Congress(S) leaders Mr S. C. Sinha, Mr K. P. Unnikrishnan and Mr Kishore Chandra Deo are members of the Steering Committee.

Representative character: As the list of names reveals, an effort has been made to accommodate various factions within the different parties and to give representation to different castes and regions. As far as representation from the Janata Party is concerned the Ajit Singh-Chandra Shekhar faction seems to have an edge though with Mr Madhu Dandavate sitting in on the meetings as a special invitee Mr Hegde and Mr Patnaik could be said to have retrieved some ground.

Mr Bahuguna has managed to salvage some prestige and secured a place in the Steering Committee, though his party colleagues Mr Devi Lal and Mr Sharad Yadav will be ranged against him. Mr Mulayam Singh Yadav has yet to give a final indication of where he stands but his tiff with Mr Sharad Yadav might count for less than the benefits that accrue from an alliance with Mr Devi Lal. The notable names missing from the Jan Morcha list are those of Mr Arun Nehru and Mr Arif Mohammed Khan. A facile explanation would be that it is not possible to accommodate everyone, but there is speculation that the differences which arose over the Allahabad election might have something to do with this. The Congress(S) has little reason to quibble.

Region-wise, the Hindi belt of course has got the bulk of the membership but even here the composition is heavily loaded in favor of Uttar Pradesh with Bihar, the second most populous State, being represented by the lone Mr Ram Bilas Paswan. In fact Bihar has fewer representatives than Madhya Pradesh (which has two) even though it is well acknowledged that in the former the unified party would be the dominant one while in the latter it would have to play second fiddle to the BJP in any adjustment.

Bone of contention: Representation from Bihar is likely to become a bone of contention with the Devi Lal group of the Lok Dal insisting that the State Legislature Party leader, Mr Laloo Prasad Yadav, be included in the Committee. This faction of the Lok Dal might not push the issue in the initial stages but any such move would be imposed both by the Janata (which would then insist that Mr Madhu Dandavate be made a full member as well and might even put forward the name of another Bihar backward caste leader) and by the Bahuguna faction of the Lok Dal which might insist that the nominee be the State party president, Mr Vinayak Yadav.

Janata Vice-President resigns: Today’s announcement has also caused some ripples in the Janata Party with Mr Indubhai Patel resigning from his posts of vice-president and chairman of the party’s Disciplinary Committee. In his resignation letter, sent to party president, Mr Ajit Singh, Mr Patel is understood to have pointed out that he found it difficult to submit his report in respect of the pending cases of undiscipline and that he was resorting to this step in order to avoid having to do so. Talking to the press here, he merely said that he had been thinking of resigning two months back and that he had just stayed on to resolve the crisis in the party. Since the crisis was now resolved he wanted to devote himself to the other activities.

Though Mr Indubhai Patel categorically denied the charge that his resignation was in protest against Mr Chimanbhai Patel having been chosen instead of him, people within his party feel that the resignation was on this account and that the step was intended to put the party president, Mr Ajit Singh on notice that he could not continue to take his support for granted in the conflict with Mr Hegde.

Mr Ajit Singh could not be too happy with the fact that Mr Hegde has found a place on the Steering Committee and sources say that he is annoyed with Mr V. P. Singh for not having abided by his recommendations as far as the Janata Party was concerned. The Janata president, who returned from Uttar Pradesh today, has left for an undisclosed destination and is expected back only on Monday.

Correspondent on Worker, Peasant Mass Action 46001090 New Delhi PATRIOT in English 29 Sep 88 p 5

[Article by Harkishan Singh Surjeet]

[Text] The joint struggle of the peasants and agricultural workers, conducted during the first fortnight of September, is a landmark in the history of the peasant movement in our country. Led by seven Left-led mass organizations of peasants and agricultural workers, the
movement, covering the entire country and all States, involved more than twenty lakh peasants and agricultural workers in militant direct action.

The movement took a variety of forms ranging from dharnas, rallies and processions to jail-bharo, rasta-roko and land occupation programmes.

The issues chosen for the movement were such that these had the support of all the political forces in the country who stood for the well-being of the peasants and agricultural laborers.

These were: Implementation of land reforms minimum wages and Central legislation for agricultural laborers and end to atrocities on them, remunerative prices for agricultural produce, adequate relief for drought and flood victims, withdrawal of hikes in the prices of agricultural inputs, cancellation of accumulated loans of poor peasants and agricultural laborers and adequate supply of essential commodities to the poor at subsidized prices. In addition, State based issues have been raised at local levels.

This unprecedented and enthusiastic participation of the rural masses in this agitation was despite a series of difficulties and disasters facing them. In the case of Bihar, a key State for the poor peasants' movement, the worst earthquake since 1934, which took a heavy toll, was followed by an equally devastating flood. In Assam, north Bengal and Bihar floods ravaged a large part of the countryside, dislocated communications and marooned a significant proportion of the population. In all these places priority had to be given to relief work, and to campaign for further relief and proper distribution of relief from official sources. As a consequence, in many of these areas the movement could not be conducted as scheduled earlier.

Similarly, panchayat elections in UP, Haryana and Rajasthan in August, which was a critical month for the preparation for the struggle, involved a large portion of the activists whose time could not be simultaneously devoted to the movement. It goes to the credit of the organizations launching this campaign that, despite all these difficulties, the direct action programme was a tremendous success.

The dimensions of the movement can be judged by a look at its far-flung impact in various States. Take Kerala, Jail-bharo campaign in the State was conducted from 9 to 15 September at the end of which more than 8 lakh offered themselves for arrest. On 15 September the last day, all the Central Government offices all over the State were successfully picketed. In a number of areas entry was made into illegally held ceiling surplus land. The campaign highlighted the adverse impact of the import policy of the Central Government on commercial crops, protection for some special types of land owners, regularization of the rights of many peasants cultivating land for a long time in some forest areas, and Presidential approval of the Amendment Bill on gift deed.

In Andhra, the movement commenced on 5 September when more than 50,000 offered themselves for arrest in 55 centers. Between 6 and 9 September another 2,00,000 took part in picketing in 415 mandals in 12 districts, of whom 30,000 were women. In all 50,000 were arrested. About 280 acres of surplus land were occupied. Cancellation of loan, particularly for the cotton growers of Prakasam and Guntur districts, who suffered very badly from a severe pest attack, was one of the major local issues highlighted.

In Assam, despite widespread floods, and disruption of communications, the jail bharo campaign was organized on 9 and 13 September in which about 40,000 took part. Flood relief figured prominently in the campaign. Another major local issue concerned the demand for cancellation of land revenue arrears in Karimganj district, which was earlier under permanent Settlement. There was a lathi charge in Bijnai, Kokrajhar.

In Bihar, despite flood and earthquake, more than 2,00,000 offered themselves for arrest in all but three districts. Madhubani, Darbhanga and Munger districts were kept outside the jail-bharo programme, though in other districts too, earthquake relief was a major issue. While the jail-bharo campaign was conducted from 5 to 9 September, on 10 and 11 September rasta-roko agitation were conducted jointly with SFI [expansion unknown] and DYFI [expansion unknown] activists. There were lathi charges in 13 places—in Saharsa, Deogarh, Bagusarai, Muzaffarpur, Chapra, Nalanda, Jehanabad, Khagaria and Patna—where about 200 were injured. CITU [Central Indian Trade Unions] activists participated in solidarity action in a number of places.

In Karnataka, between 5 and 13 September about 50,000 were arrested in six districts, and a successful general strike was called on 13 September in South Kanara. On 1 September, rasta-roko was organized in some of the main highways. Tree cutting and entry into illegally held ceiling surplus land was organized in a number of places.

In Madhya Pradesh, 30,000 were arrested in seven districts. In Guna, 1,500 bighas of land had been occupied and some more land had been occupied in Shahdol. In Gwalior in a lathi-charge by the police 34 were injured, of whom two are still in hospital. In Chhatarpur, 2,000 persons arrested were taken to a far-off forest area, where they were severely beaten and then abandoned. One of those abandoned subsequently died. Two thousand were arrested in Bhopal after a brutal lathi-charge. In Chhindwara 1,500 courted arrest; 1,282 in Durg; 1,000 in Raipur; and 500 in Indore.

In Maharashtra, more than 50,000 courted arrest, most of them in Thana, Nasik and Dhulia districts. On 12 and 13 September land occupation programmes were organized.
In Orissa, between 5 and 9 September about 1,00,000 took part in rasta-roko and on 10 September a dharna was organized near the State Assembly in Bhubaneswar, while massive demonstrations were also organized in Ganjam, Puri, Baleswar and other places. On the same day, industrial workers in Bhubaneswar, Rourkela, Berhampore and Keonjhar took part in solidarity strike action. There were lathi charges in eight places, in Dhamnagar, Ganjam, Berhampore, Pipa, Kangali, Lepanga, Pattamundai and Gopalpur.

In Punjab, despite Khalistan terrorism and widespread intimidation, 67,000 were arrested between 5 and 9 September. On 8 and 9 September students and youth participated in the movement, while on 12 and 13 September women and industrial workers took part in solidarity actions. Five thousand women offered satyagraha on 12 September. The campaign covered all districts except Kapurthala, while highlighting peasant issues, the jathas conducting the campaign also raised slogans supporting Hindu-Sikh unity and condemning extremism. On the last day alone, 10,000 courted arrest in Sengur.

In Rajasthan, more than 15,000 were arrested in eight districts with Sikar taking the lead with 5,000 arrests. In Jaipur industrial workers took part in solidarity action.

In Tamilnadu more than 1,10,000 courted arrest between 12 and 15 September, while on 16 September the offices of Central and State Governments were picketed. Seven hundred acres of ceiling surplus land had been occupied. In Neyveli, the land owned by a leading industrialist of up to 250 acres was taken over, and the police had to spend many hours to "clear" the land. There was widespread solidarity action from transport textiles electricity, cooperatives and engineering workers, as also from middle class employees and teachers. On 12 September women also participated in larger number, in Tanjore alone more than 10,000 women volunteers were arrested, among the local issues highlighted were demands for crop insurance, settlement of the Kaveri river water dispute, provision of creche and pregnancy benefits to working agricultural women.

In UP, the jail-bharo campaign was conducted in the plains from 12 to 14 September and in the hill areas from 16 to 18 September. More than 80,000 courted arrest. Kranti Morcha, particularly Lok Dal and Janata Party, extended moral support.

In West Bengal, the movement was conducted between 7 and 12 September when more than 10,000 villages were covered by meetings and demonstrations. On 13 September massive mobilization of peasants took place in collaboration with the organizations of women and youth, in more than 100 blocks. On 14 September, along with other working people the peasant and agricultural laborers supported the five-point charter of demands during the bandh, and also raised the issues of withdrawal of official backing of statutory prices of jute, presidential approval of the Amendment Bill on land reform and Public Distribution System.

In Gujarat, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh over 5,000 peasant and agricultural workers courted arrest. The campaign revealed a number of interesting features. For the first time direct action on issues like land and wages had been undertaken jointly by peasants and agricultural laborers. This would strengthen the unity of these two major components of the rural masses. This was also the first time that all the Left forces had joined hands to conduct a nationwide struggle on the demands of peasants and agricultural laborers. The participation of agricultural laborers was high in all the States. For example, in Bihar more than 40 percent of those courted arrest were agricultural laborers, while in Kerala, Haryana and West Bengal they formed the majority.

A significant aspect of the movement was that trade unions in various States not only lent moral support but at many places took part in satyagraha. This has strengthened the basis of workers-peasants unity.

The movement has succeeded in focussing attention on the burning issues of the peasantry and agricultural laborers. It has shown how extensive is discontent among the rural masses and how hostile they are to the anti-peasant policies of the Government. It has also demonstrated the growing upsurge among the rural people, and the support of other sections of the population for their demands. It shows the possibilities that exist for developing an even more powerful movement of the peasants and agricultural laborers—IPA

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**SOUTH ASIA**

**IRAN**

**Islamic Banking Credits Show Substantial Increase**

46000027a Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 25 Oct 88 p 2

[Text] Tehran, Oct 24 (Kayhan Intl!)—According to a report published in the Persian daily, KAYHAN here on Monday, by the end of the past Iranian month of Mordad (Aug 22), the volume of Islamic banking transactions of Mellat Bank reached the mark of Rls 432b ($6b).

The report said that the figure marked a growth rate of 45 percent in comparison with the same period during the previous year.

The daily said that until Aug 22 this year, the bank credits to commercial and services sectors showed decrease, while in agricultural, industrial and construction sectors, the credits indicated substantial increase.
Denmark Offers Railroad Expertise
46000027c Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 25 Oct 88 p 6

[Text] Tehran, Oct 24 (IRNA)—Outgoing Danish ambassador Ib Ritto Andreasen expressed hope of cooperating with Iran in improving its railroad network.

He made the offer in a meeting with Deputy Road and Transport Minister and Director General of State Railroad Organization Sadeq Afshar.

The Danish diplomat said his country could meet the technical needs of the Railroad Department during reconstruction.

Afshar said Iranian experts would carry out railroad expansion plans, but technical needs, including spare parts will be discussed in future meetings with Danish delegations.

Chemical Plant To Create 800 New Jobs
46000027d Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 25 Oct 88 p 6

[Text] Tehran, Oct 24 (Kayhan Int'l)—According to recent issue of KIMIA, a monthly magazine of the Iranian chemical and cellulosics industries, the construction project of Isfahan chemical plant, currently under way, is scheduled to finish in 1969 (March 21, 1990-March 20, 1991).

The magazine reported that the plant’s construction would cost Rs 1.4b ($200m) and $130m in foreign exchange.

The report said that the plant would produce 141,000 tons of different petrochemical products.

Eight hundred new jobs will be created after the project is completed, saving annually $65m in foreign exchange, the periodical said.

Statistics on Marriage, Births, Deaths
46000027d Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 26 Oct 88 p 6

[Text] Tehran, Oct 25 (Kayhan Int'l)—According to 1966 (March 21, 1987-March 20, 1988) issue of the Major Registered Events of Iran publication, a total of 346,647 marriages were registered throughout the country during that year.

The Persian daily, KAYHAN quoted the publication that the marriage rate in 1966 showed 1.86 percent increase in comparison with the figures for 1365 (March 21, 1986-March 20, 1987).

Birth Statistics
The daily reported that during 1966, a total of 1,382,089 births were registered in the country, of which 863,512 were registered in the rural areas and 968,577 were those of the urban areas.

“The ratio of the registered births in the urban areas to that of the total registered births of Iran marks 52.87 percent,” the report said.

The daily added that the ratio of the registered births in the urban areas to that of the total registered births of the country marked 47.13 percent.

The report said that in 1966 of total births in the country 911,432 were males and 920,657 were females.

Death Statistics
The daily said that during 1966, a total of 204,220 deaths were registered across the country, of which 121,140 and 83,080 were registered in the urban and rural areas, respectively.

“The total figure of registered deaths in 1966 shows 2.36 percent increase in comparison with figures for the previous year,” the report said.

Divorce Statistics
According to the daily during 1966 a total of 33,433 divorce cases were registered throughout the country, of which 27,588 cases were registered in the urban areas and 8,312 cases were registered in the rural areas.

“The divorce statistics of 1966 marked 5 percent decrease in comparison with the divorce figures of 1966,” the daily said.

PAKISTAN

Al-Azhar Examines Issue of Islamic Woman Leader
46040003 Kuwait AL-MUJTAMA’ in Arabic 25 Oct 88 pp 14-17


[Excerpts] “Women Are Not Qualified for Positions of Full Sovereign Power. It Follows, Therefore, That They May Not Exercise Authority over Muslims.”

The Islamic nation was taken by surprise when Mrs Benazir Bhutto, president of the Pakistan People’s Party, overstepped all bounds by declaring herself a candidate
in the coming elections to become the government’s leader and prime minister. Accordingly, she would become the leader of the Islamic people of Pakistan.

Because Islam, which is the religion espoused by the Muslim people of Pakistan, does have an unequivocal opinion on the question of a woman’s candidacy to hold a position of sovereign power and lead the nation, Al-MUJTAMA’ raised the question of Benazir Bhutto with the scholars of the Holy al-Azhar in Egypt. Mrs Benazir Bhutto, the woman who is getting ready to run in Pakistan’s parliamentary elections, is supported by all non-Islamic secular tendencies and by atheistic communist forces who allied themselves with international Christianity to destroy Pakistan.

The answers to the question, which were given by scholars of the Holy al-Azhar, are considered formal legal opinions. These answers were given by each of the following scholars:

1. Dr Ra’uf Shalabi, deputy chancellor of al-Azhar University.

2. Dr Hasan al-Shadhli, head of the Department of Comparative Jurisprudence in al-Azhar University and former dean of Kuwait University’s College of the Canonical Law of Islam.

3. Dr ‘Abd-al-Mu’ti Bayyumi, deputy dean of al-Azhar University’s College of the Principles of Religion.

4. Dr Fu’ad al-Dawi, professor of Public Law and legal counselor in al-Azhar University.

1. The Scholars’ Unanimous Agreement

His Eminence Dr Ra’uf Shalabi, deputy chancellor of al-Azhar University delivered his formal legal opinion at the outset. He based his opinion on a reliable tradition of the prophet—may God bless him and grant him salvation.

Dr Shalabi said, “When a woman was placed on Khosrav’s throne, the prophet—may God bless him and grant him salvation—said, ‘Those who entrust their affairs to a woman shall fail’.” It is on the basis of this statement by the prophet that the nation’s scholars have an indisputable, unanimous agreement over this question.

Dr Shalabi, deputy chancellor of the Holy al-Azhar says, “Scholars of the prophetic tradition have agreed unanimously that women are not to serve as heads of state.”

This formal legal opinion, unanimously agreed to by the nation’s scholars, makes it evident that a woman may not declare herself a candidate for the position of state leader or the head of a state’s government. A woman may not serve as head of state because women, according to the unanimous agreement of scholars of the prophetic tradition and as the deputy chancellor of the Holy al-Azhar said, “may not serve in a position of sovereign power. This means that people may not legally vote for a woman to head the government of a state because doing that would contribute to the occurrence of something which is forbidden.”

2. Giving Preference to the Scholars’ Opinion

Dr Hasan al-Shadhli, head of al-Azhar University’s Department of Comparative Jurisprudence expands upon this point. He explains all the legal aspects of this question that are of interest to Muslims, and he provides the necessary evidence for what he says. “Almighty God intended to create man and make him His deputy on earth. God Almighty said, ‘When your Lord said to the angels: ‘I am placing on the earth one that shall rule as My deputy...’’ [al-Baqarah: 30].

“Almighty God intended that man become the agent by means of which—God willing—the earth and the universe shall thrive and become populated and developed. Almighty God also intended mankind to procreate and multiply; He wanted the generations to succeed each other. That is why He created mankind as male or female and endowed each with his or her own personal, objective, natural, and social characteristics. He also endowed males and females with their own mental, physical, emotional, and psychic capabilities.

“The Wise Lawmaker intended that men and women be charged with tasks which are suitable to those characteristics and capabilities. He intended that they be entrusted with tasks that are compatible with those characteristics and capabilities so that no one would fail after being entrusted with a task he could not perform. God Almighty said, ‘None should be charged with more than one can bear’ [al-Baqarah: 233]. God Almighty also said, ‘A‘lah does not charge a man with more than He has given him’ [al-Talaq: 7], nor does He burden a man with what he cannot do, causing him to fail, perish, and cause others to perish.

“Exercising sovereign power is one of those tasks. The canonical law firmly confers this power upon a specific person, enabling him to exercise authority over the persons, property, or other possessions of those who are subject to his authority. The law gives a ruler the authority to protect and develop those who are subject to his authority, as well as their property and possessions, in accordance with the method set forth by the wise law.

“The Wise Lawmaker regulated this matter rigorously, [distinguishing between] general power, such as the sovereign power of an emir or a head of state, and special power, such as power over oneself, having custody of a child or of property, or having special power over self and property, such as the power exercised by a father and guardian over his son and his son’s property.
"The Wise Lawmaker gave men and women such power in accordance with the characteristics and capabilities that distinguish each one. Women have the right to have custody of children and to exercise power over the affairs of the household.

"The Wise Lawmaker considered the characteristics and capabilities of those who could be entrusted with general sovereign power, such as that which is conferred upon an emir or head of state, so that the guidance which is being sought from such a position can be realized. Thus the affairs of state throughout a ruler's term in office would be conducted at all times in a manner whereby all these capabilities and characteristics would be exercised in a balanced, coherent, growing, and connected manner without ever becoming weak or boring, or impaired by any natural, moral, or legal shortcoming.

"That is why the Wise Lawmaker decreed that the imamate or the position of a head of state should belong to one who possessed certain qualities. Besides being a just and knowledgeable Muslim, an imam or head of state must be a man.

"The condition that one who is entrusted with the position of a head of state should be a man is mentioned in the Koran and in the prophet's tradition. There is unanimous agreement in the nation about that condition which is set forth by analogy and required by what is advantageous."

God Almighty states in the Holy Koran, "Men have authority over women because Allah has made the one superior to the others, ..." [al-Nisa': 34]. The generalization we can make from this verse is that men have authority over women but that said authority is not absolute. It is restricted by those texts which gave women authority over men. The canonical law established that women function as guardians and protectors in their husbands' homes.

It is related in the prophetic tradition that Abu Bakrah said, "When God's messenger—may God bless him and grant him salvation—was informed that the Persians had accepted the daughter of Khosrau as their queen, he said, 'Those who entrust their affairs to a woman shall not succeed.' This statement, which is related by Ahmad, al-Bukhari, al-Nisa'i, and al-Tarmadhi, is authentic, and it has been verified...."

This is an unequivocal statement indicating that women are not qualified to assume the position of king, emir, or head of state. People may not entrust such a position to a woman because it is everyone's duty to avoid that which will not yield success.

Although the prophet's tradition is reported in the form of indirect discourse, such discourse from the wise lawmaker indicates that a principle is established prohibiting the placement of a woman in such a position. Al-Sana'ani says, "The prophet's statement sends the message that those who entrust their affairs to a woman shall not succeed. People are prohibited from bringing failure upon themselves, and they are ordered to seek what will bring about success."

The prophet's statement is an unequivocal declaration that a woman may not serve as an Islamic nation's head of state. [Passage omitted]

3. Women as Judges

Regarding the courts, Dr `Abd-al-Mun'im Bayyumi, deputy dean of al-Azhar University's College of the Principles of Religion, sets forth scholars' opinions as he affirms that it is not permissible for women to serve as judges.

Dr Bayyumi says, "Scholars' points of view on the matter of women serving as judges have been varied. Three tendencies developed from the statement in which the prophet—may God bless him and grant him salvation—stated that 'Those who entrust their affairs to a woman shall not succeed.' The prophet made that statement when he was informed that the Persians had entrusted their affairs to a woman.

"1. Many scholars of jurisprudence think that women may not serve as judges. In arguing their point of view they cite this statement by the prophet and express their belief that what is meant by that statement is the general power of a king and judge.

"2. But Ibn Jarir al-Tabari thinks that a woman's mind or her ability to think is not inferior to that of a man. He also thinks that what is meant by that statement is the power of a king, not that of a judge. Accordingly, al-Tabari says that women may serve as judges, even in criminal cases.

"3. The Hanafis took a middle of the road approach, permitting women to serve as judges in all cases but criminal ones.

"What I believe in this regard, only as far as the courts are concerned, is the opinion which was adopted by al-Sanhuri who indicated that the matter had to do with the interpretation made by each age in the light of what it deems serves the public interest."

"I believe that women can serve as judges in cases dealing with juveniles and personal affairs. They may not, however, judge business and criminal cases because business cases are complicated, and criminal cases involve matters which are incompatible with their nature. Cases involving personal affairs and juveniles are more suitable to women's nature. May God grant success."

4. Men Have Authority

Finally, Dr Fu'ad Muhammad al-Nadi, professor of Public Law and legal counsel at al-Azhar University, dealt with the question of women in positions of sovereign power. He dealt with that question from two perspectives: the legal and constitutional.
He started his answer to the question by saying, "To find out whether or not a woman may become a candidate for such an office we must consider if a woman in any Islamic nation is permitted to serve as head of state.

"There is unanimous agreement among scholars from the various Islamic denominations that a woman may not serve as head of state. Their opinion is supported by the sources of the law in Islamic jurisprudence. God Almighty says in His masterly book, 'Men have authority over women because Allah has made the one superior to the other, and because they spend their wealth to maintain them' (al-Nisa': 34).

"This verse clearly indicates that authority is restricted to men because of their attributes, which manifest themselves in how they manage matters. Men's attributes are manifested in their opinions and in their resolve and determination. Men have a more powerful sense of self and greater ambition.

"It may be said that the authority meant by the noble verse is that special authority which manifests itself in the authority of the head of a family. But even if we were to accept that, we would have to argue by analogy that if a woman is incapable of managing her family's affairs, where the number of people is limited, it stands to reason that she will be even more incapable of managing the nation's affairs.

"The most telling evidence that in Islam women are prohibited from serving as heads of state may be what was mentioned in the righteous prophetic tradition. Abu Bakr related, 'O Salmah, God led me to benefit from this during the Battle of al-Jamal! When the prophet—may God bless him and grant him salvation—was informed that the Persians had crowned the daughter of Xerxes, he said, 'Those who entrust their affairs to a woman shall not succeed.'" It is on the basis of this statement that scholars of jurisprudence declare that women may not be entrusted with any form of general authority, not only that of a head of state. Furthermore, neither the prophet—may God bless him and grant him salvation—nor the wise caliphs who ruled after him have been known to have entrusted any public authority to women.

Women May Not Be Entrusted With Positions of Leadership

That is why unanimous agreement was reached that in Islam women may not be entrusted with the position of a head of state. Such unanimous agreement is further positive evidence, based on the provisions of Islamic jurisprudence, indicating that women may not serve as heads of state.

Additionally, scholars provided rational evidence that would prevent women from being entrusted with the position of head of state. Among the evidence provided by scholars in this regard is the statement that, "The head of an Islamic state exercises religious authorities and political powers which are inseparable. The fact that a head of state has dual responsibilities led Muslim scholars of jurisprudence to exclude from consideration those who cannot perform the duties of this position or those who are not qualified to exercise full and absolute power. And it is that which led to the exclusion of women from consideration for serving in that capacity, even if they had all the other qualities that were necessary in a caliph."

Also the head of an Islamic state cannot do without the company of men with whom he has to consult on important matters, and it is not permissible for a woman to be in the company of men because Islam forbids that.

Furthermore, the position of a head of state requires determination. He has to be seen overseeing matters, and he must go to the sites of government and to battlefields, and in Islam women are forbidden from doing all such things.

Finally, scholars of jurisprudence have unanimous agreement that women are not qualified to be in a position of full authority. Consequently, they may not have general authority over Muslims.

Conventional Laws

[Passage omitted] Dr al-Nadi concludes this colloquy by saying: "For our part, we think that it is not permissible in any Islamic country for a woman to serve as head of state, even in those countries whose constitutions make no mention of the sex of a candidate for that position. This is because public law in Islamic countries applies what is stipulated by the evidence of the aforementioned provisions."

AL-MUJTAMA': We thank their eminences the scholars of jurisprudence for their replies, and we promise readers that more opinions on this question from the nation's major scholars will be forthcoming. May the peace of God and His mercy and blessings be upon you.

Writer Disputes That Ziaul Haq Was a 'National Hero'

46560001 Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 7 Oct 88 p 9

[Article by Ataul Haq Qasmi: "National Hero??"]

[Excerpt] I have received numerous letters, some for and some against the opinion I expressed in my article "They Think It's Easy To Be a Muslim" published in the NAWA-I-WAQT, 26 September. I did not want to start a debate on this topic, because like the admirers of Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who refuse to hear a different opinion about him, and try to find means to justify even his nationally harmful actions. General Zia's devotees, too, are carried away by emotion even when talking about important national affairs. As a result, it is not possible to have a cool and calm discussion with them. But in today's (3 Oct) issue of the NAWA-I-WAQT, Mr Hussain Haqqani's remarks about my article have compelled me to write these lines. I am writing in answer to Mr Haqqani, and also some of the readers who wrote letters to me.
I had written about the late president Ziaul Haq that despite his great personal virtues, he could only become a cultural hero. He could not rise to the heights of a national hero since his personal qualities did not have any impact on the nation's destiny. So no substantial positive changes took place in society. To prove this point I have only to mention that the evils of corruption, nepotism, lawlessness, poverty, exploitation, hoarding and smuggling have increased during the recent years. If we are taken in by the self-advertising methods of the late president and come to believe that Islam has, in fact, been promulgated in the country, then, people who are crushed under the weight of their problems will come to the conclusion that even Islam is not a cure for their social and economic ills. I further wrote that coming into power through undemocratic methods cannot be discouraged if we lionize men like General Ziaul Haq. In answer to my statements Mr Hussain Haqani writes: “The achievement of the martyred president is that he not only took steps to mold our personal lives according to the dictates of Islam, but he also made the promulgation of the Islamic system, the first priority in the national agenda.” Believe me, I tried my hardest, but could not imagine a social system so abstract that it would have no perceptible effect on the problems of the people. The graph of the people's woes has been going upward during the last 11 years. I want to find some trace of the benefits of the “Islamic system” whose enactment was made “the first priority of the national agenda.”

Again, Mr Haqani says, “Is it fair that while the great men of Islamic history are to be called heroes, he who has followed in their footsteps is not to be given that title?” In answer to this I beg to state that the great men of Islam did not become heroes by dint of their piety and prayers, but by the just and fair system of government they gave the people they ruled. We have been waiting for such a system for years. My chief complaint against the late president is that he did not follow in the footsteps of our great heroes, or at least some of our problems would have been solved. Mr Haqani further says: “The martyred president founded many new departments. He began a program of religious instruction and moral training. He started a system of social welfare by getting Zakat and Ushr collected and distributed through government agencies. He tried to change the country's geopolitical situation by joining the holy war of Afghanistan.”

Mr Haqani has written about the departments started by the late president, but failed to mention the departments he destroyed. Mr Haqani has only mentioned the department of Zakat, but Mr Mustafa Sadiq also referred to Fountain House, an institution meant for the mentally ill. For me the question is: what good came of the department of collecting and distribution Zakat? We have heard that in the early days of Islam government controlled Zakat system eradicated poverty so completely that not a single needy person could be found anywhere in society. What was wrong with the Zakat system promulgated by the late president that it did not take away a particle from the poverty of our country? It may be said that the department of Zakat was a failure because the officials who ran the department were corrupt. Well, who chose the officials? The man at the helm is responsible for all that happens in the country.

There is no doubt that the late president showed great tenacity in helping the Afghan Mujahideen. But he made enemies. And they took revenge by blowing up the C-130. It was a national tragedy. May God rest the souls of the victims, and give their successors strength not to be demoralized by this tragedy and continue to fight until the Soviets are pushed back to their own borders. We should remember that our war is a war of defense. We must keep our country free from foreign intrusion in every form. We should keep an eye on the foreign commandos that keep entering our country. As a matter of fact, many highly trained guerrillas from Russia, Afghanistan and India have found their way miles inside Pakistan. They have destroyed C-130, they have attacked our oil installations, they destroyed the life and property of the people of Rawalpindi and Islamabad by burning the Ojri Camp. These guerrillas entered the cities of Karachi and Hyderabad and after killing more than 300 Pakistanis in a short time went back to their hideouts. Hundreds of Afghan planes have been entering our borders and bombarding our towns. These foreign guerrillas have killed hundreds of people at Peshawar with the help of bombs. After killing Allama Ehsan Ilahi Zaheer and Allama Arif al-Hussaini, they are lying in wait to get a chance of assassinating the other men on their hit-list. All this has endangered the safety of our country. The policy that was adopted to keep the Soviets away from our borders has proved to be defective. That is why their guerrillas have entered hundreds of miles inside our country.

Mr Haqani goes on to say that President Ziaul Haq was not against democracy; he merely wanted to change its form. He further states that whenever the said president tried to hold elections, the politicians stood in his way. I think Mr Haqani is trying to justify General Zia’s actions by hiding facts. In reality the General disliked the politicians and called them dishonest and selfish. Hence it is untrue to say that he went on postponing the elections because they stood in his way. As everyone knows, the late president listened to all but did exactly what he had decided to do beforehand. According to Mr Haqani, “The Islamic system was not a success, because the officials who had to carry it out were worthless.” It is my belief that if a man with good intentions wants to find good workers, he can find them even in these days. But the General was an expert at choosing the corrupt workers. Even the assembly he gave the sacred name of the “Shoora” was filled with feudal lords and the most notorious ruffians of the People’s Party. In the same way, when on 29 May 1988 he dissolved the assemblies and government of his own making, he explained his action by saying that they were corrupt. Then he made a new government, but it included all the people whom he had called worthless. Not only that, he made General Fazle Haq governor of the Frontier Province. Mr Haqani! The Islamic system could not be enacted in the country, not because there were no good persons to be found, but because the General always chose a corrupt personnel.
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