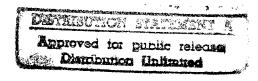
JPRS-NEA-84-048 22 March 1984

# Near East/South Asia Report



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#### BRIEFS

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC MEETINGS -- It has been decided that a series of meetings of the joint committees established by Iraq and various Arab and foreign countries will be held during the first quarter of 1984. It is hoped that a joint agreement on economic, commercial and technical cooperation will soon be signed by Iraq and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Moreover, this month the meetings of the fourth session of the joint committee on economic cooperation between Iraq and the Yemen Arab Republic will be held, as will the meetings of the joint committee formed by Iraq and the Democratic Republic of Yemen. On the level of international relations, the meetings of the joint Iraqi-Brazilian committee on economic, commercial and technical cooperation will be held this January in Rio de Janeiro. This will be followed by the meetings of the joint Iraqi-Italian committee for economic, commercial and technical cooperation, which will be held in February. This March will witness the holding of a new round of meetings by the joint Iraqi-Spanish committee on economic, commercial and technical cooperation. During the first quarter of this year, the joint committees on economic, commercial, and technical cooperation established by Iraq with Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Cuba and the Soviet Union will hold their meetings. In addition, Iraq will take part in the international exhibition at Leipzig in the German Democratic Republic, which will be held from 13 to 19 March. /Text/ /London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 42, 28 Jan 84 p  $42\overline{7}$  12224

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VARIOUS NATIONAL PARTY CLAIMS, PLATFORMS EXAMINED

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic No 2900, 9 Jan 84 pp 10-14

[Article by Karam Jabr and 'Isam 'Abd-al-'Aziz: "The National Party's Turn! 20 Minutes for Problems and 5 Hours for Speeches!"]

[Text] The ball is now in the National Party's court. The party has chosen the style of confronting the masses' problems at its conferences, which it is holding in all governorates.

But how is the confrontation between the masses and the majority party? To put it more precisely, what do the people want from the National Party? How is the party facing these demands?

Let us go over to one of the conferences, to record what is going on.

A large tent in the courtyard of the secondary school, in which more than 5,000 citizens are massed. On the walls, 13 festive banners have been hung and flowers, colors and decorations are above the tent!

We are now at the National Party conference in the distric of Usim, Governorate of Giza. The objective is to solve the masses' problems.

The guests at the conference are numerous: the governor of Giza, the chairman of the local council, the chairman of the parliamentary group, all the executive officials, and members of the People's and Consultative Assemblies and the local people's assemblies.

The conference began with a statement by the chairman of the religious society in Usim. He pointed out that the conference's goal was to get to know the citizens' demands in their natural environment. He described the officials as the people's servants. He then moved on to salute Yasir 'Arafat and the July revolution, which God had generously bestowed on the nation, and asked that Islamic law be applied, because its application would make the National Party a bright spot in the forehead of time.

After him came al-Hajj 'Ali Salih of the party secretariat in Usim. He pointed out that the goal of the conference was to get to know the masses'

problems and to solve them, stressing the party's solidarity with the broad base of the masses of our people. He asked the governor not to treat the District of Usim differently from others, because it was a new district which had not yet received many services which ought to have been given it in preference to others. It also presided over 15 local units extending from Rawd al-Faraj to Pyramid Boulevard!

The Masses' Demands, in the Possession of Al-Hajj Samahah!

The third person to speak was al-Hajj 'Abd-al-Ghaffar of the party committee, who said:

"The masses' demands are in the possession of al-Hajj Samahah, and he will state them. I am not speaking from a piece of paper or from my mind, but what I can do is up to fate!"

He went on, "I forgot to give greetings to the security sector -- the police chief, the officers, and the investigative officers!"

Then came the turn of the young people's representative, named Fawzi Fathal-lah. He said, "I thank the gentleman and minister, Governor 'Abd-al-Hamid Hasan, for his visit. He is coming among his people and his brothers today. We give God thanks that he is in full health, and we wish him more, because Egypt is above everyone. Egypt asks every generous hand to clap!"

The youth representative stopped to thank all the officials by name, while imparting a distinctive character to each, for example, "a man who is all energy, a man who works and works." He then thanked all the five mayors who had assumed the mayoralty of Usim, and singled out the current chairman for thanks, because he was "the gift" of the governor!

The first diplomat then greeted al-Hajj so-and-so, then the original hajj, al-Hajj such-and-such, and on this occasion we should not forget all the village chiefs. He then presented God's book to the governor as a present.

The floor moved over to Nazmi Yusuf Ghurab, a party leader. He attacked the opposition parties for advocating ideas which were not appropriate for our country. He went on to thank those in attendance, one by one.

At this point, some of the people in the tent cried out, "Where are the problems, then?"

The person talking merely went on to promise God to progress in the service of our broad masses!

Al-Hajj Muhammad Khatir, a wise leader and bold, daring man, as the person presenting the celebration said, offered thanks and appreciation that the masses should have been given the chance to discuss their demands in their natural environment, [stating] "The local people's assembly had previously discussed these demands, and we have great hopes that they will be answered!"

He went on: "We are venturing on a party activity which needs everyone, so that no one will be able to detract from our party, so that we will have the opportunity to move quickly among the toiling masses, and so that we can stand against false charges, in order to bring about the people's welfare. We promise God, and promise you, that we are loyal soldiers at the beck and call of the party, and everything that is fit for our beloved masses!"

The mayor of the town of Usim then talked about the great achievements in the short period in which he had been in charge, and presented statistics in figures, showing the extent of the effort he had exerted. He then presented a present, God's book, to the governor.

#### Al-Hajj Samahah Speaks!

Then came the turn of al-Hajj Samahah Sabih, member of the People's Assembly. He said, "The party is working to solve the masses' problems. It is giving us the honor of this great conference, with our political leader, His Excellency Dr 'Abd-al-Hamid Hasan, in attendance."

He went on: "Since the district is working to solve the masses' problems, we are presenting the most important problems." For a period of 20 minutes, he went on to read from a long list of subjects which had been written down on a number of pieces of paper!

What were needed were allocations for the al-Azhar institutes, mosques, repairs in schools, the construction of new schools, consumer complexes, roads, water, electricity, sewers, police stations, courts, and so on and so forth.

He finished reading the demands in the midst of cries from some of those in attendance demanding that "wastebaskets" be included for all the demands!

'Abd-al-Ra'uf Abu Humaylah, chairman of the local people's assembly, spoke, saying "We are making a tour of the districts in conferences. We have done this in al-'Ayyat, al-Badrashayn, al-Saff, and Abu Nimras. I congratulate you because you have won the round and the cup in these meetings." There was a long ululating cry from one of those in attendance.

Some of the people in attendance replied, "The round is still early. That will be in the wastebasket!"

He added, "If we had known that the conference would have been this good, we would have brought someone from the higher command. I would have been right, because you are the strike force in this governorate!"

He then challenged [one to name] any party that had made achievements such as those of the National Party, and any party that could have make achievements such as those of the National Party.

Finally, the governor of Giza, Dr 'Abd-al-Hamid Hasan, talked, saying, "I do not have a magic wand in my hand to solve problems, and I have not come here just to solve problems. Because your government does not lie to you, let me

seize this opportunity to let this meeting be a consolidation of our thoughts."

The governor talked about democracy and the presence of a number of parties, [stating] "although some dead persons have now become among the living to-day and want to eradicate our minds, and forget what the revolution has provided over 30 years, and it is due to us that that is allowed to happen!"

The governor talked about the achievements of the July revolution and some people's attempts to detract from them and depict the life before the revolution as paradise, ignoring that the revolution made us free, and not poured into a mold in order that we would give our votes to pashas and rich people. [He said] "We will not go back to the past but rather we will tell them, stop, who are you?"

The governor then reviewed the list of demands and begged off most of them, because there were no resources on the one hand and because they needed a government budget on the other. At the same time, the governor took immediate decisions to provide some allocations which appeared in the list of the People's Assembly member.

#### Essential Observations

The conference, which had gone on past midnight, taking a full 5 and a half hours, on a very cold evening, ended!

One should note that the talk about problems took only 20 minutes, from written notes, and that not one of the members of the masses spoke, but rather that the talk was restricted to officials and members of the People's and Consultative Assemblies and that the governor collected the demands that people had presented on pieces of paper and promised to study them and resolve them with the officials in the governorate, that the salutations and expressions of affection took all the time, and that everyone speaking repeated the names of all the officials in order to salute them. The odd thing is that the titles the governor of Giza bore, which all the people speaking were careful to mention, were Mr Professor Dr Governor of Giza!

A More Necessary Question!

Do these conferences solve the masses' problems?

Dr Mahmud Mahfuz, chairman of the Committee of Services of the Consultative Assembly, [said]:

"In reality, the problems people suffer from do not find their way to a solution easily."

Why not?

"Because people now consider the government responsible for everything, for medical treatment, housing, food, education, job opportunities, the eradication of illiteracy, traffic regulation and the construction of projects!"

"In brief, the people hold the government responsible for everything. Frankly, there is no government in the world that can do that. Solving problems depends on the individual and his abilities, on the one hand, and on the government and its system and political climate on the other!

"That means that the solution to the problems people are suffering from, and the attainment of prosperity, come about through a democratic climate, in circumstances that permit the evaluation of the individual's ability to sacrifice, after the resources have been provided for this individual!"

What, then, is the party's role, specifically?

"Political activity in the opposition parties or in the ruling party must be restricted to explaining the goals of development and the individual's role in making it a success, because parties that have a broad base among the people can do that."

Dr Mahfuz went on, "Therefore, I consider that the solution to the masses' problems is not the responsibility of the political parties, but rather is basically the responsibility of the government's administrative activity, and the role of the political parties is restricted to explaining the dimensions of the development plan and trying to make the broad masses believe in a single objective which they try to attain!"

#### A Vicious Circle!

We asked Dr Hilmi al-Hadidi, chairman of the People's Assembly Education Committee, "Whose responsibility is it to solve the problems of the masses?"

He said, "The responsibility is a collective one. All political parties in Egypt, and not just the National Party, must study the actual situation, in its positive and negative aspects, then set out plans that are able to achieve progress in various areas of life, through the proper use and exploitation of these resources!

"The parties must strive, from a nationwide premise, to prompt the masses to be persuaded by this thinking, because moving the masses in a sound direction is the basis, and no political party by itself, or government by itself, can take charge of creating all the solutions!"

We said, "We agree with you over the importance of having the masses move with the government, but how can this be realized?"

He said, "I do not deny that there are shortcomings in political activity, in the activity of both the ruling party and the framework of the opposition. Everyone is talking about phenomena, but not talking about issues. For example, the phenomenon of spending and indifference is a serious issue, which we must study in order to learn about its dimensions. However, if you follow up on what the National Party and the opposition parties are doing, you will find that the National Party says, 'We will try to do away with laxity,' while the opposition party deals with the matter provocatively, and the laxity remains, in spite of everything!

"Scientific studies and research works are supposed to be done on all the problems the society is suffering from, so that the most appropriate solutions can be offered!"

[Question] Doesn't that mean that a political party will be transformed into a center of research and studies?

[Answer] No, that is not the goal. However, the activity of any political party must at least be founded on a scientific basis, and it is possible that the parties might request the research centers to help them in this regard.

The man in the street is not concerned with all this. He is convinced only by accomplishments. I still remember the peasants as they were crying out in the previous People's Assembly elections "We want an educated man, so that he won't go just to applaud!"

Dr al-Sayyid 'Ali al-Sayyid, member of the Consultative Assembly, considers that the greatest fault lies with the government, which has recently been insisting on doing all the necessary things, to the point where the people became dependent on it and contented themselves with observing, and not participating!

[Question] But Doctor, how can the government's deputy contribute to solving the people's problems?

[Answer] For the deputy to be able to do this, he must meet specific conditions, such as total awareness of the issues of the nation in general, and his abilities to move among the people of his nation!

This all prompts the member to feel the pulses of the heart of the people, and express them and move to solve the problems of the masses and act to reduce their sufferings, because the people are the ones who choose their representatives!

#### Mutual Neglect!

Counsellor Raf'at 'Abd-al-Hadi, member of the Consultative Assembly, states, "In my view, everyone in all locations must get moving to solve the masses' problems, because a doctor who is negligent in his work in a government hospital, and about whom people complain, is the same person who complains about the engineer in the section, the water, sewer, or road utility worker, and so on, since the problems of the people are mutual neglect on the part of all citizens.

"The solution to the people's problems and issues are based on behavior and morality. It would be wrong for us to imagine that they are material problems in the first place. Loyalty to the nation and work for the sake of development are goals that all parties must seek to implant in people's spirits.

"The parties in the past strove toward a single objective, which was the focus of all the citizens' attention and movement; the objective was total evacuation or violent death. Everyone acted to realize that -- scholars, doctors, teachers and craftsmen.

"Proceeding from that premise, we can understand the National Party's acting to establish solidarity with the masses as a positive movement on the part of the majority party to gather the ranks of the people together toward a single goal, which is development. Using people's problems is only an entree to attaining solidarity with them. The mere attainment of this solidarity and awakening of the people to the dimensions and truth of problems is a great goal.

"If the party succeeds in realizing this, and every citizen commits himself to his national duty, in all their places, with their roles, in the best manner, the teacher in his class, the driver in his car, and the doctor in his hospital, would that we would succeed in reaching the stage of national commitment."

The Warning Bell Has Sounded

At the end, we sat down with Counsellor 'Adil 'Abd-al-Baqi, the minister of state for Council of Minister affairs and administrative development.

We said, "At the people's conferences which the National Party organized to solve the problems of the masses, we observed that the discussion of the masses' issues takes only a few minutes, while the speeches and talks go on for many hours, aside from words of salutation and affection. What is your opinion?"

He said, "The ministers and political leaders are supposed to meet with the masses at people's conferences to discuss problems in natural conditions and answer the citizens' questions. They are supposed to go on for longer periods, the ministers are supposed to go down into the capitals of the governorates on a periodic basis, to the small towns and villages in each governorate, moreover, and greater time from these conferences is supposed to be given for the masses' questions and for responding to them, to create a common dialogue between the masses and the executive officials and political leaders.

"The process of explaining policies and presenting achievements in this sort of conference is supposed to occur in the shortest possible time. In general, this will be observed in coming conferences."

We asked him: "In the report by the Service Committee of the Consultative Assembly there is a paragraph which states that intervention by certain political leaders to deal with some of the masses' problems by putting pressure on the administrative system is a process which corrupts both the political and administrative system together. To what extent should this be considered correct?"

He said, "That statement is correct to a large degree. If we had an administrative system that functioned in a normal manner, many problems that people are suffering from in facilities and services would not have arisen and ordinary citizens would not have needed the intervention of political leaders.

"However, to be realistic, the level of performance in the administration is connected to a large degree to the patterns of behavior in society. For many years, Egyptian society, for the most part, has been suffering from a decline in the standard of living, mediocre production and a breakdown in the resources available to develop facilities, in addition to an abnormal discruption in the conditions of things, so that the salaries of people working in the government and service units have lagged greatly behind those in other sectors such as liberal and investment activities!

"Thus there no longer is any material incentive prompting people working in the administrative system to work to solve people's problems in social insurance, consumer cooperatives, traffic, postal services and so forth.

"The administrative system is also suffering from a glut of labor in many locations because of obligations and the continuation of the policy of distributing a surplus of graduates!

"Frankly, many factors have led to pressure on the performance level in the administrative and service system in the government, and consequently problems in the various facilities have become aggravated, and employees' manner of dealing with the public has helped. The complications have increased and have multiplied the volume of the problems the ordinary citizen is suffering from!"

He went on, "In my view, changing these patterns of behavior will require intensified effort for a period of time, because it is not possible to change human behavior overnight. It is necessary to sound the bell of danger constantly, concentrate on flaws, problems and obstacles and set out methods for remedying them through the media, in the form of the radio, television, and press, in order to highlight the problems of the masses and the efforts being made to solve them.

"Therefore, we can consider that when the political leaders and ministers go to the places where the masses are, that constitutes the sounding of a warning bell, pushing everyone toward positive movement to make problems and flaws apparent. This is a form of monitoring by executive leaders of the work of the people in charge of the various facilities in order to evaluate performance, in the sense that when the government puts the paving of a road in a village or the introduction of drinking water into its plans and the ministers and governors go down into this village they must make certain that the execution of these programs is proceeding in a sound manner, and they must reduce the obstacles in the way of the execution of the projects if there are any. They must also urge all people in charge of the various facilities to carry out the construction rapidly and improve ways of dealing with the masses."

VARIOUS FIGURES DEBATE NATIONAL PARTY'S ROLE IN GOVERNMENT

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic No 2899, 2 Jan 84 pp 16-20

[Article by 'Isam 'Abd-al-'Aziz and Karam Jabr: "The Government Party, between Promises and Accomplishments"]

[Text] The French proverb states that peoples, like women, believe in proof more than they believe in oaths!

Since the concerns of the Egyptian man in the street are numerous, and concern the water utility, the sewage department, the public transportation authority, housing, key money, supplies, and obdurate bureaucracy, as well as the endless race between wages and prices, and so on and so forth;

And since eliminating these problems is a demand of the masses, and the government is seeking to control and solve them: we find ourselves face to face with the issue of "the proof" and "the oath!"

The occasion is the National Party conferences that the party is holding with the goal of solving the masees' problems.

The important question is, how can the activity be turned into tangible "proof" for people, not just "an oath" of promises which end when the conferences end!

We knocked on the door of the National Party, bringing many questions.

The answers differed. Some put rosy touches on a picture that was not rosy, while some underlined the gray lines, and there were people who aspired to the future while there were some who dug in the past!

In any event, dialogue was a necessity, if one was to arrive at the truth.

Before We Start

Hasan Hafiz, member of the People's Assembly from the National Party, brought us back a little, specifically to 1952, the year of the revolution!

Since that date, the masses have become familiar with many slogans, such as solidarity with the masses, participation of the bases of the people, mass awareness, and much else besides!

These slogans have been used in large quantities at all times, to the point where the purpose behind them has been lost, and they no longer have substance, because great movement needs greater activity, and it is not just a matter of conferences!

The people want to sense what the government is accomplishing, not what it is preparing for. At this point, the test and the choice lie with the government and the party jointly. Lest we be unfair to the present and be partial to the past, one must mention that the problems today are now interconnected and "interwebbed!"

In the past, supply was greater than demand, and prices were low. There were fewer imports, and they were distinguished by precision and solidity. Roads were large enough to accommodate cars, and there was no congestion. People performed their duties to the extent that they demanded their rights!

Now, however, the Egyptian streets have become narrow and crowded, and the opportunity to control them in order to restrict their problems has narrowed!

In spite of that, parties in the past functioned among the masses only to make sacrifices. But sacrifices for whom? For patrons, partisans and people who supported the party in its ordeals!

As the experience of the revolution continued, the parties were eliminated and the government monopolized the stage, causing people to view the government as if it was a party, and constitutional principles gave way to the instructions of the charter.

In 1975, a new element appeared with the establishment of local assemblies, and the Socialist Union retreated to a corner. The people's assemblies started to engage in their jurisdictions under the surveillance of the people, from the level of the village to the level of the governorate.

At this point it became difficult for the People's Assembly to exercise its role in surveillance and legislation. The local assemblies derived their areas of competence from the constitution and the law, and took part in the preparation and execution of plans. These were executive assemblies with an oversight capacity. Therefore, after that it became a difficult matter for the parties to solve the masses' problems!

How so?

Because questions, and searches for information, as far as executive officials go, lie in the localities. They are not responsible before any party, including the party of the majority!

It is true that there is coordination between the party and its members in the local assemblies, but that situation has led to an increase in the agencies of oversight by the people, so that we find ourselves faced with an overlapping of jurisdictions and conditions of oversight!

Hasan Hafiz continued:

"Executive figures prefer to be questioned or asked for information in the way the law has specified. Thus, the party will not have a grip on the state of surveillance as in the past, prior to the application of the local administration statute in 1975, since the members of people's assemblies are by election, whereas party members are by selection!

The party no longer plays a brilliant role in surveillance of the executive agencies, because there are other agencies which exercise this role through the constitution and the law, and the party's activity, with its oversight agencies in the form of members of the People's Assembly and the local assemblies, with their direct jurisdictions over the executive agencies, has become an excuse for situations in which the government finds no opportunity to eliminate these problems!

The opposition parties do not possess the resources to act through oversight agencies, because of the small number of members they have in these assemblies. Their role, therefore, is to exeret pressure on the government and the majority party, by talking about these problems. There is nothing to prevent their being magnified. That is a serious method which the parties adopt, in order to establish their presence!

Let Us Talk Frankly and Clearly!

Let us now get into the subject, which is the National Party's initiatives to solve the masses' problems. Logic demands that we become acquainted with the identity of the National Party and the political orientation it embodies.

Mukhtar Hani, the minister of state for People's and Consultative Assembly affairs, is in charge of this task.

He says, "The paper on the intellectual framework of the party shows the extent to which the party is connected in terms of principles and goals to the struggle the Egyptian people carried out in the past, in successive periods, until the July 1952 revolution took place.

"This paper has shown the principles and goals as follows: belief in spiritual values, belief in Arab nationalism, and belief in democratic socialism."

What Does This Mean?

"Specifically, the National Party is an extension of all the organizations which were established prior to it, from the July revolution up to now. It is an extension of the Liberation Rally, the National Federation, and the

Socialist Union, and after those the adoption of the system of a number of parties!

"It is the National Party that has managed, through its members, the masses of the citizens, to realize the desire to adopt the system of a number of parties, by amending the fifth article of the constitution. The party's principles almost correspond to the six principles of the revolution. The leaders of the National Democratic Party were the leaders of political activity in Egypt all during this period. Proceeding from this premise, it expresses the July and May revolutions!"

At that point, it was necessry to pause. The subject of the discussion was only the problems of the Egyptian citizen!

We presented the question in a low-keyed form: How do you envision the coming People's Assembly campaign, through the various parties' concentration on people's concerns?

He said, "The campaign will be a struggle among the parties about three axes: first, the parties' programs for solving the masses' problems, second the programs and objectives of each party, and third the extent to which the masses are attached to the candidates on the various party lists."

We posed the same question in a more specific form: Do you believe that the Egyptian citizen will be won over by the National Party's programs? Then, what are the programs, essentially, that will contribute to lessening his cares?

The minister of state smiled and replied, "It must be conceded that we are facing a number of problems which people are suffering from, and, proceeding from the premise of frankness and clarity, we are showing the masses what can be resolved in specific periods of time, and what cannot be, in light of the limitations in the resources available. We, as leaders, go down to the masses where they are and undertake possible solutions in the natural environment and in various places.

"The party has been pursuing this method for a long period, and the masses sense this, since meetings are held which are attended by executives, and the leaders and masses of the party, we review the problems after studying them, then the executive official expresses his opinion on every problem and faces the people most frankly and clearly. The conclusions people reach at these meetings become binding on everyone!"

The minister comments: "This method represents one of the forms of optimum democracy. The people whose rights are involved, the public, discuss and hold conversations with the executive official in an open meeting. The citizens express their views and the official states what his resources are. The matter ends with a decree from the governor. The party considers this method to be an essential one in the exercise of party activity!"

We asked Minister Mukhtar Hani, "Do you believe that this method can increase people's attachment to the party?"

He said, "My belief is that the masses will, without dispute, be attached to the people they consider are most able to solve their problems. The main criterion is solving the masses' problems, and I believe that the masses now have the full awareness that will prevent them from being deceived by empty slogans, delusion and the concealment of facts!"

[Question] However, the people's sufferings at the hands of the government agency and various installations could affect people's attachment to the government party!

[Ansser] The fact remains that people will evaluate the position the National Party government adopts in the light of these problems, especially after they hear the reasons why they are to be found in some places. At this point I might underline the phrase "some places," because these problems are not general in every place. Rather, they are restricted to specific places or specific areas!

Through the method we are following, that of holding periodic meetings between the executive agencies and the people's agencies, and the masses, people will be presented with the true picture. The people responsible for the problems that arise from inadequate performance are the governors. The more inadequacies they discover in a specific location, the more they hasten to take measures which will guarantee that they are eliminated.

Promises -- And the Truth!

We are getting closer to the picture.

Let us go down to the people's problems in Cairo, the mother of the world and the mother of problems!

The minister Muhammad Rashwan, the minister for the People's and Consultative Assemblies and secretary of the party in Cairo, says:

"The political activity of the National Party asserts itself on the stage in various forms through the party conferences and the party's close contact with the masses' issues, the movement of young people and the presence of party members in places where the masses are to be found, whether they are members of the People's or Consultative Assembly or the localities. This all constitutes a continuous, dynamic process!

"The important thing is awareness of the political feelings of the masses. The masses are now rejecting political promises and auctioneering that has no substance. In the National Party we cannot promise the masses more than what actually exists in the 5-year plan.

"For example, the 5-year plan contains about 3,300 projects and is making thousands of job opportunities available. The language of addressing the masses must be founded on actual projects which the man in the street can sense and whose effects he can feel. The members of the National Party have many accomplishments which the government has carried out, which they can talk about."

Minister Rashwan went on, "There have been many exchanges for improving telephone service, many roads have been paved, tens of thousands of housing units have been built, and there have been accomplishments in the area of sanitary drainage, automated bakeries, hospitals and schools.

"This means that the language of the National Party is now one of figures, achievements and projects. People know that they are real and not just promises."

Here one must make a similar pause for contemplation over what Minister Muhammad Rashwan has said. In spite of everything that has been done, the people's vexations still exist, and they are innumerable.

We asked, "Decisive solutions have not been propounded for many problems. In view of this, what will the party's relationship with the man in the street be?"

He said, "The National Party's relationship to the masses depends, to a large degree, on the masses' awareness of the situation and its dimensions. It is not just for the National Party alone to bear the responsibility for everything, from A to Z. The masses have a share in bearing the responsibility. We in the party are working and constantly active. In the context of Cairo, there are 32 sections, not one of which is lacking a political meeting or party conference for discussing the issues of the masses.

"In Cairo alone the party has about 600 political leaders working in the people's assemblies in various sections, and there are the party secretariats, which are working to make use of the people and intrinsic efforts to develop installations and services.

"Here one must underline the importance of the role the ordinary man on the street plays in cooperating with the executive leaders and leaders of the people and in playing his part as a citizen serving his country at his place of work. The employee must contribute to solving a serious problem, known as red tape."

Minister Rashwan went on, "Put simply, the National Party is acting positively to solve problems, and the man on the street must cooperate with him. Indeed, I call on the opposition parties to help bear the responsibility by confronting the problems and discussing the most suitable solutions to them!"

At this point, Minister Rashwan's statement ends.

We Go back Where We Started!

We had imagined that the matter would end at that point: the government is proceeding in accordance with the 5-year plan, the leaders of the party are acting positively to solve the masses' problems, and everything is as it should be!

However, the report we obtained from the Committee on Services in the Consultative Assembly has dispelled that notion, and brought us back where we started, to ask the same question: how can the National Party's activity turn into "proof" of government achievements, not "an oath" of promises which end when the conferences end!

Since most members of the Committee on Services in the Consultative Assembly are frp, the National Party, it is important that we review what was stated in the report, especially that which concerns the truth about the role the political leaders play in the context of the localities or governorates.

The report stresses the importance of raising the level of administrative work in the local administration units, so that they can reach a state where they will be competent to carry out what is commonly known in political usage as "solving the problems of the masses," since political leaders on various levels have rushed to embrace the slogan of solving the masses' problems, on grounds that that is a focus and pillar of political activity. That on many occasions has caused these leaders' powers to be squandered on minor points and details which in essence are remote from the true nature of the political role they must play, in terms of the type of their mass bases, in view of the scope of the different problems which are lurking to thwart national action!

The committee considers that solving the masses' problems in the commonly recognized manner, in terms of substance, goes beyond the framework of political action into the realm of government administrative activity, since a disciplined administrative organization can take part in solving the masses' problems in turn, rather than waiting for pressure, or at least recommendations, from political leaders, which leads to the corruption of political life and administrative activity alike!

To clarify, the report says, "The citizens' attachment to their political leaders will merely be supported by each leader's ability to respond to their personal demands, even if this response is made by eliminating the legitimate rights of other citizens!"

The Consultative Assembly Service Committee adds another dimension. The people who have been enthusiastic about the motto "solving the masses' problems" have missed the point that carrying out that motto in the manner which political reality in Egypt has been accustomed to for almost a quarter century has brought about loyalty to political leaders even when that has been at the expense of loyalty to the citizens!

The problem facing political leaders now is one of forming strong relations with some officials in various administrative units which will enable them to meet the demands of a few of their important figures and voters without taking account of the public interest, in the national or regional contexts.

The report hits on a point which could be central. It says, "Solving the masses' problems is an issue which is related to the inadequacy of available resources to meet the required needs. That is a relative point which is to be observed even in the most advanced societies, since the citizens' needs do not stop at a specific point!"

Following this discussion, which indicates that the motto "solving the masses' problems" might result in the squandering of the powers of the political leaders, might result in the corrupting of political life and administrative activity both, and might result in the leaders' hastening to form relations with the administrative system in order to realize the demands of a few important people:

Following all this, further discussion of a specific sample of problems, and ways for finding a solution to them, are required.

11887 CSO: 4504/178

#### CONFERENCE DISCUSSES SOLUTIONS TO POPULATION PROBLEM

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 22 Jan 84 p 9

[Article by 'Adil Shafiq: "National Population Conference Recommendations To Be Discussed Next Month: Establishing a National Council To Monitor Execution of Population Policies"]

[Text] Yesterday Dr Subhi 'Abd-al-Hakim, the chairman of the Consultative Assembly, discussed population policy and the recommendations on setting out population policies in Egypt that officials are to present for review at the concluding session of the preparatory activities of the National Population Council which is to be held in the middle of February and will be attended by President Muhammad Husni Mubarak.

Dr 'Aziz al-Bandari, chairman of the Family Planning Agency, declared that the draft on population policy will give a scholarly conception of the problem by orienting efforts toward development to raise the level of the Egyptian citizen's welfare and give priority to programs and activities which have high, rapid payout, with emphasis on the importance of total commitment in all government agencies to the housing policy which has been set out, which is founded on commitment and scientific confrontation of the problem and the diversification and full coordination of methods for coping with it, considering the local communities the fundamental base for facing the problem and determining the family's right to choose the suitable number of children and receive means to guarantee that that is attained.

This policy has the goal of reducing the rates of poulation growth, achieving the best geographical distribution of the population and uplifting the characteristics of the population. These goals also have the objective of reducing reproduction levels, coordinating foreign and domestic migration, raising the level of training and skills among the population, and raising its health level.

Dr Mahir Mihran declared the most important recommendations the conference would present to the president. These are:

Establishing a national population council under the chairmanship of the president, setting out the general policy of the government in this field,

forming a strategy to which the government and its bodies would commit themselves, setting out plans and programs, and monitoring their execution.

Considering the population map of Egypt which the conference set out a guide for redistributing the population and moving out into new communities.

Transferring jurisdictions and responsibilities to local government authorities in the governorates and providing resources which will strengthen the role of the local regional councils in the governorates in performing their duties under the supervision of the governors.

Holding a national population conference every year or two to monitor the execution of previous decrees and evaluate the levels of performance and efforts at the national level.

In the area of the media and enlightenment:

General policy of media activity in the population field should continue to emphasize the link and close relationship between the goals of comprehensive development and devotion of attention to population policy.

The concentration of media activity on direct means of communication and emphasis on rural areas.

In the area of health:

Promoting family planning services, setting out an effective system for monitoring the provision of means for doing so on an organized basis, training workers to increase the effectiveness of service and increasing the family planning centers.

Expanding the establishment of family planning centers in working communities.

Improving services in these centers so that they will be concerned with the health of mothers and children after birth and will treat cases of sterility and repeated miscarriages.

In the field of education:

Introducing population education courses into the various levels of education and training teachers.

Compelling various production sites to make a census of illiterates and eradicate their illiteracy.

Carrying out the law on education bearing on compulsory age and preventing the employment of children at the basic education age.

In the field of social work:

Encouraging societies which carry out social work and supporting the productive activities of families.

Supporting social insurance statutes.

In the field of agriculture:

Coordinating the various agencies of agriculture, developing the cooperative structure, which contains 3.4 million peasants, and getting productive peasants to take part in drawing up agricultural policy.

Replanning the crop structure and orienting it in three directions: export, food and fodder crops.

Bringing the Egyptian village back to its productive status.

In the field of research:

Guiding scientific research so that it will be firmly, directly connected to Egyptian society, the service of the society and the solution of its problems.

In the field of statistics and data:

Setting out an integrated system for population information, statistics and forecasts, because of its importance in setting out plans that will guarantee ease, speed and accuracy in dealing with information.

With respect to incentives:

Refraining, at the present time, from impinging on the human, service and social features that are guaranteed every citizen.

Rejecting the principle of negative incentives as a means of pressure to limit the population increase.

In the field of economics:

Setting out a strategy for industrial development with short and long range goals in the light of available resources and their development.

Making maximum use of current capabilities of departments, guiding activity in them and reducing losses in them.

Expanding small and intermediate industries in accordance with the resources and circumstances of the local environment.

Raising production to reduce imports.

Guiding subsidies to limit their negative effects and reviewing the proportion of service costs the government defrays so that these will be in keeping with the number of people benefitting from them.

Reforming the wage structure so that differences in wages will reflect the relative scarcity of desired skills.

In the housing field:

The need to review the problem of housing, on grounds that it is social and economic, and not just an engineering problem.

Further research on alternative local materials and methods of construction and a reduction in the rate of deterioration and loss in the materials used.

Creating a sort of legal balance in the relationship between landlord and tenant.

In addition, the committee organizing the conference will hold a meeting in a week to set out these recommendations and policies in their final form for presentation to the conference.

11887 CSO: 4504/178

#### UNIVERSITIES' ADMISSION PRACTICES QUESTIONED

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 3093, 20 Jan 84 pp 30-33

[Article by Ahmad Raslan: "Issue of Universities' Exemptions Before State Council"]

[Text] The day of 24 January 1984 is the day on which the State Council's Administrative Judiciary Court will issue its decision on the lawsuit demanding abolition of the decrees concerning admission of the exempted groups of high school graduates to colleges and institutes.

The case has been postponed so that the government may, at the court's request, present data on the numbers of exempted groups.

Plantiff Ahmad al-Dawakhili, a lawyer, has [brought the suit] in his capacity as the natural custodian of his daughter as other students applying for admission to the college and institutes are accepted in the colleges and institutes on a basis other than high qualification and talent.

Lawyer al-Dawakhili has said [in his lawsuit] that this means that a student with an 85 percent grade average, like his daughter, is turned down whereas a student with a 60 percent or lower grade average, i.e. with a difference of 100 points, is accepted by the same college.

Ahmad al-Dawakhili has pointed out that the number of exempted groups has ballooned to reach 12 groups.

The court is examining this lawsuit under the chairmanship of Counselor Jalal 'Abd-al-Hamid, the vice president of the State Council, with counselors Dr 'Abd-al-Hamid Jabrah, a deputy chairman of the State Council, and Muhammad 'Ali al-Din Ibrahim as members and 'Abd-al-'Aziz 'Amir as secretary.

At the outset, the government attorney stated that the period of grace for bringing lawsuits contesting decrees before the administrative Court--State Council--is 60 days and that the present lawsuit was brought at the end of 1983 after the legal deadline whereas all the republican decrees and the decisions of the Higher Universities Council establishing these examptions were issued in 1975 and 1976.

The student's attorney retorted that the government attorney had completely forgotten or completely disregarded the legal principle governing such issues, namely the principle that the contestation date does not start until an interest calling for pursuing a lawsuit arises because it is unreasonable to resort to the judiciary for no reason. It is true that the government attorney has admitted this in his memorandum but has added another justification saying that the lawsuit for abolition is not a lawsuit (complying with the deadline). How can a deadline be calculated for something that has not started! Is it not after an interest becomes present?

#### Lack of Interest

The government attorney retorted that the numbers set by the Higher Universities Council are the numbers that can be accommodated (by the colleges) this year and that the numbers of students admitted from among the exempted groups do not take vacant slots in the colleges to which they are admitted. Rather, the numbers of students admitted from among the exempted groups are added to the numbers which the Higher Universities Council decides to admit.

The student's attorney retorted: What do these words mean? Do they mean that those exempted are added to the excelling students and given the same status? Or do they mean that the exempted students have to race with the excelling students in a game of university musical chairs? Or do they mean that the exempted student draws out the excelling student and expels him from his place to replace him because he does not take a vacant place, according to the government attorney?

#### Is Honor Hereditary?

The government attorney said in reply that the groups whose exemptions have been decreed are groups that merit care and honor. In addition to the martyrs' children, there is article 76 of the executive regulations of the law organizing the universities. This article stipulates that five children of faculty members shall be accepted in each university college.

The decision of the Higher Universities Council to admit five children of employees of the Ministry of Higher Education to each college is also justifiable. The members of university faculties spend most of their time teaching the citizens' children, and so do the employees of the Ministry of Higher Education and "he who concocts the poison tastes it."

The same applies to the children of the remote governorates which do not receive as much attention as the other governorates. The equality advocated by the "student's attorney" requires the state to give the children of these governorates the same care it gives the children of the other governorates.

Answer, Pure and Simple

Ahmad al-Dawakhili, the student's attorney, answered: Yes, they deserve to be honored. But why shouldn't [as published] this honoring be at the expense of others and why should it overlook and disregard the rights of the excelling students?

There is more than one kind of honor, as made evident in the advanced countries of both camps, which does not encroach upon the rights of others.

The systems of admission to the universities, be they western or eastern, include no exemptions whatsoever because educational qualifications are the only criterion. I defy the government attorney to cite a single example of such exemptions, even in the developing countries. We are the only country in the world that includes exemptions in its systems of admission.

Besides, what is the story of these remote areas? Wadi al-Natrun, which is a remote area, is closer than Damietta and Sinai is closer than al-Manzalah. The student of the remote areas is in a better situation and is more relaxed than the Cairo student who is tormented by the buses, transportation and excessive harassment, and we implore God to enable us to overcome these problems safely. Every one has his duty and his work and he who accepts this duty and this work should perform it honestly and he who does not accept the duty must be replaced by someone better. Honor does not come by straining to add grade points to the brains of the children of honored people.

Mistake of Administrative Authority

We now move to the difficult part of this legal struggle—the struggle of laws and articles. Here is a summary of hundreds of pages and dozens of memoranda:

The student's attorney says that the administrative authority has violated articles 1, 19 and 23 of law No 49 of 1972 and article 75 of this law's executive regulations. Why? Because the number of students set for admission to the schools of medicine and dentistry is 4,587 students and the student [plantiff] applying for admission to these colleges does not exceed 3,911 in the ranking of these students. So how could she be rejected?

This error is made clear when compared with last year when the colleges admitted the same number and when the number of students attaining a grade average of 85 percent (which is the plantiff's grade average) did not exceed 148 students. The minimum marks required for admission to these colleges was 336 marks. What has caused this minimum to be raised to 342 marks? This means that there are nearly 1,000 slots that are still vacant, considering that there are 200 students who have the same grade average. Or have these slots been filled by other students?

Moreover, the Higher Universities Council decided on 13 August 1983 that it would admit 4,850 students from the exempted groups, in addition to the number of [regular] students scheduled to be admitted. We appeal to this just court to request data on the actual number of exempted students admitted to the universities because this data will show the just court that the number of admitted students exceeds by far the announced number and that nearly one half the exempted students have been admitted to the schools of medicine, pharmacology, dentistry and engineering without any consideration for their educational standard and that some of the exempted students have earned no more than 240 marks or 60 percent [the required average], with a difference of 100 marks. This is confirmed by the statement of the head of the Coordination Bureau who has announced that there are vacant slots in all the schools of medicine, pharmacology and dentistry for exempted students of the second level. The bureau head then proceeds to offer a more stunning surprise, namely that there are vacant slots in these colleges for students of the third level, i.e. students with an average of less than 60 percent.

As a result of depriving the excelling students of their rights in the interest of exempted students, the minimum grade average has risen for the general students and the number of exempted groups has, on the other hand, risen to more than one group. In some colleges, such as the Ismailia School of Medicine and School of Dentistry, these exempted groups have filled 100 percent and 95 percent of the slots respectively, according to the attached documents. Thus, exemption has become the rule in admission to the universities.

There is more than one legal argument in support of the statement that the decisions on the admission of these groups to the universities, without any consideration for the grade average, are null and void.

Articles 19 and 23 of law No 49 of 1972 concerning the organization of universities state that the Higher Universities Council shall take charge of regulating the admission of students to the universities and shall determine the numbers of students to be admitted. These articles do not give the administrative authority any assessory power insofar as the admission of certain exempted groups are concerned because there can be no exemption without an explicit provision to the effect.

Article 75 of executive regulations of the above law, issued in presidential decree No 809 of 1975, stipulates that for a student to be admitted to a university, he must have acquired a high school certificate or its equivalent and that the admission shall be on the basis of the grade average attained by the student, with consideration given to geographic distribution in accordance with what the Higher Universities Council decides. This article states decisively that admission to the colleges shall be on the basis of grade averages.

As for what the regulations stipulate regarding the admission of five students from among the children of university employees and five students from among the children of the university faculty members without regard for the grade average, this article is null and void because it violates the law. Executive regulations are (less binding) than a law and may not add a new provision or contradict an already existing legal provision. This article of the executive regulations has added a new provision and has violated articles 1, 19 and 23 of the law.

It is necessary to abolish admission of the exempted groups because this admission is not based on republican decrees, i.e. it is not by law. Article 76 of the executive regulations stipulates [words presumably dropped] and on the decisions of the Universities Higher Council. These decisions violate law No 49 of 1972. Moreover, this law prohibits such decisions in articles 1, 19 and 23 which emanate from articles 8, 12 and 40 of the constitution.

These decisions are void because they are issued by an authority not empowered to issue them. The decisions are also illegal because they violate the law. Such decision were abolished by a republican decree in 1975. As a result of these decisions, 1,050 more slots have been taken away from excelling students for the benefit of exempted students. Thus, the percentage of exempted students admitted to these colleges has risen to nearly 40 percent.

#### This Student Has No Right

In reply, the government attorney has said: In accordance with the decision of the Higher Universities Council, the number of students accepted for admission to the schools of medicine, dentistry and pharmacology in academic year 1983-84 has been set at 4,170 students, of which 3,050 students are scheduled to be admitted to the schools of medicine, 370 to the schools of dentistry and 750 to the schools of pharmacology.

Considering that Umaymah, the daughter of the suing attorney, has passed the general high school examination—science branch—with a grade total of 340 or 85 percent, she applied to the Universities Coordination Bureau for admission within the group of first level students,

Considering that the rank of this student among those passing the examination is 4,811/4,811 and is shared by 64 other students who have the same grade total, as proven by the letter of the esteemed Scientific and Statistical Computations Center of Cairo University—a letter dated 27 October 1983 and supplied in reply to the plantiff's claim that the authority entitled to provide such data is the General Examination Board and that the center could have made a mistake and that it should (correct its mistake when the facts become obvious),

The fact is that the number of students actually accepted for admission to the schools of medicine, dentistry and pharmacology is 4,427 male and female students, including the 10 percent allowed to be admitted by (exemption) for lower-level students. All these students have been accepted according to the grade totals they accumulated in the general high school examination. The minimum grade total accepted for admission was 242.5 [sic] points.

Considering that Umaymah, the plantiff's daughter, has accumulated a total of only 340 grades, this total has not qualified her for admission to one of the schools of medicine, pharmacology or dentistry.

Regardless of whether students from exempted groups are admitted or not, this total does not qualify her for admission because she ranks 4,811 in theorder of grade totals and this position is shared by 64 other male and female students.

As for what the plantiff has mentioned about republican decrees No 742 and 743 of 1975 being abolished by republican decree No 809 of 1975 which abolished the executive regulations for law No 49 of 1972—what the plantiff has mentioned in this regard is legally groundless becuase decree No 809 of 1975 concerning the universities executive regulations is a general decree that contains no specific provision abolishing republican decrees No 742 and 743 of 1975. Consequently, these two decrees are still valid, even if their provisions contradict those of the executive regulations of the universities law, because the two above mentioned decrees are special decrees and it is acknowledged in legal science that the general does not abolish the special.

In reply, the student's attorney said that legal science is not as the government attorney portrayed, namely that the general does not abolish the special. The opposite is true because the general does abolish the special. The special should be beneficial or should specify the general if the special is issued after the general and if it is legitimate.

Rejected Principle

What do [people] say on the problem of exemptions?

Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi, the deputy prime minister and minister of education, has said: As a principle, exemption is rejected, rejected, rejected. I will say no more. The entire matter is before the judiciary now and the judiciary is our hope for the supremacy of the law. The supremacy of the law is what should govern, as President Mubarak has taught us. These are the principles of all of us. There is nothing more hateful to man's heart and conscience than to have regulations or bylaws that overlook equality and the logic of equal chances, especially in connection with the education of generations for whom we are responsible before God and before the people.

Dr 'Abd-al-Majid 'Uthman: We reject exemptions as a principle. But after the judiciary makes its decision, if there has to be inevitable [special] regulations and bylaws, then we must clip the nails of such exemptions. I cannot understand how the difference can amount to 100 marks, or more or less. I say that if there has to be such a difference, then let us set it at 10 marks as a maximum for the exemption.

But why, doctor, does the exemption also include the children of university professors?

As far as I am concerned, I reject this exemption. My colleagues also undoubtedly reject it. As far as I know, the children of colleagues have benefited from the exemptions by no more than one or two percent in admission to the colleges they desire. To establish this great principle [of no exemptions], we relinquish these exemptions. We wish that this principle would extend to include all kinds of privileges and exemptions in our life. The truth is that numerous groups have legislated some exemptions serving their interest, each group in its own field, and the hill [of exemptions] has become too high. My heart is with Mubarak, this man who has inherited a very heavy legacy. We are all with him until we triumph.

#### Exempted Students Are Failures

Dr Muhammad 'Abdallah al-Hashimi, the president of 'Ayn Shams University, has a different opinion. He rejects university exemptions out of a realistic logic and on the basis of large-scale statistical studies. He has discovered that the success rate among the exempted groups does not exceed 5 percent! This is very logical. It is unreasonable for a student who has enrolled in an engineering college with a grade average of 87 percent to perform the same as a student enrolled with a grade average of 60 percent or less. The consequence is "big failure."

Dr Usamah Ahmad al-Hawfi, the professor of ophthalmology at the Cairo School of Medicine, has a different opinion with which he answers the logic justifying exemptions. They say that they admit an additional number atop the number of students approved for admission by the universities. But the truth is different. These numbers which they say are accepted in addition to the scheduled numbers are taken into account when they plan the numbers to be admitted into the universities.

#### Why?

Because tha ABC's of the science of planning call for knowing the obvious factors and the invisible factors. This is what is known as the computation of possibilities. My colleagues, the members of the Universities Higher Council, all of whom are university presidents or their representatives, i.e. all of whom are prominent scientists, are well aware of what they plan. This means that they know while planning the numbers to be admitted to the universities that there are enormous numbers of exempted groups of students that will be added to the planned numbers. This is why they always set smaller numbers, taking into their account and conscience the definite additional numbers that will come with the exempted groups. No complex technology or ability to solve riddles is required to know this. This is simple, elementary and recurrent data that is no secret to the prominent professors, especially since they live with our reality and since they have not come from Mars. They know the actual capacity, resources and circumstances of our universities. This is why they have in fact "taken into their account" and sonscience while making their plans these numbers which will be admitted as exempted groups, exactly as they take into their account adding an extra 10 percent for students with the same grade totals.

Our professors are intelligent, very intelligent. So why do we saddle them with the "story" of these extra and uncalculated numbers for which they actually plan and calculate?

Dr Ibrahim 'Ismat Mutawa', an ex-dean of the Tanta Education College, a UN and UNESCO education expert, a member of the Specialized National Councils and more, has a viewpoint from the angle of the purely educational sciences. He says that the various generations of our students always suffer from what is known as the "educational shocks" as a result of these exemptions which the student encounters in the various phases of his educational life, beginning with kindergarten and ending with university. Each educational phase has its exemptions and consequence is this indifference and this irresponsibility which poisons our entire life. It is well known educationally that an exemption, combined with other factors, generates intrinsic indifference and irresponsibility.

But what is the meaning of an "educational shock"?

Dr Ibrahim 'Ismat Mutawa' answers: It is the surprise which the student experiences when he discovers the wide gap between what we teach him and what he finds in real life. We implant in the student's mind the virtues of truthfulness, honesty, honor and the love of equality, justice and of equal chances. But he finds the exact opposite in these exemptions, regardless of their justifications, and experiences what is known as a shock. This shock is stored in the subconscience. Along with the other accumulations from life's various circumstances, this shock produces the state of indifference which we are experiencing. The primary cause is education, along with other factors.

No Exceptions in United States or Russia

'Abd-al-Fattah al-Shurshabi, the ex-director of the Coordination Bureau and the current director of the Egyptian Cultural Center in Somalia, has toured the United States, Russia and several other eastern and western bloc countries to study their systems of university admission and examinations. The main question to which he devoted his attention was the question of whether there are exceptions in their admission systems and of what rules govern such exceptions. He has submitted his report to the minister of education.

Insofar as the United States and all the West European countries are concerned, there are no exceptions in their systems of university admission. Educational qualification and preparedness are the only criterion for admission. Each student has the freedom to choose the college he wishes to enter. The selection is made through the controls established by each college and through more than one interview, verbal test or written examination to determine the extent of the student's readiness for the type of education he selects. These are very precise tests that cover, in addition to the educational aspect, psychological aspects and personal tendencies and aptitudes.

There is absolutely no discrimination in this regard.

In case a student distinguishes himself in a social, athletic or artistic activity, he is given an incentive, but only after and never before he passes the examinations. These incentives include, for example, exempting him from expenses, providing him with college housing or another type of housing, trips or in-kind incentives only.

What is more important is that the parent's work has nothing whatsoever to do with the university admission or examinations. The mere fact of my raising the question regarding exemptions evoked some sort of surprise, with a head shake meaning that I am from a developing country, which is a polite phrase for the backward world in their tradition.

I have found the same system in Russia and in other eastern bloc countries. There are no admission exemptions. Educational qualification is the only criterion. The same precision exists in the east and the west. On issues of science and technology, there is no "bargaining" because the main sphere of the war between the two camps is scientific and technological progress and no favors are made at the expense of science generally in either of the two camps.

The persistent question in Russia and in all the eastern bloc countries he has visited was: Are there priviliges or exemptions for the party's sons? The answer was: The entire state is a single party and single direction. However, priority is given to those who are active in the party or who have achieved prominent accomplishments. But this follows educational qualification and aptitude in order. If educational qualification is equal, then those who are prominent at the party level—meaning the student himself and not his parent or parent's position—is given preference. The son of Khrushchev himself could not enroll in a college of technology because of a difference of a half a mark in test results.

Jamal al-Jawhari, the undersecretary of the Ministry of Education and the director of the Coordination Bureau, deals with the issue from another practical angle, saying that regardless of the eligibility or ineligibility of those exempted, the entire issue is before the judiciary now and the judiciary is the authority that will decide it.

But from a practical viewpoint, nothing but headaches come from these exemptions. Eighty percent of our work is connected with the exemptions. The Bureau's workhours could be reduced to less than one fourth if these exemptions were to disappear. In such a case, 20 days only would be enough for the admission results in all phases to appear and this "circus" which burns our nerves throughout 3 months, preceded by 9 months of endless preparation, will break up. Hundreds of thousands of pounds and enormous tons of paper, and before all of this, the burnout of the nerves of hundreds of thousands of students and of millions of families will be saved.

8494

CSO: 4504/146

#### RISING VALUE OF DOLLAR HITS ECONOMY

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 46, 25 Feb 84 p 63

/Article by Abu Bakr al-Siddiq al-Sharif: "Budget of 1984 Imposes General Austerity; Drought, Fixed Exports Value and Rising Dollar Price Have United Against Moroccan Economy"

/Text/ Rabat--The sharp rise in the value of the dollar is a negative phenomenon harmful to the economies of the developing countries. Morocco is one of these countries. On the one hand, the bill for imports has grown bigger whereas the volume of exports has remained unchanged. On the other hand, some commodities have incurred fearful losses as a result of inundation of the world markets with competing similar products.

The Moroccan example is no less bitter than other examples in the third world countries. But when pausing before the long-drawn war of attrition that has been going on since the liberation of the Sahara in November 1975, the drought that has gone on for 3 years and the small-scale war launched by Spanish and Portugese agricultural products against Moroccan agricultural and textile production, the bitterness of the ballistic rise in the value of the dollar intensifies to hit every Moroccan citizen to the core. A quick reading of the position of the dollar last year shows us that the price in January 1982 was 6.3 dirhams per dollar and that this price has risen to 8.16 dirhams per dollar in January this year, with the increase imposed on the value of the imports rising by the same degree. This increase has amounted to 29.5 percent. If we consider the Moroccan revenues earned in dollars, we will find that there has been a fearful decline in the revenues of the phosphate exports, which have dropped to \$3 million. We will also find that tourism revenues have dropped by one-half and that Morocco's highest revenues in dollars consist of the remittances of the emigrant workers who send to Morocco remittances valued at \$5 million. These remittances are also being threatened with decline as a result of the racist war launched by the European labor markets. If the above represents grave harm for the Moroccan economy, then the greater harm is embodied in the rise of interest prices for loans.

A Moroccan economist has told AL-TADAMUN that repayment of the loans acquired by Morocco in the years 1978-80 demands now paying twice the sum which had been expected to be paid when the loan contracts were concluded. A single dollar, says the Moroccan economist, borrowed in 1979 was valued at 4 Moroccan dirhams

whereas the repayment of a single dollar now costs 8 dirhams. The economic source concluded by saying: What applies to the entire national economy also applies to the state and its policies. Deep in the state's economic program to deal with the situation you can feel the major concern keeping the state sleepless while seeing its indebtedness ballooning independently and while finding itself compelled to cut down on its investment programs to deal with this inflation.

With the above in mind, the Moroccan Government recently announced the 1984 budget. This budget, coming after hard labor, is characterized by extreme austerity. Administrative costs have been reduced, investment expenditures have been diminished and direct taxes have been levied on luxury products and imports. The Moroccan Government started with itself, reducing the volume of its expenditures and closing the door in the face of any needs imposed by the legitimate development of administration activity, such as the administration expenses allocated for equipment. These expenses have been reduced severely. According to informed sources, there will be followup on the extra expenditures on consumer commodities needed for the administration, such as petroleum, vehicles and the use of services, such as telephones, for purposes other than the public interest.

At another level, the expenditures for social purposes have been retained. These expenditures include loans, economy-housing allowances for people with a limited income in the cities and villages and expenditures of the (Compensation Fund). Investment expenditures have been postponed until 1985 and 1986 successively. A Moroccan economic source considers this postponement compatible with the tendencies of the austerity program which the source believes will continue for 4 to 5 years to come.

The source has added that the Moroccan economic position may get a breather halfway through this course to revitalize the national economy in case the drought comes to an end during this period of calculation. This source believes that maintaining the prices of the subsidized essential consumer goods as they are at present will cost the state a large sum of money which may exceed the sum estimated by the current budget if the dollar price continues to rise and if the international prices of imported goods also continue to rise. The source also expects upheavals in the world's tea, sugar and grain markets, saying that such upheavals will be settled at the expense of the importing countries. In his assessment of the reduction in the new budget, the source said that the effective implementation of this reduction will motivate Moroccan public opinion to consider the sums reduced a first step toward austerity. This austerity, says the source, is the only path toward a better economic future given the current circumstances.

8494

CSO: 4504/200

ENORMOUS COST OF GULF WAR TO ECONOMY EXAMINED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 208, 4-10 Feb 84 pp 45-47

/Article: "The Gulf War Cost Iraq \$12 Billion in 1983"/

/Text/ Iraq is trying to get what it needs for its continuing war with Iran and finance its basic development projects at the same time. This fact made 1983 a debilitating year that tested Iraq's economic and human capabilities. Four years after the outbreak of the Gulf War, how does the future of Iraq's economic situation in 1984 look?

The Gulf War is continuing to drain the Iraqi economy. In 1983, the material burdens imposed by the war were estimated to be about \$1 billion per month. The drain on Iraq's labor force also continued, as most labor power was sent to the war front.

In the midst of these circumstances, Iraq's foreign currency reserves continued to dwindle. In 1983, reserves reached levels considered worrisome. Now that the Gulf War has entered its 4th year, no hope exists that Iran will alleviate its military pressure on a front that is thousands of kilometers long. Rather, the opposite seems to be true. Current indications give one the idea that military operations are assuming the character of a long-term war of attrition. This probability has caused the Iraqi Government to plan as well for a long-term economic confrontation with the burdens of the war.

The first goal of the "economic confrontation" with the war has been to guide importing. Despite the sharp fall in oil revenues to only about \$10 billion that occurred in 1981 and 1982, the value of imports continued to rise, reaching \$19.936 billion in 1982.

As a result of the policy of limiting spending, the granting of import licenses has been delayed and a noticeable decline has occurred in the import quota. Estimates, which are not final, indicate that Iraq succeeded in lowering the value of its imports in 1983 by 60 percent in comparison with the previous year, thereby achieving some balance between its income and spending.

Moreover, the Baghdad government has achieved clear successes in the acquisition of credit facilitations with maturities of 6 months and above in order to finance its imports. This measure has had a great effect by halting the drain on the

state's reserves of foreign currency, which are currently estimated to be worth about \$2 billion, as compared with \$35 billion in the period before the war.

In addition to that, the Iraqi Government has taken numerous measures to make sure that its foreign currency reserves increase. As part of this effort, it has required foreign visitors to pay their bills in foreign currency. The free markets have been opened to all customers, both foreigners and Iraqis, on the condition that they pay for their purchases with hard currency. In addition, the official campaign to encourage citizens to contribute either goods or cash to the war effort has fed hundreds of millions of dollars into the Iraqi treasury.

#### The Channel of Exhaustion

Since one of the main channels by which the foreign currency reserves have been exhausted consists of mandatory payments to foreign contracting companies, which are estimated to be about \$50 billion, the government has asked these companies to secure self-financing for the as yet uncompleted stages of their commitments and activities. Deals have been concluded with foreign corporations that provide for foreign financing of the projects. They also provide for at least partial payment of Iraq's obligations in the form of oil, which shall be bartered for services rendered. French banks have provided a huge loan for the execution of current projects in Iraq that are worth \$1.6 billion, while the financing of 27 projects is due to the participation of French companies in their execution. However, the majority of these financing operations cover the foreign currency payments required for 1983, thereby leaving the issue of the payments to be made this year to be resolved by subsequent negotiations and arrangements.

In order to complete the measures taken to limit the drain on its foreign currency reserves, the Baghdad government has imposed limits on the sums that foreign workers may transfer abroad. These transfers are estimated to be worth about \$4 billion a year. As part of this effort, the Iraqi Government has introduced a system whereby it has postponed the payment of wages in American dollars to Philippino workers who labor at the expense of the government. However, it is expected that the influence of these transfer payments on the state's reserves will decrease as the number of foreign workers in Iraq falls steadily and the execution of a large number of less than urgent development projects is either completed or postponed.

As Iraq has become a debtor nation, the Iraqi Government has gone knocking on the doors of the international banks and friendly nations in order to ask for loans and financial facilitations for the first time since the mid-1970's. At the beginning of 1983, al-Rafidayn Bank arranged a loan worth \$500 million from the European money markets in order to support Iraq's commerce and development projects.

Iraq has also obtained loans for financing a number of projects. Among them was a \$120 million loan granted to the Iraqi National Oil Company to finance the expansion of the Dortyol pipeline, which passes through Turkish territory.

The European financial markets financed this loan. However, Iraq has obtained similar loans from Japan, the Islamic Development Bank, and the Arab Fund for Social and Economic Development. In addition, it obtained two loans from the Arab Monetary Fund in order to pay for the deficit in its balance of payments.

# Japan's Facilitations

On another level, Iraq has been trying to lengthen the maturities of the financial facilities placed at its disposal by Japan in the early 1970's. Tokyo has actually agreed to let Baghdad continue to use the balances it has not been able to draw on yet. They are worth \$1.2 billion. Most countries having commercial relations with Iraq have agreed to grant it credit facilitations in order to finance the flow of trade between the two sides. Last October, both Britain and Austria announced they were placing financial facilitations at the disposal of Iraq. At the start of this year, Jordan both renewed and doubled the loan it had placed at the disposal of the Iraqi Government in 1983 in order to facilitate the importing of Jordanian commodities. Turkey is expected to do likewise.

These financial measures and facilitations came at the right time, since Iraq is suffering from a decline in Arab financial assistance following the fall in the oil revenues of the Gulf states. Iraqi sources estimate that the value of the financial assistance received by the Baghdad government since the outbreak of the war is about \$25 billion. Both Saudi Arabia and Kuwait are still giving Iraq assistance by supplying its markets with oil from the Neutral Zone for its account.

Iraq is currently exporting about 800,000 barrels of oil a day. To do so, it uses the only opening left to these exports: the pipeline passing through Turkish territory. Iraq has succeeded in raising the pumping capacity of this pipeline from 650,000 to 800,000 barrels a day by mixing the crude oil with chemical substances that facilitate its flow and increase the amount pumped. Iraq is currently working on expanding the capacity of this pipeline to 950,000 barrels a day.

Moreover, Iraq is studying numerous options for selling its oil production and breaking the blockade imposed on these exports. The most important possibilities involve building a new pipeline to the Red Sea and another across the Gulf that would end in a floating export terminal. In the expectation of a final decision being taken on this matter, Iraq is exporting natural gas and oil products by land and in trucks across both Turkey and Jordan.

Despite the negative effects of the war on the Iraqi economy, the Iraqi Government is continuing to implement basic projects. It is giving priority to industrial and petrochemical projects and to the transportation and communications sectors. The Iraqi Government is showing complete readiness to proceed with basic development projects, but it wishes to do so more gradually. Heading the list of these projects is the construction of a new international airport in the city of Mosul, in addition to new power stations and the initiation of the first stage of the new railway from Baghdad to Basrah.

12224

CSO: 4404/334

GREAT ZAB'S WATERS DIVERTED FOR IRRIGATION

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 42, 28 Jan 84 p 40

/Article: "A New Project in Iraq to Irrigate 100,000 Hectares"/

Text/ The economies of the developing countries suffer from structural distortions and imbalances as a result of their dependence on one-sided sources of income and accumulation, the basence of balanced developmental orientations, and an inability to apply the harmony doctrine with the necessary effectiveness and in the right dimensions, in order to assure the coordinated development of the various economic and social sectors.

If the experience of the past decades has shown that the production branches of the national economy are best suited to play the central role in the process of providing the necessary financial accumulations, then advanced agriculture represents the most important sector in the area of influencing the other branches of the economy and determining their level of effectiveness. Given the backward state of agriculture, situations arise in hich it seems that industry is incapable of performing its role, let alone bearing the burden of the trade balance, which is marked by increasing imports of food commodities and goods.

Thus, it is necessary to prepare the prerequisites for advancing agriculture, especially suitable land and water. They must be used with modern methods and tools, including equipment and devices utilizing advanced technology. These trends have been and still are an area of interest for the state's leadership and those concerned with agricultural affairs in Iraq, through dependence on balanced formulas for agricultural activities, thereby assuring the possibility of realizing all kinds of agricultural progress.

Perhaps one of the most prominent examples embodying this trend is the construction of a giant irrigation project known as "the Saddan Irrigation Project." Its first stage was recently opened by Mr Taha Yasin Ramadan, Iraq's first deputy prime minister. The idea of setting up the project, which is being constructed in the governorate of al-Ta'mim (Kirkuk), goes back to the Abbasid era, when the al-Rafidayn valley used to embrace a broad network of irrigation projects designed to provide life to agricultural lands deprived of it. However, the circumstances that prevailed then and the difficult character of the land in which the current project is situated prevented it from being carried out then.

This project is considered one of the biggest development projects implemented by the Iraqi Ministry of Irrigation. Advanced technological devices are being used in its construction, administration, and operation.

The Idea...and the Technical Specifications

The basic idea behind the project is to change the course of the Great Zab river, thereby causing it to flow through an artificial canal, in order to derive benefit from the water of Lake Dukan. The river is characterized by its enormous discharge capacity, which amounts to 278 cubic meters a second. This is close to the discharge capacity of the Tigris river at some places and its equals that of the Euphrates at flood stage. The river's water is abundant and sweet. The soil is fertile and the farm land will benefit from the project. In addition, the ground water goes deep, the land is free of salt, and the region's climate is suitable for numerous agricultural crops.

The plan calls for the project to irrigate some 1 million dunams (100,000 hectares) of agricultural land. The completed first stage contains 330,000 dunams. So far, the earth-moving activities in the project, which consist of digging and filling, have displaced 50 million cubic meters. This includes the digging of the project's main canal, which required the pouring of about a quarter million cubic meters of concrete, in order to line the canal. It is considered one of the largest lined canals in the world. Of course, this canal was built all at once. It is 67 kilometers long. The portion of it which was lined by concrete is 37 kms long, while the other 30 kms were lined with earth by the most modern methods.

The project is divided into agricultural basins of differing areas. The system of irrigation is different from basin to basin. These basins are subdivided into irrigation units, with the area of each unit being 160 dunams. Each unit is irrigated by the flood method, and each has a single water source. At the same time, stations of 800 dunams are irrigated by the spraying method.

The determination of the project's agricultural cycle, crops, and area was carried out on the basis of the type of irrigation. Each farmer gets 54 dunams of flood-irrigated land and 20 dunams of spray-irrigated land. The cycle includes the cultivation of industrial crops, grain, and crops used for fodder.

In order to prepare technical and agricultural cadres for interaction with the equipment and methods provided by the project in the area of irrigation, eight training courses for farmers have been set up so far. Four deal with spray irrigation, while four others deal with irrigation by flooding. Moreover, eight courses dealing with mechanization and irrigation have been set up for technical and agricultural cadres.

It will be possible to make use of the project during the winter season of 1984/85. The wait is due to the existence of some technical aspects that have to be taken care of. The basic problem is the process of modifying the canal. Technically speaking, this project requires that this modification process by carried out before the canal is finally used for agricultural purposes.

Next year's winter agricultural season will witness the providing of water to 120,000 dunams of land via the flood-irrigation method, while 25,000 dunams will be irrigated by means of the spray-irrigation method.

Villages...and Services

Major and branch villages of 577 houses have been affiliated to the project. The area of each village is 700 square meters. These villages are characterized by being close to the fields. Each farmer's field is no more than 4 kms away from his house at the most. In addition, a network of modern roads has been provided and the electricity network has been extended. The central villages contain markets, administrative centers, medical and veterinary clinics, schools, and storehouses.

Moreover, it has been decided to establish a state farm specializing in red sugar beets on an area of 100,000 dunams. In addition, an orchard of 5,000 dunams will be set up and distributed to the farmers in parcels of 10 dunams per farmer. It will be irrigated by means of low spray irrigation.

12224

CSO: 4404/334

# BRIEFS

PETROLEUM EXPORTS INCREASE—The news from Ankara indicates that Iraq intends to increase its ability to export oil through the pipeline that passes through Turkish territory. This pipeline is currently considered to be the only outlet for Iraq's oil exports. Exports will be increased in two stages, with the second stage ending this April. Current exports are to be doubled. The first stage of the project, which was intended to raise the quantity pumped from 700,000 barrels a day to 900,000 barrels a day, has been completed. The final tests were successfully concluded several weeks ago. This new level will be considered Iraq's export rate beginning this February. The amount will be raised once again, to 1.3 million barrels a day, at the end of April. /Text//London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 44, 11 Feb 84 p 60/ 12224

cso: 4404/334

MA'ARIV'S HARIF ANALYZES 'ARAFAT-HUSAYN TALKS

TA041241 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 4 Mar 84 p 8

[Commentary by Yosef Harif: "Amman Following Reagan"]

The day after the heartwarming talks between Yasir 'Arafat, the terrorist leader, and King Husayn ended in Amman, a close adviser to 'Afafat announced to the world that Jordan and the PLO have reached a basic understanding concerning the establishment of a confederation between the Kingdon and a Palestinian state in the West Bank.

There is almost no doubt that the West, including the United States, will want to see this an another sign of the PLO's becoming more "moderate" and evidence that the PLO, or at least 'Afafat's PLO, is willing to forgo terrorism as the means for achieving its aims, and that it recognizes the principle that conflicts must be settled by political means only.

Since it is the United States—via Egypt—which is encouraging this dialogue between Husayn and 'Arafat the "moderate," the understanding achieved between the two has to be seen in a special light. We would be surprised if we hear voices in the West, and even in Washington, that the understanding arrived at in Amman after 5 days of talks on the establishment of a confederation amount to an acceptance of the Reagan plan. [Sentence as published] And, if this is so, then Washington has to take notice of the advice of Egyptian President Husni Mubarak, who is mediating between Washington and the PLO, and to bring 'Arafat nearer, for fear that he might be forced to attach himself to Damascus and Moscow.

What is the meaning of this confederation, which 'Arafat is willing to accept as the basis for a settlement?

Confederation is a link between states. In other words, what we are talking about is the establishment of a Palestinian state; this would be the entity to join a confederation with Jordan. However, as far as we know, 'Arafat insisted on the principle that his "state" in the West Bank would have a flag of its own.

Israel would be well advised to reveal the essence of the agreement reached in Amman before the term "moderate" strikes roots and wins over the hearts of Western foreign ministries.

The idea itself is also not new. In 1972 Husayn came up with a similar plan which, according to him, was designed "to save the West Bank from the conspiracies of Zionism." It seems this tells it all.

The fear now is twofold: The United States may regard it as "a basis for negotiations" and what is worse, some in Israel--perhaps even in the alignment--may regard this development as "a positive sign" similar to "the positive points" the alignment saw in the Reagan plan.

Those in the alignment who are not afraid of a Palestinian state would probably welcome "the positive development" because "all it amounts to" is a confederation with Jordan.

Moreover, those advocating the "Jordanian option" will also regard it as a good sign and there will probably be those who will say that "the matter must be looked into."

It seems there is no need to go very far to find the trap. This Jordanian-Palestinian plan is meant to resemble the Reagan plan in its main characteristics, that is in the link between the "West Bank and Jordan. After all, it is explicitly stated in the Reagan plan that the United States favors this "link" regarding the final status of the "West Bank."

MK Abba Eban, the alignment's foreign minister-designate, favors the "Jordanian option," that is a territorial compromise and handing over most of the "West Bank" to Jordanian sovereignty in order to establish a Jordanian-Palestinian state in the areas that would be evacuated by Israel. However, Eban points out, "our ability to influence relations between both banks of the Jordan River will be limited. They may decide to maintain their unity and they may decide otherwise. On this issue we do not have the same control as we have on the matter of borders.... It does not stand to reason that the alignment should declare that it is ready to say goodbye to a certain area. In the long run, however, we think we will be able to determine the character and the structure of the area that would not be under our control."

The "confederation" idea raised by Husayn and 'Arafat entails exactly the same dangers Mr Eban refers to as a possible development.

CSO: 4400/183

#### TOURISM AGREEMENT WITH ZAIRE SIGNED

TAO41139 Tel Aviv HA ARETZ in Hebrew 4 Mar 84 p 8

[Report by Zohar Blumenkranz]

[Text] An agreement for cooperation between Israel and Zaire was signed over the weekend in Jerusalem between the Zairian Minister of Tourism Ndjoli Balanga, and his host, Minister of Tourism Avraham Sharir.

The two ministers agreed to speed up the activation of an air link between the two countries. Balanga and Sharir have also agreed to examine the possibility of establishing a joint company to initiate tourism projects in Zaire. The details of the Company's activation and operation will be decided in further meetings.

The Zairian minister requested that his Israeli counterpart encourage investors and private entrepreneurs from Israel to visit Zaire in order to examine possibilities for investing in tourism projects.

On the practical side, it has been decided to hold a "Zaire week" in Israel. This week will include folklore and food shows, and information and tourism films will be shown.

It was also agreed that travel agents from both countries will offer tourist package deals from Zaire to Israel and vice versa.

At the signing ceremony Minister Sharir said: "The importance of the new agreement lies not only in tourism, but in extending our relations in Africa, which are in a process of renewal and are gaining a new dimension."

Balanga was thankful for "the exciting visit to Israel," and said: "Zaire wishes to learn from Israel and wants to benefit from its experience in developing tourism. My visit will deepen the ties and friendship between the two peoples."

CSO: 4400/183

# BRIEFS

ISRAEL-EGYPT BORDER CROSSING STATISTICS--Beersheba, 25 February (ITIM)--In 1983 there was a decrease in traffic through the international Israeli border terminals with Egypt. This is included in the monthly traffic report published by the Airports Authority. The report says that 385,772 people crossed the border in 1983 in both directions, compared with 398,271 in 1982. It transpires that in the first 3 months of last year, only 34 passengers crossed the Nizzana border crossing point, and that between March and December 1983 no passenger traffic at all was recorded at that terminal. It also emerges from the report that in January, 138 Egyptian tourists entered Israel through the international border terminal at Rafah as against 1,165 tourists who crossed into Egypt. Some 989 citizens of Arab countries arrived in Israel through Egypt in January. In January, only 2 Egyptian tourists entered Israel through the Nizzana border terminal, but 252 Israelis crossed into Egypt through the Rabah border crossing point in January, and 2,672 tourists from various countries came to Israel. Also, it is reported that this January, Egypt exported to Israel goods--books and almonds--worth \$35,000; compared to goods worth \$200,000 exported by Israel to Egypt during the same month. In January Israel exported to Egypt breeding eggs, chicken coop equipment, chicken food, screws and books. The goods are transferred through the Nizzana border crossing terminal. [Text] [TA251819 Tel Aviv ITIM in Hebrew 1810 GMT 25 Feb 84]

NORTHERN SAMARIA SETTLEMENT TURNS CIVILIAN—The settlement of (Kaddin) in northern Samaria has become civilian. Our correspondent Shalom Oren reports that the members of this nucleus, who come from the Ha'oved Hale'umi Movement, had so far been in the Sannur settlement in the area. The new settlement is made up of five families that live in caravans and another dozen families that live in a structure of the adjacent police station. During the ceremony of making the settlement civilian Likud MK Avraham Hirshon called for extending Israeli law to Judaea and Samaria in reaction to the Karp Committee's conclusions. [Text] [TA281845 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1700 GMT 28 Feb 84]

GREEK DELEGATION TO ARRIVE--A top-level Greek delegation will arrive in Jerusalem in about 10 days for the inauguration of "Greek House," a center for Greek culture in the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus, which was built by donations from Thessaloniki Jewry. This was reported yesterday by foreign Ministry Director General Dr David Kimche in a farewell dinner to honor the

Greek diplomatic representative in Israel, Ambassador Alexandros Koundourriotis, who is ending his term after serving 3 and 1/2 years. The Greek delegation will include Konstantinos Tsatsos, who was the president of Greece between 1974 to 1980, the director general of the Culture and Science Ministry, which is headed by Minister Melina Merkouri, the mayor of Thessaloniki, the director general of the Greek radio, the greatest Greek archeologist, (Professor Andron-ikos), who discovered the grave of Philipus, and the editor of the most important newspaper in Athens (KATRIMINI) (Helena Valkhus Vafrim). Even though the delegation is not political, members of the ruling leftist party "Pasok" are included in it. This party is known for its critical position toward Israel and in supporting the Palestinian demand for independence. Even though Greece joined the EC a few years ago, it still does not have full diplomatic relations with Israel but only a diplomatic representation in Tel Aviv, the head of which does carry the title of ambassador. [Text] [TAO21338 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 2 Mar 84 p 12]

DIAMONDS EXPORTS INCREASE—Diamonds exports in February increased by 13.5 percent and amounted to \$91.8 million, as compared to \$80.9 million in the same period last year. These details were announced by the Diamonds and Precious Stones Division of the Ministry of Industry and Trade. Diamonds Division Director Efrayim Raviv said last Friday that the exports increase is evidence of the improvement in the diamond industry lately. He said that, following a long period, there was a decrease in the imports of polished diamonds to Israel last month. In February these imports amounted to \$9.9 million, as compared to \$13 million in February of 1983, that is, a decrease of 24 percent. [Text] [TA051438 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 4 Mar 84 p 18]

NEW BROADCASTING AUTHORITY APPOINTMENTS--Lawyer (Mikha Yanon) is to be chairman of the executive board of the Israel Broadcasting Authority. This was agreed between Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir and Education Minister Hammer. The prime minister plans to appoint his former spokesman, Uri Porat, to the position of director general. However, a number of other Likud ministers are still opposed to this. Efforts are currently underway to finalize the composition of the Broadcasting Authority plenum and its Executive Board, in order to make progress with the actual appointments. The new chairman, director general. Executive Board and Plenum will take office on 1 April. New Executive Board will apparently have two Likud representatives, two from the Alignment, one from the National Religious Party, and one rotating between Tehiya and Tami. The seventh member will be a non-party journalist, to be appointed by the minister of education -- a new idea about to be implemented. The matter of a second channel for Israel TV was also discussed in recent talks between Minister Hammer and the Prime Minister. [Report by David Erlich] [Text] [TA070944 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 7 Mar 84 p 1]

CSO: 4400/183

### PRINCE HASAN ADDRESSES WATER RESOURCES ISSUE

JN031535 Amman AR-RA'Y in Arabic 26 Feb 84 p 8

["Text" of speech by Jordanian Crown Prince Hasan opening a symposium on "Israel and the Arab Water Resources" in Amman on 25 February]

[Text] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. Brothers, I am pleased to welcome all of you here and to participate in opening this symposium on an issue that has extremely great bearing on our present and future—namely, the Arab water resources and the Israeli threat to these resources. I would like to thank the Arab Studies Center and its President Dr 'Adnan Badran for arranging this important meeting.

The Arab nation is currently being exposed to increasing Israeli threats to its security, the stability of its population, and its various resources. Therefore, it is very important for us to objectively conduct a detailed study of Israel's present and future threats to the Arab water resources.

Brothers, in our area, where water resources are scarce, the waters of the River Jordan and its tributaries are of great importance in developing the various Arab territories around them. Any unilateral disposal of these water resources will certainly affect the rights of the other parties and their economic and social development. Our area has greatly suffered repeated Israeli aggressions and these aggressions have clearly affected the Arab water resources. Israel has exploited these resources in a very unjust manner. Since the beginning of this century, the Zionist plans have been aimed at controlling the water resources of this region, not only in Palestine, but also in Jordan, southern Lebanon, and southern Syria. The current Israeli plans have been based on the Zionist plans to expolit the water resources to settle the Jewish immigrants in Palestine.

Water resources are important to the land. We are aware of the effective role that the water resources play in social and economic development, in developing the land, and in entrenching the ties between the people and their land. Hence, the people's connection with the land reflects their connection with their country. Israel has exerted its utmost to sever such connections, drive the Arab from their land, and empty the occupied territory of their Arab population to facilitate the Zionist settlement process.

Brothers, in the early 1950's Israel drew up a detailed plan to divert the waters of the River Jordan and its tributaries in order to irrigate the Negev desert in the south, step up the settlement process, and bring in new immigrants. Later, Israel embarked on implementing this scheme, which gave it much more water than it was allowed to obtain in accordance with international norms and conventions. At that time, His Majesty King Husayn drew attention to this threat. In a speech after his return from the third Arab summit conference in 1965, his majesty pointed out that the Jordan River waters were being diverted to irrigate areas that were very distant from its basin in order to bring in more immigrants. He said that this diversion consituted a clear violation of Arab rights and flouted the principles of international law.

After occupying the Arab territories of the West Bank and Golan in 1967, Israel was able to control the river's tributaries and foil any Arab project to exploit these tributaries. As a result of this, Israel is currently getting about 55 percent—equivalent to 800 million cubic meters—of the available waters in the Jordan River Basin. The Johnston Plan, which was presented by the United States in the 1950's, gave Israel only 33 percent of these waters. Due to the Israeli occupation, Jordan could not get more than 10 percent of the waters in the Jordan River Basin, despite the fact that the Johnston Plan proposed granting Jordan approximately 50 percent of these waters. After 1967, Israel spread its control over important water resources in the West Bank. Israel has completely exploited its water resources. Any water shortages that result from Israel's increasing water consumption are being met through Israel's control of the West Bank water resources, including the exploitation of the underground waters that originate in the West Bnak, and the prevention of the Arab inhabitants from exploiting their water.

It is obvious that Israel's water policy is closely linked to its expansionist settlement policy, a fact that affects stability and peace in the Middle East. What is taking place in the West Bank is the best evidence of that linkage. Israel has set up more than 165 settlements in the occupied West Bank and confiscated nearly half of the land there. Israel also imposed severe restrictions on digging wells by the Arab citizens while it allowed the settlers to do so. It is noteworthy that the rate of water consumption by the Israeli settlers in the West Bank is seven times more than that of the Arab citizens there. These unjust measures greatly harm the living conditions of the inhabitants under occupation. Therefore, the structure of the agricultural sector was shaken, and many people abandoned their lands as a result of the restrictions that are imposed on irrigating and exploiting these lands.

Israel also deported tens of thousands of Arab citizens across the bridges as emigrants, and others were compelled to work as casual laborers in Israel itself. While the occupied West Bank has water resources which the inhabitants have not yet exploited, Israel is determined to weaken their ties with their land and homeland and impose restrictions on using their lands and waters.

Israel created economic ties on the West Bank that will bring great advantage to Israel. In addition to Israel's exploitation of water and relatively cheap

manpower and its domination of the land, the occupied Arab territories constitute a monopolized market for Israeli commodities from which it derives large amounts of hard currency. Moreover, Israel also benefits from the money that those who work abroad are sending to their families in these territories; a fact that increases Israel's hard currency and supports its balance of payment.

It is noteworthy that Israel's water ambitions exceed the water resources that it is controlling and exploiting. Israel also demands a big share of the waters of the Yarmuk River under the pretext of various allegations aimed at using these waters in stepping up the settlement process in the West Bank. There are several reports on Israel's ambitions on the waters of the Al-Litani River, which some Israelis view as a source to make up any expected future shortage in the quantities of the waters now available.

O Brothers: Despite Israel's aggression, the state of instability in the region, and the scarcity of resources, Jordan continued to implement plans aimed at benefiting from the Jordan River tributaries. A comprehensive development process was implemented in the Jordan Valley; a process, which is considered a successful model of exploiting water and land. Despite the fact that Israel hampered the completion of this important project, and hampered the exploitation of the waters of the Yarmuk river in a better way, we managed, through using only 150 million cubic meters of water a year, to develop this area to become an important center of agricultural production.

With our concern about the projects of irrigation and agriculture, we give priority to the citizens comfort in order to improve their living conditions. The social, economic, and educational development plans were implemented together to establish a productive society that would strengthen our ability to exploit the resources of our land, alleviate the burdens of of immigration to the city, and create a more balanced society. We are confident that when the Arab rights and land are regained, our ability to exploit our natural and human resources will be greater and our efforts and achievements will increase to complete the establishment of a productive society that will strengthen the citizen's affiliation to his land and provide him with the necessary services and better living conditions.

The confrontation of the Israeli threats to the resources of Arab waters is not confined to one Arab state, because as developments, Israel's plans, and the statements of its leaders showed, these threats go far beyond the occupied territory. The situation necessitates that the Arabs adopt a serious stand, a clear vision, and coordination and cooperation in the fields of exploiting the resources of Arab waters. As we know, the time factor is not necessarily in our favor, because Israel exploits this factor to entrench its efforts in our Arab land and to exploit our natural resources.

O Brothers: The durable and just peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved without a just solution to the Palestinian question which is the crux of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Moreover, no solution can succeed without giving the Palestinian people their full right to determine their destiny on their Palestinian Arab land. This right to self-determination includes the Palestinian people's right to exercize their full rights in dealing with their human,

waters, and economic resources. These rights cannot be disintegrated. Moreover, no just peace can be achieved by accepting the imposed fait accompli and the changes that the Israeli settlement policy has created in the occupied Arab areas. The restoration of all these rights our kinfolk can provide the necessary base to achieve a balanced economy and secure their basic needs such as work opportunities, housing, educational institutions, and a proper health environment.

O Brothers: Sometimes it is difficult to follow the changes and developments that the Israeli occupation authorities create in the occupied Arab areas. However, we call on the scientific community and the international insitutions outside the region to study these developments in order to obtain a realistic and objective concept of the situation in the occupied areas and the needs and aspirations of these areas' citizens. In our viewpoint, such a step would represent a basic step that would contribute to the success of any just action that would grant the citizens of the occupied areas the right to self-determination.

What we aspire for in this meeting is to study the water situation in this region, their current and future uses, the relationship of this with the frequent Israeli aggressions, and the effect of these aggressions on the achievement of a just and durable peace in the region. I hope that through your participation, this picture will be accurately and objectively made clear.

In conclusion, I welcome you again and I wish your important meeting success. May God's blessings and peace be upon you.

CSO: 4400/184

# PALESTINIAN APPEALS TO HUSAYN, 'ARAFAT

TA260757 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 26 Feb 84 p 8

[Commentary by Jamil Hamad: "Challenge for "Arafat and King Husayn"]

[Text] It appears that King Husayn of Jordan and PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat are finally taking seriously the possibility of discussing solutions to the problems of the Palestinians and the West Bank.

Many experts insist that only these two leaders can initiate a significant, workable, and legitimate plan for saving the Palestinians. Certainly, nothing can be done without one or both participating.

I am a Palestinian, and have been living in Bethlehem in the West Bank since 1948 when my family was forced out of our home village by the war that followed partition.

I have been both a refugee and under occupation. I have twice seen my home town invaded and taken by the Israeli Army.

I am weary of 17 years of occupation. But I am more weary of talk, of vacuous promises, of impotent rhetoric. I want peace, but I also want peace and quiet.

If only I could sit on the discussions between King Husayn and Chairman 'Arafat that are so important for my future—as an insignificant, powerless, and silent Palestinian "observer."

Observers, however, are not permitted to speak—and none of the problem—solvers seems to want to hear from Palestinians anyway. But from this great distance—so bizarre is the modern world—I can address the King and Mr 'Arafat far, far better:

Your Majesty, for many years you have displayed your anguished willingness to do all within your power to help your Palestinian "brothers" living now under occupation. I do assure you, your words have consistently warmed the very cockles of my heart over the last 17 years.

However, your often-voiced and sincerely-felt wishes have not budged the Israelis one inch, either off our land or towards a negotiating table.

Despite your heartfeld dismay, new Israeli settlements are going up only 2 miles from my home—and surrounding every Palestinian town in our West Bank. We are on the verge of annexation.

No doubt your repeated exhibitions of concern have some effect in Amman; perhaps they pacify your Palestinian population, but your words have had singularly little effect in saving my homeland.

It is time that Palestinians in the occupied areas are told exactly what you have in mind. Either you take on that responsibility assigned to you in the UN Resolutions 242 and 338 or you abandon, once and for all, that responsibility and let us take care of ourselves. Do you really want an equitable and just East Bank-West Bank reunification, or do you prefer to continue giving the notion mere lip-service?

If you choose to act on behalf of the Palestinians, we have the right to know on what you are basing your plans: The Rogers Plan? Camp David? The Reagan Initiatives? The Fes Plan? Or even the fanciful Venice Declaration?

It is difficult, frankly, to imagine on which proposal you will base your negotiations with Mr 'Arafat since he explicitly rejects so much of what you support.

I suggest you take into account that we in the West Bank have some definite ideas about the viability of any of these plans. By a strange accident of history we happen to know considerably more about the Israelis, about military governments, about the workings of democracy as opposed to autocracy, about the lack and the value of civil rights, and taxation without representation, the freedom (and lack thereof) of the press and of speech, and so forth, than either you or Chairman 'Arafat.

You, Your Majesty, have, by recently recalling the Jordanian Parliament, reclaimed your constitutional mandate. This so-called "Palestinian Mandate" that everyone seems to want is legally invested in the parliament. By restoring that body and its legitimacy you restore a legitimate Palestinian mandate.

If you did not recognize this or mean to do it, why then did you act to summon the long moribund parliament and revive that Palestinian legitimacy in a Jordanian context? That is the constitutional fact of the matter. However, the present reality is another thing.

This recalled parliament can no more represent today's West Bank residents than it can represent Equatorial Eskimos. Since 1967 the West Bank has not only changed radically in its outlook, its economic and educational status, its sense of independence and expectations, and its degree of westernization, but the population is wholly different.

Many of your old friends, Your Majesty, are dead, or gone to America or Saudi Arabia, or their hearts have been sold elsewhere, or those you had bought are independently wealthy now.

A full 50 percent of the people here do not know Jordan. King Husayn's Jordan is history. Of the rest, 40 percent are still pro-Jordan, but they are the older, conservative element.

I fear you are in a very weak position. Be very careful, sir, how you woo the West Bank. Do not forget that what "mandate" there is, just might lie, in fact, here.

Dear Chairman 'Arafat, you are still gravely hampered by problems above and beyond the Palestinian problem. I am well aware that I, and my dilemma, are currently rather low on your agenda of the deteriorating situation within Fatah and the chaos within PLO ranks.

Remember last year's Palestinian National Council [PNC] meeting in Algeria when many members were prevented from expressing their criticism of your political, organizational and tactical mistakes?

'Isam as-Sartawi was refused the right to speak (and was later shot down in Portugal, wasn't he?). Abu Musa [Sa'id Musa Muragha] and Abu Salih [Nimr Salih] were also kept from addressing the council.

No one can now pretend that the infamous Fatah/PLO mutiny never occurred. No one is ignorant of its causes. I, for one, am glad to see that one of its results was to expose the dirty linen, corruption and failings of the PLO to the clear light of day.

At this point, we on the West Bank must know: Whom do you represent now? Are you still chairman of the PLO? Of Fatah? Do you still hold the undisputed right to alone represent and treat for the Palestinian people? When you speak to the king are you speaking only for Yasir 'Arafat? Who stands behind you? What authority have you to offer Husayn a "mandate?"

You see, Mr Chairman, those of us isolated and occupied in the Palestinian homeland are rather distanced and out of touch with the "Palestinian Issue" and the current status of the "Palestinian Front."

For too long you have maneuvered to please everyone at the same time. This is a dangerous, unreliable policy leading to no substantive gain or construction. Its fragile and specious results exploded under you in Tripoli and Al-Baddawi.

Trying to please everyone and lining up everyone on your side has cost you your credibility. I for one—and I have ever-hopeful pretensions of being a fairly astute, informed observer—could not today describe your political position to anyone. You need to immediately tell us where you stand and bring yourself into focus. I cannot see you clearly nor see whom you represent. Me? My more radical friend? My more moderate neighbour? Some Arab leaders?

Palestinians in the West Bank must be offered some sort of platform, a clear forthright statement of policy and method, and of clearly defined positions.

If you wish to give the king a real Palestinian mandate, for legality's sake, you must return to the PNC and have your own position reaffirmed. I doubt, however, that this will happen.

On the other hand, you could formalize the current Fatah split and drop the fairy-tale of a unified PLO. Then those who continue to support you could officially declare so, and those outside your camp could announce their new organization.

We then might be on the way to legitimate multiple options for Palestinians—it's called democracy—recognizing our inherent and valid political differences that make a joke of Palestinian "unanimity."

Quit reciting that long litany of Fes resolutions, Algerian resolutions, Reagan plans, Camp David Accords, EEC Initiative.... Just tell me how you intend to save my homeland at the 11th hour. Then do it.

Actions come costly. Words come very cheaply, and in their cheapness they can be used cruelly. They can wear away like some sort of water-torture.

Actions do speak louder than words. If you are not truly willing and able now to do something substantial for us, then please, let it go. Be honest with us. Tell us now if there is no hope from your efforts.

We are exhausted by ephemeral promises and a mirage of hopes. Just leave us alone.

If, however, you are ready and willing to act now, do so now. To apprehend, to act on the political moment is the first duty of any national independent movement to its people. It is precisely this timeliness that creates national heroes. History remembers the patriots who know the moment to lay down their guns. Let us now make heroes of the peacemakers....

Over the years I have never seen either of you, Your Majesty, or Chairman 'Arafat, let any microphone or TV camera pass you by without seizing the chance to remind the world of the suffering of your Palestinian borthers in the occupied areas and in refugee camps, or to send us here your greetings from far distant places.

We appreciate this, but what we have been waiting to hear is just one proposal, one resolution, one single uncompromising gesture or step forward which would actually initiate the process of restoring our independence, our land, and ending this onerous occupation.

Right now, today, urgently the solving of the Palestinian problem and the West Bank occupation require an immediate, unambiguous strategy which strictly defines and clarifies what it is we want.

Repeating those hackneyed slogans about what we--or, perhaps, only you--do not want, is going to lose us our audience. It is useless.

CSO: 4400/186

### BRIEFS

FRG LOAN--A loan agreement was signed today between the YAR and the FRG to cover the cost of importing equipment for water projects in the YAR. The loan is for 5 million Deutshe marks. [Summary] [GF291456 San'a' Domestic Service in Arabic 1700 GMT 28 Feb 84]

PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR APPOINTED--Brother Colonel 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih, president of the republic, commander-in-chief of the armed forces, and secretary general of the General People's Congress, issued a presidential decree today appointing Brother Hamud Hamud 'Atif as the governor of Al-Bayda' Province. [Text] [GF040508 San'a' Domestic Service in Arabic 2000 GMT 3 Mar 84]

CSO: 4400/185

# FRENCH DOCTORS REPORT ATROCITIES PERPETRATED BY SOVIETS

Christchurch THE PRESS in English 15 Feb 84 p 14

[Article by Ralph Joseph]

[Text]

Soviet troops and the regime of President Babrak Karmal have considerably less than total control over Afghanistan, and there are whole provinces where neither the Soviet occupation forces nor the communist Government have any

permanent presence whatsoever.
French doctors who have been into the country several times and returned say it is possible to travel great distances inside the country, even by car, without encountering Soviet or government troops— though the chances of capture by

them always exist.

A young French doctor from the Paris-based organisation, Medecins Sans Frontieres (Doctors Beyond All Borders) told me that he had been into the country four times between October, 1981, and October, 1983. On the last two occasions he had done almost the entire trip by car, travelling part of the way along the Kabul-Kandahar highway in broad day-

Dr Antoine Crouam, aged 29, says that in several of the places he has been to, the local people run their own affairs as if it were "another country." One such area was Hazarajat province, lying just west of the Kabul-Kandahar highway. No Soviet or government troops were to be seen there and the Mujahedin guerrillas were in complete control. The only evidence of the Soviets was the occasional belicopter on a reconnaisance flight, or making an sortie to drop anti-personnel plastic mines over the countryside.

Dr Claude Malhuret, executive

director of Medecins Sans Frontieres (M.S.F.), has criticised the western media for not sending in more correspondents for eyewitness accounts of what is happening

in Afghanistan. M.S.F. at present has 25 doctors inside the country, and has sent in mercy missions since 1980. The French doctors seem to be the only ones in a position to provide independent accounts of the struggle from inside.

Dr Crouam said that his impression was that the Soviet control did not extend beyond "the tracks of their tanks and the angles of their machine-guns." Roads and highways "belong to the Mujahedin the best and the street of the time to the at night, and most of the time even in the day." This was true not only in Hazarajat, where he has worked twice, but also in areas close to the capital, Kabul.

During his own trip by car along the Kabul-Kandahar highway, he saw it littered with destroyed Soviet trucks, armoured personnel carriers, tanks, and helicopters — the remains of numerous Mujahedin attacks on the communist

Several of these attacks took place when the doctor was working in his village hospital in Hazarajat, and the Mujahedin brought their wounded to him for treatment. The guerrillas fought mainly on foot, and it therefore took them days to get the wounded to the hospital, which was the only one in the entire province. By the time they brought in the injured men, the wounds had become infected and Dr Crouam often had to amputate an arm or a leg to to amputate an arm or a leg to save the man's life.

"They came in batches," he said, making it difficult for him and his small staff to handle all the injuries.

Dr Crouam described Hazarajat as "a liberated area . . . like another country, a poor agricul-

tural country, with no electricity, no water, just one primary school no government." Instead of a Government, the administration of the area was in the hands of the

Afghan resistance.
They do whatever they can. "They try to make some schools, they try to do better. They try to get help in the form of medicines and teachers." But their priority is to try to dislodge the Soviet forces

from their country.
When Dr Crouam first arrived in Hazarajat, in October, 1981, he found the M.S.F. hospital had just been deliberately attacked.

"All that remained was rubble one metre high."

From what he was told, the Soviets had first made a reconnaissance flight by helicopter. An hour later, other helicopter gunships had arrived and had repeatedly blasted the hospital with rockets until nothing remained of it. They hit nothing along the state of the state

it. They hit nothing else.

The hospital had been set up earlier in a large house belonging to a rich Afghan who had, how-ever, abandoned it and left Ha-zarajat. The Soviets knew it was being used as a hospital, and appeared to be destroying it on purpose, to deprive the area of the only medical facility it had, he said

No-one had been killed, because after the initial reconnaissance flight the villagers knew the Soviets would be back with bombs or rockets. They had by now come to recognise a pattern in the Soviet behaviour. Reconnaissance flights were always followed by attacks. They had evacuated the sick and wounded from the building and had hidden themselves.

Another helicopter operation the Afghans have come to recognise is the dropping of toys or plastic objects over the countryside or

near their villages. These objects, the Afghans know, are mines or booby-trapped toys. They keep their children at home and the Mujahedin warn the people not to leave the village. The Mujahedin guerrillas then go out and pick up the mines — coloured green, brown, or grey, according to the colour of the terrain on which they are dropped.

If there are any explosives experts around they will try to retrieve the explosive in the observations of the contract of the jects, otherwise they simply destroy them.

The mines, says Dr Malhuret, are not directed at the guerrillas, but at the Afghan civilians, par-ticularly children. They are not intended to kill, but to maim or wound. The object is to harass the peasants by burdening them with wounded to look after, in the absence of medical facilities. There comes a point when the There comes a point when the peasants can't take it any more, and decide to join the two million refugees in Pakistan, or the one million in Iran. In this way the Soviets hope to deprive the guer-rillas of the support they receive from the peasants.

There are other atrocities. Dr Crouam spoke to 20 witnesses of a massacre in the village of Padrabe Shana on September 21, 1982. Several Soviet troops had arrived there in search of deserters from the Afghan army. The villagers had run in all directions to hide themselves, some in a large under-

ground channel called a Kharez.
The Soviets know Kharezes are
favourite hiding places. They
blocked the tunnel off from both ends, poured about 1000 litres of petrol into it, added explosives, and set it ablaze. All 110 people in the Kharez died, most of them old men.

CSO: 4600/406

# DRAFT TEXT OF LABOR LAW PUBLISHED

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 20-21 Feb 84 pp 2-3

[Text] Chapter 1

General Provisions

Article 1: This law has been evoked by taking into the consideration of Article 24 of the Fundamental Principles and guidelines of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan for ensuring the following objectives:

- 1. Ensuring the right of social work and emancipating of unemployment being beneficial.
- 2. Organising the relations of workers in a just and progressive manner with their related administration and institution inorder the level of output should be enhanced and the socioeconomic living standard of workers is increased.
- 3. Creating of favourable and guaranteed conditions in a bid to protect the rights and interests of workers and the work done should gradually bring well-being to all.
- 4. Increasement in the working discipline.
- 5. Ensuring the democratic rights and freedoms of workers by taking into consideration the national and progressive norms and values.
- 6. The implementation of international conventions which Afghanistan has signed or to sign.
- 7. Materialising of the principle of proportion between the amount of work and the degree of the payment.
- Article 2: This terminology of the law refers to the following meanings:
- 1. Workers: Is a person that works for obtaining certain wages on the basis of a contract under the conditions which make the framework of the law.

- 2. A person who works on the basis of a contract for a test period of time to learn a skill or profession.
- 3. Institution: It is an authoritative administration or private institution in which a worker or a trainee works in the framework of the orders of this law.
- 4. Administration: It is an authority to which a worker is employed or a trainee in state organs, enterprises, institutions and state and joint companies for a certain amount of wages in accordance with a contract.
- 5. Private institution: It is an individual authority to register which employs workers and trainees on the basis of a contract in accordance with the law.
- 6. Wage: The amount of payment which a worker or a trainee receives after his labour from a private administration or institution in accordance with a contract.
- 7. Employment administration: It is the general department for work and social security.

# Chapter 2

The Main Principles

Article 3: A useful social work is the noble duty and right of every capable national of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Article 4: Every national of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan can consciously participate according to their ability in a social work and can freely choose their wanted professions and trades within the conditions of this law, provided that one is not permitted by the order of the law or the absolute resolution of a court to occupy a certain profession.

Article 5: Equal rights are assured through this law for all nationals of the DRA no matter what their nationalities, race, language, religion, sex, etc.

Article 6: A worker can utilize the right of work by taking into consideration the direction of this law and the contract signed for employment.

Article 7: The state of the DRA provides necessary measures for organising and establishing the wages of workers based on the quality and quantity of the work done.

Article 8: No worker is deprived of moral and material rights of work unless it takes place by the order of law and the absolute resolution of a court.

A worker has the right within the limit of the Fundamental Principles of the DRA, to express proposals at a free and democratic manner in order to improve work conditions and offering social and cultural services through the trade unions.

Article 9: A worker has the right for getting the wage, taking rest, going to vacation, receiving professional training and benefiting from the health care services and safe conditions of work and receiving pension.

Article 10: Labour is organised in the DRA through special regulations on the base of trades and professions by considering the grade and amount of wage, the classified specifications and standards for promoting the grades of workers.

# Chapter 3

The Limits of Implementing This Law

Article 11: The orders of this law are applied for the workers, trainees and those private administrations and institutions which have at least 20 workers. The administration of those institutions where workers are less than 20 can organise special regulations as being based on the orders of the law in accordance with the certain conditions of the institutions.

Article 12: The orders of this law are being applied for those Afghan nationals who are working with the bilateral and multilateral economic and technical assistance delegations, who carry their works in DRA as the workers.

Article 13: Similarly the orders of this law are being applied for those Afghan nationals who are working in foreign institutions which are in the DRA.

Article 14: The rights and obligations of foreign workers and their employers are fulfilled through the special regulations.

Article 15: The orders of this law are also applied for the foreign political and consulate representations who are in Afghanistan and of their Afghan workers.

# Chapter 4

Employment

# Article 16:

- The employment age is 18.
- 2. In specialised cases youngsters at the age of 15-18 can be employed with the agreement of those who legally look after them and with the approval of the concerned councils of representatives of trade unions.
- 3. In such cases where a contract is annuled concerning the second item till the age of 18, the agreement of the council of representatives of the related trade unions and the legal bearers inevitable.

#### Article 17:

- 1. A worker has a free choice regarding the selection of a trade or profession.
- 2. Any kind of the discrimination for gaining skills in a certain profession or the admission to the professional institutions or dismiss of trainees from such institutions, are not permitted.

3. No discrimination in admission to a certain job or the condition of admission, is permissible.

Article 18: To rely and voluntarily join in the trade unions by workers is assured and guaranteed.

Article 19: Opening of private offices for employment is unpermissible.

Chapter 5

Learning Skill

Article 20: An agreement for learning a certain skill is a contract on the basis of it an institute attracts for a period of time which cannot be less than three months and more than two years, and makes the commitments under certain conditions to teach the skill to the trainees. In return, a trainee undertakes the commitments to fulfill his duties while being payment. An example of a contract for learning purposes is prepared by the administration.

Article 21: An administration adoptation can realize the conditions of a contract for learning purposes, provided it contradicts the orders of this law.

Article 22: The period of learning of certain skills and professions is put by the regulations.

#### Article 23:

- 1. An administration has got the duty to teach a certain skill which is entered a contract in theory or in practicality to the trainees.
- 2. The practical and theoretical learning hours of a trainee at the work spot, or outside the work area in accordance with the activities, are considered and adopted by an employment administration.

Chapter 6

Contracts of Labor

# Article 24:

- 1. A labour contract is a document in accordance to it a worker goes ahead with his/her activities according to the orders of the law.
- 2. An example of a contract is prepared by an employment office.

Article 25: A contract can be concluded for a period of time not being limited as well as for performing a certain amount of work.

Article 26: A prime contract of labour is concluded through registering and the duration of the contract cannot be more than a year.

#### Article 27:

- 1. A prime contract, if it is not annuled can be considered as a contract for a period of time not limited after passing a one year time.
- 2. While applying this law, a worker who remains more than a year's time in an institution, is of the deserve to extend his/her contract for time not limited.

Article 28: A contract for a certain period of time takes place in written and can be extended for once or so many times.

If the total time of work in an institute exceeds three consequent years, it is automatically considered as a contract for period of time unlimited.

#### Article 29:

- 1. In case a worker is employed as a daily wage receiver it is not necessary to conclude a written contract with him/her.
- 2. An institute is of the duty to prepare a registration book for the daily work.

Article 30: If the legal position of an institute changes, for instance, the property of the institute is divided among heirents or the institute itself is sold or affiliated to another institutions or in similar cases, the contracts will remain validified.

Article 31: The matters being related to the collective contracts and being concluded by the council of representatives of trade unions with certain institutions will be in accordance with regulations.

#### Chapter 7

Annuling a Contract

Article 32: A contract of work is nulled under the following conditions:

- 1. If the agreement of the sides are provided.
- 2. Completing the duration of the contract (if it is not renewed or extended).
- 3. If the worker is going to the military service.
- 4. If a worker dies.
- 5. If a worker becomes retired.
- 6. If a worker is recognized as not being fit due to his unableness.
- 7. If a worker is sentenced to imprisonment for a time of six months or more than that.
- If an institution dismantled.

#### Article 33:

- 1. A constitution can terminate a contract if the worker is informed about it one month advance or he is paid one month salary compensation after the agreement of council of representatives of the trade unions under the following conditions:
- If the institution is closed.
- 2. If the worker does not fit with the regulations of the institution.
- 3. If a worker fails to fulfill his duty appropriately for a long time without showing any signs of adaptation.
- 4. An institution can finish a contract with worker if he is absent for 20 consequent days without a justifiable reason.

Article 34: A worker can end his contract with an institution if he informs it one month advance through the agreement reached by council of representatives of the trade unions under the following conditions:

- 1. If the institution does not adopt with the commitments entered the contract.
- 2. If the work area place of the institution changed by a distance being 30 kilometers.

#### Article 35:

- 1. If major changes in the technology, method of production, organization of work or coming lower of the level of activities which are necessary for the decreasement of number of workers, an institution can measure for the collective or partial dismissal of workers after gaining the permission of the employment office and the central council of the trade unions.
- 2. Workers who are dismissed on the basis of item 1 of this article, have the priority for reemployment in case of need for their original duties or the similar duties in the same institution.

Article 36: Whenever a worker commits a proved embezzlement or burglary the property of an institution, his contract is nulled by the institution without an advance notice or paying compensation.

# Article 37:

- 1. An institution is duty-bound to give a work certificate to a worker at the termination or abrogation of a contract.
- A sample of the work certificate is prepared by the employment office.

Article 38: With their pealing of a contract due to any reason, the right of pension of a worker is remained safe.

Article 39: A contract cannot be nulled during the time the worker goes to vacation but receives wages.

Chapter 8

Collective Contracts

# Article 40:

- 1. The collective contracts are concluded by the council of representatives of trade unions on behalf of workers in accordance with the regulations of signing of a collective contract with an institution during the last quarter of a year.
- 2. A collectives contract is signed from the side of council of representatives by the president of the council of representatives and from the side of an institution by the head of the institutions.
- Article 41: Proposals by workers are collected by the organizers of a collective contract, then on the basis of these proposals and the plan of the institution a draft of a collective contract is becoming ready and given to the general assembly or conference for discussion, and is put to practice with agreement of the sides.
- Article 42: A collective contract covers all workers and trainees of the institutions without considering whether they are members of trade unions or not members of the trade unions.
- Article 43: An institution is having the duty to acquaint a worker who is newly employed after the conclusion of a collective contract with the orders of the contract.
- Article 44: In the case a collective contract is nulled, its legal aspects remain valid for one year if a new contract has not been signed, but invalid if the duration of the time of the contract is envisaged for a longer time.
- Article 45: A collective contract should not be in opposition of the orders of this law or other laws.
- Article 46: Those who sign a collective contract, those who are represented by the signers of the contract and the members of the signing institutions are having the duty to abide by the contract.
- Article 47: The institutions which conclude collective contracts are obliged to take to consideration the items of such contracts when they conclude other contracts.
- Article 48: The institutions which they already had concluded collective contracts, they should take into account the content of these collective contracts in the time they are concluding other contracts with individuals and make sure that the individuals are benefited.

Article 49: In connection with the issues such as the essense of work, the amount of wages, strengthening the economic base of workers and trainees by considering the specific conditions of an institution a collective contract includes the following points:

- 1. The least amount of the wage of workers and trainees.
- 2. The original amount of wage.
- 3. Additional payment to the workers who perform hard works and are confronted with danger and health problems.
- 4. The conditions for granting concessions and distributing of prizes based on the output and effectiveness of works.
- 5. Conditions under which payments take place on the basis of work hours which are limited than the normal work hours.
- 6. The conditions of payment for other materials and cash concessions.
- 7. The conditions of admission of workers to work as well as dismissing of their jobs.
- 8. Null of a contract by informing in advance.
- 9. The basic elements for the classification of various fields of work as well as the levels of skills including the explanation of professional documents or their equivalent.
- The division of work hours per week.
- 11. The annual leaves of the workers while they are given wages.
- 12. Methods of organizing for attending courses and gaining skill and literacy as well as the professional training.
- 13. Special working conditions for women without considering their age and the adolescents who have not beyond the 18 years of age.
- 14. Conditions for seasonal employment of workers and daily wage earners.
- .5 Methods for amending of the collective contracts to be nulled totally or just partly.
- 16. Other matters which both sides agree about it.

Article 50: A collective contract is being valid since the date of signing and exchange of its documents between the sides unless another date of validification is fixed for it.

Article 51: Both sides of a collective contract can take their claims to concerned authority if one of the sides does not adapt to the contents of the contract according to the regulations for the settling the disputes of workers.

Article 52: The Central Council of the Trade Unions of Afghanistan and employment office supervise the contents of a collective contract.

Chapter 9

Disciplines of the Work

Article 53: The discipline of the work is maintained based on the internal regulations of one institute.

Article 54: A worker should observe with honesty and patriotic work the following points:

- 1. Increment of the level of output.
- 2. Directions and instructions of the institute.
- 3. Taking care of the institute's property.
- 4. Safety conditions of the working.
- 5. Hygiene of the working environment.

Article 55: Workers should not do the following deeds:

- 1. Using of the property of an institute for his own.
- 2. Damaging or destroying equipment, tools of work and other properties of their institution.
- 3. Using of the raw materials, energy against the envisaged norms and regulations.
- 4. Lowering of the level of the output.
- 5. Breaking of the order and discipline of the work.

Article 56: An institute is responsible for the good organisation of work in order to make enhance the level of the output, consolidating of discipline, observe accurately the law of labour and to improve the working conditions.

Article 57: An institute is responsible to support morally and materially the workers for more enhancing the level of the output, betterment of the quality of production, implementing the plan, economisation and work initiative.

Article 58: If a worker violates the discipline of work, he/she would be corrected in accordance with the contents of charts No 1 and 2 of the 16th chapter of this law.

Article 59: A worker cannot leave a working areas without getting permission.

# Article 60:

- 1. An institute is having a duty through an agreement of the council of representatives of trade unions and confirmation of the employment office to organise the internal regulations relating to work, wage, work discipline, hygiene, safety measure of work and encouragement for work.
- 2. An institute is having a duty to identify the internal regulations being related to the giving of prizes, and morally and materially encouragement of the best workers.

Article 61: An institute is having a duty for explaining the contents of internal regulations to the workers.

# Article 62:

- 1. Equal payings to equal works without any types of discrimination in connection with sex, age, race, nationality and others.
- 2. An amount of wage is supposed to be classified and determined by the state.
- 3. A least amount of wage cannot be less than that which has been determined by the government taking into view the accepted norms.

# Article 63:

- 1. Additional wages are:
- (i) A concession which belongs to a document of study which is being got from an academic institution, is considered as permanent supplement.
- (ii) A concession given due to climates regional and zonal conditions.
- (iii) A concession of hard and heavy duties.
- (iv) A concession for the works which are very difficult and bad for health.
- (v) A concession for considerable output and effectiveness of production.
- 2. These concessions are organised by the laws and regulations.

Article 64: A paying to workers should take place regularly in the duration of time which does not exceed one month's time in the working area unless, a workers agrees through writing that his/her salary should be received by someone else.

Article 65: All types of educations from the salaries are prohibited but based on the law.

Article 66: If a worker owes an institution, this institution cannot deduct its loan from the wages of the worker in less than one installment.

Article 67: A wage for overtime work is paid 50 percent more than the rate of the ordinary working hours.

#### Article 68:

- 1. Every hour of a work done in holidays which is not compensated on the next of a week should be paid by 200 percent of the wage.
- 2. A fee for an hour of overtime work is counted on the basis of 40 hours work during a week.
- 3. Wages in addition except the permanent supplementary wage, is not included in the estimating of the fee of overtime work.

Chapter 10

Working Hours

#### Article 69:

- 1. The working hours do not go more than forty hours in a week.
- 2. The time spent for transportation, change of clothing and one hour break for taking lunch and prayers, is not included for the duration.

Article 70: The working hours of a worker in the mines under the ground cannot be more than six hours per day or 35 hours per week.

Article 71: In case a general delay appears in production due to natural events or any other emergency cases or technical, climate, unproper conditions, not reaching necessary materials for production, the wages of the workers except the seasonal and daily wage earners, should be paid like is said in the follows:

- 1. One month salary in full.
- 2. In the second month, 50 percent of the salary.
- 3. In case the work delays for more than two months, an institute after the agreement of the related trade union, can terminate the contract or continue the payment up to 50 percent till restartment of the work.
- 4. In case both of the sides do not come up to an agreement according to the 3d item of this article, the matter should be submitted to the employment office for taking a decision.

Article 72: A compensation of delayed hours registered in the article 71 of this law, is permitted keeping in to the consideration the following conditions:

- 1. In the case the delay is one month or less than this duration of the time.
- 2. If the delay is more than one month, only one month of it can be compensated.
- 3. The working hours of a worker registered in the items No 1 and 2, cannot exceed ten hours perday and 50 hours per week.

# Article 73:

- 1. Long-term working is permitted under the following conditions:
- (i) To prevent unexpected events.
- (ii) To fulfill repair and maintenance affairs.
- (iii) To complete those works the postponement of which cause material loss.
- 2. The payment of these working hours takes place on the basis of the norms of ordinary working hours.
- 3. The maximum hours of long-term work is regulated in regulations which cannot be more than one hour.

# Article 74:

- 1. In order to remove the load of work and the increment of the production, an overtime work is permitted and which cannot be more than 20 hours in a week.
- 2. More than 20 hours overtime in a week can take place, keeping in the view of the essence of work and the previous agreement of the institute.

Article 75: The overtime work of adolescents who have not completed 18 years of age and female workers regardless of their ages is regulated in accordance with the internal chart.

# Chapter 11

Work of Women and Adolescents

Article 76: The government provides all conditions for the active participation of women in the social work.

# Article 77:

- 1. The use of work of women and adolescents in difficult tasks very bad for health and works under the ground are forbidden.
- 2. Transferring and shifting heavy weights than the determined norms is forbidden for women and adolescents.

Norms of transfer and shifting of the weight, are regulated in the internal regulations of an institution.

### Article 78:

- 1. Appointing women and adolescents for the fulfillment of the night duties and under the ground mines except the following points is forbidden:
- (i) In the case having the duty of an institution and not carrying out physical works.
- (ii) In the case they are busy with health affairs or social services.
- (iii) On the occasions of education, they go to under the ground mines for stage purposes in order to complete their professional education.
- (iv) In the case going under the ground is required for completing professional studies and does not call for physical exertion.
- (v) In the case urgent need is felt and if it is the requirement of special conditions of work, women can work at night time.
- 2. The duration of night is measured by 11 successive hours because its beginning and ending is registered by regulation due to variation of seasons of the year.
- Article 79: Assigning a pregnant women or one who is feeding her child with breast for performing overtime work, night time work, working in long public holidays or sending her on long time tour for performing official work is forbidden.
- Article 80: A woman who is taking care of her 1-7 years old child cannot be employed for an overtime job or sent on a tour for performing official work without her agreement in advance.
- Article 81: A pregnant woman provided she bears a certificate of a physician can be transferred to an easier job and she should be paid the wage of her original duty.

# Article 82:

- 1. A woman deserves to take 90 days paid leave with all allowances due to pregnancy.
- 2. A woman can make a request in written form to take another non-paid leave if it does not exceed 270 days after she completes her paid-leave during the period of pregnancy or obstetrics. The non-paid leave is counted both for promotion and getting pension. From the date that a woman officially resumes her job, she will be receiving her normal salary.

# Article 83:

- 1. A 30-minute stop of work will be granted to a woman who is giving milk to her child after three consecutive work hours. This pause is including in the official work hours and does not have any effect on salary.
- 2. The regulation of the pauses takes place by an institution and the council of representatives of the related trade union in compliance with the conditions under which the mother of a child is living.
- 3. If a large number of women are working in an institution, then a creche or a kindergarten should be established there.

# Article 84:

- 1. The rights of adolescents are equal to adult workers.
- 2. Adolescent workers are benefited by extra concessions in the area of safety conditions of work which are envisaged by regulations.

# Chapter 12

# Holidays

Article 85: Annually paid holidays are public holidays, recreational holidays or holidays of emergency and health problems.

## Article 86:

- 1. A worker deserves payment during public holidays.
- 2. Public holidays are regulated by a special law.

Article 87: Fridays are holidays of the weeks.

Article 88: In the case of holidays of workers result in damaging the output of the public or bring interruption in the normal progress of work, these holidays can be shifted by the institution to one of the days of the week by considering the turn.

Article 89: A worker can take a 20-day annual leave for recreation purpose.

- 2. By taking into consideration the hard conditions of work the recreational holiday of a worker can exceed 20 days in a year up to 30 days. The condition of recreational holidays more than 20 days are regulated by special regulations.
- 3. A worker is benefited by taking recreational holidays on the basis of a periodical chart which is prepared by the institution through the consultation of the council of representatives of the trade unions.

4. If a worker cannot take his recreational leave due to the urgent need of an institution during a year, and this is confirmed by the council of representatives of the trade unions, the institution is obliged to pay him 100 percent additional payment on the basis of his original wage.

Article 90: The duration of recreational holidays of a worker cannot be divided in portions, but through the agreement of both sides provided one portion is not less than 10 days.

Article 91: If the wage of the recreational holidays is requested by a worker in advance, it should be paid to him or her.

Article 92: If a contract is nulled before a worker is benefited by his recreational holidays, he deserves wage for those days.

Article 93: A worker deserves 10 day urgent holiday during a year in parts provided one part is not exceeded three days. The worker is supposed to make use of this holidays through his request in written form.

#### Article 94:

- 1. A worker deserves a ten-day leave if he is sick during a year.
- 2. If the illness of worker exceeds 3 days, he can make use of the annual sick-leave if he or she has got a certificate from a doctor.
- 3. If the days of illness of a worker exceeds the set days in a year, it can be counted by urgent annual holidays.

Article 95: If the illness of a worker exceeds 10 days and prevents him from performing his duty, then in compliance with the regulations of Public Health Ministry and this article, the worker can be benefited by being received wage even for several times. He is benefited by paid sick-leaves as follows:

- 1. He can be benefited by a total of one and a half months paid sick-leave if he works for one to five years in the same institution.
- 2. He can be benefited by a total of three month paid sick-leave if he or she works for more than five years in the same institution.

Article 96: In case worker presents a health certificate according to the regulations of the Public Health Ministry, he or she can be reemployed by holding the previous concessions.

# Article 97:

- 1. For paying tribute to the holy places and performing pilgrimage, a worker can make use of 45 paid days holidays for once during all his working period.
- 2. The days which exceed 45 days can be counted for the recreational and urgent holidays of a worker.

3. A worker has to have a certificate with him by the passport issuing authority for the days spent for pilgrimage purpose.

Article 98: If a worker due to an excuse which prevents him from performing his duty cannot come to his working area, he can take a non-paid leave provided it does not exceeds 30 days through the agreement of the institution and the related trade union.

# Chapter 13

Conditions of Work, Safety and Health Services

Article 99: Establishments, areas of work, equipments of work and production by taking into consideration the requirements, health, climatic and environmental conditions of work according to the standard norms which are fixed by the state are to be built, monitored and maintained.

Article 100: A work administrative body is duty-bound to prepare special regulations for ensuring the safety conditions of work and hygiene in various sectors for protecting the health of workers against different diseases.

An employing administration is duty-bound to organize regulations for providing safety conditions of work and hygiene in various sectors of production and the protection of workers against various diseases originating from a special field of work.

Article 101: Employment of a worker in a job which is not appropriate to his health conditions is forbidden.

# Article 102:

- 1. Before employment, a worker should go through medical check-up and his ability or unability to carrying out certain duties should be entered in his health record.
- 2. An institution is obliged to take into consideration the content of health record of a worker when he applies for resuming a job.

Article 103: Medical check-ups for the purpose of employment in regular intervals or other special examinations which is part of health care of workers should be carried out according to the regulations and methods of supervision of working environment by the Ministry of Public Health through the cooperation of the work administration.

Article 104: For taking protection measures against communicable diseases, an institution is obliged to cooperate with the health centres of Public Health Ministry.

### Article 105:

1. If the number of workers of an institution reaches over 500 persons, the institution is obliged to open at least one health clinic through the instruction of the Public Health Ministry.

- 2. If the number of workers in an institution is estimated between 50-500 persons it should have at least one health care unit in compliance with the instruction of the Public Health Ministry.
- 3. If the number of workers of an institution is less than 50 persons, the institution should have a first aid center.

Article 106: Institutions can take action after gaining permission of the Public Health Ministry to establish joint hospitals or polyclinics.

Chapter 14

Training Professional Personnel

Article 107:

- 1. For training and enhancing the professional level, gaining skill and general knowledge by workers, an institution organises and implements practical and theoretical programs through the agreement and cooperation of work administration.
- 2. The number of hours are considered as paid hours which are appropriated for the (1) item of this article.
- 3. If training takes place during non-official time, the wage is paid on the basis of normal work hours.

Article 108:

- 1. A worker has the right to use literacy courses for enhancing his level of knowledge.
- 2. If possible the literacy program is organised according to the fields of activities.

Article 109: A worker is obliged to work for an institution at least for the length of time during which he has received training through the institution, otherwise he/she has to pay the amount of expenditure the institution has paid for his/her professional training.

Article 110: An institution has to prepare ground for professional stage, to students of professional education and higher studies.

Chapter 15

Labor Problems and Disputes

Article 111: Those problems and disputes of workers which cannot be solved by administrative authorities will be investigated by the following authorities:

1. By the commission assigned for solving labour disputes in an institution.

2. The mixed commission of representatives of Central Council of Trade Unions of the DRA and the work administration.

Article 112: The commission for solving labour disputes in each institution which is organised by internal regulations investigated the disputes between workers, trainees and the institution itself. The commission takes action for solving such differences through direct talks and reconciliation methods.

### Article 113:

- 1. If the commission of an institution for solving labour disputes does not succeed in solving the differences, or both sides of the dispute do not accept the decision of the commission of the institution or one of the sides has a complaint about the decision taken, then a mixed commission which comprises of equal number of members on behalf of the trade unions and work administration takes steps for solving the difference.
- 2. The mixed commission has the authority to confirm the settlement introduced by the commission of the institution. But if it is recognised as against the enforced laws, the commission can reject it and can make a decision of its own.
- 3. If the dispute is not settled by the mixed commission, then it is referred to an authentic court.

#### Chapter 16

Social Welfare

Article 114: An institution has to provide its workers and trainees with food allowance, clothes, protection facilities on work area and coupons of foodstuff or the difference of a coupon facilities.

# Article 115:

- 1. To support the workers of mixed and private institutions, the state distributes coupons of foodstuff to them.
- 2. Private institutions are duty-bound to pay the difference of price of coupon facilities on the basis of price which is paid by the state.

Article 116: To protect the health of workers and trainees and their family members against various diseases and to treat those workers who receive injuries or become disabled due to the incidents of work area and to ensure the pension of a disabled and retired worker who is afflicted by the disease of a profession in which he/she was already engaged a network of social security would be established.

### Article 117:

1. Till the time of establishment of health clinics for workers, an institution has to look after the health affairs of its workers and trainees. Their medical check-ups take place through the health centres and polyclinics of the Ministry of Public Health.

2. Regulations concerning the organisation of health clinics for workers and determining the limits according to which the family members of workers can use them is to be organised by the Ministry of Public Health with the cooperation of work administration.

# Article 118:

- 1. In case a worker or trainee receives injuries while performing work in the work area or becomes disabled due to some diseases which originate from certain professions, in addition to their sick leaves they are benefited by the following concessions:
- (i) In case a worker is disabled for a certain period of time, he/she can receive all monthly concessions. As soon as his disability disappears, he is to continue his routine work.
- (ii) In case the disability of a worker is identified as semi-permanent so that he/she will not be able to carry out his original work, he/she should be assigned to a job which will be fit for his health condition by the institution.
- (iii) In case his disability is identified as permanent, then he/she should be paid his/her monthly salary as pension.
- 2. His treatment expenditures should be paid by the institution.
- 3. If an incident takes place while a worker is under the influence of narcotics or it has taken place on purpose or the permanent disability of a worker is identified as other than the content of item (1) of this article, after benefiting from his sickleaves he should be given retirement.

### Article 119:

- 1. Disability of a worker is identified by (organising health commissions for identifying disability).
- 2. The list of diseases which originate from certain fields of work is prepared by the Public Health Ministry with the cooperation of work administration.

### Article 120:

- 1. Male workers by completing 60 years of age, female workers by completing 55 years of age and those who work under the ground by completing 50 years of age will be given retirement.
- 2. In determining the age of a worker, his date of birth which is registered in the personnel office or in his identify card should be taken into account as a whole year.
- (i) The amount of pension of a worker who has worked for ten years is estimated as 40 percent of his monthly wage and in return to his each year's service above 10 years 2 percent of his monthly wage should be increased in his pension.

- (ii) A worker who has been retired by taking into consideration the provisions of this law and his working period is less than 10 years, his pension is paid by a special regulation.
- (iii) The amount of pension cannot exceed the 100 percent of monthly wage.
- (iv) While estimating the pension, a period of six months and more than that is counted as one year.
- Article 122: On retirement a worker should be paid in addition to the amount of pension one month full salary of his last month.
- Article 123: The pension of disabled workers and their bereaved will be increased proportionally while an increment is introduced in the wage scale in general.

### Article 124:

- 1. An institution and a worker have shares in the pension treasury as follows:
- (i) Both the shares of a worker and an institution reached 8 percent of the monthly wage of which 3 percent is paid by the worker and 5 percent by the institution.
- (ii) Twenty-five percent of his/her wage and allowances during the first month of employment.
- (iii) The difference of increment of first month in each promotion.
- (iv) Fifty percent of general increase in the first month.
- 2. An institute is obliged to transfer the deducted amount of money based on items (1) of this article to the account number of a worker.

## Article 125:

- 1. The establishment of pension treasury of workers and other affairs of retired workers and its methods of operation is organised by regulations.
- 2. Till the time of enforcement of this regulation, the shares of pension of a worker should be transferred by the institutions in the account of a worker in one of the internal banks.

#### Article 126:

1. A person who is already retired and then reemployed, deserves wage in addition to his/her pension payment.

2. A share under the name of pension is not deducted from the wage of a retired person who is reemployed and he/she doesn't deserve pension for his/her latter period of working time.

Article 127: The payments of bereaved of workers take place according to the provisions of law for state officials.

Chapter 17

Auditing of Work

Article 128:

- 1. The institutions which come under the provisions of this law are investigated by work auditors.
- 2. The work auditors are the officials of work administration and trade unions who have enough experience after passing a training period in duties which are assigned to them on the order of this law.
- 3. The work auditors bear special identity cards and are introduced officially for investigating institutions.

Article 129: The duties of an auditor are:

- 1. Investigating the implementation of provisions of this law.
- 2. Proposing consultation and information to an institution and its workers regarding the effective ways of maintaining the provisions of this law.
- 3. Presenting reports to the work administration regarding the shortcomings of implementation of law, regulations and charters in the area of work.

Article 130: A work auditor has the following authorities for performing orderly his duties, bringing into attention of facts and gaining information from an institution regarding the howabouts of maintaining the contents of law regulations and charters as well as about the defects of equipment and ways of work which endanger the safety measures:

- 1. Asking for the attachment of regulations and data documents, the attachment of which is explained in this law.
- 2. Gathering samples of materials for analysis by the advance information of an institution.
- 3. Fixing time for removing shortcomings in work.
- 4. Issuing orders based on the provisions of law regarding the adjustment of equipment and facilities of the area of work.
- 5. Demanding for urgent and effective action including the evacuation of an institution in case there is a danger.

Article 131: A work auditor can attract officially the help of some experienced persons and professional personnel of various fields.

Article 132: An auditor is duty-bound not to disclose the confidentials of an institution and the identity of a complaining source.

Article 133: The work administration and trade unions are to publish the annual reports regarding the general performances of work auditors.

Article 134: An institution has to provide those facilities the lack of which can delay the performance of duties of work auditors.

### Chapter 18

Correcting Confirmation and Provisions of Punishment

Article 135: The correcting confirmations registered in this chapter are applied against violating the provisions of this law.

Article 136: "If a person who according to the need of an institution for his work is informed about the secrets of the work of that institution, passes these secrets to other than the authoritative source, will be punished on the basis of punishment provisions of law.

#### Article 137:

- 1. A transgressor of the order of articles (94 and 95) of this law will be corrected by fining him/her between 300 and 500 Afghanis.
- 2. A violator of the order of articles 147, 148, 149, 23 and 64 of this law will be corrected by fining him/her 300 to 1,000 Afghanis.

Article 138: A violator of orders of articles 65, 66, 68, 78, 79, 80, and 84 of this law will be corrected by fining him/her 500 to 1,000 Afghanis.

## Article 139:

- 1. A violator of articles 71, 72, 77, and 99 of this law will be corrected by fining him/her 1,000 to 3,000 Afghanis.
- 2. If an institution does not enter the implementation of the correcting confirmations registered in this chapter in a special book and does not transfer the deducted balances in this area to the account of pension treasury of workers will also be punished under the provisions of this article.

Article 140: A violator of the order of article 150 of this law will be fined by 3,000 to 5,000 Afghanis.

#### Article 141:

- 1. The correcting confirmations against workers will be implemented by taking in view the specifications registered in the charters of this law.
- 2. After passing six months of transgression in connection with the charters of this law, the commitment of that transgression is considered as the one committed for the first time.
- 3. If a worker makes transgressions for five times during six months, an institution can scrap the contract of that worker.

### Article 142:

- 1. Giving advice along with warning to a violator according to the contents of the charters of this law, is the authority of the nearest head of a worker.
- 2. Applying the correcting confirmations such as reducing of salary, the post-ponement or abrogation of a contract with a worker is the authority of the institution itself.
- Article 143: An institution has to inform a worker three days and the work administration one month in advance regarding the scarping of a contract.

Article 144: In case a worker is responsible for the loss or damage of the property of an institution he has to pay for that.

### Article 145:

- 1. In case a worker is not able to pay for the damage, the cost should be deducted from his monthly wage provided it does not exceed a quarter of his monthly wage.
- 2. A worker can take his claim to a dispute solving source if he thinks that the estimation of payment for the damage is injust.

### Article 146:

- 1. If a worker destroys or damages the property of an institution such as machines, tools, etc., on purpose, he should be punished for it according to the provisions of punishment law in addition to the compensation for the damage.
- 2. An institution can suspend the contract of a worker as soon as the claim on him including the compensation of the damage is referred to a court without informing him in advance or paying him compensation till the verdict of the court is announced. If the court recognizes him as innocent about the claim made against him, then he can be benefited again by all rights and concessions which were suspended and he would be readmitted in work. Otherwise, the contract is considered as annulled from the date of its suspension.

## Chapter 19

Miscellaneous Provisions

### Article 147:

- 1. A private administration or institution is obliged to present reports on employment, termination of employment and vacancies of workers to the employment office.
- 2. Completing of forms of reports and registration of names of applicants for finding jobs is done by the administration.

# Article 148:

- 1. An institution is obliged to prepare a registration section for the back-ground of workers. The methods of preparation of such documents are introduced by the employment office.
- 2. The background documents of workers should be presented by an institution when demanded by a work auditor.

Article 149: An institution is obliged to provide a separate section of registration for trainees and adolescents whose ages are under 18.

### Article 150:

- 1. An institution is obliged to send the address of its main center and agencies according to the sample issued by the employment office during one month's time from the date the institution is informed by the employment office.
- 2. In case a new institution is established or an institution changes its working place, the employment office should be informed about it in one month's time.
- 3. In case an institution or one of its agencies are closed, the employment office should be informed in one month's time since its closure.
- 4. An institution cannot close its work without receiving the advance agreement in written form the employment office and the Central Council of Trade Unions of the DRA.

#### Article 151:

- 1. Imposing obligatory work is not permissible. A work is considered obligatory when a person is threatened to do it without involving his intention.
- 2. Banning of imposed and obligatory work is not considered an obstacle for collective and voluntary works which are performed for achieving common social aims and interests.

Article 152: A private institution can exchange and enrich its scientific experiences and organise its related affairs for defending national economic interests and strengthening its professional and industrial level according to the charter of the association.

Article 153: The implementation of provisions of this law does not prevent an institution from giving more concessions to its workers or trainees.

Article 154: Whenever no explanation is available through this law in some cases, then one should refer to the provisions of international conventions to which Afghanistan is affiliated or is being affiliated.

# Article 155:

- 1. To strengthen the economic base of workers and to encourage them, a certain percentage of the annual net profit of an institution which is registered in its balance should be transferred to the encouragement fund of the workers.
- 2. The method of implementation of this article and the date of its enforcement take place through special regulations.

Article 156: An institution has to set aside in its financial plan certain amount of money for raising the level of skill of distinguished workers or training them inside or outside the country.

### Article 157:

- 1. When a worker is serving in military service he is benefited by the following concessions:
- (i) He should be given a coupon or its equivalent allowance.
- (ii) The period of military service of a worker should be counted for his promotion and pension.
- 2. When a worker is demobbed from military service and if he applies for work in the institution in which he was working earlier, should be reemployed in one month time in his previous job or similar one.

Article 158: Relationships between workers and private agricultural institutions are organised through the law.

### Article 159:

1. By enforcing this law, its provisions are applicable to all contract-based employees.

- 2. Matters which deal with changing the conditions of the contract-based employees such as their wages, rights, obligations and concessions by considering the essence of work will be organised through a regulation which will be prepared in a maximum of two years after the date of enforcement of this law.
- 3. Till the time of enforcement of the envisaged regulation the second item of this article of the law regarding the contract-based employees of the state and other regulations related to it will remain valid.

# Article 160:

- 1. Officials who were already working in various institutions, enterprises and companies in various branches of main or auxiliary production, can make a choice of one of the following two states.
- (i) They can remain as employees.
- (ii) They can avoid to be as employees and can conclude contracts with the institutions.
- 2. The classification affairs of an employee who is to be transferred to the position of a worker will be regulated through the regulation entered in the 2nd item of article (159).

Article 161: With the enforcement of this law the labour laws and regulations of national industrial institutions of Afghanistan in the year 1324 HS (1945) including all decrees and charters which contradict the provisions of this law are announced as abrogated.

Article 162: This law is to be enforced after being published in the Official Gazette.

# EFFECTS OF DEATH OF DIPLOMAT DESCRIBED

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 13 Feb 84 p 5

[Article by Geof Malone]

[Text]

IT HAS been an extremely depressing week in India. We have had constant assertions from the leadership that Pakistan is about to invade, and now we are told that it will happen, not at some vague time in the future, but 'within the next year.'

In the midst of all this war talk came the tragic death at the hands of terrorists of the Indian diplomat in England.

People in the UAE, which has suffered its own loss of a diplomat in Paris, will be well able to understand the mixed sense of grief, horror, outrage and gloom which has prevailed here.

Inevitably in the cut and thrust of Indian politics, there were efforts by some to capitalise on the death of the Indian diplomat for political ends. The murky background of Kashmiri secessionist activity, with which the case is apparently associated, gave ample opportunity for the allegations to fly thick and fast.

For many months, Dr Farooq Abdullah, the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, had been deying the allegations of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi that he was encouraging those who wished Kashmir to be handed over to Pakistan.

Then came the Indian diplomat's kidnapping, allegedly by an unheard of organisation known as the Kashmir Liberation Army, which highlighted the whole issue of the breakaway forces. To be quite callous and brutal (and some

politicians were), it was good ammunition for the Congress (I) supporters who are trying to unseat Dr Abdullah's National Conference government.

Stopping not far short of directly accusing Dr Abdullah of being involved in the murder, they were able to hold it up as an example of what happens when 'anti-Indian forces are allowed to operate.'

There are several organisations which would either like to see Kashmir out of India or create an independent Kashmir from the areas both in Pakistan and India. There is also a belief in India that some of the organisations—and their exact relationship to each other is difficult to define—exist merely to cause unrest in Indian Kashmir so that eventually conditions will exist where a Pakistani takeover will be a simple matter.

It is alleged that people connected with some of the Kashmir 'freedom' organisations have been allowed to operate freely in Pakistan, and not unnaturally there is anger in India over this. Among the individual cases highlighted has been that of Hashim Qureshi, one of those involved in hijacking an Indian Airlines plane to Lahore in 1971, who arrived in Britain from Pakistan two weeks ago and was in Birmingham on the day the Indian diplomat was kidnapped.

Hashim's brother, Iqbal, incidentally, was one of the people arrested in Srinagar on Indian Independence Day when a bomb exploded at a stadium. He was subsequently released for lack of evi-

dence but is now being held under the Public Safety Act.

The Indian Government has not directly blamed the Pakistan Government so far of any involvement in the Birmingham murder. Throughout the week, officials consistently sidestepped journalists' attempts at finding out whether the existence of a link was suspected. They would make no judgement until the British police had completed their investigations and established the facts, they said.

There was, in any case, plenty of verbal ammunition to throw at Pakistan, including the farcical and by now well published case of a couple of domestic servants who reportedly became fed up with their job and managed to cause an international incident.

Relations by now were, to say the least, rather strained, so when the Prime Minister's son and heirapparent, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, told a London newspaper that Pakistan was planning to attack India within a year, it didn't really come as a great surprise.

Mr Gandhi even gave the location of the attack, which was—surprise, surprise—through Kashmir.

It is difficult to gauge what reaction Mr Gandhi's statement, together with those of his mother on the same subject, causes out in the rural areas of India.

Within the capital, however, I have yet to find anyone who gives any credence to the possibility of an attack from Pakistan. The 'threat from outside' is widely seen as a gimmick in an election year to woo the Hindi-speaking heartland stretching across northern India.

Meanwhile, The Illustrated Weekly of India has carried a

well-researched article on the strength of the country's military compared to that of its South Asian neighbours.

It pointed out that India has 1.1 million men in the army, navy and air force, more than twice the manpower of Pakistan.

India has 2,400 tanks, compared to 1,386 possessed by Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal put together.

When it comes to the air force, India is now building up 16 attack squadrons backed by another eight squadrons for short-range attack. As against this, Pakistan will have two squadrons of the muchpublicised American F-16's and four mirage squadrons.

By the time aircraft which are now on order arrive in both countries, India will have three times as many as Pakistan. And so the comparisons go on, but the message is very clear: India is on top by far. In the circumstances, would Pakistan really take a chance even if it wanted to?

Through all this depressing talk, there will be a chance later this month for at least restoring some of the progress which has been made in improving relations between the suspicious neighbours.

Pakistan's Foreign Secretary, Mr Niaz Naik, is due to visit Delhi for a meeting of the countries of the South Asian Regional Cooperation. It has already been mooted that he may stay on a few days to meet his Indian counterpart, and discuss the possibility of getting somewhere with the old proposals of a no-war pact or treaty of peace and friendship.

In the present circumstances that does not seem likely, but perhaps the air can be cleared in other ways.

PAKISTANI PAPER COMMENTS ON GULF WAR

GF051848 Karachi DAWN in English 29 Feb 84 p 7

[Editorial: "Gulf War: New Danger"]

[Text] The 41-month old Gulf war has taken a serious turn with Iraq's reported attack on the Iranian oil terminal at Khark Island on Monday. It appears that Iraq, which had been threatening Iran for the past 4 months with dire consequences in a desperate bid to procure agreement on a cease-fire, has finally decided to act. The Iraqi missile attack on Dezful on 11 February which sparked off the latest phase of fighting, the heaviest since 1981, Iran's tactical victories in the last few days and Iraq's action against Khark could create a situation having grace and far-reaching implications for peace and security in the Gulf.

The danger of outside intervention in the conflict has never been greater than it is today. The United States, which reiterated last week its earlier warnings that it would intervene to reopen the Gulf if it was blockaded, appears poised to act. The American Government has now confirmed that a U.S. Navy battle group led by the aircraft carrier, Midway, is operating in the northern region of the Arabian Sea close to the theatre of war. The presence of the American naval ships in a sensitive area at a time when hostilities between Iran and Iraq have escalated cannot but cause concern.

The danger posed by the proximity of the war fleet to the region of combat is underlined by the incident, last Sunday, when a clash between an American destroyer and Iranian frigate and aircraft was narrowly averted.

American intervention in the Gulf, if it were to take place, would be a highly undesirable move. In that event, the Soviet response would depend largely on the form such intervention takes, but a Soviet countermove is not to be ruled out, either, if the American action is seen as enhancing Washington's influence in the Middle East and threatening Soviet interests there.

In any case, a direct American military move cannot be expected to put an end to the fighting. Coming soon after the withdrawal of the Marines from Beirut, The American military action would understandably evoke a strong reaction from Iran and its allies in Lebanon and Syria. It would also strengthen Tehran's determination to continue the war. Already the revolutionary government has shown immense resilience in sustaining the fighting even at a time when Iraq is receiving military and economic aid from a number of Arab states.

Hence, outside intervention will only widen the area of conflict and draw in other powers, making peace even more elusive than before. Therefore, such a possibility must be averted at all cost.

Although outside powers are expected to act with responsibility and restraint, it is time both Iran and Iraq realised the dangers inherent in prolonging their conflict. The strategic insecurity, political instability and economic devastation the Gulf War is causing should be reason enough for the two combatants to call a halt to the fighting. Equally serious is the human dimension of the war. For the first time in the last 4 years, civilians have come under direct attack in both countries. Air raids have been carried out by both sides on major towns and the casualties are said to run into thousands.

This senseless killing of innocent civilian men, women and children cannot stop unless both sides show wisdom in agreeing to the cessation of hostilities. The war must also end if outside powers are to be denied a pretext to meddle in the affairs of the region.

REASONS FOR STUDENT UNION BAN SPECULATED

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 17 Feb 84 p 7

[Article by M. Afzal Khan]

[Text]

DESPITE the violent student reaction in certain major towns to the government's clampdown on union activities, the campus ban has surprised few in Pakistan. Many, however, are intrigued at the action's timing and the nearly total absence of any immediate provocation.

Speculation was rife over the past many months, despite occasional disclaimers, that the government was contemplating extending the ban imposed last April on student unions in the Frontier province to the entire country. Building on a recommendation made by the vice-chancellors of nine universities, the Federal Education Minister, Dr Afzal, declared in July last year that student politics would come to an end as from August 14.

Later, in early August, President Zia-ul-Haq indicated that student unions would be replaced by student councils to provide an outlet to the creative faculties of students in an atmosphere of peace free from outside political influence. The idea was, however, shelved in the wake of the opposition civil disobedience movement and the government declared that it had no intention of banning student unions.

Recently there had been no major incident of student violence either and union elections in colleges and universities a few weeks ago were held in a comparatively peaceful atmosphere. What has prompted the government to take

the present action of banning all unions has thus become a matter of debate.

The ban is being interpreted as a logical stipulation in the proposed scheme of things which the rulers have in mind for the country's future. It is said that it represents a policy decision in keeping with a definite pattern in government thinking rather than a reaction to any specific situation. In an atmosphere where 'Western-style'. democracy is being attacked and a non-party system of elections promoted, the existence of democratically-elected student unions will have little relevance, it is argued.

Another speculation is that the ban might be a preemptive move in relation to some political decision that government may soon take. In any public reaction to any move, the students' role can be pivotal.

The government's intention to replace the unions with student councils, smaller organisations and subject-wise societies is also viewed as an effort to organise extracurricular activities in a manner that these do not go beyond the control of the administration. Student councils would be nothing more than debating or cultural societies, critics say.

Students have reacted to the ban meanwhile by boycotting classes and staging protest demonstrations. Heads of several educational institutions have rusticated dozens of student activists under the draconian powers given them through the banning order.

One effect of the ban is a tem-

porary truce between warring left and right factions in campuses who now find a common cause to resist government action. The right-wing Islami Jamiat-i-Tulaba, whose tacit support to the present regime during student upheavals in the pass few years has often been vital in suppressing campus unrest, feels particularly hurt.

In the past, the Jamiat's role has won appreciation from President Zia-ul-Haq. Even during opposition movement, the President lauded the spirit of "Islam-loving students" in frustrating the efforts to extend the turmoil to educational institutions. Opponents of the Jamiat have often charged the authorities and heads of educational institutions of adopting a partisan attitude in their dealings with student groups.

Some officials think that the Jamiat should not have reacted so violently to the ban. Being the best organised and financed student body, it can still operate the way its parent body, the Jamaat-i-Islami, has been operating despite the ban

on politics.

On the surface at least, the government action has done most damage to the Jamiat, and many tend to believe that it might be an attempt to smash its elaborate countrywide organisation as it had developed into a pressure group.

It is said that recent developments-including the exit, at least temporarily, of the Bhutto family from national political life-provide an opportunity to the regime to adopt a new approach in its dealings with political parties and their off-shoots among students. With speculation that the moderate elements among political parties, including the Peoples Party, might feel tempted to reach a compromise with the military government, government's dependence on the Jamaat-i-Islami for support, it is said, has lessened.

Whatever the compulsions leading to the ban, the administration has moved confidently to tackle the ensuing agitation. So far it has been successful in keeping the situation well under control.

BAN ON STUDENT UNIONS SEEN HAVING UNHEALTHY EFFECT

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 9 Feb 84 p 7

[Article in the "Between the Lines" column by Linesman: "Ban on Student Unions"]

[Text]

THE FEDERAL Education Minister's delayed explanation for the draconian ban on student unions and student activity in the Federal Area can, at best, be accepted as revealing only a part of the story.

This regrettable culmination to a period of tensions - peaking over the Rawalpindi Polytechnic College crisis bespeaks a typically bureaucratic attitude of looking at every matter through law-and-order lenses. That clashes between student groups have occasionally taken place in Rawalpindi-Islamabad's educational institutions is an unfortunate fact, but it appears to be an exaggeration to say, as Dr. Afzal was reportedly to have said, that hardly any day passes without bloody clashes on the campuses. Nor can it be claimed that all other means to restore calm had been exhausted. What makes the Minister's reasoning less relevant is that he has given a broad hint that the Punjab and Sind are expected to follow in the footsteps of NWFP and the Federal Area. This suggests a policy decision, not a reaction to any clashes. And already in the Punjab the Martial Law authorities are learnt to have started listing bank accounts managed by student unions, presumably in preparation for the next step.

## Big advantages

The utility of representative student bodies has been accepted world-wide,

and even for Pakistan with its unique psyche it requires no detailed elaboration. Student unions provide a healthy outlet for expressing student grievances; they also constitute a training ground for mobilizing opinion, acquiring the art of public speaking, and learning the ABC of democratic functioning. Student activity also encourages a study of domestic and international issues and offers numerous other advantages. A properly functioning student union should, therefore, have a healthy influence on all aspects of student life. If this has not always happened in Pakistan, it is necessary to discover why and find a remedy for the malaise. Whatever the diagnosis, to chop off the patient's head is no proper cure for any malady, not even if it represents a law-and-order problem.

A rational approach suggests that students should be allowed and encouraged to take a serious interest in politics, discuss all manner of political issues in a healthy, preferably academic, atmosphere, and avoid falling into the trap of partisan squabbles and factional fights. They should be persuaded by their mentors to engage in debate without abuse and personal polemics and taught to tolerate differences of opinion and to accept defeat at the polls with dignity and without harbouring enmity for the victors. Further, the suspension of political activity in the country provides no argument for a similar blanket ban on campuses; in fact,

this furnishes special ground for not extending the restrictions on free speech and thought, so that the country's younger generation is not emasculated intellectually during the interim period with Pakistan searching for the path that will lead it to a sensible and safe political future.

# Avoidable distortion

Looking back, the main reason for the recent distortion of student activity has been that - partly because of the ban on then. - political parties have concentrated on universities and colleges to wage their battles - by proxy. This should have been discouraged and stopped. Instead, for reasons that are difficult to understand, one political party was given help and support by most University authorities, and sometimes even by the administration, to spread its influence over student unions. As a result, a particular student group began to believe that it had been granted monopoly control over student activity, and when this arrogant assumption provoked resistance, resort to the bullet rather than the ballot was favoured wherever necessary. What is far worse, sometimes the institution's head conducted himself in a

manner so partisan that he surrendered all respect among the general body of students. This extraordinary phenomenon may well be regarded as the prime cause of factional fights on the campuses and the failure of the authorities to maintain the measure of discipline that is essential to keep student activity within bounds. Warnings have repeatedly been heard that discrimination between student groups would pollute the atmosphere and create difficult problems for everyone concerned, above all for the students. Little notice was taken of these warnings, with the situation deteriorating to a level where a complete ban on student unions has been considered necessary in two regions and a similar plan is causing an itch among the bureaucratic controllers of education in the other three provinces.

It should be realized that a clamp-down on student activity will only divert it into unhealthy channels. Authority must, therefore, give serious thought to the desirability of removing the ban from educational institutions in the Federal Area and the NWFP, along with salutary steps everywhere that will guide the students to keep themselves active within the ambit prescribed by their status as students.

PLANNING MINISTER HOPEFUL ABOUT WORLD BANK AID FOR SIXTH PLAN

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 23 Feb 84 p 10

[Text] Federal Minister for Economic Planning and Development Dr. Mahbub-ul-Haq, has expressed the resolve that Pakistan would get the required aid for its Sixth Plan on soft terms and priority bases, says a Radio report.

Dr. Haq who is currently in Washington said in an interview with VOA that his talks with the World Bank leaders had been successful. He said that during the last meeting of the Consortium in December last, all the doner countries had assured Pakistan that aid worth 10 billion dollars would be provided. He said that this aid would be provided in shape of soft term loans and according to Pakistan's priorities would be for transport education and energy sectors.

He said that he had apprised the World Bank officials of the development in Pakistan. Dr. Haq said that the next meeting of the aid to Pakistan Consortium would be held in April.

About his tour to Canada Dr. Mahbub-ul-Haq said that he would hold talks with doner agencies there. He said that Canada provides 40 to 50 million dollar interest-free loans on soft terms each year.

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# PRIVATE SECTOR CEMENT PRODUCTION TO BE ENCOURAGED

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 23 Feb 84 p 10

[Text] The Government has decided to encourage the private sector to set up cement plants in the country in Sixth Five-Year Plan to boost cement production to meet the growing demand of intending house builders.

The Chairman, State Cement Corporation, Mr. Iqbal Saeed, told newsmen on the occasion of Gypsum wall plaster demonstration' at PCSIR Laboratories in Lahore on Wednesday that the corporation would be able to produce sufficient cement by the end of the current fiscal year, raising the total from 48 lakh tonnes to 49 which would soon be enhanced to 80 lakh tonnes per annum.

He said for the city of Lahore along 2,000 tonnes of cement was needed every month. A comprehensive study was being carried out to establish a new cement plant near Lahore and to submit feasibility report in a due course of time, to concerned quarters for approval.

Earlier, he was briefed about the 'demonstration of gypsum plaster wall'. He lauded the hectic efforts of engineers for producing a valuable and excellent cement product through successful experiment at the PCSIR Laboratories.

He was informed by Dr. M. Khalid Farooq, Principal Scientific Officer that this sort of polyplaster was comparatively inexpensive and superior in quality than the portland cement plaster. Extensive testing and evaluation both in the laboratory and at the construction site, has proved that this material was far more superior in performance.

Dr. Khalid said that the product was just in the introductory phase and had the potential to revolutionise the whole construction industry. The cost of polyplaster production was considerably lower as it required one fourth to one fifth energy as compared to portland cement. The cost of manufacturing plant was one eighth to one tenth that of the Portland cement plant of the same capacity.

Elaborating the advantages of the polyplaster, he said it possessed the quality of rapid hard, high impact resistance super smooth finish with pleasant texture and saved one-third time as against the portland cement

sand plaster. Besides he said, it was 25 per cent cheaper than portland cement sand plaster.

A plant of 10 to 15 tonnes of capacity per day has been designed as a result of PCSIR scientists' consistent efforts for the last five years.

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