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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Kuwait and Iraq Improving Trade Ties

90P40080 Kuwait AL-WATAN in Arabic
19 Jun 90 p 11

[Exerpt] At the eighth round of meetings of the commission for commercial, customs, and transit affairs, Kuwait and Iraq signed a joint report.

The presidents of the two delegations, Iraq's Faruq al-'Ubaydi, general director of the office for international economic relations, in the Ministry of Trade, and Kuwait's Rashid 'Abdallah al-Mujrin, representative of the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Aid for Commercial Affairs, praised the efforts which facilitated the signing of the report. They went on to affirm the determination of Iraq and Kuwait on the development and expansion of the volume of trade between the two sides.

The working paper includes the growth of the volume of trade and its diversification by striving to take a number of steps to achieve this. The agreement is also involved in stimulating the activity of the Iraqi commercial center in Kuwait.

Negotiations between the two sides began last Saturday and negotiators worked diligently on a report on matters of interest to the commission. The report also includes steps related to the development of industrial cooperation between Kuwait and Iraq. The two parties decided to study aspects of industrial cooperation and its development, in addition to scheduling a conference on encouraging industrial investment opportunities.

The cooperative agreement recommended strengthening bilateral efforts at cooperation in the agricultural sector and especially in the field of investment, and also accredited health certificates for food and agricultural commodities and veterinary affairs issued by authorities in the two countries. The report recommended research on the possibility of establishing a bilateral agreement to encourage and secure mutual investment. The paper also endorsed a number of proposals and recommendations committed to facilitate two-way transport and to arrange customs cooperation. The countries also agreed to hold the ninth conference in Baghdad during the first half of 1991. [passage omitted]

Public Sector Supporters Stress Regional Role

90AA0194A Paris AL-FURSAN in Arabic
9 Jun 90 pp 22-23

[Article: "Public or Private Sector?"]

[Text] Over a period of four days, nearly 100 top Arab political and economic thinkers met in Cairo to discuss the role of the public and private sectors in the Arab nation. The conference was organized by the Center for Arab Unity Studies, and the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development. The meeting has gained importance because of local needs within most of the Arab countries, and

because of the international fiscal organizations' calling for an expanded role for the private sector, in light of current developments, especially in the eastern bloc.

The Cairo Conference concerned the roles of the public and private sectors, and included all political and economic orientations and schools of thought. The representatives of these orientations defended their viewpoints with facts and figures. A general consensus among the participants crystallized with regard to maintaining a strong and balanced role for the state, "the public sector," in order to achieve comprehensive growth and political and economic independence.

The forum discussed a variety of papers prepared as a summary of most of the Arab nations' experiences with the public and private sectors, and the future of Arab growth in light of current developments.

Three papers were presented with regard to the Egyptian experience. The first, by Dr. Isma'il Sabri 'Abdallah, the former minister of planning, was entitled "The Contemporary Call for Change from the Public Sector to the Private." In this paper, Dr. Isma'il stressed that, despite the circumstances that pressure the Third World to switch to the private sector, most leaders and thinkers are very aware of the dangers of this road to capitalistic development, and that ultimately, it represents a dead-end road. The only alternative is socialism, because Third World societies do not have the components of the capitalist edifice and, moreover, production power in those countries is still backward. Dr. Isma'il added that "the capitalist states will not allow us to choose the road to development; on the contrary, they will try to impose it on us through the International Monetary Fund." He wondered if the private sector in Egypt, for example, has achieved economic and administrative failure as they accuse the public sector...In addition, the private sector does not have the funds to enable it to buy the public sector, in the event it was for sale.

The second paper was presented by two prominent economic experts, Dr. Ibrahim al-Qaysawi and Dr. Ibrahim Sa'd al-Din. This paper was a study of the two experts' review of Egypt's experience with the public and private sectors, from the days of Muhammad 'Ali, concentrating on the period from the July 1952 Revolution until now. The study proved with statistics and data that the Egyptian public sector, from its inception and through its huge growth in the fifties and sixties, gave Egypt the biggest comprehensive growth process that had been seen up to that time, which carried the burden of all the wars with Israel, and which it is still carrying today...while Egyptian capitalism since the revolution, and despite all the constant easements and encouragement, has failed to offer anything to prove its good intentions toward the Egyptian people. Most of its money was sent to banks abroad...and now it wants the profits without offering anything in exchange. After the two researchers had refuted all the claims of those who want a bigger role for the private sector, they cited the need to develop the public sector and reform its problems, instead of selling

and liquidating it, because that would only result in making the economic crisis in Egypt worse, not in resolving it.

The third Egyptian paper, presented by Dr. Muhammad Mahmud al-Imam, economic adviser and former minister of planning, concerned "Measurements of Economic Performance of the Public and Private Sectors," and stressed that the claims now being raised are aimed at getting rid of the state's role, in order to benefit the "parasitical classes," with the help of international institutions supported by the United States. Dr. al-Imam asked why didn't inflation occur in the sixties, when the public sector was leading the growth process, but did occur in the seventies and eighties? He added that multinational companies control the economies of the world. Despite that, Dr. al-Imam believes that the public sector must have a prominent role in the developing nations, especially Egypt. However, at the same time, he asks that the private sector be strengthened and supported, but added that the percentage of national capital and capitalists in Egypt should be very small. What is required is true democracy, so that the two sectors can work in an honest atmosphere, free of backward administration. Dr. al-Imam warned about the official plans now in Egypt, which are identical with what happened during the reign of the Khedive Isma'il, when the state sold its birthright to foreigners, until the revolution reclaimed them. "Should we sell our birthright, and wait for another revolution to get it back?"

Future of Growth

In an important study about the future of Arab development and the role of the public and private sectors, by economic adviser Dr. Yusuf Sayigh, he put forth several observations, with perhaps the most important being:

- The role of the public and private sectors should be established as the two main mechanisms in the Arab growth process, together with giving the biggest role, to some degree, to the public sector. This does not mean an indicator of socialist change.
- Effort should be divided between the two sectors objectively and with careful study, taking into consideration the nature of each Arab country and the type of growth required. In this context, the role of the public sector should be enlarged in areas of heavy industry, especially the production of manufactured commodities and armaments, while the private sector should concentrate proportionally on consumer industries and activities.
- There is a widespread misconception to the effect that the socialist economy does not give free scope to the private sector. On the contrary, one should reconsider comprehensive central planning, so as to make it more flexible and capable of mastering the demand movement and pricing system. The important thing is planning, either in socialism or capitalism.

- Stimulate the mixed sector, because it has not gained full attention and, so far, marrying the two sectors together has not been tried.
- There is a need for planning to achieve a number of basic social balances, in order to narrow several dangerous economic and social gaps, personified by the gap between: the total local product and the uses required for it; the amount of principal hard currencies collected by the economy, and the amount of that currency it expends; the supply of labor and the demand for it; and, popular aspirations to obtain basic commodities and services, and society's actual achievements in that regard, within a given period of time. The public sector, by its nature, is the most capable of narrowing these gaps.
- The property base must be expanded, in order to achieve widespread, mass sharing in owning the means of production, through defining the ceiling of individual ownership in stock companies, and through concentration on the cooperative system.
- Changing from the public sector to the private sector, which is what the Third World is now being asked to do by the major industrial nations, ought to be linked to a guarantee of targeted growth. The important thing with regard to the Arabs is that they not be carried away by this call, yielding to the intellectual and economic blackmail that is now being practised...The slowdown in the economic and industrial growth process in the Arab world has been—and still is—attributed to the failed policies that were pursued, and to the lack of freedom and democracy in economic initiative within the countries. The spirit of individual incentive is the real stimulant required to increase production and individual income and, consequently—through real, flexible planning—to increase national income. This must be insisted upon, along with strengthening its role, so that the Arab world can have a planned and flexible national economy that can in fact keep up with the market movement and the independence and national goals of the country.

During this conference, the experiences of a number of Arab nations were discussed, along with the roles of the public and private sectors in those countries. There were also scores of commentaries with differing points of view.

In the last session, which was devoted to open discussion, its chairman, the senior writer Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal, announced that the United States is making the principle of achieving consolidation of all the world's market forces the pivotal goal of its new policy, following recent developments in the world.

Haykal asked the major powers to leave the Arab private sector alone, because the Arab countries are the most capable of protecting and taking care of that sector, and not the major powers with their own special interests.

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

Muhammad Hamadan Queried on Extradition Proceedings

90WR0166A Paris AL-YAWM AL-SABI'
in Arabic 11 Jun 90 pp 20-21

[Interview with Muhammad Hamadan by Muhammad Khalifah in Athens; date not specified; first 18 paragraphs are AL-YAWM AL-SABI' introduction]

[Text] Palestinian citizen Muhammad Hamadan has been transformed from an ordinary citizen into the focus of an international crisis between the United States and Greece.

This crisis has become a humanitarian problem affecting Hamadan, who is imprisoned in Athens. Here is his story and an interview with him in prison.

Palestinian citizen Muhammad Hamadan has become an international problem in the same class as the U.S.-Greek dispute over military bases or Greece's full recognition of Israel!

During the past two years, the U.S. administration has generated correspondence and messages regarding Hamadan equal to that concerning such international problems as Nicaragua, Lebanon, or South Africa. In addition, high-level American officials have visited Greece and met with Greek officials. Washington has even made the future of its relations with NATO ally Greece dependent on Hamadan's extradition for trial in the United States on charges made against him by the U.S. Justice Department. Through all of this, Greece's numerous governments representing every party and current have been indecisive and uncertain about what to do. Who is this Palestinian? What is his story?

Kidnapping Attempt

On 28 May 1988, Muhammad Khalil Hamadan, an Arab Palestinian citizen carrying a Syrian passport, entered Athens. He stayed there for three days, then went to the airport to depart. As he was handing over his suitcase to a worker of the [airline] company, a number of civilian men approached him and attempted to abduct him. He sought help from the police. When the Greek police attempted to intervene, they were prevented from doing so by the abductors and became involved in a physical confrontation with them. It later emerged that the first group was from the American intelligence service. It wanted to abduct Hamadan and place him on the daily TWA flight between Athens and Los Angeles. When that operation failed, and the Greek police saved Hamadan and released him to continue his journey, the American embassy in Athens submitted a memorandum to the Greek authorities requesting that Hamadan remain in custody, because his passport was forged. (How did it know?) The Greek police responded, turning him over to the public prosecutor and the court. He was sentenced to several months in prison on the charge of using a false

passport. While he was serving that sentence, the U.S. Justice Department, through the State Department, requested Hamadan's extradition to stand trial in the United States. The Justice Department stated that Hamadan is named Muhammad Rashid, not Muhammad Hamadan, and that he is responsible for an attempt to blow up an American Pan Am plane in 1982 by placing a bomb on it during a flight between Athens and America.

During the trial, Muhammad Hamadan denied being Muhammad Rashid, but he proudly stated that he is a Palestinian and a PLO cadre and combatant, that he left Lebanon in 1982, etc.

When Hamadan finished serving his sentence after several months, America pressured for his nonrelease and insisted on his extradition. The Greek courts examined the documents that the U.S. Justice Department had submitted to it a number of times and at the highest levels, including the Greek Supreme Court, which stated twice in succession that the submitted American documents were insufficient to prove that Muhammad Hamadan (Rashid) was involved in the alleged terrorist operation so as to warrant his extradition. It asked America to submit more evidence. The Justice Department submitted a new document at the end of 1988, stating that it was sufficient! The document was an expression of a statement by former Secretary of State George Shultz, in which he stressed that Muhammad Rashid was involved and must be tried in America! After many judicial proceedings and sessions in Athens, and discussion between Washington and Athens, and between the Arab states and Athens, the Greek Supreme Court surprised everyone in April 1989 by issuing a decision to extradite Hamadan to America.

The judicial decision alone was not sufficient for Hamadan's extradition to America, because the final decision in such a matter lies in the hands of the Greek justice minister, inasmuch as the issue became a governmental and political affair after the court made a decision. At that time, the Andreas Papandreou government put off making a decision on Hamadan until after the elections that occurred in early June 1989. Notwithstanding, during this period, Hamadan competed with all of the candidates for the Greek Parliament, insofar as his picture was plastered to walls everywhere in Athens, having been hung by Greek humanitarian, legal, and political organizations calling for his nonextradition. Hamadan became a domestic affair intersecting with all political developments in the country.

When the rightist-communist coalition formed a government in the summer of 1989, the communists agreed to participate in it in exchange for several conditions, the least of which was Muhammad Hamadan's nonextradition to America and the freezing of any decision regarding him until after the next elections. To ensure that, the communists insisted on obtaining the justice

ministry portfolio, which was indeed given to a well-known lawyer, Constantino Poulus, who was president of the lawyers organization that defended Hamadan, i.e., Hamadan's lawyer!

When the November 1989 elections failed to produce a party with a majority, and a national unity government was formed of the four largest parties, the leftists, PASOK [Panhellenic Socialist Movement], and the communists imposed a condition, according to which Hamadan was not to be extradited and discussions regarding him were to be frozen until afterwards, in exchange for their participation in the government. And so it was.

Of note was the increased stridency of the U.S. request for the extradition of Muhammad (Rashid) Hamadan each time the Greeks denied such a request and expressed their solidarity with Hamadan and his cause. No Greek ministers or officials concealed their conviction that Hamadan is fighting for a just cause and is not a terrorist by any means. This provoked the Americans more. Only a small group of leading figures of the new rightist Democratic Party clearly declared its support for Hamadan's extradition to Washington. The Hamadan problem entered a new phase after the most recent general elections (8 April 1990), when the right was able to obtain a limited majority that enabled it to form a government by itself. The first statement by the American State Department after the announcement of the election results reemphasized the need for Rashid's extradition and for an agreement on the future of the military bases, whose renewal had not been agreed to by the former leftist government during the previous two years.

In all phases of the Hamadan case, Washington's statements and demands for his extradition included the strongest expressions of threat and intimidation if Athens released him. Relations between the two countries were weighed against Hamadan's extradition to the United States.

The new government in Athens is currently facing a sensitive problem. It fears the results of Hamadan's extradition to America and the reactions of Arabs in general and of Palestinians in particular. It also fears the results of not extraditing him in the light of America's strong resolve that this occur.

Currently available information indicates that the Greek government is attempting to reach a middle solution that satisfies the Americans and does not anger the Arabs. This first attempt involves Hamadan's release as "a reasonable price" for Greece's recognition of Israel. However PLO sources have signaled rejection of innocent Hamadan's release in exchange for recognition. They insist that Athens recognize the state of Israel and the Palestinian state simultaneously.

At the same time, the Greek government is trying to convince the American administration that its insistence on Hamadan's extradition would create domestic and

foreign problems that would weaken its position, whereas Washington should help it from a position of friendship.

The available information indicates that the appointment of Mr. Anastasios Kanellopoulos as justice minister was made to placate the Arabs, given that he was and still is the chairman of the Greek Committee for Solidarity with the Palestinian People and a strong supporter of the Palestinian cause. AL-YAWM AL-SABI' has learned that he promised Palestinian officials not to extradite Hamadan to America regardless of the results.

The problem is approaching an end, and the issuance of a final decision is inevitable within several days or weeks.

Interview in Prison

AL-SABI' met with Palestinian Muhammad Hamadan where he is incarcerated in Athens and conducted the following interview with him:

[Khalifah] What is your opinion of the charge made against you by the United States? Why did it choose you in particular?

[Hamadan] My arrest was concurrent with the intifadah reaching the peak of its internal and external influence, especially the widespread international sympathy with the Arab Palestinian people and America's attempts to confront this development by insisting that the Palestinian struggle is merely terrorism and terrorists. Therefore, it obscured the suppression of the intifadah in the interior with empty plans for a settlement on the one hand. On the other hand, it undertook a number of operations abroad, the most salient being the assassination of martyr Khalil al-Wazir in April 1988, followed by the assassination of martyrs Hamdi and Marwan in Cyprus in the same period, and then my arrest in Greece during the same period. These operations enter into the scope of liquidating PLO cadres connected to the intifadah.

My arrest was also simultaneous with the Palestinian diplomatic initiative that succeeded in placing America and Israel in a hard pressed position. They had to create an international media and political issue to distort Palestinian peace initiatives, emphasize our affliction with the blemish of terrorism, and distort our struggle and our fighters.

[Khalifah] What is your opinion of your trial and the court that judged you?

[Hamadan] I saw, directly, the extent of Western, including Greek, hostility toward the Arabs. The court judged me without the slightest piece of evidence against me. Regarding prison, I see it as another instance of one being sentenced merely for being an Arab and a Palestinian.

[Khalifah] If Greece had extradited you to America, how would you deal with the American court?

[Hamadan] If I were tried in America, I would stand in their justice arena, totally confident in myself and in my struggle. I would face them as a freedom fighter, not as a terrorist. At every moment, I would represent the bravery of the intifadah and the heroism of my Palestinian people. I would try to express the justice of my cause and my people's cause. I would make every possible effort to highlight our belief in freedom, peace, justice, and life. I would face the Americans and would respond to their lies and allegations with the logic, argument, boldness, and bravery on which I was raised as a Palestinian. Fear would not overcome me because I was in their custody, which I would regard as merely a rostrum for explaining our cause. The subsequent outcome would not concern me. I am foremost a combatant of the PLO and the Palestinian people.

[Khalifah] What is your view of the PLO's position on your problem?

[Hamadan] The PLO has regarded my problem as part of the Palestinian people's problem. Since my arrest on 30 May 1988, it has taken the clear, open position that I am one of its members. It has monitored the case and is making efforts to gain my release. As a member in this organization, I have absolute trust in its leadership, especially, its chairman, brother Yasir 'Arafat.

[Khalifah] Do you wish to direct a message to anyone through Khalifah?

[Hamadan] I wish to direct two messages through your distinguished magazine. The first is to the Arab Palestinian people rebelling in the occupied lands: "I salute your steadfastness and your impressive heroism. I salute your innocent martyrs and the victory that is doubtlessly coming. We will soon meet in the state of Palestine, in the land of pure, beloved Palestine."

The second message is from an Arab Palestinian fighter to all brothers of Arabism and the struggle: "To the peoples, kings, and heads of Arab states, my salutations on the occasion of the blessed religious holidays. Remember your sons in the occupied Arab lands. Remember your fighters and heroes who are defending the Islamic and Arab holy places for all of you."

EGYPT

Officials Explain Role of Administrative Oversight

90AA0179A Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI
in Arabic 8 Jun 90 p 6

[Article by Usamah Saraya: "Administrative Oversight and Managing the Economy"]

[Excerpts] For the first time, top leaders of the industrial sector in Egypt came face to face with each other in a full

discussion of the role of [government] oversight and its effect on decisionmaking in production units. The discussion took place in the Industrial Leaders' Center. Parties to the discussion were: Major General Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman, head of the [government's] Administrative Oversight Agency; Major General Wahid Hilmi, deputy head of the agency; and chemist Muhammad Husayn, director of the center. On the other side was the first class trained at Egypt's newest center to produce top management leaders—people who will assume responsibility for managing the industrial sector in Egypt.

The enjoyable and honest discussion was marked by openness among all the parties and the absence of fear or hesitation. Everyone wanted to get an exact idea. The leaders of the Administrative Oversight Agency spoke frankly and clearly about the details and scope of their work. They said that the agency aimed at cooperation with leading managers, so as to facilitate, rather than hinder, the decisionmaking process.

Chemist Muhammad Husayn, first undersecretary of the Ministry of Administrative Development and head of the Industrial Leaders' Center, spoke first: "The role of oversight agencies has been questioned recently. Let us agree that oversight is an element in management. There is oversight of financial resources, oversight of marketing, oversight of the product. There must therefore be oversight of the user of resources. How can we deny that the state should have oversight agencies with the job of full oversight? It was on this basis that Dr. 'Atif 'Ubayd, minister of cabinet affairs and administrative development, and Engineer Muhammad 'Abd-al-Wahhab, minister of industry, agreed to organize this meeting, which is being attended by leaders of industry and of the Administrative Oversight Agency in order to break down the barrier of mutual lack of information about the role of each side and its vision of the future."

Where Is the Duplication of Oversight Agencies?

Maj. Gen. Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman, head of the Administrative Oversight Agency: "First I want to answer a frequently asked question about the multiplicity of oversight agencies. A study of this matter has been completed, and it did not show this to be the case. There is no multiplicity or duplication of administrative agencies. Actually, when Administrative Oversight was abolished during the eighties, a bureau was formed in the Interior Ministry to replace oversight. This is the Public Funds Investigation Agency—a separate body. Its role involves the same tasks as Administrative Oversight. We try to have recourse to coordination through the public attorney's office, since both bodies take action only on orders from the attorney's office. The remaining oversight agencies are different from each other and have separate jobs. Oversight agencies are generally unwelcome. It is human nature to have a distaste for one's overseer.

"However, we must correct ideas and misconceptions. The Administrative Oversight Agency has many varied roles. So that its functions become clear, I call on Wahid

Hilmi, deputy head of Administrative Oversight, who has worked for 25 years in the department. He will answer all questions raised about the role of oversight and its responsibility in production operations."

Wahid Hilmi said that correct knowledge about the role of Administrative Oversight is the sound way for both officials and top leaders in management to perform their role to the fullest extent. He noted that he had witnessed this when Administrative Oversight turned over the head of a certain company [for investigation]. He is sensitive to the feelings of company leaders toward oversight, but notes that there is no successful operation without oversight. Oversight, however, must begin with every plant, and these are the duties and responsibilities of management. "If we look at the prerogatives of the management of any company or plant, we find that these resemble the prerogatives of Administrative Oversight. Management has the right to follow up tasks and curb violations. Oversight has the same two roles. The top management of a plant has the right to refer something to the public attorney's office or the administrative attorney's office. Administrative Oversight has the same prerogatives. If the managers in companies were able to carry out all these tasks, the matter would be simple. The burdens on the production unit and on external oversight would be light. If the chief manager of a company justly and fairly investigated the complaints he received; if he accepted opposition and constructive criticism for the sake of the production unit, without harming the person who raised the complaint, there would be a great change for the good of the operation. Production and service units would be able to operate without external oversight." Explaining how this goal can be achieved, Wahid Hilmi said that administrative leaders must take criticism and correct their ideas. If these are inadequate, they must be set right. Economic units must be able to absorb problems and correct the mistakes of employees. In his diagnosis, Wahid Hilmi indicated that successfully managed companies and enterprises do not have within themselves any objection to Administrative Oversight, compared with enterprises and companies that have not realized their goals. Internal oversight is capable; if it succeeds in its job, it makes outside oversight superfluous. [passage omitted]

Questions About Oversight's Role in Following Up Sale of Localities' Projects

The question raised was whether oversight's strategy has changed with the change in the country's political climate.

Wahid Hilmi, deputy head of oversight: "We adhere to the law. The law governs us. If the matter requires granting a particular request that will realize government policy without violating oversight, Administrative Oversight goes along with it."

Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman, head of oversight: "Yes, we adhere to the government's policies. However, that does not mean that we adhere to the mood of officials or

ministers, but rather to the mood of Egypt. We scrutinize all the information. When we put something off, it is by agreement. In the end, we work on behalf of Egypt, not on behalf of individuals."

There is a question about Administrative Oversight's role in handling the sale of projects owned by localities.

Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman: "Our basic functions are to safeguard public funds at the time of the sale. The government's decision to sell localities' projects does not mean disposing of these projects at any price. The best prices must be obtained. The sale does not take place merely to sell off projects, but to realize economic advantages and benefit. Oversight will become involved in cases where something goes wrong, when some kind of monkey business takes place when the project is put up for auction, and to oversee the guarantees implemented so that the sale takes place in the best way possible. Oversight will become involved in two stages: when an error becomes apparent, we will allude to it and intervene with an explanation and information; afterwards, we intervene to prevent any coverup of a violation or crime. Thus, we see our intervention as limited to deviation from normal procedures."

Administrative Oversight and the Public Sector

A large number of industrial leaders noted that Administrative Oversight is one of the agencies that most closely follows and is best informed about the nature of the situation of the public sector. What is its position on the ongoing debate, and how is it participating in correcting conditions?

The head of Administrative Oversight said, "Administrative Oversight's role in analyzing and diagnosing the problems of the public sector is to deal with all the particulars and details. We continually cooperate. This is a periodic process and is not limited to any set period of time. It is a continuous, periodic, daily process. We cooperate constantly with the government and the ministries in explaining the dimensions and developments of the public sector. Were it not for the fact that this information is placed in a microfilm archive, we would not be able to preserve it. We have, however, presented these studies and ideas. We cannot say that we are the only agency that has information about the public sector, but we cooperate and make ideas available to the relevant agencies, which are more capable of making a final decision."

Administrative Oversight and the Audits Bureau

What is the difference between the Administrative Oversight Agency and the Central Audits Bureau? Why, in the end, do we not refer to oversight to find out whether goals have been realized or not?

The head of oversight: "The role of the Central Audits Bureau is subsequent to daily operation. It investigates every document about payment in accordance with the financial aspects. The managers have the right to reply

and correct the examination. On the other hand, Administrative Oversight is oversight that is not subsequent. It consists of monitoring—not interference for the sake of interference, but rather to help and facilitate operation, or to avoid expected damage. It is better for managers that there be a capable agency that shares their concerns and helps them make decisions in order to realize their desired ultimate goals.”

Finally, Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman said, “The Administrative Oversight Agency works to help productive units, not to interfere in their management, and to help leaders uncover damage and correct it. It therefore should work to become as wide and broad as possible to achieve these goals. There has always been crime, and there have always been good people and bad people. We must have confidence in our society, that it is capable of protecting itself, uprooting corruption, and working earnestly for the benefit of Egypt and the future.” He believes that the future belongs to industry. Leaders of industry must realize that they are required to work more to develop production. We must overcome the crisis of consuming more than we produce. We must work to export. We must solve the crisis of the foreign exchange shortage. We must increase our food production to satisfy our requirements and must increase the size of Egypt's food reserve, which is now only between 30 and 50 days. This is one of the conclusions from our monitoring of the food reserve in Egypt. This is what will give us decision-making power and will make us proud of Egypt.

The four-hour meeting ended with an extended discussion in which Chemist Muhammad Husayn, director of the Industrial Leaders' Center, succeeded in breaking the barrier of fear between Administrative Oversight and industrial leaders. As a result, everyone emerged with an understanding of the importance of mutual cooperation and of building bridges of confidence between top management and Administrative Oversight for the good of work and production in Egypt.

Unemployment Rates Rising, Figures Given

90AA0196B London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic
29 May 90 p 67

[Article: “Egypt: Ten Million Out of Work in Year 2000”]

[Text] The statistics of the Ministry of Manpower [and Training] and the central system for conscription and statistics indicate that Egypt experienced unemployment at the end of the 1960s which amounted to 1.2 percent of the total work force in 1968. It changed into a phenomenon on the national level in 1976 when its percentage reached 8.4 percent of the work force before it rose to 14.7 percent in 1986.

The Ministry of Planning's unemployment estimates in recent years show that unemployment reached 5.6 percent in 1987/88 and rose to seven percent in 1988/89. The figures of the Ministry of Planning are based on a

working age indicator from 12 to 65. In general, unemployment threatens the Egyptian economy. It reached its lowest level in 1962 when the number of unemployed was 118,000, and it reached its maximum in 1986 when the number of unemployed reached 2 million, i.e., 14.7 percent of the total work force.

Ten Million Unemployed in 2000

Egyptian economic expert Dr. 'Awad Mukhtar Haludah thinks, from examining the near past and given the current rates of use of graduates of the universities and institutes, that unemployment will reach about 4 million unemployed in the year 2000, which represents a real disaster for the Egyptian economy which must be reckoned with. This is in addition to Egyptians returning from abroad due to the Arab markets' retreat from taking them in and unemployed illiterates who have not obtained certificates who will join the unemployment rolls. Relying on the available statistics and rates and indicators for 1988, the number of unemployed in the various sectors will reach 10 million in the year 2000.

Solutions and Dangers

Dr. Muhammad Ahmad al-Bana, professor of trade at the University of al-Manufiyah, thinks that relying on employing the resources available and increasing the size of investments in the agricultural and industrial fields may take in the largest sector of unemployment in Egypt.

The agricultural sector still plays an important role in the capacity of the work force, even though its relative share has declined since it fell from 47 percent in 1973 to 37 percent in 1981, realizing an annual rate of growth of .1 percent, which is extremely limited. The share of the industrial sector in 1973 was 12.8 percent. It increased to only 13 percent in 1981, at an annual rate of growth of 3.8 percent on the average and increased to 14.1 percent in 1987 at almost the same annual rate of growth.

The share of the agricultural sector in national investments during the same period went from eight percent to nine percent, while the share of the industrial sector went from 32 percent to 29.41 percent.

Dr. Muna 'Isa al-'Ayuti, an instructor of economics at Tanta University, thinks that, besides agricultural activity, the development of plans for small industries must be encouraged, since they are an appropriate form of industrial growth in the underdeveloped countries, and that the idea of concern for modern industry at the expense of agriculture must be abandoned.

Dr. Mahmud Hasan Husni, professor of trade at Hulwan University, agrees with the directions of the Ministry of Manpower and Training which Dr. 'Asim 'Abd-al-Haqq, the Minister of Manpower in Egypt, announced.

He thinks that the policy of retraining the work force according to the needs of the market and economic objectives will solve a great part of the problem of unemployment in Egypt.

Rates of Unemployment in Egypt During the Three Years Computed

Years	Number of Unemployed (in thousands)	Unemployment Rate (percent of total workforce)
1960	175	2.2
1976	850	7.7
1986	2,011	14.7

Plan for Standardizing Tax Codes Detailed

90AA0193A London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic
25 May 90 pp 44-45

[Interview with Fathi 'Abd-al-Baqi by Mahmud Salim: "Arab Cooperation Calls for Standardized Tax Systems"; first five paragraphs are AL-HAWADITH introduction; in Cairo, date not specified]

[Text] A short time ago the tax directors of the Arab League Economic Unity Council held an important conference in Amman to discuss tax systems in Arab countries.

Egypt took part in this meeting and was represented by Fathi 'Abd-al-Baqi, first undersecretary of state for finance and chief of the Egyptian Tax Administration.

AL-HAWADITH seized on this opportunity to conduct an interview with Fathi 'Abd-al-Baqi about the most important matters discussed during this encounter. It also had a chance to talk about tax problems in Egypt and about prospective future measures to develop the tax system in general.

The discussion with the chief of the Tax Administration also touched on the matter of tax assessments for investment companies and their depositors.

He also answered many other questions AL-HAWADITH raised, explaining the steps that will be taken in the future to increase tax revenues.

Following is the interview:

[AL-HAWADITH] Let us begin with the conference held by the Arab directors of taxation. What are the most significant results and recommendations you arrived at?

[Abd-al-Baqi] Perhaps the most important recommendation is my call for comprehensive all-inclusive studies aimed at achieving standardized tax systems in Arab countries. Such standardization is bound to achieve ultimately some kind of economic unity that can bring together all Arab countries and is a vital requirement in a world currently dominated by economic blocs, the most significant of which may be the events occurring in East Europe and also the anticipated economic unification of the European markets in 1992.

Tax standardization is part of the coveted standardization of various economic legislation aimed at the creation of some form of economic unity which is viewed as an extremely vital requirement.

[AL-HAWADITH] How can this tax standardization be achieved?

[Abd-al-Baqi] Studies will include bringing together all tax systems observed in Arab countries that are members of the economic council. This goal can be achieved by concluding agreements aimed at averting double taxation among Arab countries. Egypt has taken serious steps toward this end, not only with Western countries but also with a number of other foreign countries. It has concluded agreements with Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, and Jordan as well as 15 agreements to avert double taxation with foreign countries like the United States, Sweden, Pakistan, and Great Britain and is expected to conclude a similar agreement with Turkey.

Such agreements are a step toward the standardization of tax systems.

[AL-HAWADITH] What about tax revenues in Egypt?

[Abd-al-Baqi] The target revenue figure for this year is estimated at 5.7 billion Egyptian pounds, an increase of 1.5 billion.

[AL-HAWADITH] Does this mean higher tax rates?

[Abd-al-Baqi] Not at all. The projected increase in tax revenues for this year will not be achieved by raising the current tax brackets or by creating new taxes, but rather by continually compiling data on all unreported activities. For example, in the last six months the Tax Administration managed to open new files on 110,000 taxpayers engaged in various activities. These files will bring in good revenues and we, on our part, are intensifying our collection efforts. Furthermore, efforts to combat tax evasion are proceeding along the same line in order to attain the projected revenues.

Moreover, I ought to point to another pertinent measure, namely the decision issued by Minister of Finance Dr. Muhammad al-Razzaz providing for out-of-court settlements between the Tax Administration and a large number of taxpayers in all cases brought before the courts and the appeals committees.

All these matters will raise revenues over last year without raising the current tax rates.

[AL-HAWADITH] Taxpayers in all walks of life are still talking about the numerous problems they face. Some of them accuse the Tax Administration of making punitive assessments and others say the current tax system is useless. What do you think?

[Abd-al-Baqi] There is no doubt that problems do exist but they are on the way to being resolved. In this connection, I can say that there are plans to change the current tax system from specific to standardized taxation. We are implementing a number of executive measures to achieve this goal. By mid-year, 12 new tax offices will have been opened in Heliopolis, Shubra, the downtown, and certain districts in Alexandria, in an effort to institute a geographic system in preparation for enforcement of the standardized tax system.

In this connection as well, it has been decided to settle all 1989 tax returns in Egypt no later than the end of December, whereupon taxpayers will be required to file returns on a yearly basis, beginning 1991.

I would like to emphasize that this system of filing yearly tax returns will eliminate a large number of problems between the taxpayers and the Tax Administration, for every taxpayer will have one file without the procedural problems and the many files that are cumbersome and inconvenient to taxpayers.

[AL-HAWADITH] This prompts us to raise the question of taxpayer complaints about the complexity of such measures. How do you feel about that?

[Abd-al-Baqi] As you said, complaints do exist but we are trying to do everything we can to eliminate them and are working as a task force to deal with such problems. In this regard, I would like to say that filing tax-exempt returns only takes a few minutes of a taxpayer's time. For cases where taxes are owed, by joint stock companies for example, we have set up 18 treasury windows at the Tax Administration to save time and effort.

I am a firm believer in the principle that "the customer is always right" and our customer is the taxpayer. Accordingly, we are doing our best to offer him the best service we can and we have to bear with him. These are my instructions to the tax commissioners nationwide.

In this regard, and to save the taxpayers the trouble, we have enforced a new system that requires tax commissioners and collection agents to go to the workplace at companies and factories that employs a large number of workers to receive tax returns and collect taxes to save workers the trouble of going to the Tax Administration or to their tax district office to file their returns.

I would also like to mention another expeditious measure. I have instructed tax officers and collection agents to go to the homes of taxpayers who, because of illness, are unable to go to the tax office to take care of business there. This has actually happened in some offices such as the Free Professions Taxes and Company Inspection Commission.

Moreover, tax returns may be sent through the mail.

[AL-HAWADITH] Is there a plan, as has been rumored for a while, to raise the allowable deductions to encourage investments?

[Abd-al-Baqi] There have been demands in this regard and, naturally, all demands are considered. The tax law is a positive rather than a Koranic or an evangelical law. I would like to point out, however, that the general income deduction of up to 2,000 Egyptian pounds is actually higher. There is a 10 percent deduction, up to 1,000 pounds, for wages earned by tradesmen; a 15 percent deduction, up to 2,000 pounds for insurance; a 10 percent deduction for expenses; and seven percent for government donations. Therefore, the deduction is higher than 2,000 pounds and may be up to 4,000 or 5,000 pounds.

[AL-HAWADITH] The problem of punitive assessments has been raised from time to time. Is it not time to put an end to such complaints?

[Abd-al-Baqi] To put it in a nutshell, the instructions of Minister of Finance Dr. Muhammad al-Razzaz are very clear: no punitive assessments and the taxpayer must be treated right.

Throughout all the meetings we have had with the minister, his words to us have been that we are not tax collectors and that joint cooperation between the two sides is essential. The taxpayer has the right to earn and make a profit, but he has to pay the state's share of this profit, and, in a pleasant way.

Moreover, taxpayers who fail to keep well-organized records are not dealt with harshly, but rather are guided on the right path so that they may become aware of their rights and duties as taxpayers. We do not twist the taxpayer's arm but, to enable the state to collect its dues, we give taxpayers a break by enabling them to pay their owed taxes in installments.

[AL-HAWADITH] A question that cannot be overlooked is how do you deal with tax evaders and what do you think about the alleged magnitude of the tax evasion problem?

[Abd-al-Baqi] Quite honestly, the tax evasion tune is a broken record! Anyone who has "true" information about any evaders should report it to me immediately. But such charges and rumors are, as I have already said, a broken record!

Some people, for example, have repeatedly maintained that tax evasion in Egypt amounts to 1 billion pounds. I honestly do not know where they get this figure! For even if we were to assume that 1 billion worth of business goes unreported, the amount of taxes due on this sum would be 50 million. For profit from this amount is 150 million, 40 million of which is deducted for expenses, leaving 120 million as taxable income which, at the highest tax bracket, would yield 50 million in tax revenues instead of the horrendous figures cited every now and then.

By and large, we are ready to look into any form of tax evasion. We have a special tax evasion department that

pursues such cases. But raising charges and rumors without proof is, for the third time, a broken record!

In this connection, I would like to emphasize that all officials at the highest levels, from the president to the prime minister to the ministers to the undersecretaries and other levels, have filed their tax returns.

[AL-HAWADITH] The investment company crisis is still the talk of the town. Will these companies be required to account for their activities?

[Abd-al-Baqi] The Council of State's General Assembly issued a legal opinion last December 20 saying that profits realized by investment companies established under Law No. 146 of 1988 are subject to taxation. This opinion also concluded that investment certificates issued by these companies are tax free on grounds that such certificates are a new kind of securities regulated by law.

We are in the process of studying this opinion and a final decision in this regard will be adopted soon.

In order to do the right thing and fulfill our aim of serving the interest of the nation and the people as well, any decision we make has to be preceded by careful study and deliberation.

ISRAEL

IDF Readiness for NBC Attack Reported at 70 Percent

90AE0078A Tel Aviv BAMAHAANE in Hebrew
23 May 90 p 11

[Article by Yo'av Kaspi]

[Text] Seventy percent of IDF [Israel Defense Forces] units that underwent NBC [Nuclear, Biological, Chemical] checks this year were found ready. This despite the fact that only 13 percent were found ready in 1986-87. Only about 19 percent of the units checked this year were found to be totally unprepared, as compared to 79 percent three years ago. It should be noted that the NBC check is conducted in hundreds of units every year by a special NBC Center team that checks the soundness of equipment stored in the warehouses, the level of NBC drills in the unit and operational plans in the event of a chemical attack.

The great increase in the level of IDF preparedness for a possible NBC attack is explained by Lieutenant Colonel "A.", commander of the NBC Center, due to an increased awareness of the subject. "It could certainly be said that with the end of the Iran-Iraq war and the latest information about the existence of real potential for the use of chemical warfare in Iraq, Syria and other Arab states, the commanders are investing more time in preparing for it. More and more commanders are coming

to us with a request to go through an NBC advanced course, so there is no need to nag them about it as in the past."

The number of advanced courses conducted by the NBC Center this year is 300 percent larger than the number registered three years ago. The number of students rose about 650 percent compared to 1986-87. In the framework of the various courses conducted by the Center, hundreds of officers and noncoms were trained in NBC in addition to their regular duty, and will be responsible for all NBC issues in their units, as well as reserve officers who were assigned especially to that function.

A great increase was also registered this year in the number of exercises on NBC issues carried out in IDF units. Additional data point to almost double the number of exercises as last year and to an increasing level of performance. The exercises include a simulation of a gas attack through the use of C5 gas (tear gas used to disperse demonstrations). The gas is released using hand grenades or a special device that turns the material from fluid to gas. Soon planes will also be integrated into the exercises and will release gas from the air.

"The IDF is now being equipped with a whole series of new detection and identification devices, of Israeli manufacture, that are supposed to locate and identify the gas, even at thresholds below what is harmful to man, and give us advance warning in every case," continues.

The traditional NBC mask is also undergoing improvement. A new mask, that has a higher sealing level, is being gradually brought into use. The new mask contains a perpendicular lip seal that prevents the gas from entering depressions and grooves on the soldier's face. Therefore, the number of mask sizes will be reduced from four to three.

"Over the axis of time, a significant improvement has occurred in all components that determine IDF readiness on NBC matters," says Lt Col "A". "Statistical surveys that we have conducted, recently prove with certainty that a properly protected and trained unit will be able to absorb a chemical attack and continue fighting." The percentage of casualties in such a circumstance will be low. On the other hand, if an unprotected unit is attacked by chemical weapons, 50-60 percent casualties are expected. "The exercises we conducted indicate that the units could absorb a Halakh attack and continue to perform their missions within certain limitations. Of course, there will be a natural drop in the level of a soldier's performance when he is fighting under NBC conditions and wearing a mask and protective equipment, but it has been shown that all the forces can successfully complete the accomplishment of their missions even in these conditions."

Orthodoxy, Secularism in Society Examined

MK Ravitz Interviewed

90AE0124A Tel Aviv ISRAELI DEMOCRACY
in English Apr 90 pp 22-24

[Text] MK Avraham Ravitz heads the new ultra-Orthodox party Degel HaTorah. He previously headed the Or Sameah Yeshiva. ISRAELI DEMOCRACY questioned MK [Member of Knesset] Ravitz about the changing relations between the Orthodox Jewish community and the secular Israeli majority.

[ISRAELI DEMOCRACY] Has there been a change in the nature of the relationship between secular and Orthodox Jews since the early days of the state, and, if so, has this been a change for the better or for the worse?

[Ravitz] The answer is complex. On the one hand, I think there has been a change for the better. But at the same time, because certain practices and conditions have been perpetuated throughout this period, I think the change has been for the worse.

In the very recent past, and particularly over the last year, the secular public has begun to accept the Orthodox community as equally deserving of public support to help them lead their way of life. This realization has taken root despite the differences in world view, ideology and lifestyle that exist between the Orthodox community and the secular majority. In this regard, change has been positive.

There is also a greater acceptance by the Orthodox public of the secular member of society. This, too, is an important change. In the early years of statehood the Orthodox sought to force their brand of Judaism onto the life of the entire country. This struggle even gave birth to a religious political underground, which engaged in illegal activities. Today the Orthodox community, perhaps because of a sense of strength, no longer seeks to force its way of life onto the whole of Israeli society.

[ISRAELI DEMOCRACY] During a recent symposium at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Prof Dan Horowitz and others claimed that relations between the Orthodox and the secular communities have worsened. They maintain that it is no longer possible to control the conflict, as it was in the past, and that the rift between the two publics is only widening.

[Ravitz] I would say that these most honorable professors don't really know what they are talking about. The Orthodox community has not turned radical. The opposite is the case. As I have already said, attitudes are becoming more relaxed. What has happened, and this is what I think worries most secular Jews, is the increase in political activity on the part of the Orthodox. I couldn't say if the percentage of Orthodox in Israeli society has grown; but there is no question as to the growth of its strength in the Knesset. There are once again as many Orthodox Knesset members as there were when the state

was established—18 out of 120 members. The distribution of those 18 seats has changed: The number of Hasidic seats has increased, while the number of non-Hasidic Orthodox (national religious) has fallen. In the first Knesset the national religious delegation consisted of 12 members; the Hasidim had only six or seven. Today the situation is reversed. But I wouldn't call this radicalization. One should measure extremism by the demands the Orthodox community makes of the secular community. Have these demands increased? Have the Orthodox attempted to force their opinions onto secular society? Things are not more extreme today than they were in the past. On the contrary, the Orthodox community, including the Hasidic elements, has not initiated any kind of assault in conquest of authority over secular society. The Orthodox live their own lives; their population increases naturally, complemented by an uncalculated number of converts to Orthodoxy: One cannot accuse them of coercion.

[ISRAELI DEMOCRACY] The Basic Law for Human Rights recently proposed in the Knesset is considered to be essential to any democracy. Orthodox groups have blocked its passage. Why do these groups so strenuously oppose this law?

[Ravitz] I've studied the law backwards and forwards. It is pointless, for the most part. It is merely a rehashing of existing laws on whose basis Israeli society already functions. It is, in short, completely extraneous. It is an attempt to imitate the practices of other countries which, perhaps, needed such a law to defend the civil rights of their populations. The state of Israel, however, already has a system of laws whose function is to defend the basic rights of every citizen.

In my opinion, the current version of the human rights bill imitates the bills of rights of those civilized nations—that club to which we like to flatter ourselves as belonging. But it is no secret that we are different from other nations of the world; we have defined Israel as a Jewish state. This does not mean that we oppose minority groups. On the contrary, we defend the rights of minorities, together with the individual freedoms of each citizen. However, at the same time, we view the state of Israel as the Jewish state. This is made quite explicit in no less than the country's Proclamation of Independence.

By the way, this law is not designed to defend the rights of minorities in the territories because, of course, Israeli law does not pertain to the territories. Yet, the problems of civil rights in the territories are much more severe than they are within Israel.

On the other hand, the law does have several new things to say, of the sort that will undermine existing public arrangements over a number of issues pertaining to religious life in Israel. For this reason we opposed the law. We do not oppose civil rights. But this law states, for instance, that every citizen has the right to travel freely anywhere within the state of Israel. Clearly, Israelis

already enjoy this right. It makes no sense to pass a civil rights law on this matter. If, however, the intent is to allow the citizen to travel in religious areas on the Sabbath, without defending the rights of the religious citizen, then we oppose such a law. This law is not designed to give equal protection to the rights of the religious public in Israel.

I think an injustice is being done to the religious citizens of Israel when they are portrayed as obscurantists. The proposed human rights law's most glaring deficiency is that it makes no mention of the Jewish character of the state of Israel. Through a rather sophisticated sophistry, it completely ignores the Law of Return. That is, the Law of Return is seen as relevant only before naturalization. The moment a Jew becomes a citizen under that law, his Jewishness loses any significance.

[ISRAELI DEMOCRACY] In the first years of statehood there was no awareness of other streams in Judaism. Orthodoxy had exclusive say in all religious matters in the state of Israel. In contrast, most American Jews are affiliated with the Conservative or Reform branches of Judaism. Because this part of the Jewish world, and its relationship with Israel, are very important to us, why can't religious pluralism be introduced into Israel, and so prevent the falling out that almost occurred over the question of "Who is a Jew?"

[Ravitz] Those who fight for the principle of religious pluralism are not religious Jews, but secular members of Knesset from different shades of the political spectrum. We must keep in mind that the United States and Israel are not the same. The fact is that in America these movements are very large and, therefore, they wield considerable political power. Here in Israel, Conservative and Reform Jews constitute a minute minority and society cannot take into account the needs of such an insignificant minority. If there were a significant number of Reform and Conservative Jews in Israel, then they would receive the same recognition accorded to other religions.

It is true that I believe this would constitute a very serious problem for the country and that these other movements are tampering with Judaism—but this is a different kind of objection. As a citizen of the state of Israel I see no need to change our laws for the sake of a small minority, just in response to pressure from secular forces whose principle aim is to hurt the Orthodox community.

[ISRAELI DEMOCRACY] But the state of Israel sees itself as the center of the Jewish world. Is Israel not permitted—perhaps even required—to represent all branches of Judaism, even if Jews who belong to them don't live in Israel?

[Ravitz] It was out of consideration for international Jewish opinion that the legislation on "Who is a Jew?" was deemed undesirable. World Jewry misunderstood this proposal. It thought that the law's intent was to

"excommunicate" those Jews about whom there is actually no doubt concerning their Jewishness, even if they are Reform or Conservative. Because Israel is indeed the center of world Jewry, we realized that this is not the right time for such a law. However, within Israeli society, we must live in accordance to our immediate reality. Clearly, if a million Conservative Jews lived here, my argument would be moot. A new situation would result from the relative strength of the communities.

[ISRAELI DEMOCRACY] Would you have preferred the state of Israel to be founded as a theocracy, under rabbinic rule, rather than a democracy?

[Ravitz] I don't think that any government that acts in opposition to the will of the people can last very long. This is clear to anyone who observes recent events in Eastern Europe.

In regard to Israel, this is a rather iniquitous question because it aims to accentuate my ideological preferences, and then intimate that I would like to see them implemented today, in contradiction to the popular will. This is like asking MK Yair Tzaban [Mapam], a long time socialist, if he would like to establish a socialist regime in Israel. He would answer that, ideologically, he would, but that he has no intention of forcing this upon a society that doesn't want it. In the past, there were those who thought it possible to establish socialism by coercion; today, we both have similar answers.

On the ideological level, I do indeed hope that the day will come when Jews will accept the laws of the Torah as their laws, and that they will choose to live according to them. But the people will have to make that choice. Had they not stood at the foot of Mt Sinai and exclaimed, "All that the Lord hath spoken will do, and obey," and agreed to receive the Torah, we would not have been given the Torah. Torah cannot be given to someone who does not want it. Unfortunately, the majority of those living today in Israel do not wish to live by the Torah. For this reason I am against imposing its authority.

[ISRAELI DEMOCRACY] What changes have occurred in the Orthodox community in Israel? What is your opinion of those changes?

[Ravitz] The most significant change is that, in my opinion, the Israeli public is more willing today than ever before—although still not to a sufficient degree—to accept the Orthodox as a legitimate sector of society. This is a most important change. Now when we discuss the national budget for education, for instance, there is general agreement that the Orthodox public deserves financial support for its educational system, which addresses the needs of its particular way of life. In my mind, the importance of this change is that it shows how Israeli society has become more democratic, more pluralistic, by accepting within it an Orthodox element. But this is still not enough. There are politicians who still grind away against us. The public at large, however, is more amenable.

[ISRAELI DEMOCRACY] Does what you say also apply to the exemption from military service given to yeshiva students? Isn't there widespread public anger over this policy?

[Ravitz] There is no disagreement over the education of our youngsters until the age of 18. Only at that point does an argument erupt concerning military service by yeshiva students. The disagreement is not all-inclusive—there are students who are drafted. The issue pertains only to those who continue their studies. Is it important to the Jewish people that there are students who continue to study? This is a legitimate ideological argument, but it is not relevant to the need to recognize that those who do study are entitled to an equal share of the support given to other segments of the student population.

[ISRAELI DEMOCRACY] In light of your comments here, do you think there is a need to redefine relations between the Orthodox and secular?

[Ravitz] This is not a problem of definitions, although if we could find a good one I would be pleased. I would say this: Because the Orthodox community today has no interest in involving itself in the private life of every individual Israeli—to force another way of life upon him or her—the debate really affects public life. We must reach agreement on those matters we have in common, an agreement based on the recognition that we all aspire to put our own stamp on the society of the Jewish state. And we all want this influence to have public significance. We have a problem with those who are satisfied with Judaism as no more than a collection of historical memories and who are content that Jews today live like any other people. But I think that on one point there is almost a national consensus: We all want to assure the continuation of the Jewish heritage. The disagreements start after this point. To what extent should public expression be given to this aim? Should we be satisfied with the fact that Saturday has been declared the Sabbath rather than Friday or Sunday? For some this is enough; others want to give the Sabbath specific content. We desire to give public significance to the fact that Israel is a Jewish state. But since the Orthodox community has no interest in forcing itself into the private life of secular society, I would expect the latter to accord us equal status, despite our differences.

MK Tzaban Interviewed

90AE0124 Tel Aviv ISRAELI DEMOCRACY
in English Apr 90 pp 25-28

[Text] This interview with MK [Member of Knesset] Yair Tzaban (Mapam) presents a secular view of Orthodoxy, the status quo, and their changing roles in Israeli society. MK Tzaban led the Mapam delegation in the last elections and is active in matters of state and religion.

[ISRAELI DEMOCRACY] Has there been a change in the nature of relations between religious and secular

Jews in Israel since the early days of statehood? If so, how do you view these changes?

[Tzaban] The fundamental elements of this relationship have remained intact, save for a decrease in the secular community's willingness to continue to accept the traditional status quo—that set of arrangements which essentially govern public religious expression in Israel—as the basis for national “cohabitation” between secular and Orthodox. At the same time, the desire to change certain things has grown. All public opinion polls taken over the past few years show an increased public interest in changing the status quo by limiting the extent of religious coercion and strengthening pluralism within Israeli society.

The secular public's decision to turn over the entire realm of private affairs to the jurisdiction of the Orthodox rabbinate had a different meaning when the state was founded, than it does today. Forty years ago the Jewish community in Israel was small and its interrelations were far more intimate. Today—especially in light of the recently increased immigration to Israel—the rabbinate's monopoly has acquired a completely different significance. I doubt if those who agreed to the status quo arrangement in 1950 had any idea that they would become an accessory to such sordid affairs as the treatment accorded Shoshana Miller [whose conversion to Judaism was denied recognition by the Orthodox rabbinate] or the degrading attitude toward new immigrants from the Soviet Union and Ethiopia, whose personal histories are painstakingly investigated to verify their Jewishness.

The most sensitive issue for the Orthodox is the question of marriage. Until a few years ago the majority in Israel supported the continuation of the rabbinate's unquestioned monopoly over marriage and divorce for Jewish Israelis. Today, more than 60 percent are prepared for changes, ranging from those who support non-Orthodox solutions to marital annulments, to those who demand the institution of pluralism, which would enable all branches of Judaism to manage marriage and divorce according to their own rules and traditions. This would include the institutionalization of civil marriage, which has no religious aegis whatsoever. More than 30 percent of Likud voters have already adopted opinions on this issue which were once the sole property of leftists and liberals.

[ISRAELI DEMOCRACY] The status quo has taken shape over the years in an attempt to find a path of coexistence between the two camps. Don't the changes you are suggesting threaten this careful balance?

[Tzaban] When looking at the issue from a historical perspective, the status quo becomes nothing but a myth. It is a lie, utterly contradicting reality. But there are those in both the Orthodox and the secular camps who hang on to this myth for lack of an alternative they are willing to defend. The status quo is a falsehood because it is simply

impossible, in a society as dynamic as ours, to establish social relations on the basis of an arrangement frozen in time.

This predicament can be illustrated in several ways. For instance, the compromise reached in the early years of statehood over the issue of public transportation on the Sabbath is, in my opinion, a disreputable one. It is inconsistent and socially regressive. However, in that same early period in which it was first made, the compromise had, particularly in Jerusalem, a certain relevance to reality. In the Jerusalem of the 1950s only a few people had their own automobiles, so when it was decided that there would be no public transportation on the Sabbath, the atmosphere of that day was significantly affected. Forty years later this distinction between the Sabbath and the rest of the week is ridiculous because today the streets of Jerusalem are crowded with drivers on the Sabbath. The only people who are hurt by the status quo are those who cannot afford their own automobiles—for them it is very difficult to go anywhere on the Sabbath.

[ISRAELI DEMOCRACY] Do you accept the view that relations between Orthodox and secular Jews are deteriorating and that it is no longer possible to control the conflict?

[Tzaban] No, I don't see the situation in those terms. I would not explain the shift in the balance of forces within the Orthodox camp—from the national religious movement to the various Hasidic movements—as only a process of radicalization. In my view, for example, most of the people who vote for Shas are not potential participants in militant demonstrations against the secular camp. The arguments we have always used against the supporters of Agudat Yisrael—that they are an army of fanatics—do not apply to the majority of Shas voters. Shas presents a much more complex and sophisticated challenge. This party has developed organization, publicity, education and social programs through a very sophisticated use of centers of influence. Take day-care centers, for example: Shas channels a considerable percentage of the contributions and discretionary government funds it receives into a network of child care centers, which it operates under conditions with which no other organization can contend. Consequently, many development town families develop a connection to Shas. This is not political warfare. It is the creation of power bases, intended to increase the parliamentary representation of the party.

Historically, I do not ignore the tremendous difficulties that face us in attempting to establish a dialogue with these groups. I can only assume that if the secular public shows enough determination, intelligence and understanding, it will be able, one stage at a time, to pass democratic legislation establishing a more enlightened arrangement of matters concerning state and religion. If the secular public stands firm in its opinions, the Orthodox public will adapt to that new reality. Jewish history teaches us this. Halacha [Jewish law] has proven

its outstanding ability to adapt to changing conditions on those points which Halachic authorities knew they would be unable to influence. I think that the special conditions that characterize Israeli society—a pluralistic, developing, changing society—will give birth to a steadfastness within the secular camp. Therefore, my vision of the future is less pessimistic than the forecasts of those who fear the creation of an unbridgeable rift within society.

[ISRAELI DEMOCRACY] Attempts to legislate a human rights law have failed, principally due to the Orthodox camp's opposition. Do we have to conclude that, at least for the foreseeable future, laws like this will not be passed?

[Tzaban] The whole issue of constitutionality in Israel is very complicated. The balance of forces within society and in the Knesset today are such that any legislation passed would not be of the kind that the liberal-Left would want to live with. This is true not only in the realm of "church and state"; it also pertains to Arab-Jewish equality, and to protection of the freedoms of expression, organization and individual rights. Today it would be impossible to legislate the solutions I favor. So, the timing of constitutional legislation becomes very complicated. Nevertheless, my colleagues and I decided to support the attempt to legislate a human rights bill, in spite of these limitations and in spite of our apprehensions that we might eventually be forced to withdraw our support if it became clear that a majority in the Knesset supported alterations of the bill that contradicted our vision of it. To us, the main problem is that this law would guarantee continuation of the status quo. If we wanted to change this section of the law in the future, we would need an absolute majority in the Knesset. The religious parties, and particularly the Hasidic parties, oppose this law because they understand that it will block future legislation of religious laws, thus depriving them of one of their *raison d'être*.

[ISRAELI DEMOCRACY] Is it possible to simultaneously wage a struggle over peace and a struggle between the Orthodox and secular?

[Tzaban] I view the struggle between religious and secular Jews in a wider context, as but one of five rifts dividing Israeli society: the national rift, the religious rift, the class rift, the ethnic rift and the political—ideological rift. There is a great deal of congruence between four of them: between the class and ethnic rifts, between these two and the political-ideological rift, all of these overlapping with the religious rift. To be more specific, more than 70 percent of the lower sectors of the Jewish population and the Jewish working class are of Sephardi origin. More than 70 percent of those who vote for the right are of Sephardi origin. In addition, there is a disproportionate percentage of Orthodoxy in this ethnic division. It is here, however, that there have been signs of change for the better.

What is especially difficult about this situation is that elements in the Hasidic camp, who could be our allies in the peace process, are also the more problematic elements in the struggle over the nature of Israeli society and the role of Hasidic Judaism. I am referring, in particular, to Shas. This is one of the problems that the peace camp must face in the coming years.

[ISRAELI DEMOCRACY] MK Avraham Ravitz claims that you both aspire, on the ideological level, to a different form of government than that which exists today—he to rabbinical rule and you to socialism—and that this is a legitimate aspiration.

[Tzaban] The difference between us is most basic. Rabbi Ravitz speaks about a denominator common not only to him and me, but to anyone else who holds an ideological conception of the world, a vision of a distant future which, despite their devotion to it, does not stop them from realistically estimating the present, and testing which aspects of that same vision may be attainable in the present. The key is whether the vision itself is democratic. I aspire to a democratic socialist government in which decisions will be made by a democratic process, on the basis of the free choice of the majority of society. MK Ravitz dreams of the day when a majority of Jews will voluntarily give up their right to freely choose their own way of life, and will transfer authority over their fate into the hands of rabbis. In this way, they would willingly and democratically cease to live in a democracy.

[ISRAELI DEMOCRACY] The status quo gives exclusive religious authority in Israel to representatives of Orthodox Judaism. As a secular Jew, are you not ignoring the other branches of religious Judaism?

[Tzaban] I believe that this issue will ultimately be decided by simple, daily facts of life. If a hundred thousand Reform Jews would immigrate to Israel this would be a good thing not only for Zionist reasons, but for reasons of religious pluralism, as well. But there is a matter of principle here. When the state was established, the national religious movements held the majority in the Orthodox camp and it was they who created the Chief Rabbinate to represent religious interests. Hasidic circles refused to accept such uniformity and they established separate rabbinical courts, separate administrations for dietary supervision, etc. They claimed, and rightly so, that this pluralism within the Orthodox camp should be recognized. I do recognize pluralism and I want it applied equally: Each branch of Judaism should be given the same right to determine its own social arrangements and institutions and all should be equally respected.

[ISRAELI DEMOCRACY] How do you view the Jewish state?

[Tzaban] My stand, and that of my colleagues, is well known. We support separation of religion and state. For us, the state of Israel is the state of the Jewish people, as understood by Zionism, that is, as defined by a national

Jewish identity. The question of religion is a given, for each person to decide individually. It is clear to us that the present struggle will continue for many years because, even within secular society, an argument rages over how resistance to religious coercion, support of pluralism, and separation of religion and state should be implemented.

It is important for both camps to understand that this struggle is directed against the ugly expressions of religious coercion, not against religious faith, nor against a person's right to adhere to a faith.

This struggle must be managed so as not to offend the religious population itself. Unfortunately, some of those who fight the secular battle believe that extreme rhetoric and insulting caricatures are more dramatic. This attitude should be rejected for its own sake, but it also hurts our cause. We do not need to preach to the converted; we need to win over those who fall between the two camps. It is they who will ultimately decide the issue.

Expansion of Ansar 2 Prison in Gaza Planned

90AE0065A Tel Aviv BAMAHAHE in Hebrew
9 May 90 p 7

[Article by Ya'el Shapira]

[Text] The prison facility in the coastal division in Gaza, known also as Ansar 2, is about to expand to be able to hold additional prisoners who have committed serious offenses until November. Plans exist now for further expansion. The facility, established at the end of 1987 on the foundation of an already existing facility, has tripled in size since it opened. Altogether, since the beginning of the intifada, about 22,000 prisoners have come through the place.

"The prison is a kind of transition point which holds prisoners for several months," the commander of the place, Captain A., says. The prisoners in the facility include locals who are under investigation, administrative prisoners and those awaiting sentencing. From here, depending on the sentences handed down, some of the prisoners are transferred to Qetziot Prison.

The Gaza facility is actually the old and quiet offshoot of Qetziot Prison. In contrast to Ansar 3 which drew headlines because of serious disturbances, there have not been major outbreaks or murders of prisoners suspected of collaborating in the Gaza facility. The facility did, however, get lots of attention at the end of April, after the escape of two prisoners. As may be remembered, they were left in an unsupervised food supply warehouse. While preparing supplies for the next day, they got out through a window which bordered on a nearby unit and escaped. Since the establishment of the facility, six prisoners have escaped from it. "At present, we have improved the security system and made it more efficient, in that we have solved problems of open spaces from the point of view of the watchtowers," Regimental Sergeant Major Gaby Benisti, camp commander, explained. "In

the wake of the recent escape, we have tightened administrative security because this escape took place as the result of negligence." The two recent escapees have not been caught. "I believe that they are in the Gaza Strip area and will be caught eventually," Benisti hopes.

The prisoners take advantage of their rights to family visits. In Qetziot, by contrast, they do not get to see their families because of the refusal of Gaza residents to arrange visits through the civil administration, the body approved by the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] for allowing entry to the closed military area in which the prison is situated. "Unfortunately, there has been no change on the subject of visits. We allow visits despite episodes of stone-throwing by family members at the soldiers," Captain A. emphasizes.

The location of the facility in the center of the Gaza Strip, and the frequent movement of prisoners from the prison and from the outside to other destinations (like going for a sentencing set up in the civil court), create conditions for very serious incidents within the prison. "Every soldier or policeman can stir up the entire prison," argues Captain A. "We encourage the soldiers serving here not to get drawn into incidents." The administration of the prison maintains direct and ongoing contact with prisoners through frequent meetings with the (prisoners on duty). The prison management also provides the prisoners with everything they need with regard to clothing, hygiene and medical care. "A riot can break out over 100 grams of rice," Captain A. concludes. "When you take away a man's freedom, these become the things he fights for. One must, therefore, proceed with a great deal of caution."

JORDAN

Territorial Integrity of Country Defended

90AE0079A Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic
31 May 90 p 7

[Article: "Jordan And The Lies of Eliyahu Ben-Elisar"]

[Text] Within the framework of the frantic Zionist attempts to shift the struggle from the occupied land of Palestine to outside its borders, from time to time some politicians in Israel talk about their views and their interpretations of the nature of what is happening in the area, and they do not tire of repeating statements which they know full well are highly unlikely to find their way to reality some day. We say this in the context of our response to the lies stated by the extremist Likud politician Eliyahu Ben-Elisar, who threatened Jordan "with severe and preemptory measures" because Jordan, so he says, "is mobilizing the Arabs and organizing their ranks and their front against Israel". Naturally this terrorist whistles the tune of "the alternate homeland" again because of his belief that it constitutes a sword over our necks.

The fact of the matter is that the Zionists are still prisoners of their dream that the Jordan River has two banks: what lies west of the river is theirs, and what is east of it is also theirs. Since the creation of Israel, the politicians there have been repeating this slogan and preparing militarily to make it come true at the expense of Jordan. As for us, we see it our duty to teach the Zionists a lesson in history and willpower, for the Jordan River was and still is and will remain a sacred Arab river which has two banks, the eastern being ours and all the land west of the river being ours also. Jordan was never for a day and will never ever be a morsel in the mouth of Eliyahu and his myrmidons of Zionist adventurers.

Out of a desire on our part to correct his twistedness, we remind him that Jordan was throughout history the land of heroic deeds and the center of radiation, and on its boulders were smashed all ambitions and incursions. We in this country are the descendents of great leaders like Ja'far al-Tayyar, 'Abdallah Bin-Rawahah, Dharrar Bin-al-Azur, Sa'd Ibn-Abi-Waqqas, Khalid Bin-al-Walid, al-Qa'qa' Bin-'Amru, al-Miqdar Bin-al-Aswad, 'Amru Bin-al-'As, Salah-al-Din, and others whose achievements and acts of heroism history immortalized. The Hashemite leadership in this Muslim Arab country is an authentic extension of the struggle of the Arab nation, and it is what gave of itself and made sacrifices for the honor of the nation and future generations. Modern Jordan has a full and honorable record in the political and military struggle against the Zionist enemy. Our battles in Bab al-Wad in 1948, al-Samu' in 1966, al-Karamah in 1968, and Golan in 1973 bear witness to our sacrifices and our dedication to defending the existence of the Arab nation and its honor. Jordan is fully conscious of and understands its great national responsibilities which exceed the bounds of Jordan to all the Arab homeland. Moreover, Jordan is the closest of all to Arab Palestine, whether by virtue of geographic location or responsibility or history or the reality in which it lives. Beyond all that, Jordan naturally experiences pain and agony vis-a-vis the Palestinian situation. It is a tragic situation which renders Jordan sleepless night and day on all planes and levels. But this situation needs work and attention and resoluteness and determination. Let us be completely frank in our talk, for we border Palestine for 420 kilometers, and it is of course the longest of the Arab front lines with Israel. In spite of this formidable length of our borders with Palestine, and in spite of our limited material resources, the big truth remains that Jordan does, in fact, constitute the great wall which, if it collapsed, God forbid, would expose all of the Arab homeland to danger. In this context, His Majesty the Supreme Commander asserted: "We stand in this confrontation with nothing behind us on which to rely except hope in our Arab nation. The hope is that this nation will rise to the desired level before it is too late."

The Zionist enemy based its expansionist calculations on the fact of our weakness and our struggles and our differences, and the enemy has been accustomed to nurturing these manifestations and is always pouring its

oil on their fires, because it fully comprehends that extinguishing the fire in our houses will ignite the fire in its house. Hence the first strategic step on the way to opposing the Zionist dreams of the Arab land is represented in the achievement of Arab unity and overcoming marginal differences. Only then will we confront the Zionist enemy as one bloc and deprive Eliyahu and his myrmidons of their appetite for talk and arrogance. We must prove to all the adventurers in Israel that the homeland of the Palestinians is only Palestine, and this is what the revolution of the Palestinian Arab people and the spilling of Palestinian blood affirmed. All the Zionist attempts to harm Jordan and its staying power will be frustrated, for it is the destiny of this country to be the land of "al-Rabat" against the enemies of the nation. Jordan, since its independence in 1946, and before that and afterwards, has dedicated itself to serving the causes of its nation. Foremost among them is the cause of Palestine and enabling it to remain actively alive before the world. The Zionists are still living in the illusion of lost bets, and they imagine that they can uproot the Palestinians from their land and relocate them to the Arab countries in general and to Jordan in particular in order to grab the land once and for all and create a new alternate conflict between the Palestinians and the other Arab peoples, instead of the conflict between them and the Israeli occupiers. This is what threatens the national security of some of the Arab countries, and then all of Arab national security. The Zionists want us to betray memory, to betray Palestine and history, and to acknowledge their dominion and bow to their strength in obedience and fealty. They want to usurp the laws like they usurped the land and to trample identity like they trampled the facts.

This stupid Zionist policy places the peace operation on the muzzle of a gun and pushes the Middle East area to the brink of war. What should we possibly be doing, leaders of the nation?

The essence of our struggle with Israel is that we exist or do not exist. We do not need evidence quoted or signs repeated after what is being hatched now against Jordan and after the proliferation of lies which Eliyahu and Kohn and Sharon and Shamir and Netanyahu have made.

In the absence of a suitable Arab deterrent, Israel has now reached a point of intoxication, arrogance, and contempt that it did not reach in any of the stages of its evolution, formation and development. The truth is that the enemy has justification for becoming intoxicated and being disdainful and conceited, for the East and the West are today seeking "forgiveness" from Israel. As for the Arabs, they are rightly experiencing "the phenomenon of hard times", for the Zionist emigration from the east continues and American support for Israel is not stopping, all of which threatens the Arabs' underpinnings in balancing "peace in return for land." Although overcoming the challenges of this bad time, among which is the matter of Arab national security, Zionist colonization, our occupied land, and the imperialist Zionist

attack against Jordan and brother Iraq, is not an easy matter, it certainly is not an impossible goal. Perhaps one of the basics in starting to overcome these challenges is uniting the Arab ranks. And certainly that is not possible for the Arabs unless they agree first to abandon the incompatibility and confrontations prevailing among them. It is inevitable, if we are really serious, that we will respond and rally together, as peoples and governments, to the voice of harmony and agreement which took form in the 1987 Amman summit conference and now is taking shape in the 1990 Baghdad summit conference. The enemy does not want the Arabs to be strong and victorious. They do not want them to be united and rise up and stick together. All this is bad for the Zionists and troubles them.

Yes Israel will continue to constitute the most important threat to Arab security, and to Jordanian security particularly, and the correct view of managing any military/political struggle against the enemy assumes that the mechanism of the struggle with this enemy is to confront it on the same basis and in the same way. The first principle of building a just and honorable peace is that this peace be Arab, strong, and backed by the powers and capabilities of our people. It is up to the Arab "ring countries", Jordan, Syria, Egypt, and Iraq, to be at maximum vigilance and responsibility—vigilance against all attempts at enticement and isolation, or any attempt to infiltrate the domestic front. We must be at maximum preparedness to confront any sudden military attacks which the enemy might undertake on the Jordanian front. We have great hope in the Arab leaders. Who is the first among the leaders of the nation in concern for our interests? We expect decisive practical steps on the ground of reality to restore to our nation its respect and influence. God had mercy on our great forefathers. They used to act and not talk.

What do some expect Jordan to do, with it having the longest front line with the Zionist enemy? Can we ignore the Zionist plans when we know that we are the first item on the list to be swallowed up by the Zionists? Jordan is the Arabs' first line of defense, north, east, and south, and the protection of its security is a collective Arab responsibility. The illustrious Arab nation has some components which qualify it for advancing and confronting all enemies of whatever type and however strong, and the basis of these components is real Arab unity. Through unity and will power our nation has got through all the stages of decline and the worst crises, resisted the most evil aggressors and routed them. This happened throughout Arab history, in its successive eras, beginning with the attack by Rome and passing through the Tartar barbarianism and the bloodiness of the crusaders and the plots of modern colonialism.

Our fate and the fate of all Arabs is to fight Zionism, and here are our Palestinian Arab people fighting since 1948 to regain the land which did and still does represent the essence and content of the Palestine case. Have we forgotten that someone who did not own it gave the land of someone unaware to someone undeserving? And

someone undeserving claimed falsely and out of hostility that Palestine is a land without people for a people without a land. So the ensuing uprisings occurred to give a decisive response to these lies and put an end to the manifestations of despair and frustration.

Columnist Calls for Further Press, Popular Freedoms

90AE0079B Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic
28 May 90 p 24

[Article by Fahd al-Rimawi: "Brief Observations On Aims of Publication"]

[Text] Last Monday "the separation" was more than I could believe when I noticed the absence of my column from the last page of AL-DUSTUR on the pretext that it aroused old sensitivity, while the street was teeming with processions and demonstrations, at times sensible and disciplined and at other times unbridled and angry.

Despite the fact that it was not the first time my columns have "evaporated" this month, the separation of last Monday settled in my mind as an example of the "double standard" which governs our political conduct in these times and which can be summarized in permitting freedom of public action and restricting the freedom of expression and organization. That is due to our entering the arena of democracy through the back doors, or sounding the whistle of democratic practice without providing its tools and before fulfilling its conditions and the elements of its success and permanence.

On the trail to freedom and change, our beginnings were auspicious and our strides steady. We held scrupulous parliamentary elections, we freed the political detainees, we lifted martial law, and we brought down some symbols of corruption and despotism. We granted freedom of speech and assembly and travel and return to the homeland and work, and by means of seminars and lectures and daring parliamentary debates we aroused in our people the spirit of enthusiasm and responsiveness and spiritual mobilization. Then we suddenly stopped at this point, in the middle of the road, after the negative popular state had left the people, who became imbued with tension and self-confidence and ready for public action and political participation.

It was assumed—nay, certain—that the process would not stop and the stride become sluggish. The government let go of the reins of initiative before the end of the game and before reaching the safe shore through fulfilling the basic elements for democratic change, which can be summarized very briefly in the following points:

1. Granting freedom of partisan, union, youth, and student organization, with the aim of molding popular activism and controlling its waves within frameworks, and open and legal acquisitions responsible to the public law and qualified to control the popular movement and guide it and prevent it from behaving carelessly and escaping and creating chaos.

2. Granting permits for new press publications to be like additional pulpits guaranteeing freedom of expression for all the ideological and political forces and currents with the duty of sound guidance toward the patriotic goal and missions to drain off the tense public's "spiritual surplus". It would also prevent the growth of "harmful plants" in the garden of democracy through fostering awareness programs and education campaigns to eradicate regional and sectarian tendencies and sanitize groups of public opinion.

3. Emulating the advanced democratic states in converting the security apparatus to "patriotic institutions for security" by retraining them in accordance with modern concepts and for developing political and social objectives, the most important of which are to protect freedom and the democratic process, and to maintain social peace and the sovereignty of the law and respect for the citizens as a father and an uncle and a free man walking tall, with raised head in his democratic homeland, which deserves every sacrifice and offering.

4. Making the elite and the popular vanguards share in bringing about exceptional solutions to the socioeconomic problem which is beginning to choke us, kindling the spirit of "social responsibility" in bearing the burdens of growth and mutual responsibility, and trading the political rights gained for the required economic duties. This is because the wealthy and the powerful who benefited from the democratic changes more than the laborers and the impoverished must know that there is no freedom, no democracy, no political stability, and no guaranteed future in the absence of productive growth, social justice, and eradication of the sharp divisions among the classes.

Then I say that the events of last week were laden with contrasts and contradictions, insofar as they permit of interpretations, for on their rational side they bear legality and patriotism and nationalist fervor as an expression of protest against the massacre of "Black Sunday," and on their anarchic side they bear bad reaction, improvisation, and the bad intent of evil scheming. It differentiated between the citizens devoted to the experiment, fortified by awareness of the phase, and enthusiastic for the public interest, and what it found of reckless and malicious persons and infiltrators and stragglers, who have an interest in the abortion of this democratic experiment and putting obstacles in its course. It also exposed dissimulation and disparity of interest and priorities between those who have rebelled for a year against the basis of the domestic economic affliction and those who caught fire a week ago in the wake of foreign political affliction.

If there is anyone among us who enjoys ambushing the experiment and questioning it and amplifying its negatives, for the purpose of turning back the hands of the clock, perhaps I should remind him that the "price" of democracy in our country does not compare to the price which the countries of East Europe, and even China and the Soviet Union, have paid, and remind him that the

noisy demonstrations which broke out recently to protest raising the personal tax in Britain, the most deeply-rooted democracy in the world, were twofold what took place in our country in terms of anarchic and destructive excesses. I might remind him also that the acts of violence and bloody clashes which took place in our capital two years ago due to a dispute about a football game were nearly as serious and calamitous in losses as what happened during the recent demonstrations. Look at what happened in our country a year ago under the authority of martial law and before the sun of democracy rose.

If there is anyone among us whose headstrong sympathies overcame him or power led him to sin or the elation of dominion took hold of him to burn banks and promenades and hotels and cars and cocktail lounges, perhaps I should remind him of the glory of citizenship and the integrity of popular participation, of Jordan's dire need for stability and the intifadah's [uprising's] pressing need for support and backing and the closing of Arab ranks, and of the ailing economy of his country and its eagerness to encourage summer vacationing and tourism and attracting every piaster from abroad which can be saved or invested. Perhaps I should also remind him finally that he will be responsible alone before God and the homeland and history if the current democratic process fails and its wheels are driven to chaos or it retreats toward the previous individualism and despotism.

And then.....

The lessons of history teach us that vital peoples amass their experiences and benefit from their mistakes and rise like the phoenix from its ashes. Do we take warning from the lesson of last week and store it for the next time?

This is the question!

KUWAIT

Demographic Studies Published

Study on Illiteracy

90AE0049A Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic
30 Apr 90 pp 2, 22

[Article by Qasim Nayil: "40,000 Illiterates in Kuwait"]

[Text] The director of the Department of Adult Education and Eradication of Illiteracy, 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Najdi, explained that the overall illiteracy rate in Kuwait was up to 12.3 percent as of last October. In a statement to AL-SIYASAH he said that there are 37,051 male and female citizens from 15 to 59 years of age who cannot read or write, a rate of nine percent, whereas there are 13,379 men and women, 3.3 percent, who can read and write, but do not hold an illiteracy eradication certificate.

He mentioned that 17,148 male and female students had graduated from the illiteracy eradication course during the period from 1981/82 to 1988/89. In the intermediate and secondary course the number of male and female graduates was 24,208, whereas the number of those who have graduated from the illiteracy eradication centers during the current academic year has been 1,264 male and female students.

He said that the number of students registered in the evening illiteracy eradication course in October of the current academic year (1989/1990) was 862 male students and 3098 female students, of whom 370 are studying in the morning illiteracy eradication center for women. The number of men taking morning classes, which were introduced in the workplace, is up to 151 students.

Al-Najdi said that the efforts at illiteracy eradication and adult education in their current advanced state were the result of a series of historical developments in the course of education and the development of educational policies, to which the state gave every attention and care.

He added: "The development has included concepts, means, courses, and programs, from eradication of illiteracy for limited numbers, to a more comprehensive illiteracy eradication that extended to all men and women who wanted it, then compulsory illiteracy eradication with the goal of eliminating illiteracy, in accordance with modern concepts, and teaching from books that combine language and cultural skills, in addition to introducing cultural, social, and health programs that are integrated with the educational programs in providing the avid student with a certain amount of culture and giving him the opportunity to employ his skills, and stimulate him through a number of activities so that he would be able to continue his education in the intermediate and secondary stages within the concept of continuing education."

Al-Najdi expressed his gratitude and appreciation to the Minister of Education Anwar al-Nuri, to the Deputy Minister 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Khudari, and to the assistant deputies for their concern and support and their constant pursuit of illiteracy eradication programs in order to reach the desired goal.

Private, Public Sector Workers Counted

90AE0049B Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic
1 May 90 p 2

[Article by Jamal Amin]

[Text] A statistical study issued by the Central Department of Statistics in the Ministry of Planning within the compilation of annual statistics, showed that the year before last there were 476,774 non-Kuwaiti workers in the private sector. They included 18,432 workers in the agricultural and fishing sector, 47,328 in the conversion industries sector, 110,970 in the building and construction sector, 209,116 in the commercial and restaurant

and hotel sector, 23,662 in the transport, storage, and communications sector, and 12,013 in the service sector.

Of those, 44,712 work in scientific and technical professions; 16,381 work as directors, administrators, and directors of operations; whereas 38,045 work as executives and clericals; 34,845 in sales operations; 45,397 in service jobs; 9,619 in agriculture, animal husbandry, and fishing, whereas there are up to 287,775 in the production sector or as ordinary laborers.

The study also showed that the total number of workers in the government system during the same year was up to 168,129 of whom 149 were in leadership positions. The total number of those in general jobs was 96,406, of whom 51,679 were Kuwaiti and 45,726 were non-Kuwaiti, and the total number of workers in assisting technical jobs was 17,838, of whom 1665 were Kuwaiti, and 161,73 were non-Kuwaiti.

The study tracked the numbers of work permits issued by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor from 1983 to 1988, and it showed that in 1983, 1175 permits were issued to those doing simple jobs; 1134 for free and vocational activities; 81,657 for entry to work; 86,075 for first time work; 105,267 renewals; 10,923 cancelled and transferred; and 21,773 cancelled for good.

Whereas 1988 saw the issuing of 4,521 permits for those doing simple work; 1,822 for vocational activities; 89,228 for entry to work, 61,629 for bringing in first time workers; the renewal of 148,410; the cancellation and transfer of 64,353, and the final cancellation of 32,081.

LEBANON

Edmond Rizq Interviewed on Constitution, al-Ta'if, Syria

90AE0077A London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic
8 Jun 90 pp 18, 20, 21

[Interview with Lebanese Minister of Information and Justice Edmond Rizq: "Major Challenge to Legitimacy Is in Western Zone More Than Eastern; Tasking Syrians with Invading the East Did Not Occur to the Government;" date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

[AL-HAWADITH] We want this interview to be in depth, in depth in subject matter and in frankness because, firstly, the people listen and read every day, but they do not believe anything. I am talking with a journalist and politician, a minister who talks with the people. He knows that here and there everybody has been attacked. What is the truth about the Lebanese situation. Is it hopeless, or will it go through a lull until the government's term has expired, or is it redeemable?

[Rizq] Naturally, souls weaken after long suffering, and naturally doubts prevail with regard to the future, which is dependent on the explosive conditions and tragic

developments that have occurred in the Lebanese arena. This is especially true after the savage, bloody battles between brothers in the eastern zone, the volume of destruction caused by the struggle for influence, and the competition for monopoly over the Christian sector, in a way that damaged the Christians and their public institutions. However, we are hopeful and are betting on Lebanon's survival and the salvaging of the deteriorating situation, despite all the killing and displacement of persons that has occurred.

Nevertheless, with regard to all these disquieting events, we can only continue to bet on the nation and the state, and to work for the restoration of them both, because the Lebanese have only one option before them, and that is to reclaim Lebanon and fortify it in the face of the eventualities that threaten. It is inconceivable and impossible for us to diminish the importance of the tragic and hopeless factors in Lebanon, nor to make light of the rebuilding process. But, in facing this fateful challenge, we must gather together all our energies, so that we can ward off this dark danger.

[AL-HAWADITH] You were tasked with formulating the draft of the constitutional amendments to be submitted to the Chamber of Deputies. There are two opinions: one is to delay adoption; the second is that al-Ta'if is going through a difficult stage. The prime minister, Dr. Salim al-Huss, is of this opinion, and is one of those who says, "Let's get on with al-Ta'if." What is the status of the amendments? What about the al-Ta'if Agreement? Is it true that it is in danger?

[Rizq] When we agreed in al-Ta'if on the al-Ta'if Accord, we were convinced that it was the best way to save Lebanon, to get it out of the whirlpool of violence and set it on the road to peace. This agreement contained the so-called constitutional reforms. We were confident that we could come up with a mechanism to put them into legal form and refer them to the Chamber of Deputies. The formulation, which the Cabinet tasked us with, is tantamount to a translation of the agreement into five categories: the powers of the president of the republic; the prime minister's powers; the Chamber of Deputies's powers; the term of the speaker of the Chamber of Deputies and his deputy; and filling the vacant seats in the Chamber of Deputies, and those newly created, i.e., to round out the number from 99 to 108.

We did not do anything new with regard to the draft of the constitutional amendments that we have submitted. On the contrary, we limited ourselves to formulating the agreement's articles into legal, constitutional stipulations, nothing more. As for our colleagues and the people who are expressing their opinions and theories with respect to delaying the adoption of these amendments, they have their reasons and grounds, since they link the Chamber of Deputies' adoption of these reforms with the political solution, the security process, and the reextension of state sovereignty over Lebanese territory, because all of that is closely bound together in the agreement. However, we look at this matter as follows:

The agreement of National Accord is a mechanism to implement other provisions, especially pertaining to dissolving militias, collecting their weapons, and reextending legitimate state sovereignty over Lebanese territory. This mechanism kicks in at a set time; its validity starts after the adoption of the constitutional amendments pertaining to the reforms. We made ourselves be logical, and drew up these amendments in legal form, adopted them in the Cabinet, and referred them to the Chamber of Deputies, which has the final decision in this regard. The government's part has been done. This is natural, because the government was formed on the basis of the National Accord. Moreover, the elections for the president of the republic were conducted on this basis. The collective confidence that the Chamber of Deputies gave to the government was on the basis of the ministerial statement committing to the al-Ta'if Agreement. We have done our part as a government, and the matter is now up to the Chamber of Deputies; it is master of itself. Therefore, there was no possibility that we would put off drafting these amendments and referring the draft, subject to the limitations in the task allotted to us, so as to basically get the specified validity period of six months started. There was also a two year timeframe agreed to as the maximum time period to assemble the Syrian forces in the al-Biqa' area. The timeframe of six months starts from the date the amendments are adopted in the Chamber of Deputies. Therefore, these periods are a basic part of the mechanism to reextend true state sovereignty over Lebanese territory, and delaying that would put off the process of rebuilding the Lebanese state. Accordingly, the phrase "get on with al-Ta'if," as used by the prime minister, is appropriate, because when we chose the agreement as an entry to peace, and a means to restore unity to the Lebanese state, at the same time we believed that there was no alternative to al-Ta'if. If there were alternatives, perhaps we would have got on with them. The matter that cannot be accepted today is the breach of our agreement in al-Ta'if. Therefore, we are bound by the articles of the al-Ta'if Agreement, and we are determined that it is the best way to save Lebanon.

I want to point out here that the basic obstacle that has emerged in the process to revive the Lebanese state stems from the movement of insurrection, rebellion, and refusal to join in with the agreement and with peace, by refusing to accept the legitimacy emanating from the only remaining legitimate institution in Lebanon, which the Chamber of Deputies was at that time. Today, we can revive the institutions, from the presidency of the republic to the cabinet to the rest of the institutions, especially the Lebanese Army, all of that within one concept based on the al-Ta'if Agreement.

[AL-HAWADITH] When will the Chamber of Deputies convene?

[Rizq] Everyone knows that separation of powers is a basic principle in Lebanon. The government cannot force the Chamber of Deputies to convene. However, it believes it necessary that the Chamber of Deputies take the initiative to complete the decision process on the

reforms, because we are determined to begin the six months validity period, in order to dissolve the militias, as well as the two year parallel period, so that security can be turned over to Lebanese authority. We understand the motives of our fellow deputies for procrastinating in proceeding with an essential step, such as amending the constitution. But, we know as they also know that this is the best way. However, we will remain in a labyrinth, wandering about in anarchy, unable to obtain an alternative formula to implement what was agreed to.

[AL-HAWADITH] Was there consensus in al-Ta'if? Why hasn't this consensus been reflected in the implementation?

[Rizq] There was consensus in al-Ta'if, and then in al-Qali'at, when the agreement was adopted by the Chamber of Deputies. Then there was consensus at Shatura. We must work to restore this consensus, in order to enable the governing group of deputies to fulfill their responsibilities, that is, to enable the unified, legitimate state to exercise its powers and carry out its duties. Attention must be called to the fact that certain quarters that were supposed to make more effective efforts, and give assistance to the process of implementing the al-Ta'if Agreement, have not as yet carried out their responsibilities. By that I mean, we in al-Ta'if obtained assurances to the effect that if the Lebanese agreed among themselves through their deputies, that is, if the Chamber of Deputies endeavored to eliminate the so-called Lebanese-Lebanese dispute, then the Tripartite Committee, formed by the Arab Summit Conference, would guarantee its Arab and international contacts, and its efforts to prevent the development of divisive conditions in the country, and would ensure the legitimate government's control. I do not want to say that the Tripartite Committee has been dawdling, but the methods used have not been decisive. Thus, the rebellious pocket continues in the Eastern Zone, and the legitimate government has been unable to go to its headquarters. The presidency of the republic is still outside of Ba'abada Palace, the Ministry of Defense and the Army command are outside of al-Yarzah, public utilities are in the hands of others, and the basic area of Lebanon is still outside the legitimate government's control. This constitutes a factor outside the legitimate government's will, transcending its abilities, because the means employed by the legitimate government and the decision adopted by it with regard to its obligations, is the means of agreement and conciliation, so as to maintain peace. From the outset, it has refused, and is still determined to refuse, to allow military, combat confrontations to occur between the Lebanese Army in the Western Zone and the Lebanese Army in the east. It refuses to strike at the Army with the Army, or at the people with the Army. Accordingly, our position with regard to the battles in the Eastern Zone was that we did not want to shatter the institution of the Lebanese Army, nor ask it to attack as an institution. Moreover, the danger must not be allowed to worsen, nor the Lebanese people hurt, in that zone.

[AL-HAWADITH] If the Chamber of Deputies does not meet, this means back to square one. Concern is now centered, in terms of public opinion, on the chamber's meeting. Will it meet, and when?

[Rizq] I think that the Chamber of Deputies will meet, although I do not have a specific date for its meeting. I do not believe that any of the deputies, who have agreed to the al-Ta'if Agreement, could back away from it. However, I do think that there is a desire to obtain more guarantees for implementation of the last part of the agreement, that is, the part about reextending Lebanese state sovereignty over its territory, because basically the agreement is closely tied together. The part pertaining to reforms is linked to the part pertaining to state sovereignty. Therefore, some of the Arab and foreign elements, which appear more serious about helping Lebanon regain its identity and its essential components, that is, more serious and effective on Arab and international levels, could constitute a driving force to expedite the Chamber of Deputies' meeting and the adoption of the constitution amendments. In other words, I think that the Chamber of Deputies's hesitancy with regard to meeting is a means of legitimate pressure that it is exercising, because of its responsibility vis-a-vis the Arabs and other nations to hasten the solution.

[AL-HAWADITH] The solution is in the Eastern Zone. Will that zone's issue be resolved, or will it continue as long as the term, and will the new government conduct business or manage the crisis without solving it?

[Rizq] The Lebanese are entitled to have doubts about eventualities and to demand more certainties. I would like to express the position of the government, of which I am a part. The government is determined to get out of this crisis and to restore the eastern zone to legitimacy's fold. The government refuses to fall into the routine called crisis management or conducting business. However, the government's means are limited, and its options narrow. Its means are means of persuasion with regard to the Lebanese people living in the Eastern Zone, and its options are restricted. They do not include the use of force, because Lebanon can no longer bear violence. A big change has occurred in Lebanese public opinion with regard to a conviction of the uselessness of the successive wars that have been declared under false slogans, because the naked truth is that they are merely a struggle for power in the Eastern Zone and a competition to gain control over the Christian mind. It has been noted that those who claim to represent the Christians, and preserve their cultural achievements or their social level, are causing the heaviest damage to the Christians. It has become obvious that the viciousness that the so-called brothers have been dealing out to each other has exceeded all other viciousness, and that the Christians themselves in the Eastern Zone are in dire need of their brothers in the other sects to protect them from themselves. The reaction that occurred in the Western Zone, with regard to the catastrophe in the east, was excellent proof of the firmness of the Lebanese people's

unity, and of the growth of feelings of responsibility of the faction that is healthier vis-a-vis the faction that is exposed to tribulation.

[AL-HAWADITH] There are two ministers who are in an in-between status. I refer to Dr. George Sa'adah and Minister Michel Sasin. Are they ministers, or aren't they ministers, or what? Then, is there an idea to expand the government? Is it true that there was an offer made to General Michel 'Awn to be a minister, and was another offer made to Dr. Samir Ja'ja' to be a minister?

[Rizq] The matter of expanding the government definitely has not been discussed within the Cabinet. No offer has been made to anyone to be a minister, so long as the matter of expanding the Cabinet has not been discussed. As concerns the two colleagues, George Sa'adah and Michel Sasin, they have agreed to the al-Ta'if Agreement. They participated originally in it, and also participated in the election of the late president Rene Mu'awwad. They were appointed ministers in the government of National Accord, but time went by without their announcing either acceptance or rejection. A few months went by, and then George Sa'adah submitted a letter resigning from the government. The president of the republic and the prime minister decided in consultation to hold the resignation, and they advised the Cabinet of that. Minister Sa'adah was content to take note of the president's decision to hold the letter of resignation. Minister Michel Sasin has not submitted a similar letter, nor has he participated in attendance, while awaiting the elimination of the reasons—as he said—that had caused his nonparticipation. About a month ago, and as a result of George Sa'adah's meeting with the president and the prime minister, Sasin announced that he had put off attending Cabinet meetings and joining the government for personal reasons, but that these reasons have been eliminated, and that he has informed President al-Harawi and Prime Minister al-Huss of his decision to join the government. Those officials advised the Cabinet of this. I think that those two esteemed colleagues should join with the government, and I find no justification for their hesitancy. It should be noted that they still declare their commitment to the al-Ta'if Agreement, and that Minister George Sa'adah—from the outset—has considered this government, whether as a part of it or not, to be the government of National Accord, as stipulated in the al-Ta'if Agreement.

[AL-HAWADITH] Where is the security plan? We were promised a lot, but have seen nothing.

[Rizq] The security plan was the focal point of the Lebanese-Syrian agreement, because the security plan for West Beirut cannot be done within Lebanese resources alone. However, most certainly, the explosions that occurred in the Eastern Zone have, to a considerable extent, shared in delaying the implementation of this security plan. Nevertheless, despite all considerations

and other factors, this plan must be put into effect as soon as possible in direct cooperation with Syrian Arab forces.

[AL-HAWADITH] What is Syria's position vis-a-vis Lebanon? Has the idea been dropped of tasking the Syrian Army to "clean up" the Eastern Zone, and deliver it safe and fully loyal to Lebanese authority?

[Rizq] The Syrian position is still that which was announced by Syrian officials, support for Lebanese legitimacy and commitment to carry out the duties placed upon Syria by the National Accord Agreement. The so-called cleaning up of the Eastern Zone, and delivering it to the legitimate government, has not been, and is not now, the subject of discussion, because there has been no Lebanese decision—nor Lebanese-Syrian decision—to put Syrian forces into the Eastern Zone. I would like to say here that those who threatened the entry of Syrians into the Eastern Zone, and its suppression, were at that time only fabricating a matter to rally specific public opinion on the basis of the fear of suppression. Suppression was not intended, nor is it intended; the legitimate government is trying—and will continue to try—to take over the Eastern Zone by conciliatory means, along with leaving the institutions to sanitize themselves by those means.

In other words, the Lebanese Army should undertake, from within itself and its pyramid [of command], to restore matters to their proper place, and end the movement of insurrection and rebellion, which is led by the former commander of the Army.

[AL-HAWADITH] What about Arab promises; have they been carried out? Has the Tripartite Committee played its role? What about King Fahd's position, and his actions, efforts, and promises that Lebanon will be rebuilt?

[Rizq] One cannot have doubts about the Tripartite Committee's position, because it made the original efforts to convene the al-Ta'if Conference and to adopt the agreement, as well as the follow-on mechanism to elect the president of the republic and form the government. Moreover, the Tripartite Committee was behind the recognition of Lebanese legitimacy by international legitimacy. This is to say that the Tripartite Committee has not backed away from its tasks; on the contrary, it continues to perform them, despite the expiration of its empowerment from the previous summit conference. Rather, it extended itself, before being extended by the Baghdad Summit a few days ago. We expect more action from the Tripartite Committee to end the situation in the Eastern Zone, either by Arab pressure or by international pressure. I would like to stress at this point that all the promises of the custodian of the two holy mosques, King Fahd, are trusted by the Lebanese. We know that he is determined to fulfill his obligations as declared in his audience with the Lebanese deputies in Jiddah, when he declared his readiness and total commitment to assist Lebanon by every means and in all fields, especially to

rebuild its public amenities, and to provide means of reconstruction and economic revival. I also want to praise the positions of the other members of the Supreme Tripartite Committee, especially President Chadli Bendjedid, who spares no effort within Algeria's resources to support Lebanese legitimacy. This is also true of King Hassan II of Morocco.

[AL-HAWADITH] Why the anger in the Western Zone? Why the sharp rise in inflation and the threats of strikes? Why is there no harmony among the members of the government and rebellion by certain ministers, who are attacking the government, both its president and members?

[Rizq] Of course, there is a saying to the effect that want bequeaths dispute. This means that the difficulties we suffer inflate some differences and cause some contradictions. It is natural that, in a country that still, despite 15 years of destructive war, insists on the democratic system, even by not yet declaring a state of emergency. It is not at all strange in such a country for the people to express their discontent, anger, and wrath. This is especially true if there are justifications for this wrath, such as we have, with the state of inflation, economic stagnation, and collapse of the Lebanese pound vis-a-vis foreign currency. Fifteen years of expenditures without income, security disturbances, killing and destruction, including the infrastructure itself, creates a state of disturbance and discontent. One of the healthy indicators in Lebanon is that the people are able to express themselves through words, positions, and strikes. They express dissatisfaction with democracy without being subjected to repression, at a time when states steeped in democracy resort to suppressing their peoples many times. The disputes that emerge at times in points of view among certain ministers are caused naturally by the state of anxiety in which all Lebanese live, and the nervousness which we all feel. Some of us approve of raising the disputes publically. We have called, and still call, for more internal cohesiveness in the Cabinet, because the natural forum for all ministers to express views with regard to all public matters is the Cabinet, and nowhere else.

[AL-HAWADITH] We suffer from other pains, including those that afflict us as a result of the killing and the schism in the Eastern Zone, or the fighting in West Beirut between Amal and Hizballah. What about this fighting, and what has the government done to stop it, or contain it, especially since it is in its zone and within the scope of its authority and legitimacy?

[Rizq] This is another wound festering in the Lebanese body. It is a big questionmark about the extent of the legitimate government's ability to pursue its tasks over territory in which it is centered. When we talk about the security plan, we mean putting an end to these events. The big challenge that Lebanese legitimacy faces is in the Western Zone and not in the Eastern Zone. The situation in the Eastern Zone must not be an excuse for any delay in deciding the matter of security in the Western Zone.

[AL-HAWADITH] You are minister of justice. The High Judicial Council concluded its term more than a month ago, and now is vacant. What have you done to get on with this situation?

[Rizq] It was agreed that the Cabinet, at the suggestion of the minister of justice, would appoint a new High Judicial Council. We will revive the judicial powers with all the push we can muster, because the judiciary is the heart of protection in society, and now the independent judicial authority—constitutionally—is one of the basic pillars of legitimacy. We are very committed to the independence of the judicial institution, as well as its unity and equality. It is a subject of concern. I believe that, within a week, we will make the required appointments to fill the vacancies.

[AL-HAWADITH] What about the positions of France and the Vatican? Have they finally crystallized, or are there cards still to be played by those two states?

[Rizq] I believe that the French position has been clarified on the level of President Mitterand, Prime Minister Rocard, and Foreign Minister Dumas, and on the level of the French Chamber of Deputies, the sole parliament that had a moment of silence in mourning for the late president Rene Mu'awwad, testimony to its support for the legitimate government in Lebanon. I think that some segments of French public opinion, from a propaganda stance, have taken confused positions vis-a-vis the situation in Lebanon. I would like to emphasize here that the French position has important reflections on the domestic Lebanese situation, especially with regard to the Eastern Zone. I believe that France has an important role in helping Lebanon to end this crisis peacefully. France is making efforts to convince the former Army commander to turn over the public amenities to the legitimate government.

The Vatican's position is not so clear. The Vatican—that is, the state—has recognized the legitimate government, and has sent its ambassador in Lebanon his documents of accreditation to President al-Harawi and the government of National Accord. However, there is some ambiguity in the Vatican position vis-a-vis the way to resolve the difficulty in the Eastern Zone. Here, and with all due respect for the spiritual authority in the Vatican, I must say that the true interests of the Lebanese Christians lie in rebuilding the legitimate, unified Lebanese state, and that requires cooperation and solidarity among the various Lebanese sects. The Vatican has always called for coexistence among the sects in Lebanon, and considers this coexistence a model for civilization. It looks at Lebanon as being the best place for human interaction between two major religions. I believe that the Vatican has a fundamental role in helping to resolve the Lebanese dilemma, especially in the Eastern Zone. It is the spiritual authority for all Christians, particularly—one supposes—for those who claim to represent the Christians, and who should be affected by the Vatican's positions and guidance. Coexistence is the most important guarantee for the Christians in Lebanon, and in the

east. We hope that the Vatican will direct its efforts to persuade those rebelling against legitimacy to end their rebellion. As soon as the Vatican takes away its cover from them, which allows them to profess to represent the Christians...if the Vatican decides to remove this cover, it would play a big part in expediting the Lebanese solution and guaranteeing true peace for the Christians. We have seen how the Christians have been exposed to killing, destruction, and displacement. Tens of thousands have fled from the Eastern Zone to other areas of Lebanon, and those who could obtain a visa left Lebanon tragically, fleeing those who claim to protect Christians and defend the Christian community.

[AL-HAWADITH] How is President al-Harawi facing up to his responsibilities, in light of the difficulty, the constant readiness, and the burnt fingers? Is he exercising his high responsibility on a high plane?

[Rizq] President al-Harawi is a symbol of state unity, responsible to history and the people for the course of peace and accord in Lebanon. We stand unendingly in solidarity with him. We rally around him, and consider ourselves in the service of one issue under his leadership. President Ilyas al-Harawi is doing all he can to rebuild the state institutions, and to maintain the foundations of the Lebanese nation.

[AL-HAWADITH] There is a statement attributed to Lakhdar al-Ibrahimi that "In al-Ta'if, there was room for all; no one angered anyone, because there was room and scope to please everyone." What does that mean?

[Rizq] This statement was made in the inaugural address delivered by the late president Mu'awwad, when he said that conciliation has room for everyone, even those who are determined to exclude themselves. He meant that, and President al-Harawi means it too. The Lebanese government is committed to it, because we are determined that dealings among Lebanese must be in a spirit of conciliation, responsibility, and accord, because all of us are the children of this nation. As for those who are determined to exclude themselves, God be with them.

Chamber of Commerce Report Discusses Economic Situation

90AE0092A Paris AL-FURSAN in Arabic

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[Article by Ramzi Habib]

[Text] Beirut—The Studies and Documentation Center in the Lebanese Chamber of Industry and Commerce has warned that Lebanon is edging toward the brink of disaster. The Studies and Documentation Center published a special report on developments of the economic situation in Lebanon. It said that "there has been a noticeable downturn in the Lebanese economy's level of performance beginning this year. This was because of military operations, destruction, and emigration resulting from the "Eastern War". This has led to partially paralyzing Lebanon's economic activity in both

public and private sectors, destruction of a major part of the Lebanese economy's superstructure and infrastructure, destabilization of the monetary and financial situation, continuing price increases, collapse of the Lebanese pound rate of exchange, the flight of capital, increasing demand for foreign currencies, reduction in incomes purchasing power, and increasing immigration both internally and externally."

The report says that because of the "Eastern War," industrial production has dropped by no less than 40 percent, since 44 percent of the industrial establishments are located in the eastern side whose share of total sales is 50 percent. Also, 63 percent of the Lebanese exports came from the eastern side's industries and establishments, according to industrial surveys conducted last year. The value of exports decreased by about 50 percent as a result of the drop in industrial production. From \$14 million monthly in 1989 according to the Ministry of Industry and Oil statistics, the value of exports dropped to about \$7 million monthly, according to the Chamber of Commerce and Industry statistic in Beirut during the first quarter of 1990.

With regard to the commercial sector, the report says that "this too did not escape damage, since exchange of fire in the eastern areas destroyed many establishments; business places were totally or partially destroyed, and the banking sector also suffered some damage as a result of certain banks in the fighting areas also suffering some damage. Banking activity in general was paralyzed because of lack of security and the inability of employees to report to work. Activity in documentary credit for imports slowed down and the value of bank deposits in foreign currencies dropped to less than \$3 billion from more than \$3.4 billion at the end of 1988 and \$3.1 billion in 1989. The insurance sector also had its share of losses."

The economic and financial deterioration in Lebanon, evident in the accelerating drop in the Lebanese currency rate of exchange and the consequent grave fears that reached their peak following the increase of internal public debt to about 1000 billion Lebanese pounds, is due to the continuing war in East Beirut. Various economic experts estimate the Bank of Lebanon's reserve at about \$750 million. Which means that the "Central Bank" has lost the major resources that in the past enabled it to always control the market. This is in addition to the changes in the board of governors that occurred in regard to intervention [in the market] and the policy pursued in this sphere.

If determining the economic and financial disaster that befell Eastern Beirut does not seem possible while the war that has gone into its fifth month is continuing, and because of the continuing daily economic losses and losses in human life that have now exceeded 1,000 dead and 3,000 injured, the early results indicate that the economic and social effects exceed all current estimates. This is due to the fact that most of the industrial sector

is located in East Beirut; out of 55,000 industrial institutes in Lebanon about 2,480 are located in East Beirut and its suburbs. More than 60 percent of these were hit by the war, causing their total or partial destruction.

On the other hand, the scorched earth policy which the parties to the fighting adopted has destroyed and burnt other sectors as well. In its estimate, the Chamber of Industry and Commerce report says that more than 6,000 houses suffered damage and that the fuel sector suffered severe damage because fuel tanks in al-Dawrah were hit last year and their contents went up in flames. Losses were estimated at more than \$4.5 million during January and February 1990. These losses last year totalled more than \$100 million.

This round of violence had great and very serious effects. The number of those who emigrated reached 400,000 persons; they left East Beirut for various foreign destinations or to safer internal areas.

The rate of unemployment has also increased, and the General Labor Union's statistics show that 35 percent of manpower has become unemployed. The estimates also show that several thousand of the citizens' cars have been damaged or burnt because of shelling in the eastern area. The citizens live in primitive conditions, since 35 percent of the Lebanese live without piped water. Water tankers supply water to important parts of the area, but the degree of this water's purity is not guaranteed. Some 70 percent of the Lebanese live without electricity, and most of the 30 percent of those who have electricity is obtained from privately-owned generators.

The first quarter of 1990 has also been characterized by the deterioration of the monetary and financial situation in Lebanon, with the state financial deficit continuing to rise. Forecasts indicate that the expected deficit (based on the 1990 general budget) will by the end of 1990 be about 560 billion pounds, compared with 410 billion pounds at the end of 1989. The continuing deficit in turn leads to growth of the internal public debt. The amount of this debt at the beginning of March 1990 reached more than 970 billion pounds, in addition to increasing interest paid for this debt, which at present is estimated at more than 136 billion pounds.

This deterioration of the state's financial situation is the result of depriving the state of a major part of its resources, such as revenues from ports, taxes, and others, since public expenditure is more than nine times the public revenues. Thus Lebanon is among the countries for which a great percentage of their debt is debited to their GNP [gross national product]. This percentage at present is more than 70 percent. Which means that the "danger alarm" is sounding loudly, warning the local economy. This is evident in the amount of state revenues, where the amount of interest is more than double the amount of revenues.

For example, \$10 million is needed to rebuild the Dubayyah area water pumping station that was destroyed in order to distribute water to East Beirut

alone. The restoration of the water network in West Beirut—that was knocked out many times—has cost scores of millions of dollars, a major part of which was paid by the EC countries and the rest by the Lebanese treasury. The studies describe the state of the telephone network as tragic because of the total destruction of a large number of communication centers in Beirut and of many kilometers of lines. The restoration of communication between various parts of Beirut requires \$100 million and two months' work.

On the other hand, companies and institutes in the eastern area, where 70 percent of companies operating in Lebanon are located, need \$125 million to compensate their losses. With regard to bank deposits, \$550 million have been withdrawn from Lebanese banks, most of which were transferred abroad. Their owners, numbering 200,000, have left for abroad with their money, most of whom left for good. With regard to immigration, in addition to the families that were compelled to leave the eastern areas because of the fighting, many have emigrated for good. Most of these are trained people, company executives, and specialists.

There are also indirect losses, which specialists categorize as local production and lost income, estimated at about \$150 million. Added to this are the losses suffered by the local capital, including infrastructure, public utilities, storage depots, hospitals, factories, school buildings, vehicles, and others. The indirect losses also include the total paralysis of the banking sector, especially since the eastern area is considered to be the major center for most banking establishments in Lebanon.

Losses become even greater when the time needed to rebuild the destroyed installations is calculated, which (according to the Bank of Lebanon estimates) need billions of dollars. This is an extremely heavy cost for a small country like Lebanon suffering from a lack of intrinsic financial resources to start a reconstruction workshop and realize a balanced growth of the economic sector in various areas, especially while military operations and economic collapse are continuing and the implementation of the plans aimed at ending the war in Lebanon are failing.

An economic expert affirmed that the World Bank recommendations are but an extension of its worldwide policy of burdening the people's masses with the responsibility for economic crises. This is in addition to its attempt to get the banks to resume playing their natural role by making them reduce their contributions to treasury bonds and exempting them from this burden. According to the expert, this means providing greater latitude for speculation with the Lebanese pound, while the Bank of Lebanon has been demanding that it ought to leave the market and discontinue speculation activities.

The seriousness of implementing such recommendations, the expert adds, is that it gives banks freedom of activity while curbing the Bank of Lebanon's activity.

Additionally it would lead to losing control on the volume of currency in circulation and to its increasing to very high levels, something that would cause the crisis to recur time and time again. This is in addition to making the people's masses pay for the economic crisis. This was evident in the IMF's request to end wheat subsidies in order to ease the burden on the Bank of Lebanon.

The deterioration of the Lebanese national currency, the bleak picture of the economic situation in Lebanon, and the prevailing general situation, are all the result of the continued "eastern" war between 'Awn and Ja'Ja,' and of the lack of any signs of ending it, and the inability of the legitimate government to intervene and to present itself as a solution.

- The infrastructure and the financial and economic institutions, the most important of which are located in those [eastern] areas, have suffered heavy economic losses, and general production in the country has come to a halt.
- The mass Lebanese immigration abroad had direct effects represented in the money the immigrants take with them, and indirect effects represented in the loss of manpower.
- Banks and financial institutes, especially those supporting the two sides to the conflict, have been interfering [in the situation] by financing the current battles and providing compensation for the parties' losses, an activity that is being carried out with no control on it whatsoever.
- The Bank of Lebanon reserves have dropped, reaching about \$750 million, the lowest level recorded since a long time.
- The present relations between the Bank of Lebanon is characterized as "ambiguous" in both its aspects: that policy of lending the government for expenditure, and the state's expenditure policy.

However, hopes are pinned on Arab solidarity with Lebanon and on the promised aid, the aid that is unlikely to come as long as the war in the eastern area and other areas goes on.

International Funds for Reconstruction Allotted

90AE0149A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
10 Jul 90 p 12

[Article by Michel Murqus: "Beirut Asserts That International Fund for Assistance of Lebanon Offers Grants, not Loans, and That Its Capital May Be Increased"]

[Text] Beirut—The Lebanese attach great hopes to the International Fund for the Assistance of Lebanon. The Arab Tripartite Committee (Morocco, Saudi Arabia, and Algeria) has worked to set up the fund with a capital of \$2 billion. The fund's basic constitution is to be examined on 10-11 September 1990 now that the committee has supplied copies of this draft constitution to the Arab countries' ambassadors so that each country may make its observations on it.

Lebanese interest is at the official level primarily. The Official Fund for the Assistance of Lebanon was the bannerline for the presidential visit to a number of Arab Gulf capitals. It is the belief of informed Arab circles that the visit sought to create the climate needed to ensure effective Arab contributions to the fund and to translate Arab aid to Lebanon into pragmatic and prompt steps. Approval of the principle of the fund is in itself a positive indicator for the Lebanese citizen because the Arab states relied upon to finance the major part of the fund had suspended financial aid to Lebanon, whether in the form of grants or loans, on the pretext that they will not provide reconstruction aid at a time when cycles of violence erupt in succession and destroy all projects. Therefore, the provision of aid after next September promises a halt to the cycles of violence after that date, unless the countries contributing to the fund make their contributions available and then wait for the right time to advance their aid, especially since fund management will be in the hands of the three countries entrusted to solve the Lebanese crisis.

Obstacles Impeding Implementation of Aid

To date, Lebanon has obtained \$404 million from the Arab countries. It has also concluded with various (western) countries and with the Arab development funds loan agreements for nearly \$1 billion. These sums have been spent on development projects entrusted fundamentally to the Development and Reconstruction Board as of 1977, in accordance with legislative decree No. 5 of 31 January 1977.

This decree granted the board broad powers, especially in the fiscal field. Such powers had not been previously given to any government agency. The board was given the power to finance any program or project entrusted to it by resorting to either domestic or foreign borrowing. Such loans are guaranteed by the government, provided that their value does not exceed 15 percent of the budget total for the year in which the loan agreements are concluded. The board may also offer and finance credit facilities intended to revitalize the public and private sectors. At times and on assignment by the Council of Ministers, the board may implement some public projects.

Since 25 March 1983, the Development and Reconstruction Board has become the "ministry of ministries" since its constitution was amended to establish an executive council, an advisory committee, and major departments for this board.

The board drafted its first development and reconstruction project in 1978. It was a project that was to go beyond efforts to repair and maintain the destroyed facilities to an endeavor to modernize and develop these facilities. Other projects were connected with the damage done to the infrastructure, especially to the roads, as a result of the absence of maintenance during the events. The first project, an eight-year project that was to end in 1985, included such development projects

as the project to supply Beirut with al-Litani and al-Awali water. The project demonstrated the investment levels required for development in that eight-year period and the economic feasibility of a project with such dimensions. In 1982, the board drafted a new project but it faced a number of obstacles, the most important of which were:

First, the feud that developed between the ministries and the board when implementation of projects belonging to the ministries was confined to the board. The ministries concerned did not supply the data and the technical assistance needed to facilitate the task of implementing those projects.

Second, the successive cycles of violence beginning 1982—cycles which actually recurred in all parts of Lebanon annually. This hampered the implementation of projects and, at times, inflicted further damage on them. Most often, the militias got control of and stole the equipment, thus obstructing implementation.

Third, the great decline in the value of the Lebanese currency vis-a-vis the U.S. dollar and other currencies beginning 1982. This has led to rampant inflation and to higher project costs.

Fourth, extreme caution in seeking new loans since the rise in the prices of foreign currencies, considering that a loan amounts to a certain figure in Lebanese pounds when it is concluded and that it then multiplies rapidly in following years, thus amounting to sums that create a deficit in the state treasury.

Fifth, the corruption which permeated the public administration during the war and which worsened to the point of killing any hope of reform. Numerous violations occurred in the board, funds were misspent, excesses were committed in implementing expenditures, and the efforts swerved from serving the public interest to serving the private interest—and there was nobody to bring the violators to task.

Current Phase

Since the Israeli invasion, Lebanon has witnessed several wars on its soil, the latest being the war that has been going on since 1989 in East Beirut and its suburbs, where 65 percent of the infrastructure exists. Nearly 90 percent of this infrastructure has been destroyed. Faced with this reality, the Arab Tripartite Committee has set up the Arab-International Fund for the Assistance of Lebanon. There are two observations regarding this fund:

First, its capital is equal to the value of the aid approved by the Tunis summit in 1979, i.e. \$2 billion, of which \$404 million have already been paid.

Second, the tendency to entrust supervision of the fund and the awarding and implementation of projects to non-Lebanese, thus strengthening trust in the fund, especially in view of the widespread financial waste and the

financial violations in the implementation of projects—violations that have become well known to everybody.

What Are Fund's Tasks?

The data provided by the information circles attached to the Lebanese presidency indicate the following:

First, the fund monies are tantamount to aid to Lebanon in the form of grants and not of loans, meaning that Lebanon will benefit from the aid without being obliged to pay interest for the aid.

Second, these monies will be allotted in the initial phase to repairing and rebuilding the destroyed part of the infrastructure. Development projects will be implemented at a later phase.

Third, the Lebanese state will deal with the fund by presenting to it a list of its needs. The list will then be studied, implemented, and financed by the fund.

Need and Financing

We have not yet found out the duration of the Arab-International Assistance Fund's operation or the sum of money it will allocate for reconstruction and rehabilitation purposes. But the Lebanese presidential circles have stressed that it is possible that the fund's capital will be increased when the current capital is consumed in implementing projects. The Arab Gulf countries have expressed their willingness to contribute to the fund's capital. The Supreme Arab Tripartite Committee will contact UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar to familiarize him with the fund's constitution so that he may appeal to the world countries and urge them to contribute to the fund for the assistance of Lebanon. It is to be noted the de Cuellar issued last year a resolution to aid Lebanon. However, the majority of the Lebanese believe that the fund's success relies on:

First, putting the fund under the supervision of the Supreme Arab Tripartite Committee and placing the fund management under the committee's control so that monies may be spent properly and without any waste. Regrettably, putting the fund under the supervision of a Lebanese management, which would generally be the Development and Reconstruction Board, one of the ministries, or a new committee, will divert the fund from its general objective to private objectives and benefits.

Second, that Lebanese and non-Lebanese contractors will benefit from the awarded contracts and that no contracts will be awarded by displaying laxity toward firms that serve private, not public, interest.

SAUDI ARABIA

Ministry Issues Permit for Agricultural Projects

90P40073 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
20 Jun 90 p 10

[Text] Riyadh—Saudi Press Agency—The Saudi minister of agriculture and waters, Dr. 'Abd-al-Rahman

Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz Al Shaykh, issued a permit for 10 agricultural projects in the regions of al-Jawf, Tabuk, 'Irqah, al-Sulayyil, and al-Muzahimiyah, after the completion of a study on their economic and technical value.

The first eight projects involve producing fruit, barley, and fodder in the areas of al-Jawf, al-Sulayyil, and al-Muzahimiyah at a total cost of 28,369,000 riyals at a production capacity of 2,410.3 tons of barley, 17,093.57 tons of fodder, 1,502.08 tons of fruit, and 192.6 tons of dates.

The ninth project involves producing wheat, fodder, and dates in the region of Tabuk at a total cost of 4.96 million riyals with a production capacity of 975 tons of wheat, 2,340 tons of fodder, and 9.6 tons of dates.

The tenth project involves producing vegetables in greenhouses (fiberglass) in the region of 'Irqah at a total cost of 3.9 million riyals with a production capacity of 324,954 tons of cucumber and 336,150 tons of tomatoes.

The projects come within the framework of the country's interest in the agricultural sector and are aimed at promoting that sector and realizing self-sufficiency and production in a comprehensive manner.

Private Investors Finance Oil Refinery in Djibouti

90AE0094A Jeddah ARAB NEWS in English
20 May 90 p 3

[Article by Hasin al-Binyan: "Gouled Lays Foundation of Saudi-Aided Refinery"]

[Text] Djibouti, May 19—President Hassan Gouled last week laid the foundation stone for a \$800 million oil refinery being financed and constructed by the Saudi private sector.

Speaking at the ceremony organized on the occasion, President Gouled expressed gratitude to the Saudi government for its role in supporting the project which he said constitutes effective participation to improve the standard of living for his country's population.

Halim Faris al-Rahbani, managing director of SARC, the company that owns the refinery, reiterated the desire and readiness of Saudi businessmen to invest in Arab and Islamic countries and commended the policies of President Gouled which he said have made Djibouti a haven of stability and security and have helped to attract foreign investment.

The refinery has a capacity of 100,000 barrels per day and is designed to meet the country's domestic demand for refined petroleum products with the surplus to be exported to the neighboring Horn of Africa states. The project is expected to be completed in 1994 when the refinery reaches full capacity by that time. Apart from securing jobs for about 2,000 local residents, the project will lead to the creation of subsidiary industries benefiting from secondary refined products such as polymers, plastics and fertilizers.

The project calls for building a new anchor to handle the refined products, rail and road transportation facilities, 150 residential units for the staff, a hospital, a school that will accommodate 100 students, a mosque, recreation facilities, a fire fighting unit and storage facilities.

SYRIA

Muslim Brotherhood's Response to al-Asad's Policies

90AE0080A London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic
4 Jun 90 pp 21-22

[Article: "Syria and International and Arab Changes, the Desired Change"]

[Text] The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria issued a communique in which it explained and analyzed the general internal and external situation in Syria in light of successive international and Arab changes and their impact on the political forces and relations map in general. In view of the importance of this communique, AL-DUSTUR is publishing its full text:

Changes sweeping the world and Arab arenas are many and perpetual. They have had a great impact on the political forces and relations map in general and have generated various serious consequences that call for total awareness and an equally conscious attitude in grappling with them. For these changes have spread throughout the world, marked by the removal of the Berlin Wall, the downfall of the Ceausescu regime, and the opening of a number of Arab countries to democratic life, the ones bordering on Syria in particular, from fraternal Jordan to Egypt to Algeria.

Twenty Year Harvest

Ignoring changes in this world that is swarming with all sorts of movements is nothing more than burying one's head in the sand, which is precisely the wish of the Syrian ruler who has been weighing heavily on Syria for 20 years, toying with its people, its values, its beliefs, and its sacrosancts, and turning a deaf ear to the cries for change.

During these lean years, Syria has reaped grief and destruction at all levels. Following are examples of this harvest:

- The army: The Syrian army that used to be the epitome of chivalry and pride, guarding the nation's borders and fending off Jewish deceit and trickery, has been sapped by Asad's policies that tried to kill its sense of pride and defiance by discharging, killing, arresting, and banishing its best soldiers and officers after nullifying its role in resisting the Zionist entity, diverting it to a hopeless battle that drove it to massacre the Syrian people in Hamah, Halab, Jisr al-Shughur, Sarmada, and Tadmur Prison, and slaughtering the Palestinians and the Lebanese in Lebanon, thus turning it into a tool for repressing and terrorizing its long-suffering people and other fraternal peoples.

- The economy: The Syrian economy is a disaster. Syria, the generous and productive paradise with its varied wealth and its innovative and hard-working people, is suffering from hunger. People fight in front of its bakeries for a loaf of bread and in front of its shops for rice, sugar, and oil. Citizens dream about getting meat, vegetables, a bottle of gas, a can of gasoline, and a candle to illuminate their evenings when they barely get one hour worth of electricity. The Syrian pound has hit rock bottom while billions of dollars are accruing in foreign banks to the accounts of Hafiz al-Asad and members of his government.
- Security: This deadly terror he calls security is the axe he uses to kill the spirit of pride in his long-suffering, ravaged people, and to kill man's humanity in dark cells and torture chambers. The intelligence service's huge armies and various departments crowd every city, every village, every street. For Military Intelligence, General Intelligence, Air Force Intelligence, Palace Intelligence, and Political Security, as well as the various militias and columns of agents and informants, are used to protect the regime, to protect it from the people.
- Health: What can one say about people's health in Syria, the people who cannot find food to eat, cannot find money to pay for medicine when they get sick and, indeed, cannot find the medicine itself? For medicine is either nonexistent or scarce and lucky is the person who can smuggle in a bottle of medicine from Beirut or Amman for a sick member of his family.

What Else?

What about education, whose declining standards are mirrored in poorly-educated and decadent generations?

What about morality that has ingested corruption in all its forms: opportunism, bribery, pillage, lies, and deception?

What about scientific and professional unions whose institutions and leading members have been devastated by the despot who has created sickly alternatives, appointing them as he appoints his hirelings and servants? And what about Syria: land, people, doctrine, and civilization?

Closing the Windows

When Hafiz al-Asad gave a speech on 8 March this year, people were flabbergasted. Doesn't this ruler sense the world moving around him and doesn't he see the fire under the ashes? Doesn't he learn from the fate of his fellow despots? He is still determined not to effect change and not to change himself! Does he think he can endure in the face of the people's wrath and the movement of history? (It does not blind the sight but it does blind the heart.)

He is not aware, or does not want to be aware, of what is going on and what he should do.

He only wants to save himself and his regime by patching things up.

He wants to form new parties fashioned by his intelligence services in a systematic and calculated fashion: a puppet Islamic party to carry out his orders, a democratic party and a progressive party. He wants to include these parties, whose leaders and founders are created by him, in the regime's composition via the Progressive National Front, which he considers a unique accomplishment ahead of its time.

As for freedom, he is its creator and its giver. This is the way it has been since he gained power over the country.

With respect to democracy, there are many and varied forms of democracy. He personally tailors the democracy that suits the people, like arranging for new People's Assembly elections whereby the people, all the people, get one-third of the seats and his Progressive National Front [PNF] gets two-thirds.

And the stifling economic crisis, what does he have to do with it? It is caused by world conditions and imperialism?

The martial laws under which the defeated people are suffering will be abolished, save for those related to state security, the kind of state security with which the Syrian people have been familiar for as long as they have known Hafiz al-Asad. As for drug smuggling, plundering of the country's wealth, murder and crime, the regular judicial system is good enough?

What more do the Syrian people want? Do they want change? What kind of change does Hafiz al-Asad perceive?

The world is changing. Our age is the age of liberation and the downfall of all forms of tyranny. Some rulers pondered the symptoms of this new age and realized what needed to be done, so they either attuned themselves to the age and returned power to their people, or they retired from public life. Others, believing that their fortresses made them invincible, ignored the facts of the time, so the winds of change rooted them out, dammed by their people and stained with the innocent blood they had spilled.

Oppression, injustice, and corruption in Syria have reached a point unprecedented anywhere else in the world. Hence the winds of change shall blow over it, God willing, stronger than anywhere else and nothing shall stand in their way.

Qualified Forces

No one expects Hafiz al-Asad to effect change so long as he reckons that patchwork and camouflage are a substitute for change.

As for his staff, there must be some among them who can discern current and future interests and some who are

adept at reading history. But to what extent can they free themselves from the noose of immediate trivial considerations?

The forces—from his own sect—who support Hafiz al-Asad know what kind of disaster he has gotten them embroiled in, what kind of evil he has dragged them into, and what kind of future they are facing. So, will they bear their historic responsibilities toward themselves and toward all the people by contributing to change?

The people are the quintessence of the whole process. They are the oppressed, the persecuted, the enslaved, the frightened, and the hungry. At the same time, they are the true ever-ready spirit latent in the coming winds of change.

These people are the formidable active force. The despot has overpowered them with brute force and fire and they are about to explode, as did the Romanian people of late, and to wrest their freedom to choose their way of life.

The people want to live in freedom. They do not want to be harassed by the night phantoms nor do they want to be stifled by the gazes of informants or the clubs of executioners.

They want to be at liberty to choose their representatives, freely and honestly.

They want martial law and the state of emergency lifted and the emergency courts abolished.

They want general liberties to be released and all detainees and political prisoners set free.

They want human rights and fundamental liberties upheld.

That is why they are calling for political pluralism so that they may choose their lifestyle and system of rule.

They are demanding respect for the nation's beliefs, for the values and rites of Islam and for free Islamic action.

They are calling for the advancement of national unity through a national dialogue that can lead to genuine national conciliation.

They are calling for a stop to the economic slump and for the adoption of necessary measures to deal with the national economy.

They are calling for an understanding of the miserable state of affairs and for immediate efforts to build the future with a new spirit and a new mentality.

Our people are aware enough and mindful enough not to be deceived by the regime's attempts to camouflage the facts and cover up the ugly picture with false manifestations of relaxation. For the people who have long endured injustice and coercion at the hands of this regime cannot be duped by such ploys.

Desired Change

All these changes call for a conscious objective response that aspires to realize the nation's higher interest, not the interest of a particular individual, group, party or sect, but rather a genuine historic interest that includes the nation as a whole: man, civilization, attitude, and movement.

Syria is for all the people and it is too great for any individual or group to lay claim to it.

Syria's successive constitutions and inherited traditions maintain equal rights and a close unity for all the people and totally reject sectarian classification. Hence, the sectarian hegemony that emerged during the al-Asad era is abnormal in the history of Muslim Arab Syria and alien to its people and their conscience, values, laws, and heritage.

Ever since its establishment over 50 years ago, the Muslim Brotherhood has worked very hard for the good of the beloved nation and the noble people.

It has built schools, cultural and athletic clubs, scout groups, health clinics, and charitable organizations.

It has participated in political life through the publication of newspapers and magazines, through membership in parliament, through coalition governments, and through political opposition and constructive criticism.

It has raised a conscious sacrificing generation able to bear its responsibilities toward building and defending the homeland.

And when Syria became afflicted with Hafiz al-Asad's regime, which is alien to the people and their Islamic and Arab affiliation, the Muslim Brotherhood tried to bring about reform through advice, dialogue, and all forms of peaceful opposition, only to be rewarded with pursuit, detention, assassination, and more than its share of persecution and serious liquidation. Then came Shame Law No. 49 for 1980 that provided for the execution of anyone joining or cooperating with the Brotherhood.

And despite its positive stances, response to reason and willingness to engage in a dialogue to save the country from its ordeal, the Brotherhood has seen nothing but underhandedness and attempts by the regime to gain time, with total disregard for the real reasons that have led to the existing rift between the regime on the one hand and the people, with all their feelings, on the other hand.

Whereas discussions today revolve around turning a new leaf in the country, our organization believes that skipping over the people's wounds and torment cannot lead to sound results and that the turning of a new leaf ought to be done in a climate in which general liberties can flourish and unjust rules and laws enacted against the people, individually and collectively, can be repealed. Furthermore, in order to mend the cracks in the national unity structure left behind by years of coercion, prudent measures ought to be adopted in an effort to heal the wounds, to restore the rights to the people, and to make amends for some of the injustices.

Moreover, it is necessary to be in tune with the cardinal truth, the truth of these people and their Islamic affiliation and the extension of the Islamic awakening from one end of the globe to the other. This truth that underscores the fact that Islam and its advocates are the soul of this nation and its foremost defenders and champions. They have resisted injustice and tyranny, they have offered thousands of martyrs, thousands of whom are still in jail, and they have resisted the Jews who usurped Palestine. Their children are still carrying stones to hurl at the usurpers.

The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria, under the leadership of His Eminence, the Supreme Guide, Shaykh 'Abd-al-Fattah Abu-Ghiddah, as it reviews its pledge to remain—as the people have come to expect—loyal and true to their hopes; to look after their welfare; to fight for their religion, beliefs, freedom, and dignity; and to cooperate with all the opposition factions to save our people from this ordeal; calls upon all the people to unify their ranks and get ready to resume their anticipated role in the upcoming movement toward change, God willing.

YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

Press Sources To Be Established, Freely Distributed

90P40072 Paris AL-YAWM AL-SABI' in Arabic
4 Jun 90 p 19

[Text] Based on the legal text of the unity constitution that affirms the freedom of speech and expression in its various facets, the Arab and foreign press has begun to spread through Aden and Sanaa without impediment.

Also, new titles have appeared in Yemen, as decided, and AL-YAWM AL-SABI' has learned that three press organizations will have their headquarters in the Republic of Yemen. They are:

- The press revolution organization, with headquarters in Sanaa, which publishes AL-THAWRAH, AL-WAHDAH, AL-RIYADAH, and MU'IN.
- The al-Jumhuriyah organization, with headquarters in Ta'izz, which publishes AL-JUMHURIYAH and AL-MASA'.
- The 14 Uktubar organization, with headquarters in Aden, which publishes 14 UKTUBAR and which is preparing to publish other publications

On the other hand, AL-MUSTAQBAL, under the direction of Jarallah 'Umar; AL-AMAL, under Sa'id al-Jinahi; and SAWT AL-HAQIQAH, under Khalid al-Mutawakkil, have been published in Sanaa. AL-JAMAHIR, a Ba'th-oriented publication, is expected to be published. The Nasirists are studying the question of publishing AL-WAHDAWI. Preparations for publishing AL-SABAH, an independent publication of which Sa'id al-Karik is the editor-in-chief, are underway. There is also a women's publication that will be published by an artist called "Arwa," who will name the publication after herself.

AFGHANISTAN

Presidential Order About Establishment of Hizballah*90AS0167B Kabul ANIS in Dari 3 May 90 p 1*

[Text] According to the information received from the presidential office, the order of the esteemed Najibullah, president of Afghanistan, regarding permission for formation of the Hizballah Organization of Afghanistan was issued as follows.

The order of the president regarding permission for formation of the Hizballah Organization of Afghanistan.

Following the decrees of Article Five of the Constitution of the Republic of Afghanistan and Article Eight of the Law of Political Parties of the Republic of Afghanistan, permission for formation of the Hizballah Organization of Afghanistan is granted.

The founding executives are obligated to act in accordance with the decree of Article 11 of the Law of political Parties.

Najibullah, President of Afghanistan

Bakhtar

Iran Warns About Saudi Influence*90AS0125A Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 3 Jun 90 p 11*

[Commentary by Hashemi-Lolajji: "Afghanistan Shall Not Become Another Saudi Arabia"]

[Text] After the departure of the soviet forces, it seems as if with regard to Afghanistan, international reaction has taken on a kind of political aggression. A sort of aggression which is as harmful to the nation of Afghanistan as the invasion of the Red Army itself. One of these political aggressions is the al-Saud's Wahhabis who think that because of their petro-dollars, they can make Afghanistan into another Saudi Arabia.

Now is the time to put the rulers of the Saudi Arabia on notice and at the same time, warn the moslem nation of Afghanistan of the danger of the Wahhabis as well. Although the occupiers of the twin holy shrines are well aware of the fact that they cannot force the people of Afghanistan into believing the astray religion of the Wahhabis, but based on their experience they think that they can create an atmosphere of discord among the people of that country, though this kind of belief might be true to an appreciable degree. Since under the cover of Islam certain number of Wahhabis enter Afghanistan and the people cannot simple figure out the evil intentions of the Saudis and see through the depth of their plot.

With this hypocritical policy, al-Saud has committed a great crime in the process of the Islamic revolution of Afghanistan. Since under the guise of assistance to the

Mujahidin and shedding the crocodile tears for the people of Afghanistan it has reached certain results by maligning some personalities in the eyes of the public and questioning their integrity.

It is quite clear that the nation of Afghanistan consist both of the followers of Sunni and Shi'ite religions, and that these people cannot forget the crime of al-Saud. The history of the al-Saud family portrays nothing but crime and blatant enmity towards Islam. It is quite possible that some opportunists might have fallen in the trap of certain petro-dollar tycoons, yet with all this one can not draw the conclusion that those individuals have accepted the Wahhabi religion.

The Moslem nation of Afghanistan know quite well that "Wahhabism" is just like a fetid and putrified tumor in the world of Islam, and until this tumor is surgically removed the world of Islam will not find relief otherwise. It is for this reason that the nation of Afghans have the same kind of sensitivity with regard to the political aggressions of Wahhabism as they do towards the incursions of the British and Soviet forces.

Now that the death of Marxism is approaching and when communism has faced a defeat in Afghanistan, Wahhabism as a main danger threatens the internal security and the religious integrity of the people of Afghanistan, and if before the advent of the catastrophe its spread is not checked, it will create such an atmosphere in Afghanistan similar to that of Pakistan. Namely, the same kind of unmanly killings, plunder of the Moslems' wealth, setting of fire to homes and mosques by armed stooges for the purpose of creating an atmosphere of discord among the various tribes, strata, parties, and nationalities.

Now that we hear a whisper of reconciliation by the great powers on the issue of Afghanistan, the Saudi rulers have become aware of the existence of the Shi'ite people in that realm and are willing to make investments in that country so as to diminish the Afghan's sensitivity toward Wahhabism. Notwithstanding the fact that they [the Saudis] have never had nor will ever have a higher position that a criminal family in the world of Islam before the nation and Mujahidin of Afghanistan.

How is it possible that a Moslem, while looking at the graves of the martyrs in the cemetery of Badr, Ahad, and that of Baqi, desist from chastising Wahhabism? Being a Moslem and indifference with regard to the crimes of the Wahhabis, do not go together. Destruction of the holy shrine of Chahar Imam 'The Innocent' by the Wahhabis is not an issue which can be forgotten by the Shi'ites of Afghanistan.

The massacre of the pilgrims of the House of God in 1366 [21 March 1987-20 March 1988] and thereafter the killing of the Kuwaiti pilgrims with a vengeance, blocking the way to the House of God for a large portion of the world's Moslems under the guise of a quota, all indicate the true color of the al-Saud family, and this

issue will never be resolved unless and until the freedom of the twin holy shrines is secured from the occupying regime of Saudi Arabia.

It is for this reason that the Moslem nation of Afghanistan, whether Shi'ite or Sunni, is thinking to counter the hirelings of the Saudi rulers, and not strike a new deal. The people of Afghanistan are closely watching every political aggression by the al-Saud family. The valiant nation of Afghanistan will defend the principles of the Islamic revolution and the ideals of the martyrs of Afghanistan to their last breath and will never allow Afghanistan to become another Saudi Arabia.

Dissidents of Harkat Join Hizb-i Islami (H)

46000136C Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 15 May 90 p 3

[Article: "Dissidents of Harkat Join Hizb-i-Islami (H)"]

[Text] Four executive committee members of Harkat Inqilab-i-Islami Afghanistan (HIIA, Nasrullah Mansoor group) along with a number of other persons announced their dissociation from the HIIA and joined the Hizb-i-Islami Afghanistan (Hekmatyar) reports Afghan News Agency.

The announcement was made by Mohammad Ishaq Mujaddadi, chairman, political committee and member, executive committee of HIIA, while addressing a press conference at a local hotel in Peshawar on Monday.

Besides a number of dissident HIIA members those present at the press conference included Professor Mohammad Idrees Mansoori, member of the executive committee and adviser to the amir of HIIA, Ustad Aga Mohammad, member of the executive committee and chairman of education and refugees committees, Syed Amir Tehseen, member of the executive committee and senior secretary and chairman of planning committee, Haji Fair Mohammad, member of the executive committee and chairman of financial committee, Mohammad Yasin Habib, acting chairman of the cultural committee, Haji Suhail, deputy chairman of political committee and editor of English magazine, Ustad Azizullah, director-general of education and Qazi Shamsuddin Tariq, director for relations with Islamic countries.

Mohammad Ishaq Mujaddadi disclosed that out of the nine members of the executive committee of HIIA (Mansoor group), seven had resigned from their posts among whom four were present at the press conference, while the remaining had not yet decided about their future. He said that they quit the HIIA because of their inner differences and the reluctance of Maulvi Nasrullah Mansoor to accede to their demands. He blamed Haji Mohammad Amin Farotan, adviser to Nasrullah Mansoor, for the break-up and dubbed him an alien agent.

He said that the HIIA leader conferred a very sensitive post in the party upon a self-sold agent, accepted undesirable and suspicious elements in party ranks, disrespected high-ranking personalities in the party, sowed mistrust and had autocratic tendencies.

He claimed the support of hundreds of mujahideen and refugees and said that a number of other persons and the remaining dissident executive committee members of the HIIA would soon join the HIIA. According to him, the HIIA is the only party that has a solid programme for achieving the common goal of self-determination for the Afghan people and establishment of a true Islamic government.

Mohammad Ishaq Mujaddadi, leader of the dissident HIIA members, said that they did not want that their decade-long hardships and sufferings should be reaped by superpowers.

He lashed out at the United States and the Soviet Union for bargaining over their fate and destiny, and said that Afghans themselves would determine their own future.

He also ruled out any role for former Afghan monarch Zahir Shah in restoring peace in Afghanistan and held him responsible for the whole trauma of the Afghan nation.

Later, an activist of HIIA, Ustad Qaribur Rehman Saeed welcomed the new entrants on behalf of Engineer Gulbadin Hekmatyar, chief of HIIA.

Mujahideen Groups on Formation of Islamic Government

46000136B Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 12 May 90 p 3

[Article: "'Mujahids' Disunity Major Hurdle in Formation of Islamic Government"]

[Text] Though superpowers' rapprochement was aimed at preventing establishment of Islamic government in Afghanistan but lack of unity and integrity among mujahideen groups was the major hurdle in the formation of Islamic government in that country.

"Now when the decade-long struggle has entered decisive stage, mujahideen groups should forge unity among their ranks without providing any opportunity to the superpowers to sabotage the objective of jihad that is establishment of Islamic government in Afghanistan."

These observations were made by speakers at jihad conference organised under the auspices of Jamat Ishaq atul Tauheed wa Sunnah (JITs) at Bara. The conference was attended by representatives of mujahideen groups including Hezb Islami and Jamiat Islami Afghanistan beside ulema from different parts of Pakistan. The purpose of the conference was the highlight importance of jihad with particular reference to Afghanistan and Kashmir.

The speakers were of the opinion that the changed global political scenario particularly the process of detente between the two big devils had added to the importance of jihad, the only device for Muslim ummah to counter the nefarious designs of the enemy. They maintained that in the changed circumstances mujahideen had to fight on two fronts. Previously mujahideen struggle was against Soviet Union and her puppet government in Afghanistan but now they had to counter the evil policies of American imperialists as well. They added that the changed environment had also added to the obligation of Pakistan which provided every kind of support to their Muslim brethren in countering the imperialistic policies of United States in the region.

In his speech Syed Abdul Majeed Nadeem, nazim aala of Islamic Majlis Tahafuz Haqooq Ahle Sunnat wa Jamat said that love played a key role in making and breaking of Muslim ummah. He stressed unity among Muslims to counter the challenge posed by superpowers and maintained that firm belief in oneness of God was a key to creating the sense of unity among the Muslims.

Highlighting the importance of jihad he demanded introduction of jihad in the educational institutions upto university level and compulsory military training to the young generation in order to prepare them to face any eventuality in their future life. He also suggested that kidnapper of children and women should be sentenced to death in order to curb the increasing practice of kidnapping in Islamic society.

In his address Maulana Samiul Haq amir of JITs highlighted Kashmir jihad adding that Islam did not recognise geographic boundaries and defence of a Muslim was obligatory upon every Muslim irrespective of linguistic, ethnic and geographical demarcation. He expressed the hope that all Muslim countries would take a united stand against Indian atrocities on Kashmiri Muslims and demonstrate solidarity with their Kashmiri brethren showing the world the strength of Islamic brotherhood at this moment.

Prominent among other speakers were Maulana Mohammad Taib, Amir of JITs, Pakistan, Maulana Abdul Shakoor, Muzammil who represented Hizbe Islami Afghanistan, Ahmad Zia, leader of Jamiat Islamai, Maulana Abdul Jabbar and Maulana Fazle Haq. The speakers vowed to continue jihad till the establishment of Islamic government in Afghanistan.

Later the conference unanimously passed a resolution condemning attack on Jamia Darul Ulum Talimul Quran Rustum and killing of innocent people. They alleged that the muhtamim of the Jamia, Maulana Abdul Salam and his son were being involved in the case falsely.

The resolution warned the local administration that if impartial probe was not conducted then the administration would be responsible for the dire consequences. The conference demanded early arrest of the culprits involved in the incident and withdrawal of case filed against Maulana Abdus Salam, NWFP [North-West

Frontier Province] JITs Amir and his son otherwise the Jamiat would launch a countrywide campaign.

ANP Leader Denounces Genocide of Pukhtoons

46000136A Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 11 May 90 p 2

[Article: "Government Urged To Stop Interference in Kabul Affairs"]

[Text] Mohammad Afzal Khan, central convener of Awami National Party [ANP] (Haqiqi), has asked the government to stop interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

In a press statement issued in Peshawar on Thursday, he said the war should be stopped forthwith and the government should implement Geneva accord in its true spirit.

The ANP chief deplored that the genocide of Pukhtoons in Afghanistan had been continued for the last 12 years and the government of Pakistan was also a part in the massacre of Pukhtoons. The Pukhtoons he said were tolerating all these injustices with them but the hatred among them against Pakistan was not a healthy trend.

He demanded of the government of Pakistan to stop war in Afghanistan and provide a chance to the Afghan refugees in their repatriation to their country. If they were reluctant to go to their country, then they should be given the right of the citizen of Pakistan as they had the right to live here, he said. He argued that the Indian refugees had been given the right to live in Pakistan despite the fact that they had no historical or cultural relation to this land while the Afghan refugees and Pukhtoons nation were the same people and they had the right to be the citizens of the Pukhtoonkhwa.

Report on Battle Against Narcotics, Statistics

90AS0167A Kabul *PAYAM* in Dari 30 Apr 90 p 3

[Excerpt] The resolution passed by the Council of Ministers on 4 Sawr 1369 [24 Apr 1990] in regard to preventing the manufacture and smuggling of narcotics and the measures for rehabilitation of the addicts:

The Council of Ministers of the Republic of Afghanistan points out that presently production of and addiction to contraband narcotics has turned into a serious world problem and is a deadly threat to humanity. [passage omitted]

The government of the Republic of Afghanistan has, so far, taken specific steps to combat production and smuggling of narcotics. During the past three years, over 1.7 million kgs of hashish, 114,000 kgs of heroin and other narcotics have been confiscated by the national security organizations and have been disposed of. Also, 11,500 kgs of opium have been captured by the national security organization. Presently, serious efforts are underway to prevent the manufacturing and smuggling of narcotics. Government organizations, including the Ministry of

Interior, the Ministry of State Security, the Customs [organization], the Ministry of Commerce, the Ministry of Public Health, and the Foreign Ministry have taken specific steps and implemented plans in order to discover, confiscate, and wipe out the planting and smuggling of narcotic contraband. Also, [steps have been taken to] rehabilitate addicts and forge communication links with international organizations and interested countries in order to gain their support and cooperation.

In regard to the rehabilitation of individuals addicted to narcotics, the Psychiatric Rehabilitation Institute has been created in the Public Health Ministry which has engaged in useful activities. Also, approximately 5,000 addicts have been undergoing treatment at the Darreh-Keyhan hospital. Rehabilitation units from the Hakim Foundation have been dispatched as far as Khosrow-Balkhi to provide rehabilitation services in various districts of Badakhshan province. They have provided rehabilitation services to over 1,200 addicts. Regretfully, it must be noted that presently large areas are under cultivation of Ku-kenar [as published] in Afghanistan-Pakistan border areas from Pareh-Chenar to Chatral and there are over 20 narcotics production laboratories in the border region which have been connected with the leadership of some of the organizations opposing the government. Some leaders of various organizations which have their headquarters in Pakistan for the sole purpose of amassing wealth have been engaged in deliberate acts of manufacturing and smuggling contraband narcotics. [These leaders], simultaneous with keeping the flames of war burning inside the country, are engaged in the development, cultivation, manufacturing, and smuggling of narcotics and poisoning the active forces of the society. In addition to smuggling narcotics overseas, a large part of these are being fed to ill addicts and their own compatriots.

International supporters of continuing the war in Afghanistan, despite full knowledge of active and overt participation of some of the leaders of anti-government organizations in the production and trading of narcotics, are flagrantly ignoring the issue.

The Council of Ministers of the Republic of Afghanistan considers fighting the production, smuggling, and use of drugs as a necessity in order to maintain the economic health and moral well-being of families and the society and, thus, approves [the following]:

1. The Foreign Ministry is obligated to:

- In cooperation with the Planning Ministry, the Agriculture and Land Reform Ministry, the Public Health Ministry, and the security organizations—to invite all international organizations and interested countries to extend their full and broad assistance in order to combat the cultivation and smuggling of narcotics.
- Actively participate in coordination to intensify fighting against the production and smuggling of narcotics and in order to attract regional cooperation [in this regard].

- Investigate the issue and implement the membership of the Republic of Afghanistan in international conventions.

2. The Agriculture and Land Reform Ministry is obligated to:

- In order to prevent the cultivation of [Poppy] and hashish and to gain the cooperation and assistance of international organizations and interested countries, act to create a special branch to fight the cultivation of [poppy] and hashish in that ministry with available funds from its 1369 [21 March 1990-20 March 1991] budget.
- Organize serious activities to encourage farmers to switch from the cultivation of [poppy] and hashish to planting fruits and other useful products.

3. The Interior Ministry, Government Security Ministry, and Provincial Defense Councils are obligated to:

- Prevent, by utilizing all the facilities available to them, the cultivation of [poppy] and other drug-producing plants.
- Register the areas of cultivation of such plants and destroy them by all available means.
- Discover and register all manufacturing facilities for production of opium, heroin, and their derivatives in areas controlled by the opponents [of the regime].
- Mobilize and strengthen their respective agency in order to curtail the production and use of narcotics.
- In accordance with Article Four of the Narcotics Prevention Law, commend search organization and non-involved individuals who show special enthusiasm in discovering locations of production and confiscating narcotics.

4. The Education and Training Ministry, the Ministry of Higher and Ideological Education, the Public Health Ministry, the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Endowment, with the cooperation of the Democratic Organization of Afghan Youth and the Afghani society of Sareh Miyasht are obligated to:

- Create charity organizations to combat the use and addiction to narcotics with the participation of volunteer youth.
- Train anti-narcotics missionaries through educational programs.
- Engage social circles and organizations, mosques, religious centers, family guidance collectives, and other workers' collectives to inform the public of the adverse and negative effects of using narcotics. They should organize an extensive public relations campaign for this purpose.
- Study the possibility of including subjects related to fighting drugs and preventing the use of drugs in the school curriculum and programs of educational establishments of the country.

5. The Justice Ministry, in cooperation with the Interior Ministry and the Government Security Ministry, shall draft the plan for necessary adaptation of laws and other legal documents in which serious punishments shall be prescribed for producers and smugglers of narcotics. Such plans shall be submitted to the Council of Ministers for studies.

6. The Culture and Information Ministry, in cooperation with appropriate organizations, shall undertake and expand its propaganda activities through the mass media in fighting against the use and smuggling of narcotics.

7. The Public Health Ministry is obligated to:

- Plan and coordinate extensive plans for the rehabilitation of narcotics in cooperation with the Afghan Society of Sareh-Miyasht.
- Provide adequate supplies and facilities for laboratories which are tasked to identify drug users.
- In cooperation with the Foreign Ministry, gain the support and assistance of international organizations to equip and expand hospitals and psychiatric health facilities.
- In cooperation with the Treasury Ministry and Central Organization of Work and Social Services, in order to provide medical and [office] personnel for psychiatric health hospitals, shall suggest specific plans to the Council of Ministers for encouraging employees through commendation advantages in addition to salary and office facilities.
- Plan and implement special educational programs aimed at increasing the knowledge of the medical personnel in hospitals and health centers in the provinces.
- Take adequate measures for better presentation of medical services for the rehabilitation of addicts being treated in all hospitals on an inpatient basis.

Rights of Women in Afghanistan

90AS0167C Kabul ANIS in Dari 12 Apr 90 p 1

[Text] The role of women in speeding the process of cultural development enjoys a special place in the social life of our country. The rights of women in the Republic of Afghanistan have been provided and guaranteed in all aspects. Women's aptitude has been distinguished in all walks of life and it is not exaggerating to say that, despite the conditions resulting from the imposed war in our country, women are patriotically positioned in the fox-holes of defending the country and the people. The capabilities and aptitude of Afghan women has taken on special manifestation in all walks of life as a result of an undeniable fact—the government of the Republic of Afghanistan places special value on the position of women, and their rights are protected in all aspects by the Republic of Afghanistan. Based on this consideration, vast facilities have been provided for the activities of women in our country. Presently, over 200,000 women are engaged in activities related to the economic, social, and cultural life of our society. Therefore, the atmosphere for all endeavors and efforts to develop the

potential of women in the country is ripe. It is only the extremist leaders who ignore the rights of women and commit the most horrendous crimes by disregarding the rights and honor of Afghan women. The sad fate of the widows in Naser-Baq is a historic disgrace upon the seven leaders of [the resistance] and is cause for an outpouring of rage and disgust against those who claim to follow Islam and Islamic teachings. Opening fire on mothers who were asking about the fate of their children—forcefully dispatched to the war [fronts] by leaders of the radicals [resistance] and not known if they are dead or alive—is a sad affair which arouses the emotion and feelings of every Afghan in hatred toward the leaders of the radicals.

Repairs on Shrine of Imam 'Ali

90AS0167D Kabul ANIS in Dari 28 Mar 90 p 1

[Report on Afghan Government Assistance to Religious Affairs]

[Text] Cultural development and care for places of worship as well as holy sites is of special interest to the government of the Republic of Afghanistan. Millions of afghani is being spent annually for renovation and repair of mosques and holy sites. In order to enable Moslems to practice their religious rites, it can be proudly said that—after the Sawr revolution and especially since the adoption of the national reconciliation policy—more than any other time, facilities for providing better religious services have been provided. In the years after the revolution, 324 alters of mosques and religious gathering places have been built by the government. 1,257 mosque alters have been painted or repaired and a total of over 2.5 billion afghani has been spent in the service of Islam. This is several times higher than what used to be spent fifty years before the Sawr revolution and, thus, there have been important and memorable achievements in the area of religious affairs. The creation of the Council of Ulema and Clergy (and mobilization of the over 5,000 clergy in it); establishing the great scientific center, the Research Center for Islamic Sciences; creation of the [word not clear] of Islamic sciences and other such important and constructive [activities] are among the endeavors which insure the cultural development and safeguard the religion more than ever before. Among the important and constructive activities in the area of construction of mosques and sacred sites by the government of the Republic of Afghanistan is the speedy repair of the sacred shrine of ['Ali]. As our readers are informed, recently, the esteemed Afghan president, Najibullah, participated in the ceremonies marking the raising of the colors of the sacred shrine of His Eminence 'Ali and presented 20 million afghani for repair of the sacred shrine. This [gracious] act was warmly received by the citizens of Mazar-e Sharif, the participants, and the people of Afghanistan. Per the instruction of the president of the Republic of Afghanistan, repair of the broken parts of the sacred shrine is being fully pursued and will be concluded shortly.

INDIA

Ruling Elite Said Losing 'Magic' Status

90AS0102A New Delhi DINMAN TIMES in Hindi
20-26 May 90 pp 1, 7

[Article by Rajendra Mathur: "Socialist Elites: Charisma Fading"]

[Text] How did Indira Gandhi confront the anarchy and unrest that started in 1967? The answer to this question can shed some light on the present situation.

One reason is as clear as day. Many people, including I, have written thousands of words trying to explain that specific situation. Indira Gandhi had managed to keep India united because of the charisma attached to her superleader status. No Congress party leader has the ability to reestablish the party power that began to come apart soon after Mr. Nehru's death. If there was no Indira Gandhi, the Congress party regardless of its unity, majority leadership, and democratic structure, could not have saved the country from the friction and disunity of 1967. Had the nation wanted a Congress party like that, it would have defeated Indira Gandhi and helped the emergence of a syndicated Congress party. When Mrs. Gandhi bound the country using her superhero charisma, she also destroyed the mechanism that had kept the party together. However, she also managed to cover the segmented body of the Congress party with her glamorous and brilliant personality. But for this cover, neither the Congress nor the nation would have been effective.

I am not going to discuss this process which is as clear as day to everyone. Discussing it any more will only force us to agree with the conclusion that Girilal Jain had arrived at in 1978-79. Indians with their great love for a royal rule want to give birth to "the king of hearts" from the magic basket of elections. It wants to crown this royal figure. Should Rajiv Gandhi be able to play the role of a deserving "king of hearts" like Indira Gandhi did in 1977-78 as a vanquished but returning queen, he will be able to win the next elections hands down.

I am not on the specific track declaring that Rajiv Gandhi can replicate his mother's triumph, and can also prove to be a bumbling clown by failing in his effort.

Let us think about some not-so-obvious reasons in addition to this bright-as-day reason that helped Indira Gandhi stop the 1967 party disunity.

I think that one great reason [for her success] was Jawaharlal Nehru's success in putting the country on the path to socialism and Indira Gandhi's following it zealously. This had resulted in a large socialist elite group in India. Developmental officers speeding in their jeeps, young people wanting professorships or deputy collectorships, a united urban labor force demanding bonuses and allowances, and peasants looking dazed at their new social position after becoming land owners were all part of the new socialist elite group which Marxist thinker

Michael Kalechki had called the "intermediate class." Just like the British had created a middle class of clerks after Macaulay to run its empire, Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi had created a myriad of socialist elite mass. Actually, the ruling class [bureaucracy] of the British era welcomed the rapidly expanding deprived group into its own wings by creating millions of new government jobs in the name of progress and development, and became the new socialist ruling class.

Indian unity, India's dignity as a republic, and the law and order in India all have been carried by this group on its shoulders for the last 43 years.

The first challenge to the Congress party's autonomy was given in 1967. This challenge was given by those local, regional, and rural forces that had become politically aware because of independence. The post-Nehru "syndicate Congress" was unable to find a way to include these forces into the ruling class.

Indira Gandhi was very successful in three areas during her charismatic prime ministership. She expanded the socialist elite group by nationalizing the banks. She directed the genie of socialism toward the villages and comforted the forces that were trying to breakout of the Congress corral. The "Green Revolution" was born from this effort. She also assured the poorest classes in India that there was a ray of hope for them also in the ruling class led by new socialist-brahminism.

An extremely important question was raised in the Lok Sabha in November 1989. Has the ruling class of India that had kept it together for the last 43 years finally disintegrated?

If the subaltern power has won, then the Janata Dal of Northern India will definitely become the Lok Dal of Devilal and Lalu Yadav. If these do not win, then they will change their party name or leaders or both or even remain the same. Whatever happens, the Congress party will disintegrate. This is the kind of situation that calls for a charismatic super leader.

South Indian politics seem to give us more courage than do the North India politics on this specific issue. Ruralization and localization of political power in the South occurred under the auspices of the Congress party. In other words, the all-India ruling class, the local ruling group, and the charisma of leadership, all three managed to coexist there. The problem in the North is that grassroots level politics never really could take a foothold here.

Resurgent Sri Lankan Unrest, Implications for India Explored

90P40078A Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi
25 Jun 90 p 6

[Commentary by Rajendra Mathur: 'Sri Lanka Heading Towards Fierce Fighting Once More']

[Text] In Sri Lanka, we have tried mediation and interference for the past seven years. Now, both the government

and the policy in New Delhi have changed. Vishwanath Pratap Singh's policy is that if there are no waves in Tamil Nadu of the happenings in Sri Lanka, then we need not be concerned with whatever is happening over there. If the Tamil Tigers were able to, they would fight and get their Eelam, and if the Sri Lankan security forces were capable of it, then they would defeat the Tamil Tigers with their guns.

Surely nothing resulted from interfering. Yet, is not interfering that easy? When the Sri Lankan army attacks the Tamil Tigers' hideouts, or conducts searches to capture them, and holds raids, how can the innocent Tamil citizens escape being victimized? We have already seen in Kashmir and Punjab how difficult this task is. When widespread excesses are committed against the Tamil population, they will no doubt arrive in India by the boatfull. Why just the citizens, the injured and runaway extremists will also take refuge in India. We can endure them to a point; but, if we did nothing beyond that point, it won't be too long before Tamil Nadu becomes a Kashmir, Punjab, Karachi, or Lebanon.

The introduction of guns into politics lends every ordinary thing a frightening dimension. The camps of the Tamil Tigers have become established on the shores of Tamil Nadu, and one outcome of this is that the Andhra Naxalites are getting hold of guns easily. Another result of this would be that opium traffickers will try to convert Tamil Nadu into an opium territory and they will then start associating with Pakistan's opium mafia. You know that due to the war that has lasted 10 years, three million Afghan mujahids have arrived at Peshawar and other cities. They have made guns commonly available like potatoes and eggplants. Separatism is born in China's Kasham city based on this gun-power, efforts to break Kashmir away from India are undertaken, and in Karachi all sects (Sindhi, Muhajir, Balochi, and Pathan) end up killing each other. Opium trade has made Pakistan the subcontinent's Colombia. If the infection of gun-power spreads to Tamil Nadu, then it is not at all possible for that state to stay free of the cancer of separatism.

It is in the interest of India's security that Sri Lanka stay free of the influence of third powers. It is reported that the government of Sri Lanka is procuring weapons from China with Pakistan acting as the intermediary. If these weapons are used against the Liberation Tigers, would we regard the act as an extension of the original mission of the Indian Peace Keeping Force, and say what objection could we have to the Sri Lankan government doing whatever we were doing there, be it with Chinese weapons? There is this other question also: If the Sri Lankan government needs weapons and anti-guerilla counseling, then who should they look to for these? To India? But, India has washed her hands off. Twice the Liberation Tigers were almost getting the chance to rule the Tamil areas of Sri Lanka but both times they lost it. If Prabhakaran and Kittu and their associates had honored the 1987 treaty between Rajiv and Jayewardene by stopping the war and conducting elections, today they would be ruling the area from Jaffna to Trincomalee, and it would have been India's political responsibility to

make sure that the provincial autonomy didn't fail. And, if in this year, 1990, the spirit of understanding that came about between LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] and the Colombo government through denouncing the IPKF [Indian Peacekeeping Force] had been kept alive, then it would have been the inevitable responsibility of the Colombo government not to disappoint the Tamil Tigers. Prabhakaran's team, however, wants to establish its rule on Tamil areas by fighting India, by fighting Colombo, and by fighting the other rival Tamil militants.

The dilemma India faces is that we do not want to break up Sri Lanka by supporting LTTE, nor stand by and watch the genocide of Sri Lankan Tamils. We neither want to see the reasonable demands of the Tamils get crushed at the hands of Sinhalese oppressors nor do we wish to see foreign powers intervene in Sri Lanka. The way we had to fight the Tamils in 1987 for preserving Sri Lanka's unity, we may just have to make a terrible choice in the future. If Sri Lankan politics gets violently polarized between Sinhalese expansionism and Tamil separatism with no middle ground left, then, wouldn't we be compelled to use military force to break up Sri Lanka so that the Sri Lankan poison doesn't cross the ocean and start to split up India?

Who wouldn't like to see some middle ground left? But we have already seen in Kashmir and Punjab how guns can eliminate all middle ground. As it turns out, whoever is following the middle course is either killed, or considered a traitor. When LTTE does not wish at all for any middle ground to exist what good is Colombo's inclination in itself? If we, unable to bear the Tamil genocide, send in our troops into Sri Lanka once more, our arguments in Kashmir will be weakened. If we have a right to sympathize with the Tamils, then how can we deny Pakistan the right to sympathize with the Kashmiris? We should also remember that whatever advice we are giving the Sri Lankan government (with regard to keeping the door of diplomacy open for peaceful settlement when conducting raids on innocent people, etc.), the same advice America is giving us with regard to Kashmir. Are we listening to America? For the present, there isn't much sympathy for the Liberation Tigers in Madras. The bloodletting in the wake of the assassination of EPRLF [Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front] leader Padmanabha has created repugnance in the peoples' hearts. Chief Minister Karunanidhi is also beginning to realize the disadvantages of supporting the LTTE. He wants to snatch the weapons from all Tamil insurgents and arrest all evildoers. This might prove to be an unstable trend. If Tamil refugees come in large numbers into Tamil Nadu, and if there is a flood of sympathy for them, then, there will be increasing pressure on Vishwanath Pratap Singh's government, which bears an essentially north Indian image, to understand, and to do something for the south.

The Sri Lankan army is not what it was in 1983. Now it is a war-hardened force which has destroyed the Sinhalese extremists of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna

[JVP], who were spread all over Sri Lanka just a few months ago. It is probably not as easy to break Sri Lanka as it was for the Liberation Tigers to gain control of Jaffna between 1983 and 1987. The war-hardened Liberation Tigers who have survived the assaults of the Indian army are also there, alive and capable. Therefore, fierce fighting in the future seems imperative. In view of it, India should not make any firm commitments at this point as to whether or not it will get involved. The statement by Foreign Minister Inder Kumar Gujral that India will never again interfere in Sri Lankan affairs sounds highly irrational in the present situation! What we would have to do is not in our control now.

Motives Behind National Government Proposal Probed

90AS0152A Delhi DINMAN TIMES in Hindi
10-16 Jun 90 p 4

[Editorial: "Yudhishtra's Chariot of Justice"]

[Text] According to the Hindu epic "Mahabharata", the wheels of all the chariots in the Kurukshetra battlefield ran touching the earth. Yudhishtra's chariot, however, did not touch the earth as it ran. The Kaurva generals knew that the truthful Yudhishtra would not lie even if he was promised a kingdom of the whole universe. Their belief was based on that fact that Yudhishtra because of his honesty had to relinquish his kingdom, live in jungles, hide from everyone, and suffer numerous painful experiences. He could have avoided all of these if he was not truthful and religious. The same Yudhishtra, however, lied under pressure of losing the war and "forgot" the difference between Ashwashtama, Dronacharya's son, and Ashwashtama, the elephant. According to the story, the wheels of Yudhishtra's chariot began to run on the ground from that day on.

This story from "Mahabharata" illustrates how, at times, "truthful" people have to lie. However, they lose their aura of honesty right then.

Mr. V.P. Singh's proposal for a "national government" is also based on "political half-truths". The people of this country may be poor and naive, but they always had the intelligence to see through such tricks. A survey of the people would clearly show that they understand the rationale behind this proposal. The "sage" [wise] people, of course, have already taken this proposal apart.

When Vishwanath Pratap Singh bounced this idea from this heavenly chariot, his blind followers were euphoric at Mr. Singh's ability to kill several birds with one stone. According to them, he had eclipsed everyone from Rajiv Gandhi, to Jayoti Basu, to Devi Lal, to Lalkarishan Advani. The "truths" of the political land, however, turned out to be very different. Devi Lal had never insulted Mr. V.P. Singh publicly before this. He called this idea, "stupid" and the brainchild of "the Devil's conspirators". Neither did Vithal Gadgil and M.J. Akbar ever have the courage to "hatefully reject" any of his

proposals. Bhakpais [Communist Party of India members] and Makpais [Marxist Party of India members] declared it unacceptable openly. However, Bhajpais [Bharatiya Janata Party members] called this proposal "worth considering" and adopted a sarcastic attitude which openly told the world what they thought of this proposal. They knew that this proposal had three purposes: To get rid of the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], to take advantage of whatever was possible, and that the BJP cooperation would be very costly in the future.

V.P. Singh's own people were more surprised than the opposition and cooperating parties. The Janata Dal people have openly announced that Vishwanath Pratap Singh should not have made such an announcement without first consulting them. A veteran Janata Dal member commented bitterly that, had Vishwanath Pratap Singh proposed this idea in his own Jan Morcha, he would have perhaps gotten someone to second it, but he would not have received even a single vote from the rest of the Jan Morcha Parliament members!

Veteran members of the Janata Dal chose to remain silent, but are asking under their breath why this proposal was not discussed in the Cabinet or the Political Affairs Council. When the Cabinet and the Committee members tell them that they were not involved in this decision, people wonder if this is Mr. Singh's personal proposal based on his own value system.

The fact is that the people just cannot believe in the goals that Vishwanath Pratap Singh has included in this proposal. Instead, people are discussing the goals that are not there. These include Mr. Singh's inability to tolerate internal equations such as the inability to form a productive group of Chowdhury, Ajit, and Chandershekhar supporters and an almost-defeat in the selection of an interim leader.

The worsening situations in Kashmir and Punjab are some of the challenges the prime minister is facing. Obviously, he needs the support and authority that he cannot get in his present situation. The effect of his former success is also wearing thin. The people have begun to ask: Why is there a question mark on the ability of the government to solve these problems?

The support that Vishwanath is looking for will not come from this Parliament. Only a new mandate from the people can give him this kind of support. His own party is not ready for such a gamble. None of the Parliament members of the ruling or the opposition parties have the courage to go out to their constituencies and be able to return.

Thus, Vishwanath has started a campaign through this proposal. However, this proposal became a controversial issue when it leaked out to newspapers before it was formally announced. Vishwanath did not have the opportunity to explain the whole proposal.

The suggestion he had presented to the nation was based on half-truths, and the result was appropriate. It hurt

him since the people and the politicians noticed that he is full of tricks. Hitherto, they had refused to believe that he was capable of deceit despite "advise" from the likes of Subramaniam Sawami, K. K. Tiwari, Kalapnath Ray, and M. J. Akbar.

Comment on U.S. Invocation of Trade Act Clause Continues

Nehru in Upper House

46001591A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 11 May 90 p 1

[Article: "No Talks on Super 3"]

[Text] New Delhi, May 10. India has in intention of entering into bilateral negotiations, either secret or open, on the super 301 issue with the U.S., particularly under threat of retaliation, the commerce minister, Mr Arun Nehru, told the Rajya Sabha today. "We respond to reasons and not threats," he added

India, he asserted, will not compromise its sovereignty and it was humiliating to even think that "we can have negotiations with the U.S.," declaring that there was no question of it.

Mr Nehru made this declaration in his reply to a calling attention motion on the U.S. decision to invoke super 301 clause of its trade act against India. While reiterating that India would not allow itself to be "bullied or policed," Mr Nehru said the U.S. decision to continue the identification of India under super 301 was not because of economic reasons but to put pressure on India bilaterally so that New Delhi's position in multilateral trade negotiations was affected. The minister said the reason why India had been singled out while Japan and Brazil, earlier included under super 301 but later dropped, was because India has a role to play in the world.

What the U.S. wanted was for India to remove all controls on private sector investments and change her insurance laws to allow access to foreign firms, Mr Nehru explained, adding that India "would not relent" but would continue to work in multilateral fora to generate pressure against the "manifestly unfair course adopted by the U.S." However, he clarified, since the U.S. government had not actually imposed any measures affecting India's exports, the matter was not yet ripe for taking recourse to GATT's dispute settlement machinery.

Mr Nehru said it was also unfair on the part of the U.S. to say that India was indulging in restrictive trade practices. U.S. companies in India were doing quite well, he said, accounting for 26 percent of India's collaborations with foreign firms, their turnover last year being Rs 621 crores. On the other hand, Mr Nehru said, he could cite several examples of how India was being restricted from entering U.S. markets. For instance, he said, the

U.S. through various restrictive trade practices, sought to affect India's textile exports to that country.

No Room for Pressure Politics

46001591B Calcutta THE STATESMAN
in English 3 May 90 p 8

[Editorial: "Arrogance of Power"]

[Text] On the face of it, there is nothing unacceptable about the explanation offered by the U.S. Trade Representative, Mrs Carla Hills, on why India has been retained in the "unfair trader" list of countries under Section 301 of the U.S. trade Law except for the fact that the Indian Government is not obliged to take into account the wishes of the U.S. Congress or Administration in running its affairs. In fact, one expects the American Government to be mature enough to allow another country to function according to the wishes of the latter's duly constituted legislature, as it functions itself, any dispute being referred to international agencies which have been set up for just such a purpose. In this case, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade is there to resolve such issues, the relevant point being that unilateral action as far as trade disputes are concerned should not be encouraged in a situation where multilateral arrangements exist to sort out such problems. This is the crucial point which Mrs Hills, and Mr George Bush himself have ignored, inviting in the process the charge that the USA has not been able to overcome temptations arising from the arrogance of power even in the post-Cold War age.

What has added insult to injury where India is concerned is Mrs Hill's pompous observations regarding the "difficulties" which citizens of India are said to be facing in view of their inability to participate in insurance schemes offered by American companies. She probably also feels that the India economy would benefit greatly if the foreign investment rules were relaxed, perhaps even dismantled altogether, thus ignoring the point that just as it is not for Indians, or anyone for that matter, to decide what economic policies the USA should pursue for the benefit of its economy, there is also no question of others dictating to India. It is in this light that New Delhi's stand of not being willing to negotiate under threat of penal action (under the U.S. Trade Law) should be seen, and it is to be hoped that policy in the next few weeks will by and large conform to this stand. Washington has to take a decision on penal action by the middle of June, which should provide enough time for saner counsel to prevail on the American side. Fortunately, even within the confines of the U.S. Trade Law, there is a way out from taking penal measures in that such action is discretionary and not mandatory. As far as New Delhi, is concerned, efforts at serious, substantive negotiations should be seen to begin only after June 16, every pain being taken to drive home the point that there is no room any longer in international relations for economic pressure politics.

The Price of Self-Reliance

46001591C Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH
in English 1 May 90 p 6

[Editorial: "The Price of Self-Reliance"]

[Text] The US decision to penalise India, and no other country, for restricting its market to certain goods has not unduly alarmed New Delhi and that is how it should be. Indian spokesmen have very clearly said that this country will not negotiate under threat of retaliation, and they have the support of every Indian citizen. The US complaint is that India's is the most restrictive market it has to deal with, and under Section 301 of its omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act it is entitled to retaliate—perhaps with a 100 percent duty on every item imported from India. The irony is that this law was passed in 1988 by a Democratic-majority Congress with the help of Republican President Ronald Reagan specifically with Japan in mind. But Japan, which has a \$49 billion trade surplus with the US (India's surplus is a mere fraction of this at \$851 million), has been exempted because it has agreed to open its market to US-made satellites, supercomputers, forest products, telecommunication equipment and certain materials. Japan can afford to do so because its industry, unlike India's is developed enough to take on all comers. Similarly, Brazil, which was also "warned" by the US last year, has buckled and agreed to tailor its market to the convenience of American business. The US has now given India till June 26 to reform itself. But there is little chance of India succumbing. A policy which has stood the test of over four decades and the envy of the entire developing world does not crumble so easily.

If today India is reckoned to be well on the way to self-reliance, with increasing agriculture productivity and a sound industrial and technological infrastructure, it is because it decided to nurture its indigenous skills and catch up slowly and steadily rather than be swamped, and be economically bound, by the products of a more advanced industrial culture. Over-protection, to be sure, has its dangers. Industry tends to get inefficient economically and technologically, and the bureaucracy can play havoc with even a marginally controlled economy. India does bear both these burdens and there is a case for some restructuring. But this has to be at a pace suited to India, not the US. Even a still-developing and semi-controlled market like India's has the ability to express its wants, and government and industry tailor themselves accordingly. For instance, India's economy today has been liberalised to an extent which could not even have been imagined till five years ago, and there has been a gradual improvement in the quality and technology of industrial goods. It is this steady, cautious policy which has led to India being ranked today among the major industrial powers of the world and being considered the pacesetter of the developing countries. The whims of US industry cannot hope to undermine this. Retaliation under Super 301 will surely hit the

Indian export effort and affect other sectors of the economy. But if that is the price to pay for self-reliance, so be it.

Commentary on Keeping India Undivided

90AS0101A New Delhi DINMAN TIMES in Hindi
29 Apr-5 May 90 p 5

[Article by Pran Chopra: "Is It Possible any Longer To Keep a Splitting India Together?"]

[Text] In moments of crisis, when there is pressure from all sides and everything appears to be falling apart, rather than splitting things up, it is better to look back at history and learn from the complexities of the situations we have faced in the course of ushering in the present time. Along with this, the haziness of the view of the future also clears. In India, we are passing through such a critical stage.

If we glance through any day's newspaper, we find news about separatism from every corner of the country.

In the decade of the 1950's, whatever dangers we had faced were multi-colored. Their roots were very deep, especially compared to those that we had left behind in the form of the Hindu-Muslim communal riots of 1947. There was an issue of mutual bloodshed. Should we have accepted restructuring the country on a linguistic basis or not? Bombay and Mysore are examples of such an issue.

The decade of the 1960's started with relatively more unfortunate incidents. By attacking us, China not only annexed a large chunk of our Northeastern land, it also had an impact on our security on both sides. This event also exposed the limitations of the Himalayas. They had been the mainstay of our national security and had so far stood like a firm and invincible wall. The Himalayas had also been considered to be the formulator of our foreign policy. Even before we could recover from the sting of this shock, the government reigns were transferred from the tired hands of Nehru to the relatively weak hands of Lal Bahadur Shastri.

By the middle of that decade, the castle of India's entity was entrapped into a whirlwind. Perhaps this happened for the first time. Taking advantage of the situation, Pakistan started acting in a provoking manner. Consequently, the war of 1965 was fought. It was the first war that was fought in a planned way on both sides. In the later half of the decade, in 1966, as it was true for that time, the administration passed into weaker hands, the hands of Indira Gandhi.

In spite of her daring victory in 1971, Mrs. Gandhi's hands could not be strengthened, rather, she became more and more autocratic and cruel. Perhaps it was why, in a sense, she grew weaker. With great cleverness and marvel, however, she was able to conceal the weakness of her mind. That was the reason why the foundations of Indian policy, which could be the mainstay of any system

of government, became hollow day by day. Consequently, by the middle of the 1970's decade her government was overturned. There was no external hand at its root other than the fact that in the beginning of the 1980's decade we faced the complex situations of Punjab and Kashmir. All these troubles had put the past decade in a terrible state, a condition which still persists.

A glance at the past events clearly demonstrates two facts. First, that each of the past decades had made our entity and integrity face a new challenge and each new and forthcoming challenge proved to be more intricate and agitating than the previous one. In this manner, the historical graph of the inner strength for maintaining the unity of the country started moving downward, rather than going upward. The second fact is that we have always been facing such challenges, and as a result we have also become stronger. Administratively, economically, from the point of view of defense, in foreign policy, as well as in most of the other areas, we also became self sufficient. Continually, even if interruptedly, the graph of developments has been moving upward.

For the present, however, the challenge before us is of different kind. The real danger lies in the lack of our adaptability.

The earlier challenges to the integrity of India belonged mainly to one of the three types. The first type appeared as external challenges for India. They included Pakistan's invasion of India in 1947, dismissing Kashmir's accession to India, China's invasion in 1962, Pakistan's second invasion in 1965, and then, the war with Pakistan in 1971 following East Pakistan's attempts to disrupt India's internal political system.

The second type of challenge involved the majority society that consisted of the Hindus. The Hindu society by itself is the largest one. Clashes with the minority communities and Islamic tenets have even been appearing as a challenge. In the form of a third type of challenge came those people who were different from the common and mainstream population. Among those at one level were people belonging to the family of old princely traditions. At the second level, a controversy grew for the purpose of maintaining separate identities because of language differences. The class struggle based on castes as well as the problems related to reservation also developed into a challenge out of mutual conflicts.

The first type of challenge, that was an external one, was met by the soldiers of the Indian army. This challenge was either totally subdued or was at least blunted effectively so that no deep scar [as printed] was left on the face of the future. The second type of challenge has also been met effectively. Even if it reappeared occasionally, it was not able to cause any serious upheaval.

The situation of dreadfulness arose with the third type of difficulties, which are still sticking in the throat like a bone with all of their intricacies. Nothing can be said about whether there will be a solution to this problem or whether it will remain sticking as at present. It will

appear that all these challenges started with some kind of communalism. A confrontation with the majority community turned them into a nuisance. It is quite obvious that in order to meet these challenges a strong central government was needed that could, on one hand, provide security to the nation and, on the other, would have solved these problems on a large scale by means of restructuring the big regions and communities.

The other new challenges facing the integrity of the nation are, on one hand, although small on their level, on the other, very significant from the point of their locale. Examples are the Bodo agitation, the last insurrection of the Northeast region with its distinct identity, the present Kashmir problem, the explosion of Eastern Ladakh, and the terrorist uprisings in the Sikh dominated districts of Punjab.

These new challenges, as per their preamble, were not as much interested in strengthening the center as in the flexibility and adaptability of the adaptive principles of Indian society and the populace at the time of their inception. As a matter of fact, their perturbation was evoked by a non-Hindu individualism against the majority Hindu society as well as the then existing administrative system. Its example can be found in the Northeast, in Kashmir, and to some extent, with even greater ferocity, in the Sikh dominated areas of Punjab.

Whenever these kinds of challenges come up, there can be only two means to meet them. One is, that, very much keeping in view the fact that India is a wonderful union of a number of social units with different ideologies, everyone should respect the sentiments of each other and agree to stay together under the banner of one Indian civilization.

The other possible option is that each and every community with its distinct identity should be left alone and free with its local customs for its day-to-day activities so that they may live according to their own traditions and conventions. Let them manage the affairs of their national institution with the strength of their soul and their own approval. In this manner, if they are given enough rights at their regional level they all may gather together under the same umbrella. Their social institutions may be on the pattern of either the old rural republic or the new democratic system, or a combination of both. In any event, they will stay together.

In reality, the problem can be solved only by unity in diversity. Whenever and wherever in India unity has been established it has been successful by following democratic principles and its traditional tenets. On the other hand, whenever and wherever it has not been done so we have failed. The Punjab and Kashmir problems of India are an outcome of a deficiency or neglect in following these very democratic principles as well as in practicing the cultural tenets.

The institution of Panchayat [a rural court of arbitration] has been successful at several places because of following democratic principles. This proves that with the help of the Panchayats the democratic system can be followed right from the level of its roots. So far the system has been established at the district, state, and the central government levels in bigger ways. The Panchayats can be means of reaching the system to the roots.

It can, therefore, be observed that attempts at decentralizing the democracy have contributed significantly in arriving at the present state through the past decades. These activities can further be successful by inducing nationalistic feelings, a sense of sovereignty, and restructuring of the democratic institutions at the state and central levels. In our union form, the structures of the center and state can play a significant part by means of coordinating the efforts so that the big units with separate entities may together form an Indian Union.

Now this has become very essential that at the governmental level this kind of union structure be formed, which moving from above to below, that is, the center, states, and the Panchayats combine together different subnational and minute entities and strengthen the notion of a big state. Although it is not that easy, but, it will be a lot easier than establishing a bigger structure. With this it will be possible to climb the stairs of success. It will also become an object of envy for other countries with complex social structures, such as the Soviet Union. Therefore, in comparison to whatever methods we have applied to maintain the integrity of our nation, the methods which are awaiting application are much easier.

Paper Reports Finance Minister's Washington Visit

Minister on IMF Meet

46001580A New Delhi PATRIOT in English
10 May 90 p 9

[Article: "India Keeps Option Open on Approaching IMF for Loan"]

[Text] Washington, May 9 (PTI)—The Finance Minister Madhu Dandavate said on Tuesday that India's option to come or not to come to the IMF for a loan to tide over the foreign exchange situation remains open.

"The ground realities are we have not made any fresh application after 1981. There was a wrong report about the Reserve Bank Governor making a statement that we are not going to come in for IMF (loan). What he said was the ground reality was that no application has been made.

"As far as assistance (from the IMF) and other issues are concerned, we always would like to cross the bridge when we reach it", Mr Dandavate told Indian correspondents here.

Mr Dandavate paid 'courtesy calls' on both IMF managing director Michel Camdessus and World Bank president Barber Conable during his current visit to Washington for IMF-Bank-related spring meetings.

Mr Dandavate said: "The realities of our present situation are our export-import policy document is already out. We have been explaining for perspective on the floor of Parliament and outside regarding assistance and collaborations, foreign investment and so on."

Asked 'how far is the bridge' as far as an approach to the IMF is concerned, he said: "Before we reach that bridge, we will be doing something internally also. We are also trying to reframe our policies in such a manner that we will be improving our balance of payments position".

Mr Dandavate said in answer to a question that there was no pressure on India to devalue the rupee. In any event, "we have never yielded to pressure so far as devaluation is concerned", he said.

India resents decision: India has expressed 'reservations' on the International Monetary Fund's decision yesterday linking the 50 percent quota increase with the provision to penalise members for their failure to repay loan arrears.

Finance Minister Madhu Dandavate, however, said the developing countries did not like to stress the point beyond a certain stage.

He said the whole package, which emerged out of the Interim Committee, the policy-making body of the 152-nation IMF, should be viewed in totality.

Most of the other points that India made had been accepted. These included: 50 percent quota increase and sharing of loan arrears. Mr Dandavate did not want to view the issue in the form of a defeat or victory. What was needed was statesmanship and not confrontation.

Moreover, some of the developing countries had no objection to the linkage. Left to himself, he would have liked the IMF to drop the proposal. Mr Dandavate said he was happy that the IMF decision had lent finality to some of the issues which had been pending for years.

The review of quota would take place every five years and the new quotas, to the extent of 60 percent would be distributed on a proportional basis. In the upward revision of quota, India's share had marginally declined from 2.45 percent to 2.12 percent.

The rich nations had some 65 percent of the shares in the IMF, with a much higher voting power. The developing countries with the total hoarding of 35 percent were in no position to force a show-down.

The quota question had already troubled American-IMF relations for a year with IMF managing director Michel Camdessus lobbying for a doubling of the existing capital of \$120 billion dollars, said the WASHINGTON POST.

It said two-thirds of the Interim Committee members were ready to support an increase of at least 67 percent or \$80 billion.

PTI adds: Finance Minister Madhu Dandavate said here on Tuesday that India's quota in the International Monetary Fund (IMF) would go down marginally—from 2.45 percent to 2.21 percent in the expanded IMF.

He rejected at a news conference any suggestion that India and other developing countries had caved in under pressure from the US in accepting the condition for a 50 percent increase in the IMF quota, namely a charter amendment providing for suspension of membership of a country in arrears for over six months.

He listed the points in his own speeches and said that India had got 85 percent of what it had asked for.

Mr Bimal Jalan, finance secretary, pointed out that countries would vote separately on the quota increase and for the provision regarding suspension.

However, Mr Dandavate agreed, it was a package and if the suspension clause was rejected, there would be no quota increase.

Remarks to ANI

46001580B New Delhi PATRIOT in English 10 May 90

[Article: "Talks With US on 301 Ruled Out"]

[Text] Washington, May 9 (ANI)—Finance Minister Madhu Dandavate has ruled out negotiations with the United States on the Super 301 trade dispute. Speaking to ANI the finance Minister said "India will not negotiate under threat of retaliation".

The US announced on April 27 that India was being maintained on a "priority watch list" under provision Super 301 of its Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988. Investigation of India's unfair trade practices continues until June 16 under a continued action taken by the US May 25, 1989.

Mr Dandavate told ANI in response to a question during an informal interview today that he did not expect the Bush Administration to adopt a confrontational attitude with India. While wide difference exist in the Indian and US viewpoints, nonetheless Mr Dandavate outlined that a confrontation to follow any US retaliatory trade action could only complex and worsen relations and trade.

The Indian Finance Minister however did say that India and the US had "a number of (trade) issues on which negotiations are going on and will continue". He would not speculate whether or not the US would take retaliatory action by June 16, the deadline under US law whereby some meaningful negotiations to resolve differences must begin.

Mr Dandavate told newsmen that "let us see..", when asked what he expected on the US action in about a month from now.

The Indian Finance Minister said later, that he viewed that any US retaliatory action at the bilateral level would have a negative impact on the success of the forthcoming crucial last stage of multilateral negotiations. It was bound to mar the expressed US, and global goal to achieve successful completion of the last phase of the Uruguay Round of talks under the auspices of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs.

The Indian Minister pointed out that during the just concluded World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) spring meetings the global finance ministers had all endorsed the success and necessity to resolve trade differences multilaterally and not bilaterally as under Super 301 provision of its trade law. The Indian Minister had said during remarks before a meeting of Finance Ministers here that such an action, as by the US, "mutilates the spirit of multilateralism".

The Indian Minister further pointed out that during his visit to Washington he did not hold specific talks or discussions on Super 301 issue, and "it did not figure even obliquely during discussions here".

The Indian Minister told ANI that without commenting on what the US decision would be next month he would only hope that Washington would, like the rest of the world, make efforts to resolve trade issues in the larger multilateral context.

Paper Lists Secessionist Groups Appearing in Northeast

46001586A New Delhi PATRIOT
in English 4 May 90 p 6

[Article: "Many Secessionist Outfits Begin To Surface in NE"]

[Text] Guwahati, May 3—With the ascendancy of the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) a secessionist organisation running almost a parallel Government in a number of districts several other outfits with the aim of liberation have surfaced.

ULFA is going ahead with its so called social activities, like repairing of roads, bridges and river embankments as well as killing persons after conferring death sentences in its own secret courts, punishing some in public, stealing facing cars and two wheelers. At present, its strength is not confined to gun toting desperadoes but seems to have spread to the villages with the massive membership drive. Many of its activists have floated several cover organisations, with a view to counter any possible crackdown.

A few secessionist body, the United National Socialist Council of Eastern Region (UNSCER) has sprung up recently. Talking to a group of newsmen in an interior village near Jagiroad on Wednesday the deputy secretary of UNSCER Diganta Gohain claimed that they have already built an army—the Peoples Revolutionary Volunteer Army (PRVA)—for establishing a sovereign and

independent country comprising of the existing North Eastern States Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura, Nagaland and Arunachal.

They have already held informal talks with the NSCN [National Socialist Council of Nagaland (rebel group)] and ULFA, Mr Gohain said adding that it fully supported the ULFA. According to him UNSCER has already established contacts with the KNU [Khasi National Union?] a secessionist outfit of Manipur whose leader Mr Naren Gohain had toyed with the idea of establishing an independent State comprising of some areas of India and Burma.

Another body the Barak Valley Liberation Front has reared its head in southern districts of Assam, with the aim of liberating the Barak Valley which includes Cachar, Karimganj and Hailakandi districts. According to official sources here, activists have already started subversive activities.

On the other hand, the liberation of Islamic Tiger Force (LITF) has surfaced in lower Assam. Its manifesto appeals to all the Muslims in this part of the country to unite and fight for a separate homeland called 'Islamistan'. Besides the Barak Valley, lower Assam districts like Goalpara, Kamrup and Darrang have become their field of operation.

In sharp contrast tribal groups have given birth to an army under the name Tribal Volunteer Force (TVF). It however has vowed to fight against secessionism.

Editorial Criticizes Rumors of Government Breakup

90AS0143A *Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi*
6 Jun 90 p 4

[Editorial: "Spreading Rumors Behind Back"]

[Text] This was the first time that rumors and discussions about breaking up the government became rampant when our prime minister was abroad participating in an international conference. The leaders who took part in these discussions and the newspapers that spread these rumors perhaps did not aim to start a revolution behind V.P. Singh's back. These discussions, if there were any, must be exploratory in nature. It would take three or four months before we can see any results of these discussions. However, the way these rumors were circulating in the capital, clearly shows that the cabinet ministers and their followers are not taking the government seriously.

What strange headlines did the newspapers print during those days? One heading announced that the Congress Party offered the prime ministry to Jyoti Basu, who turned it down as if it was a joke. An article explained how the people responsible for breaking up Morarji Desai's government in 1979 were conspiring to break up V.P. Singh's government. All those leaders then took turns in issuing statements denying the news story (or the

rumor) and calling it a bundle of lies. Those who were enjoying the stories of the possibility of raising the flag at the Red Fort on 15 August under the leadership of Devi Lal only a few days back, suddenly began to issue statements telling us how stable the Rashtariya Morcha government was. Chandra Shekhar who has never missed any opportunity to curse or blame this government, suddenly began to sing the praises of the Morcha government. We cannot blame the people for not believing these leaders since they know their past deeds.

This also gives the prime minister some food for thought. Is he projecting the image as the leader of a weak and indecisive government while he is focusing on the single goal of improving his image? Mr. Singh can disagree with us, however, discussions about his associates' involvement in conspiracies to overthrow the government would never improve his image. It affects not only him but the whole nation when such rumors are spread during his trip abroad.

Article Disputes Self-Determination for Kashmiris
90AS0143B *Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi*
6 Jun 90 p 4

[Article by Gaurinath Rastogi: "Fallacy of Self-Determination"]

[Text] Despite its failure to internationalize the Jammu-Kashmir issue, Pakistan tried to bring it up again on 17 May in the Social and Economic Council of the United Nations during a discussion about human rights. The Pakistani delegate, Mr. Nasim Ahmad, read his nine-page long statement. He raised the question of India's refusal to give the Kashmiris the right to self-determination and accused it of curbing the Kashmiri people's human rights. He could not see violation of human rights anywhere else in the world! There are examples of serious violations of human rights in his own country. They had forced almost all Hindus to leave for India after the partition. Later, Pakistan had declared Jafrrulla Khan, an important leader of the Pakistan movement and Pakistan's first foreign minister, and his Ahmadiya sect as non-Muslim and had treated them as second class citizens. This story is being repeated with the Zikri sect Muslims in Baluchistan.

Pakistan has come up with this new strategy after its failure to get international support in getting the Kashmiris to decide on their nation. Pakistan has not fulfilled the criteria required for its demand for popular vote passed in the Security Council's resolutions of 13 August 1948 and 5 January 1949. These resolutions required Pakistan to withdraw its armed forces stationed in two-fifth of Kashmir under its occupation. It has refused to follow up on that to this date. Pakistan also is aware of the fact that it cannot keep the fate of millions of people in Jammu-Kashmir hanging in the limbo for long by not fulfilling its share of the responsibility mentioned in those resolutions. It also knows that there was no condition of decision by majority vote in the states for joining

India or Pakistan in the regulations that gave India independence and established Pakistan. Pakistan's noted scholar, M. M. R. Khan, has admitted to this fact in his famous book, *UNITED NATIONS AND KASHMIR*, published in Karachi in 1957. He said, "The only condition for a state or province to join the Indian or Pakistani dominion in the constitutions adopted by India and Pakistan after their independence was a signed statement by the ruler of the state and its acceptance by the governor general of the related dominion. All constitutional requirements for joining the one or the other country were met once the governor-general of the specific country approved the merger."

Against this background, Pakistan has adopted this demand for self-determination, which is much more attractive than the majority vote demand, to get international support. India's permanent delegate to the United Nations, Mr. Menon, had taken this demand apart and given the following reasoning:

1. The right for self-determination was designed for the colonists to decide if they want independence.
2. The right for self-determination does not apply to an independent and autonomous country.
3. Jammu-Kashmir is an integral part of the Indian Union. This rule just cannot apply to it.
4. The separatist campaign in Jammu-Kashmir is openly supported by Pakistan and is a serious problem of terrorism. Many innocent Indian nationals have lost lives there.
5. If Pakistan's proposal is accepted, it will adversely affect the independence and autonomy of many countries in the world.
6. About 100 million Muslims are living peacefully in India. There seems to be no reason for self-determination in Jammu-Kashmir even on the religious issue.
7. Many linguistic groups in Pakistan have been demanding the right for self-determination for several years. Is Pakistan ready to give the right for self-determination to Baluchis, Pakhtoons, and Sindhis?

There is no doubt about the sound reasoning offered by the Indian delegate. The Pakistani delegate could not respond appropriately. There is still another irrefutable reasoning that makes the Pakistani claim for demanding self-determination very weak.

The Indian Independence Act, that the British Parliament passed on 3 June 1947 under the Mountbatten plan, does not mention anything about Indian states polling their people in determining which country to join. However, a similar right was given to the North West Frontier Province and Sylhet district in Assam. Mr. Mohammad 'Ali Jinnah himself represented Pakistan and the Muslim League in these serious discussions. He was a very able and renowned lawyer. He had agreed

to a signed request by the ruler of the province for joining either country. Does it mean that he had recognized the futility of establishing Pakistan on the two-nation theory? He had clearly stated in his 11 August 1947 speech to the constitutional assembly of Pakistan that Pakistan was not a religious country and that all its citizens, regardless of their religious affiliation, would have equal rights. Mr. Jinnah had sent his British military secretary to Sri Nagar three times to see Maharaja Hari Singh after Pakistan was established on 14 August 1947. Mr. Jinnah had clearly written in his secret letter that he [Hari Singh] was an independent king and only he had the right to decide which country his state was to join. He had further stated that the Maharaja did not even have to consult Sheikh Abdulla or the National Conference or the Muslim Conference on this issue.

Pakistan's reference to Articles One (Two) and 55 of the U.N. Charter is also baseless. Both of these articles encourage feelings of friendship, brotherhood, humanitarianism, cooperation in social, economic, health, international cultural, and education between independent countries. As Mr. Menon, the Indian delegate, has clearly stated, Pakistan has mocked these Articles by openly supporting terrorist activities in Kashmir.

The principle of national self-determination was initiated to help colonized countries around the world to gain independence until the 24 October 1945 charter was passed. Many multi-state countries like the United States and the Soviet Union exist even today. Opposed to this are the Arab nations in Western Asia. How can Pakistan demand a nation based on religion when it could not keep East Bengal, which it had acquired on this very basis? That part became Bangladesh in 1971.

G. M. Syed, leader of the Jiye Sindh Movement, has said that it is not the religion but the shared culture that binds the people of a geographical area. The Indian Independence Act of 1947 had advised the state rulers to recognize and review four issues namely geographic proximity, economic and political structure, political preference of the people, and culture when deciding which country to join. Jammu-Kashmir joined India on 26 October 1947, after meeting these criteria. As for common culture, Pakistan's socialist leader, Mian Hashmi, had said in 1984: "There is little or no difference between the cultures of the two countries. Their culture is so similar in many areas. What is the rationale for the existence of this country (Pakistan)? After all, 100 million Muslims live in peace and harmony in India!"

In the light of these facts, Pakistan has neither the right to use the self-determination principle, nor does it have any moral, constitutional, or legal right to talk about it. Instead, it appears to be standing in the box reserved for the accused.

IRAN

Source Expects Hizballah To Give Loyalty to Rafsanjani

90AA0190A London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic
11 Jun 90 pp 8-9

[Article by Dr. 'Ali Nurizadeh: "Burying Khomeinism in the Tomb of the Imam"]

[Text] Destiny wanted Ruhollah Musavi Khomeyni to be transformed from an exiled Iranian cleric into the leader of a revolution that he believed would be among the most important revolutions in this century of ours. Nevertheless, the man was unable to understand history throughout the time he ruled. Instead of leading his people to civilization and progress, he lowered the curtain over the cave of the Seven Sleepers and forced Iranians to enter the cave.

A year after his departure, those who lost their spiritual father by his death are gathering in his capital, Tehran, to pledge before his grave that his destructive mission will remain suspended until further notice. According to one Iranian journalist, the week-long ceremonies that began on the 1st of June to commemorate the death of Ayatollah Khomeyni were unlike other ceremonies and religious rites usually held in Iran. Indeed, these ceremonies represented a historic turning point in modern Iranian history. The preparations that the two sides in the struggle within the government (Hashemi-Rafsanjani and his faction, and Ahmad Khomeyni and Mohtashemi and their faction) made to exploit the ceremonies to serve their political aims revealed the nature of the present struggle in Iran over the Khomeyni legacy. It became clear that the results that ensue from these ceremonies will define the regime's destiny, nature, and future directions. Certainly, the gathering in Tehran of leaders and cadres of terrorist and extremist organizations, most of which were born with Ayatollah Khomeyni's blessing and under his sponsorship, is the best indication that the faction that invited them to participate in commemorating "the spiritual father's" death is determined to use the guests at the imam's grave to revitalize Khomeynism. Rafsanjani, on the other hand, is determined to turn the ceremonies into rites for burying Khomeynism beside Khomeyni. Rafsanjani's circles point out that the professional terrorists who are guests in Tehran will have to choose between the holder of the keys to the Iranian treasury (Rafsanjani, as head of state) and the guardian of the mummy of Khomeynism (Ahmad Khomeyni). If they choose the former and proclaim their allegiance to him, this means that they will lose their legitimacy: there will remain no justification for their political presence on either the regional or the international level. If the leaders of Hizballah are forced to announce their loyalty to Rafsanjani to maintain the continuance of Iranian financial and military support to them, Hizballah will naturally become subject to Rafsanjani's decisions and directives. Tomorrow, when America is transformed from "the Great Satan"

into "the Dear Friend," how will Hizballah be able to justify the new Iranian policy that asks it to remove the slogans hostile to America, Israel, and the countries friendly to Washington? In the opinion of an Iranian source close to Rafsanjani, Hizballah will lose its attractiveness and its bases without these slogans. On the other hand, if the leaders of Hizballah chose the other way, that of clinging to Khomeynism and following the orders of Khomeyni's son and his entourage of extremists, Khomeynism will be unable to guarantee bread, weapons, and armored cars. Since most of the leaders and cadres of the revolutionary Islamic organizations joined the ranks of revolutionaries in search of money, prestige, and a good life, and not to prepare for their life in the next world, Khomeynism can be expected to be buried beside Khomeyni in the presence of his spiritual children who came to Tehran in the last two weeks. From the Syrian-Palestinian Ahmad Jibril, to the well-known Lebanese kidnapper Husayn al-Musawi, and from Hasan al-Saffar, whom Khomeyni appointed as leader of the Hijaz, to Baqir al-Hakim, who began packing his bags to leave Iran after the Iraqi president's second letter to Rafsanjani arrived—all these revolutionaries have begun to feel that the age of terrorism is approaching its end and that they have an appointment with a new Iran. And then there is the tone of its leadership. If Rafsanjani remains in power, he will need the national forces to control the extremists. These forces will not support Rafsanjani as long as extremism pilots Iranian policy into a sea of storms. If the hidden uprising in Iran develops and the Iranian national movement becomes able to regain power, the revolutionaries and owners of revolutionary shops will no longer have a place in Iran. A prominent Iranian source indicates that Rafsanjani has become convinced that the only hope for the continuance of his government is to bury Khomeynism and what it represented domestically and internationally before Ahmad Khomeyni and his cohorts again breathe life into the man who died physically last June after making his proteges a means to obstruct all efforts to bring Iran out of its disastrous situation. The Iranian source adds that Rafsanjani is now trying to realize four objectives.

1. To prove that Khomeynism was a failed experiment that brought Iran nothing but evils and setbacks and to stress the necessity of leaving Khomeyni in his grave to rest from the disasters whose principal cause he himself was. Attempting to realize this goal, Rafsanjani has mobilized his forces in the media, mosques, universities, and schools to announce to the people the beginning of a new stage in Iran's history and to end the age of revolutionary slogans and expressions. As an example of this, Rafsanjani's assistant, 'Ata'ollah Mohajerani, who in an editorial in the official newspaper ETTELA'AT had already advocated direct negotiation with America, wrote an article last week on the eve of the anniversary of Khomeyni's death, saying, "Gathering in the streets and raising signs and slogans against America and 'haughtiness' will not free our people from the fetters that prevent our forward progress."

"Our losses in the years after our revolution prove the ineffectiveness of policies based on slogans. Slogans are of no use in rebuilding Khorramshahr and 'Abadan. Instead of raising their revolutionary slogans in the streets and wasting their valuable time shouting revolutionary cries and phrases, they should be heading toward Khorramshahr and 'Abadan and the other destroyed areas to rebuild them. Surely they will thereby help liberate the country and break the fetters that backwardness has fastened on our hands and feet."

This and similar articles and speeches by members of Rafsanjani's faction represent the Iranian president's resolve to realize his first goal. Its realization will clearly prepare the way for the achievement of the other goals.

2. The Iranian president's second goal, according to a source close to him, is peace with Iraq. There are those who believe that bringing about final peace between Iraq and Iran will be the coup de grace to Khomeyniism, which opposed peace with Iraq and refused to end the war for six years after the withdrawal from Khorramshahr. The Iranian source notes that the Iraqi president's letter to Rafsanjani arrived at a time when those gathered under Khomeyni's aegis were ready to launch a new campaign against Rafsanjani's policies and views. Rafsanjani used the arrival of the letter as an opportunity to announce that the age of slogans was over and that the war had finally ended. It should be mentioned that Rafsanjani's efforts and those of certain Arab figures, especially the Sultan of Oman, whom some expect to mediate the historic meeting between the Iranian and Iraqi president, and the PLO, whose leader, President Yasir 'Arafat, sent his personal emissary Abu Khalid al-Lahham to Tehran several times to mediate between Tehran and Baghdad, and Tehran and Riyadh—these efforts have indeed borne fruit. Even the followers of Khomeyniism have been forced to acknowledge that the resumption of fighting with Iraq would be collective suicide in light of the development of the Iraqi war machine. Now Karrubi, who used to oppose signing a peace treaty with Iraq and whose statements calling for "liberating Iraq and Saudi Arabia" have not yet been forgotten, has said at his press conference the day the ceremonies marking the anniversary of Khomeyni's death began, "Iran has received two letters from the president of Iraq. The Iranian leadership answered one of them and will also answer the second letter. The two letters involve a call to realize comprehensive peace. It is possible to conduct direct negotiations between President Rafsanjani and President Saddam Husayn, if Iraq shows good intentions." Although the Iranian source considers the Baghdad summit's communique and the Iranian government's response to it—a response formulated under pressure from the extremists—to be a blow to efforts to arrange a meeting between the Iranian and Iraqi presidents, he stresses that the blow was merely a slight jolt whose effect vanished as soon as Iraq announced that it was holding to its previous position.

3. Rafsanjani's third objective is to bring Iran out of its isolation by dialogue with the West and by negotiations

with the Arab states to remove existing obstacles to the normalization process with these states. AL-DUSTUR's sources in the Iranian capital say that the president of Iran has expressed his approval of the behavior of King Husayn and President Husni Mubarak and of their speeches during the recent Baghdad summit, especially those dealing with Iran and its people. Some sources expect there to be behind-the-scenes contacts between Tehran, 'Amman, and Cairo, and perhaps between Tehran and Riyadh.

4. Rafsanjani's fourth objective is to gain the confidence of the national forces in order to cooperate with them. This confidence, which still does not exist, will not come about as long as the three previously mentioned objectives are not realized, according to one of the leaders of the Iranian national movement within Iran.

Kabul Meeting on Peace Front of Afghanistan (PFA)

90AS0146A Kabul PAYAM in Dari 7, 8 May 90

[Report on Meeting about Peace Front of Afghanistan (PFA) Organized by PAYAM to Solicit Opinions of Various Groups on Peace]

[7 May pp, 1, 2, 3]

[Excerpts] Most respected friends, first allow me to express the deep gratitude of the editorial board of the newspaper PAYAM to all the friends who have attended. This open forum being held today at PAYAM's offices has serious political benefits. This open forum is evidence that we are truly headed for a profound change in our political relations and thought in Afghanistan. For the first time representatives of the prominent and reputable political and social groups in Afghanistan have gathered at an open forum to discuss specific political issues which have to do with the future of peace in Afghanistan.

Today's discussion is about peace in Afghanistan and the role of the Peace Front of Afghanistan [PFA] in Afghanistan, and the views and conclusions of the respected friends taking part in this meeting will pertain to this subject.

The PFA Plan, which was announced in the month of Hut last year [20 February-20 March 1989] led to a broad expression of opinion. The newspaper PAYAM, a publication of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA], played a significant part in organizing and extending this expression of opinion. [passage omitted]

Before the open forum comes to order, the following official statement is made concerning the respected friends who have come here:

- Ms. Ma'sumeh 'Asmati Wardak, chairman of the All Afghanistan Women's Council.

- Purhand Asghar, chairman of the Afghanistan Salvation Society.
- Mr. 'Abdol-Hakim Tawana, head of the Justice Party of Afghan Peasants.
- Mr. Haji Safar Mohammad Khadim, head of the Union of God's Supporters [Ittihadiyah-e Ansarollah].
- Mr. Gholam Sakhi-Gheytrat, managing editor of the monthly magazine MIHAN, central publication of the Revolutionary Organization of Afghan Workers [SAZA—Sazeman-e Inqilabi-ye Zahmatkeshan-e Afghanistan], and Mr. Seyfoddin from that organization.
- Dr. Aqa Mohammad Dehzad, member of the Leadership Council of the Organization of Afghan Workers.
- Dr. Seyyed Ebrahim, member of the Leadership Council of the Young Workers' Organization of Afghanistan [Sazeman-e Kargaran-e Javan-e Afghanistan] and Seyyed Mirza, member of the Central Committee of that organization.
- Mr. Wali, Secretary of the Kabul Committee of the PDPA.
- Mr. 'Ali Ahmad Fakur, head of the Nation of Thousands Coordination Center [Markaz-e Ensejam-e Melliyat-e Hezareh] and three of his colleagues.
- Mr. Nur Akbar Payesh, secretary of the Documents Commission of the Afghanistan Peace Congress.
- Mr. 'Abdol-Qoddus Ghorbandi, National Front Deputy.
- Mr. Sattar Pur-Deli, President of the Central Afghanistan Trade Unions Council.
- Mr. Mohammad Ebrahim, first secretary of the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan [DYOA].
- Mr. Fayzollah Alborz, president of the Executive Committee of the Republic of Afghanistan Central Rural Cooperatives Council.

Thus, with the permission of all friends, the session will come to order officially, and I think I will take direction from Mr. Purhand and Ms. 'Esmati and present as the first topic of discussion the question of how we will present the organization to everyone. Perhaps the first question, which will lead us to many others, is: in the view of our respected friends, why is the PFA necessary?

Why are we forming a PFA? The reasons are stated in Afghan official government documents, in the PFA Plan, and in the Charter of the Afghan PFA, and it has been clearly stated in the views expressed by the political organizations and social groups. However, I think we should raise this question once as a way to get us talking together, and our friends should give their views on why the PFA is necessary, and why all of us Afghans consider the PFA necessary.

[Purhand Asghar] Someone who is a part of this front and has played a part in its design should answer first:

[Rugh] That is correct.

[Abdol-Qoddus Ghorbandi] With the permission of the respected scholars, the front must be supported and all

the forces desiring peace must serve to achieve peace and be organized in some way. The necessity for the front arises from this basic need. If all the political and social forces and all the influential and reputable people in society who emanate some form of grace and good will and whose words and actions show that they have knowledge and will are not mobilized in the service of peace, how will peace be achieved? [passage omitted]

I hope that the individuals who have had experience in the National Front will be more active in the PFA. I can only ask and serve in the way that I have served the comrades before. Our society is a traditional society, a society of elders and people of influence, a society of clergymen, and in addition it is a traditional society. Now the capacity and combat potential of those in the military ranks that has emerged in these last few years is even greater. Every day as the war subsides and the uselessness of bloodshed becomes apparent, these same military ranks are also finding a role and importance in political, economic, and social affairs. Therefore it is necessary to create the PFA so we can make use of all of this emergent potential in the front, so it will not really be a mechanical and limited peace front, but an extensive and public one, representing the will of the nation.

[Abdol-Hakim Tawana] [passage omitted] The war has wearied and damaged our entire nation. Most of our compatriots want peace. This majority has members opposed to the government and within the government of the Republic of Afghanistan, but peace is a universal desire. This universal desire can be met through a political union.

For this reason the political parties and groups in our country have truly understood this necessity, and they have begun efforts to create a broad political union, which until today has been known as the PFA. [passage omitted] War cannot solve the Afghan problem. Only dialogue, negotiation, mutual understanding, and elections can open the way for the nation's future. [passage omitted] Another matter is also clear, and this is another conclusion from 11 years of war, and that is that no political party, no organization, no group and no political faction alone can take the responsibility of leading the nation. For this reason it is necessary to form a union and a bloc of those who advocate peace. Of course, this must be a broad bloc. This bloc must not be established on a foundation of intellectual criteria, and indeed cannot be. This bloc can be formed on the basis of very broad and comprehensive social criteria, such as peace and national reconciliation. [passage omitted]

[Rugh] Thank you very much Mr. Tawana. Other comrades may have something else to add about this subject. Why do we require the PFA? Are there friends who wish to add something about this question?

[Dr. Saheb Dehzad] [passage omitted] The lack of a political front in Afghanistan has prolonged this war. Of course this matter is now being considered from the point of view of how this front ought to be created. How

should it be constituted? Because of the end of the war, the front should now include all the elements who caused the war, whether politically, economically, or culturally. This can create a new front that will take into account all of these factors. [passage omitted]

[Rugh] Other friends...

[Sakhi-Gheytrat] [passage omitted] The people are tired, they loathe the war, they are fed up. This is reality. But it is much more logical and correct for us to discuss ending the war, because without ending the war peace cannot be created. We can discuss the war when we search for its elements and provocations, when we analyze and study and take inspiration from the existing reality, and when we draw from the study basic social and practical conclusions about what can organize and unite the forces of the people.

In our view, two provocations among all the provocations of the war and its subsequent conflagration were very important at the national level. One was the monopoly of power, and the PDPA's control of all government power, which embodied the denial of all the national, democratic, liberation, and independence forces of Afghanistan, and the result of that was that fortunately this was analyzed even in the official media. The second provocation was the presence of Soviet forces in Afghanistan. Fortunately, the second provocation does not exist, and Soviet forces are no longer in Afghanistan. However, the PDPA continues to monopolize power. This is why we believe that the first reason for creating a political front is that a decision-making center for national and government affairs should be chosen by the PDPA that can really represent all the political forces of Afghanistan and all the independent, learned, and patriotic people of Afghanistan. This in our view is a fundamental and basic point, meaning the creation of a decision-making center for public political affairs that would not be only done by the PDPA, but that could represent a much broader range of national and political forces. This is one reason. The second reason is that of course we are well-acquainted with all the organizations that have been formed in the last 12 years. One of the various fronts that have been formed is the National Fatherland Front, and then the current National Front, which is more like a charity organization. In practice, this front has shown that it cannot be politically competent. Another point that is very important is the struggles of the existing political forces in Afghanistan, not only SAZA, for example, but other political parties and organizations have always raised the issue of the front along with the PDPA, and they even comprise part of their program. This did not come up today, I state with certainty that discussions have been going on for 10 years at various levels, including the question of forming such a front. This did not arise simply from the good will of this or that party, it is the result of a much broader struggle. [passage omitted]

Today we see how nine new organizations are rising up in our society in the name of democracy and freedom. In

this situation, what need do we have of rockets and weapons? It is thus better if we turn to the organizations who can provide freedom and peace for the people at the national level, bring peace and end the war, and who at the international level can deepen our nation's ties to the world we live in.

Thank you.

[Dr. Seyyed Ebrahim] With the permission of Mr. Rugh and the audience, of course the problem of peace and the continuation of the war predominates in our society. Naturally, every Afghan is obliged to think and look for ways out of this problem. Of course, the one-sided ideas in the plans of the organizations from the left, the middle, and the right, as the experience of the past 12 years has shown, are not capable of leading all of society or solving the Afghan problem at the domestic level. [passage omitted]

The organizations and other entities in their statements here and there, have elevated the plan to create an extensive political union so this plan will be echoed positively in various ways throughout the country, and this led to the formation of a cell called the Document Procurement Cell of the Afghan PFA, and that name is still under review. The front is not affiliated with any political group. No unilateral thinking governs this front, and it works on the basis of national principles and criteria. Thus, it is my view that it is not right to align this front with this group or that group, with the right or the left, with religious or so-called non-religious groups, although fortunately there are no non-religious groups in Afghanistan. We call upon all the people of Afghanistan, all the organizations who have come to this front today, and all the organizations, groups, and peoples who are watching this front with doubt and hesitation, to send us their proposals and views, and we are sending them our views in practice, and we will give structure to the proposals inside and outside Afghanistan, [passage omitted] so that the PFA will not remain on one side of the Afghan question and so that its organizations and foundations will move more broadly among the various groups.

[Mr. Khadim] In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. To the extent of my knowledge, I will say the following concerning Mr. Rugh's question about why the Afghan PFA should exist: You know that the Afghan civil war has been going on for more than 12 years. The policy of reconciliation was announced three years ago, and work continues for its implementation. The National Front has existed and does exist, it has its organizations, and in terms of its ability, as far as was possible, to the extent that it was possible for work to be done, in some areas the National Front and the PFA were necessary for one another, but the basic flaw in the National Front first of all has been that political parties had no role in it and second that it was monopolized by the PDPA. The party perceived this and announced that the PFA would not be censored by anyone. The exalted

work of the PFA has continued for four months, and parties, social organizations, and individuals are participating.

If they have left the country, we have written to them to facilitate their participation in the PFA. On the basis of the front, trust in God that the war will end and we will achieve unity.

[Mr. Fakur] [passage omitted] Among the factors causing the war was the fact that we did not honor the people's religious rights, their political freedom, their individual dignity, and their accepted traditions. This matter has truly angered and disgusted the people. I myself belong to the nation of thousands. We really believed that this revolution, or phenomenon, was in our interest, because we were the most deprived nation in this land, we were a people who had suffered for years, we were a people who had seen political deprivation, we had extraordinary expectations that phenomenon would put an end to our condemnation, our oppression, and the injustices that had been visited on us, but unfortunately, instead of reaching its basic goals, the phenomenon ignored our religious rights, our political freedoms were ignored, our traditions were ignored, and a great many of our scholars and learned men, people who were the pillars and the backbone of our society, have been taken away. The people have certainly shown a negative reaction to this phenomenon. Since the time the party obtained a political monopoly, they have had to react negatively or by going to war. We therefore believe that peace must begin from the very point at which the war began. Fortunately, today the PDPA has realized that it must take into consideration tradition, religion, old ways of doing things, and individual and personal dignity. We therefore expect, God willing, that peace will begin in this direction without our taking a position. Another issue was Afghanistan's neutrality, which was violated. When the Sawr phenomenon took place, our large northern neighbor, the Soviet Union, was absolutely greedy about intervening in the politics of Afghanistan. It sent its military forces to provide support for Afghanistan's one-sided policies. At this point the Western government, especially the United States of America, felt that this was an opportunity that must not be missed. Afghanistan's neutrality was really a regional issue. If we had kept Afghanistan's neutrality with the phenomenon, or the Sawr phenomenon, we would not have done these things. We see that these weapons, these implements, and this money was given to the extremists. Thus, when the neutrality of Afghanistan was violated, the Western world was provoked, they strengthened the opposing side of the conflict with weapons and money. On this side the Soviets gave weapons and aid and our nation was turned into a battlefield. We thus believe that if we want to bring about peace in Afghanistan we must give extraordinary thought to Afghanistan's neutrality. Even the governments fighting in the Afghan war must guarantee Afghanistan's neutrality, as they do for Switzerland. If they do so, there will no longer be a war in Afghanistan, and peace will certainly come.

Another issue we have discussed previously is the monopoly of political power in the hands of the PDPA, which they very narrow-mindedly supported. Some of the party comrades are here. You heard that they said that two million Afghans are enough, the rest of them are reactionaries and traitors, yet the problem of the nation cannot be so easily solved, therefore all the people of the nation must solve the nation's problem.

Another factor that will help with the peace issue is the return of the assets of the people. Fortunately the government has announced this, these assets, this trampled dignity, the honor and trampled prestige of the people are to be returned, and the mistakes that have been made will be corrected. My points were first that the neutrality of Afghanistan must be guaranteed. This is a serious issue. In addition there are the religious rights and political freedom that must be secured. Almighty God willing, peace will be secured in the country.

To be Continued

[8 May pp 1, 3]

[Excerpt]

[Mr. Mohammad Wali] [passage omitted] A number of our friends have discussed the factors in the war, but in one sense there was not a wide expression of opinion with regard to existing circumstances. For example, they explained that the monopolization of power and the coming of Soviet soldiers were factors in the war, but it was forgotten that for the people of Afghanistan there was also aggression from without, which had a great impact on the war, and those factors have origins that are 15 years old.

The war really started 15 years ago from the districts of Kashm-e Badakhshan and Panjshir Parvan in the Province of Laghman. The same people who are leading the opposition today began the war at that time. The forces fomenting war from without also sought to intensify the war against Afghanistan.

Our friends have said that the monopolization of power must end, and the PDPA has been talking about that for three years, but there can be no organization that embodies that idea unless it comes about through the creation of a front for the entire nation's fate, thereby creating a new monopoly. The front must not be formed only from the nation's existing political parties, it must create the conditions and the resources to accommodate all armed forces and individuals inside and outside the country, because if the front does not accommodate the opposition, and if those who are working to achieve peace for the people of Afghanistan do not see the way for the practical realization of their aims, again some of those who wish peace for the nation will be left out of this comprehensive peace process.

I think that all the factors taken together will mean the formation of a PFA in Afghanistan.

[Dr. Rugh] First we discussed the necessity for a peace front, not about the good intentions of this or that political party. When we speak of the necessity of peace fronts, this means we are speaking with awareness about very serious matters, and there is something more behind it than simply good will.

I therefore would like to say that the background and the elements of the war in Afghanistan over the last 12 years, or as Mr. Waly said, 15 years, is not our basic subject of discussion now.

I think that in designing the plan of the peace front, in the other talks all the friends have given, in the Documents Commission, discussed previously by Mr. Tawana, on the pages of the newspaper PAYAM and other newspapers, radio and television stations, much has been said on this subject. We must find our topic for this discussion so that the basic foundations of the PFA will give form to all the forces supporting peace in a single idea. [passage omitted]

I propose that three main points form the basic focus of the discussion:

(1) Our idea that the future front should have universal qualities, how the future front will have universal qualities, and what must be done so the future front will not remain on one side of the solution to the Afghan problem. In this regard, a related question arises about what arrangements ought to be made so that the PFA will have the ability to attract the participation of all forces supporting peace in Afghanistan. [passage omitted] How will the front have universal qualities? What can we do that not just domestic leaders, but also opposition leaders in Peshawar, the opposition in Iran, as well as the Afghans in the West, organized or not, and influential and reputable people will take part and have an influence in the process of finding a political solution in Afghanistan? What can we do, and what arrangements can we make so that all of them will be interested in participating in the formation of this front?

[Puhand Asghar] I am mostly thinking of the PFA Charter, or the design of the PFA's plan, and the answers to my questions have been published in the newspapers.

My first question pertains to Article Two of the PFA Plan, which says: The PFA is an extensive political organization that will, in accordance with its resources, with the other forces outside the front, govern and lead the country in the form of an Interim Government Union Council and an interim government, and when conditions are appropriate it will hold public, free, secret, and fair elections to transfer political power to the people of Afghanistan.

When the front is formed, as I said in answer to one of your questions, the PFA will be above everyone, higher than the government, higher than the legislative and judicial powers, higher than the National Council, but the "appropriate conditions" have not been defined, at what time they will exist so that this transfer of power

can take place. We have examples of it in other places. In Germany the Nazi Party had this very power, it was higher than the three powers of government—the executive, legislative, and judicial powers. In Italy, the Fascist Party had this same power; until yesterday in the Soviet Union the Communist Party had this power; the Political Bureau and the Central Committee exist right now in Afghanistan and they guide. The organizations that exist are leftist democratic parties resembling in many ways the PDPA, and the PDPA was very active in the formation of the other parties, and they are united now and have been. The question is, they are united now, what plan have they brought to this task? They have created peace in Afghanistan and today are simply working under a different name. The changes that have taken place today in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have shown that a monopoly of power with one party does not bring fruitful results. Today one political party has been formed in Afghanistan and it is the PDPA. Those other parties are also leftist democratic parties, they just aren't in the form of the PDPA.

Here they also say that the role of the forces participation will be according to their role in the procurement of peace. Of course, the PDPA has a large role, and the PDPA will control power even more than before under another name.

I think the people of Afghanistan, most of the people of Afghanistan, in fact there is no one in Afghanistan who does not support peace. Even those who are bearing arms today, whether they call themselves Mujahidin or something else, have wearied of the war. Therefore, there are hopes of ending the war, but when will this happen? Why don't you simply stop fighting? You are one side of the war. The Afghans who have left the country are political leaders. They also hope for peace, while the Mujahidin are fanatics who are unwilling to sit at the table and talk with you at any price. You should also acknowledge that there are fanatics and fundamentalists in your group, who will not at any price be satisfied with the procedure that Dr. Najibullah has proposed. The majority supports mutual understanding. An atmosphere of no confidence prevails in our country. Do you realize that no one reads the newspapers? Everything they print is repetition. The PFA is a good thing as a name and as an aspiration, but what will it do to bring peace? Today rockets are raining down on the people of Afghanistan, homes are being destroyed, our government is firing Scud missiles. Several days ago the Soviet representative came and I asked him, if there were a rebellion in one of your republics, would you shoot Scud missiles at them? These are the same Scud missiles that played such an important part in the Iran-Iraq war. We are killing our nation with them. Women and children are still saying, we want peace.

To be continued.

Iran To Provide Crude Oil, Professors

34000766Z Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English
4 May 90 p 1

[Text] Zambia will be importing Iranian crude oil at a cheaper cost when a trade agreement signed last year is finalised by top level Tehran government officials to visit Zambia next month.

Officials from the ministries of mines, agriculture, commerce and industry will come to finalise a memorandum of understanding signed in Iran to launch trade in oil and copper.

Iranian ambassador Mr Mohsen Pakaein said in Lusaka yesterday joint ventures in areas of shoemaking, cloth weaving and wooden products like furniture would also begin.

The disclosure came during an interview marking the third anniversary of the Iran-Zambia diplomatic ties.

He also said Iran was planning to send to Zambia University lecturers to help close the gap caused by an exodus sparked by poor conditions of service.

While the lecturers would be specialists in medicine, Iran would also look into mathematics and science teachers for secondary schools.

"Our Ministry of Labour has offered ten places for short technical courses of two and three months. We have mechanical and other subjects to offer.

Iran would continue to donate educational books to schools and the two universities. The lack of chairs and desks in schools had also drawn its attention.

Stock Market Statistics Announced

90AS0130A Tehran *JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI* in Persian
31 May 90 p 2

[Text] News Division—The shares of five companies were sold at the stock market yesterday as follows:

1. The Fars and Khuzestan Cement Manufacturing Company, 116,494 shares at the price of 10,000 rials.
 2. The Agro-Industrial Company of Khorasan, 200 shares, at the price of 5,502 rials.
 3. The Ceramics Industries of Isfahan, 10,000 shares, at the price of 4,401 rials—a price increase of 78 rials.
 4. The Pars Electric Company, 692.8 shares, at the price of 3,506 rials.
 5. The National Investment Company of Iran, 100 shares, at the price of 1,650 rials—and at the second offer, 50,550 shares with a price increase of 72 rials.
- The sales of the shares of the Fars and Khuzestan Cement Manufacturing Company took place for the first time since revocation of suspension.
 - The shares of items two and three (above) were tendered by the Industries and Mining Bank.

- Also 50,000 shares of the National Investment Company of Iran were tendered by the Bank of Agriculture.

Dam, Factory, Road Projects Planned

90AS0130G Tehran *JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI* in Persian
31 May 90 p 4

[Text] Masjed-e Soleyman—JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI correspondent: Explaining the role, the significance, and the progress rate of three major projects that are being carried out in the Masjed-e Soleyman city region during an interview, the representative of the people of Masjed-e Soleyman in the Islamic Consultative Majles said in connection with the construction of a cement plant: As a result of follow-ups and surveys carried out by the honorable president of the Islamic Republic, it was agreed that the plant be built over the five-year plan.

In connection with the construction of the Shahr-e Kord-Ahvaz road which is to pass through the Masjed-e Soleyman route, he said: With the construction of this road by 1371 [21 March 1992-20 March 1993] the distance between Khuzestan and Tehran will be shortened by approximately 400 kilometers. Mentioning the construction of the fourth current dam of Karun, the representative of the people of Masjed-e Soleyman added: With the construction of the dam, 1,000 megawatts shall be added to the nationwide electricity grid.

He said: It is projected that the dam shall become operational towards the end of the five-year plan.

Employers Must Ensure Workers Become Literate

90AS0130B Tehran *JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI* in Persian
31 May 90 p 3

[Text] News Division—Through a circular letter the minister of labor and social affairs asked all production, industrial, service, and agricultural units to put their full force behind cooperating to launch the plan for literacy mobilization.

According to the circular letter: Since based on the government's agreement the donation of public facilities to private sector employers and managers will be subject to their collaborating in literacy promotion affairs, it is hereby stressed that firms who continue to retain illiterate employees should in keeping with the plan take up prompt measures to educate their workers. And in view of the government's resolution to uproot this social problem, all employers and employees are expected to support this humane and Islamic measure so that after the execution of the Literacy Mobilization Plan all of the illiterate personnel of firms subject of this circular letter shall be able to read and write—with there being no need to use the sanctions approved by the board of ministers.

In the meantime, a staff comprising of representatives of relevant ministries and the Literacy Movement has been organized in this ministry for cooperation and supervisory purposes.

Eizeh Residents Granted Economic Assistance

90AS0130C Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 31 May 90 p 4

[Text] Eizeh—JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI daily correspondent:

During the past year, some four million rials were spent on educational equipment and stationery for 1,268 secondary school and university students supported by the Imam's Relief Committee [IRC].

According to our reporter, announcing the above issue, the manager of the IRC of the city of Eizeh said during an interview: In this same connection a students' dormitory has been inaugurated in this city and made available to the beloved students covered by the IRC.

He said in connection with services rendered for individuals covered by this institution: 18,324 needy individuals living in the region benefit from the capabilities of the Relief Committee under the Shahid Reja'i plan, the Soldier plan, and the Poor and the Oppressed plan. During this time, more than 288,000 kgs of flour, rice, oil, cheese, and lentils, 3,800 cans of preserved food, and varieties of clothing have been distributed among those covered by the IRC.

The manager of the IRC went on to cite the treatment of 4,088 patients covered by the institution, as well as the construction and restoration of 12 residential units at the cost of 4,378,720 rials, as the other services of the institution.

At the end of the interview he mentioned the purchase of home utensils worth more than 18 million rials for fire victims, the procurement of supplies for newly married women supported by the Committee in the amount of 40 million rials, and asked the Hezbollah people of the region to further support and help the institution in serving the deprived members of society.

Literacy Meeting Convened in Char-Mahal va Bakhtiari

90AS0130D Tehran JOMHURI-YE ISLAMI in Persian 31 May 90 p 4

[Text] Shahr-e-Kord—JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI correspondent:

The support staff meeting of the Literary Movement of the province of Char-Mahal va Bakhtiari presided over by the governor of Shahr-e-Kord county convened in the presence of the deputy and the general directors of the Education Department, managers of the Literacy Movement, mayors as well as its other members, in the city hall of Shahr-e-Kord.

At the outset of the meeting, the manager of the Literary Movement declared: Any schoolmaster who organizes four literacy classes shall receive a ranks promotion as encouragement. He also stated: Fortunately the literacy plan was received with unprecedented enthusiasm at the provincial level, where a total number of 435 literacy movement classes were organized and 7,425 illiterate persons attended them. We have managed to attract 40 percent of 17,000 illiterates into these classes.

In conclusion, he said: As of next year, fifth grade evening classes of the primary level too shall be made available to the Literary Movement.

Anticorruption Activities Outlined

90AS0130E Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 31 May 90 p 4

[Text] Kashan—JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI correspondent:

During an interview with newsmen, Kashan's commander of the Islamic Revolution Komiteh outlined the operations of the Islamic Revolution Komiteh's guards in connection with launching the Zafar II [Triumph II] plan, and the campaign against social vices.

He said: In addition to arresting 90 offenders during a week of implementing the Zafar plan, more than one kg [as published] of drugs was discovered. Also during the two initial months of the current year 1.235 kilos of heroin and opium were found. He also mentioned the discovery of contraband—including unauthorized foreign cigarettes, cassette and video tapes, pornographic pictures—as the other activities of the komiteh guards.

The Commander of Kashan's Islamic Revolution Komiteh cited the plan for fighting vice and malevolence in observing the Islamic cover [hejab] as a useful measure for solving this social dilemma, and said: Based on the legislation of the plan for fighting malevolent veiling and vices, the Islamic Revolution Komiteh shall spare no effort in this regard, and God willing we will be able to comfort the hearts of the martyrs' families with their plan.

Advising owners of public places to observe canonical tenets, he went on to say: The shops and business premises of owners of public and private establishments shall be closed down in the event of any canonical infringement and violation of public morality on their part, and the business privileges of repeated offenders shall be revoked.

At the end of the interview he said: The inquiry staff of the Islamic Revolution Komiteh is at the service of the people round-the-clock for the acquisition of information, and we hope to be able to purge our society of such vices in the near future.

Land Cultivated for Agriculture After Nine Years

90AS0130F Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian
31 May 90 p 4

[Text] Susangerd—JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI correspondent: After the passage of nine years, in the agricultural year of 68-69 [21 March 1989-20 March 1990], 10,000 hectares of the graded areas of Hoveyzeh were brought under cultivation for grains by the Reconstruction Jihad and the Agricultural Services Center of Dasht-e Azadegan.

Declaring the above issue during an interview with our reporter, the district governor of Hoveyzeh said: The cultivation of these areas will increase our agricultural products by some 10,000 tons. Mentioning the constraints confronting farmers he said: A large section of the fertile areas of Hoveyzeh is occupied by feudals, where oppressed farmers who are deprived of land toil as laborers. We ask responsible individuals in the Judicature to investigate the issue and to confront the land speculators. He added: The majority of the agricultural areas of the region have turned into marshlands due to a lack of drainage. Some 50,000 hectares of the lands are in the process of diminishing due to the discharge of the drainage waters of the Hamidiyeh region into the Karkheh-nur River—a cause of acute worry among farmers.

Then, in connection with the situation of government offices, the district governor of Hoveyzeh said: A large number of government offices in this city lack administrative facilities and mostly operate inside leased residential buildings. We are asking for the assistance of responsible officials in this connection to provide us with the budget to construct administrative facilities. Also, appreciating the efforts of the Restoration Staff of the Holy Shrine [of Imam Reza] in connection with the restoration and renovation of the ruined city of Hoveyzeh, he said: The city hall of Hoveyzeh is not capable of asphaltting the city single-handedly, and we seek the assistance of the Restoration Staff of the Holy Shrine to cooperate with the city hall of Hoveyzeh in this matter.

At the end of the interview, the district governor asked the Rural Restoration Staff to put in further efforts to restore villages in order to speed up the return of rural migrants to their villages.

Editorial Criticizes Western-Style Democracies

90AS0169A Tehran RESALAT in Persian
18 Jun 90 pp 1, 12

[Text] Western-style democratization of Islam, is one of the clumsiest conspiracies ever designed against the regime of the Islamic republic.

Following the events in the Eastern Block and the eventual failure of Marxism, theoreticians and rulers of socialist countries who did not dare to declare the failure

of their school [of thought] brought up the "democratization of socialism" in order to analogize the collapse of their ideology.

Countries which fell into the quicksand of socialism after World War II—in imitation of the Soviet Union—or agreed to reforms, again per Moscow's recipe, and were democratized either fell victims to the collapse of their regimes, such as Romania, or accepted elections which were staged by foreigners, such as Nicaragua.

During the past several decades, the socialist revolution had turned into a model for nations that wished to free themselves from the chains of colonialism and imperialism. However, when socialism with its promise of bread for the people failed to provide the same, it turned into a failed ideology and countries which had based their revolution on the "promise of bread" eventually disintegrated when they [the socialist governments] could not provide it. In all of this, what clarified the nature of socialism and speeded up its downfall—especially in Islamic countries—was the Islamic revolution of Iran which presented a new model for administration of Islamic countries. In the aftermath of this, the western-style democracy, which was suffering from lack of ideological principals, tried with its propaganda to portray the collapse of socialism as one of its achievements and thus replace another deviating model in place of the previously unfitting one. Perhaps the "western-style guided democracy" can be effective in countries like Nicaragua and Chile which are presently suffering from a cultural emptiness. However, on the contrary, in Islamic countries the attack on culture and western-style democracy has just begun. Moslem nations are very much against manifestations of western-style democracies—which boils down to freedom of immorality and prostitution and opposition to noble piety. Western-style democracy unequivocally opposes and calls the noble Islam which aims to govern as "fundamentalist". Western-style democracy supports any form of unruly freedom and immoral practices but opposes the freedom of practicing religion (such as the Islamic cover) with the rationale that it is the "laic" [secular, non-clerical] form of government.

Presently, pure Islam and, as they call it, fundamentalism has penetrated even the heart of Europe and is questioning the values of western-style democracy, let alone the Islamic countries! The recent example is Algeria which freedom-seekers from mosques are victorious in recent elections and nationalists who have spent years of their lives in Paris do not participate in elections fearing defeat.¹

Of course it does not mean that by dimming the stars of European democracy the danger of American Islam does not exist. The only remaining path for America's influence is through westernized and seemingly Moslem individuals who are in fact lackeys [of the West].

As it was mentioned at the outset of this editorial, in a clumsy and comical move for satisfying the anti-revolution of the Right and the Left, America mobilized a bunch of gullible individuals to cry for democracy in a country which is the birth-place of independence, freedom, Islam, and participation of people in governing the country and question such religious values of the people as velayat-e faqih [rule of the supreme jurisconsult].

This reaction on the part of America to counter attacks of world Moslems against culture and western-style democracy is very shaky and is being launched from a position of weakness. In this connection, the fate of those who put together the letter addressed to the president and published anti-Constitution material reached a point that the son of the deposed shah rushed to their support! and portrayed their action as unrelated to foreign elements!

Even if all monarchists, hypocrites, and liberals seek western-style democracy and formation of a non-religious government in the Islamic Republic, what could be the strength of these [individuals]—who have turned their backs on the nation and boycotted referendums and elections in Islamic Iran—in the face of the roaring sea of the nation who has elected the officials of the regime with its votes? The eleven-year experience of the Islamic Republic shows that the people of Iran will not allow the growth of any group that opposes the Islamic regime. Injection of western-style democracy in Islamic countries, especially in its motherland [Iran], is a failed theory and can be likened to attempts of smashing water in a mortar and pestle.

Footnotes:

1. Ahmad Ayat who heads the Socialist Forces Front believes in the Laic form of government and Ahmad Ben-Bella who still lives in Paris has formed the Democratic Front of Algeria.)

RESALAT Editorial Criticizes Constitution Opponents

90AS0170A Tehran RESALAT in Persian
17 Jun 90 pp 1, 12

[Text] Aside from all the methods on the basis of which we have witnessed the superior powers of the world impose upon the nonaligned governments and cause changes in their sovereignty to their advantage, the West has discovered two other methods. The first method, the creation of artificial demonstrations and an atmosphere of unrest and [simultaneous] news coverage of the same artificial and directed demonstrations and, thus, causing excitement of public sentiments which may be susceptible due to some economic or social difficulties. The second method, proposing the subject of voting freedom and determination of sovereignty by referring to the public opinion and suggesting alternatives and, finally, setting up so called free elections monitored by foreign

powers(!) or, at best, by foreign monitoring of international organizations! The end result of both methods is to prove the illegitimacy of targeted governments.

Under these conditions, if the hirling groups which contemplate the imposition of western ways are confronted, their original supporters step into the arena and engage in negative propaganda. If the government seeks silence in dealing with the propaganda conducted by these groups, then the grounds for the next set of conspiracies will be prepared. What shall be done? Shall the imposed Western-style democracy be accepted? Like European democracy, shall the Islamic cover of a few Moslem girls be prevented and the announcer of the voice of Islam radio be sent to prison for anti-Zionist revelations? And, in return, support Salman Rushdie for blasphemy against all that is sacred to one billion Moslems?! Can this be called democracy?

Among all of this, only the law and the Constitution can guarantee sovereignty and protect the values.

In today's world there is not one country which allows its opponents to overthrow [its government] let alone a regime which is the creation of the people's belief. For this reason, in dealing with political groups, judicial and executive organs must place the law, the Constitution, and the devotion of such groups to the protection of the regime as their yard stick. Political groups are free in their activities as long as they adhere to the Constitution and framework of the regime. If there exist groups which oppose the principle of the regime, the law has determined their fate. Opposition to the government of the Islamic Republic which all its pillars (Velayat-e Faqih [rule of the supreme jurisconsult], the Council of Experts, selection of leadership, The Islamic Consultative Assembly, and the presidency) are selected with the vote of the people is opposition with the sovereignty of the people, freedom of the people, and the choice of the people. During the past years we have been facing suspicious phenomena—the so-called Society for the Defense of Freedom and other such groups—which, although despised by the people and never counted for much, their modus operandi is indicative of their opposition to the framework and the Constitution of the regime, and by abusing the present freedom they have placed under question the very principal of the regime and the Constitution.

In accordance with guidelines determined by the West, unlike their other sympathizers, they did not raise the banner of struggle in an overt manner and through armed insurrection. However, they wish to achieve objectives which are far worse than those of the armed anti-revolution groups. A recent letter addressed to the esteemed president by this group is apparently supported by the political struggle against the present regime. However, this letter contains certain points which profess doubts about the principle of the Islamic Republic regime, its Constitution, and leadership. Herewith, we point out some of the main points of [this letter]:

1. Relating the absolute despotism and inherited monarchy of the clergy to the government. This is in opposition to the Constitution, the principal of velayat-e faqih, and especially the authorities of the leadership as approved per the reappraisal of the Constitution.

2. Comparing the regime of the Islamic Republic with communist regimes in their style of government.

3. Objecting to the method of operation of the late leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran concerning the Iran-Iraq war.

4. Objecting to the present leadership of the regime for their adoption of prevailing methods in [conducting] foreign policy, peace negotiations, and social issues.

5. Accusing the sovereign of signing debilitating agreements with foreigners.

Although the signatories of the letter with the above contents and accusations against the sovereignty were arrested—which this decisiveness on the part of the judiciary is appreciated—however, the judiciary and the executive branches must be steadfast in distinguishing between struggle and political freedom for the participation of domestic groups in [the government] with the efforts of some groups that aim to overthrow the regime and they [the judiciary and executive branches] must act decisively in dealing with them. If we consider the main objective to be reference to public vote, then Iranian Moslems have demonstrated their best form time and again. Even in other Islamic countries, as we have witnessed in Algeria, it will be proven that [Moslems] seek to bring the followers of Islam into power in place of the followers of the West. They do not believe in western-style democracy because the best possible methods for participation of the people in the government are inherent in Islam—without distorting the religious principal of the government. Therefore, if some people wish to question the principal of velayat-e faqih, they will be confronted by the law as well as the nation—as this scene has been repeated time and again during the life of the Islamic regime.

PAKISTAN

Government Said Unable To Remove Economic Disparity

90AS0113A Karachi JANG in Urdu 21 May 90 p 3

[Article by Irshad Ahmad Haqqani: "Unequitable Distribution of Resources—Prime Minister's Admission"]

[Text] The prime minister of Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto, has said that the distribution of wealth and resources in Pakistan is unequitable. The people should be the owners of wealth and resources. If wealth remains centered in the hands of a few individuals, it gives rise to problems. Addressing a large gathering during the opening ceremony of a milk plant in Jaranwala, she said

that even if it takes a long time we are determined to eliminate poverty from the country.

The prime minister's diagnosis that the distribution of wealth and resources in Pakistan is not fair and equitable is correct and that she is determined to eliminate economic inequality from the country deserves applause. But, the question is whether the policy her government is pursuing is helping in removing inequality from the country, or is the inequality increasing as a result of this policy. It is now a year and a half since Bhutto's government was established. To assess the performance of any government, if this period is not long enough, then it is not too short either. During this period, one can at least determine the aims and objectives of the government and to what extent progress is being made in this direction. Benazir Bhutto's government has allotted some amount of money for the People's Works Program, and it has been spent for good as well as bad purposes. The project to be completed as a result of this program may prove beneficial to the people. But these efforts do not mean any significant change in the economic structure of the country. During the same period, some of the policies of the government have led to an increase in the sufferings of the people. There has been a further rise in the prices of essential goods, and the cost of living has increased. Now the next budget is about to be announced, and news of billions of rupees in new taxes are being reported. It is also being claimed that the new taxes will not affect the poor classes, but will be levied on those people who can afford to pay them. But this is not the first time that this is being said. Every time a new tax is imposed the same episode is repeated. It is said that the common man will not be affected but, when it comes to practice, it is usually the common [man] who bears most of the burden. Only recently in May the price of kerosene, petrol, and fertilizers was increased and the burden of the increase in prices was shifted on the common man. The industrialists and businessmen added many times their markup and passed it on to the consumers. From among the consumers, those who could increase the prices of their goods and services and saved themselves the burden of the taxes but those who had fixed incomes, were employees, or had limited resources could not pass on the burden to others. At this time, the reason for various kinds of government and non-government employees demanding increases in their wages is the rise in the cost of living resulting from the steps taken by the government.

On the one hand, this is the state of affairs and, on the other hand, the top level class are collecting the wealth with both hands and are considering taking possession of the resources. It is said that there is not a single member of Benazir Bhutto's cabinet who has not obtained permission for establishing a new industry. Recently, a minister holding a key position, refuting the accusations levelled against him, said he had obtained a loan only for 280 million rupees and that his opponents were exaggerating this amount. Now, another minister has said that he will not sell the permission he received for opening a

cement factory, but that his son, who had just received a diploma in engineering, will run the factory. Just to talk about a few ministers. Many ministers are talking about taking advantage of the national wealth in accordance with their power. The members of the Assembly are not behind anyone in the race for acquiring wealth and, except for what God wills, everyone is considering to better his condition. Government or governments are not in a position to displease them and are compelled to acquiesce to their every demand. This is how wealth is circulating around among the higher class. The prime minister's statement that they are determined to eliminate poverty from the country does not seem to be more than a claim. She says that the distribution of wealth and resources in the country is unfair and inequitable. Has the present government ever given a thought that its policies are providing more protection and stability to the unfair and inequitable distribution of wealth or has it contributed to reducing it in any way. As the prime minister feels that her programs are not contributing in reducing the inequity, but on the contrary are increasing this inequity and are giving it permanency she was forced to say that "even if it takes a long time, we will ultimately eliminate the unfair and inequitable distribution of wealth." What will happen in the future nobody knows. But during the past one and a half years, the government has not succeeded in eliminating the differences between the people enjoying privileges and those living in deprivation. There is no difference in government policies; they are exactly the same as those of previous governments. You can have an idea about the differences between the facilities enjoyed by the poor and the rich from the speech President Ghulam Ishaq Khan delivered during ceremonies at the Punjab Medical College in Faisalabad. The president said that in the villages, for every 26,000 people there is one doctor, and for 7,500 people there is one hospital bed. In the cities the situation is somewhat better because here for every 2,000 people there is one doctor, and for every 600 people one hospital bed. But these facts and figures, besides being dreadful, are withholding facts much more dreadful and much more grievous. Some of the hidden facts are that the poor citizens and the village people do not have access to the medical facilities stated to have been provided for them on paper. The hospitals and basic health centers are practically devoid of all the facilities stated to be present in a hospital. As against this, people of means can have all the facilities provided to them in private hospitals which are amply provided with all the amenities. But the rich people do not wish to be treated inside the country and are heading to foreign countries even for ordinary ailments.

If there is poverty and want in the country and the distribution of wealth and resources is inequitable, then Benazir Bhutto's government cannot be held responsible for it because these conditions are creations of our economic and social structure. But if during the present regime the unfair and inequitable distribution of wealth and resources takes a turn for the worse and the misfortunes and calamities of the poor increase furthermore,

then it cannot be absolved of responsibility. We do not have any cause for complaining as to why there is inequality of wealth and resources in the country because Benazir's government gets them as a legacy. What we complain about is that these inequalities have not been eliminated during her regime, but are steadily increasing. First the resources of the country were dedicated for someone else. They were the people who deserved the special attention of the former rulers. Now they are the people who deserve the special attention of the present day rulers. Those who lived in deprivation then are living in deprivation now, too. All the letters I received by today's mail are those of frustrated young men seeking jobs, but no one pays any attention to them. Some of them have revolted to such a great extent that I can say under oath that I cannot dare to repeat even a single sentence here. Some of them describe themselves as rebels of Pakistan and its social order, an out and out traitor. They write about their feelings that send shivers all over the body. This is a partial expression of the bitterness and frustration created as a result of the cruel economic and social order experienced by the deprived class of our society. They are so outraged by the looting and plundering of the people enjoying privileges that their displeasures have crossed all borders and have taken the form of rebellion against the country and the homeland. If the prime minister feels that there is inequitable distribution of wealth and resources in the country, then she should take immediate steps to address this imbalance. Promises of late reforms now cannot satisfy the disgruntled youth, especially when they see that the rulers are taking full advantage of the country's resources and that only a limited class of people are benefitting from the national resources.

Kashmir: Pakistan Government Said Paying Lip Service to Cause

90AS0121B Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 14 May 90 p 2

[Article by Mufti Abdul Ghani Shah: "Kashmir's War of Independence and the Pakistani Government's Inaction"]

[Excerpt] It is regrettable that except for shouting phoney slogans for unity and making tall claims, the Pakistani government has not helped Kashmiri Muslims in any way. Benazir Bhutto has not even had the grace to condemn the wholesale bloodshed of Muslims. She has gone only so far in her foreign policy as to declare, "We will never deny the Kashmiris their right to self-determination," and has absolved herself of any further responsibility. Indian predators are wreaking havoc on Kashmir, which, according to the principles on which India was divided, is an inseparable part of Pakistan; on the Muslims of Kashmir, who are our brothers; who are an important part of the community of mankind, and who live only a few miles from our borders. In the face of this dreadful situation in Kashmir, our government, the prime minister, and the government communication media not only offer no help but are following a secretive policy. The manner in which news of the cruel treatment

of the Kashmiri freedom fighters is presented in the media and Bhutto's brief and cautious statement that we had always supported the underdeveloped nations show that the government does not intend to support the Kashmiri Muslims in any manner which would offend the Indian rulers. Any government of Pakistan which adopts such a policy is guilty not only of injustice and cruelty towards the Muslims of Kashmir, but also of treason against the best interests of the country. Those Pakistani governments who, whether intentionally or unintentionally, were negligent or inactive in regard to Kashmir never succeeded in escaping the wrath of the people. The way in which the federal government of the People's Party is busily sabotaging the freedom war of the Kashmiri freedom lovers is no secret to any intelligent person. The government's deliberate inaction, serious lack of attention, and artificial expressions of alarm are in fact a national crime. The prime minister who maintains an outward show of religious observance and even tells her rosary should remember that providence may forgive the sins of individuals but never overlooks the sins of nations. The prime minister, as the representative of the people of Pakistan, will demonstrate efficient performance. [Otherwise] the prime minister as well as the nation that placed her in office will be held accountable. Kashmir is burning while we celebrate the festival of revenge. As the couplet says, at the end of the night, the throes of the victim were a sight to be seen; what is the use of someone coming up to the roof at daybreak? [It is useless to offer relief too late to benefit the victim.]

Ethnic Violence Said To Threaten Country's Existence

90AS0128A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
2 Jun 90 p 10

[Editorial]

[Text] The process of murder, looting, and bloodshed in Karachi assumed a more terrible form recently when, even in the presence of Prime Minister Benazir in the city, bloody riots continued. Terrorists fired rockets on various townships, hit a judge by firing within a labor court; and, the height of the ferociousness is that a passenger bus was made the target of indiscriminate firing. A "refugee train" was hit by bullets and robbed near Hyderabad. These regrettable incidents took place when the government is fully on alert. The administration has been repeatedly warned. Police rangers and even military soldiers are put on duty guarding roads and streets instead of protecting the borders. If, in spite of this, there is failure in checking the looting, the concerned responsible people should ponder together and if necessary, by widening the circle of deliberations, they should knock at the doors of all the country's patriotic forces. The reality is that the issue of Karachi and Hyderabad is no longer the concern of a city or a province. Rather, it is jeopardizing the country's and the nation's survival and it is becoming clear that not only the contemporary governments and, with it, the entire

political system, is about to collapse but that even freedom may be lost. Therefore the government of the day and the agencies responsible for maintaining law and order should leave their four walls and take the entire nation into their confidence and they should recognize the danger that an age old and cunning enemy like India has posed for us. Our rulers should realize that India's rulers have proved to be cleverer than them because in a very short time they have not only made Pakistan forget the Kashmir issue, but that we have been put completely on the defensive and now the people no longer ask what will become of the government and the system, but rather every person asks, despondently, what will become of the country. We are not pessimists, but we want to remind the powers-to-be that complacency and goodness can also lead to the country's suicide. When General Beg has personally disclosed that the enemy's strike forces are massing up on the Rajasthan border, national defence does not dictate that the Pakistani army should be bogged down in preventing civil war in the cities of Sindh. But unfortunately, this has happened and this is the enemy's deep and cunning conspiracy and part of its plan for psychological warfare prior to its attack, that it has diverted our attention from the border threat and we are also being subjected to the taunt that how does Pakistan have the nerve to protest the killing of Indian Muslims or Kashmiri Muslims. Whereas the life and property of its own Muslim citizens is not safe. Talking to newsmen in his plane, on his way to Kuala Lumpur, the Indian prime minister said recently that Pakistan should pay attention to Karachi and Hyderabad. This is equivalent to the criminal being rewarded for his crimes. It is natural for V. P. Singh to feel pleased at bloodshed within Pakistan but why are we paralyzed and if the government claims that it is not paralyzed, in that case, it should prove it by taking control of the situation by making use of its intelligence. This is its basic constitutional responsibility. It is the government's duty to tell the Pakistani masses how it will discharge the responsibility of protecting their life and property and the country's and nation's independence. There is not much time left, and whatever time there remains is passing rapidly. Therefore, the government should do whatever it wants to do and thus justify its existence as a government.

Lack of Facilities Seen Hindering Industries in Villages

90AS0128B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
2 Jun 90 p 10

[Editorial]

[Text] The Federal Minister for Industries, Mr. Nawaz Shah, has recently announced the government's rural industrial policy under which industrialists and capitalists setting up industries in rural areas will be given many encouragements. Any steps taken for industrial progress in the country are welcome but, because of lawlessness and unrest resulting from our immoderate and weak policies over time, it appears incredible that anybody

should be willing to set up industries and invest capital. The bureaucracy had already placed such obstacles that the capitalists and industrialists were complaining. Unreasonable laws and rules and the bureaucracy's delaying tactics become so frustrating that local and foreign industrialists get fed up and leave. The Junejo government had announced the start of the Danando operation with which industrial circles had expressed satisfaction, but this has not seen the light of day so far. In the cities, admittedly after much hardship, it is possible to obtain facilities like water, electricity, gas, and telephone, but rural areas are still deprived of these facilities as well as roads. On top of this, the law and order situation has cast dark clouds on the future of the already set up industries. According to a report by an organ of the ruling party, a loss of 400 million rupees is incurred daily on account of riots in Karachi and Hyderabad. A loss of 10-12 billion rupees is also incurred in the industrial sector on account of the energy crisis. In view of the kidnapping of industrialists, the unending curfew, and other cases of lawlessness, which fool will be rash enough to invest his money in the industrial sector. The government's duty is that, before acting on the industrial policy, it should create a climate for investment. Attention should be paid to creating infrastructure in the rural areas; incidents of lawlessness should be ended. Capitalists should be assured of security of their life and honor, in addition to that of [their] capital. There should be a complete end to the criminal treatment which is meted out to capitalists by official departments in the name of laws and rules. Only then can any industrial policy succeed and the country reach the goal of industrial progress. Under the prevailing conditions, the industrial minister's announcement appears to be merely a magic of pleasing words which cannot make any dent in the world of reality. Will the government demonstrate its realism by giving attention to it?

Balochistan Said Only 'Quiet' Area in Country

90AS0126A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQF in Urdu

2 Jun 90 p 9

[Quetta Report by Aziz Bhatti]

[Text] The situation points to the news that "assemblies have been dissolved and that general elections will be held" may be coming any time. Such news cannot be said to be gladdening or good news about the future. But such news is however better than the news that "martial law has been imposed in the country." Whatever the news may be, the responsibility for such news will fall on the shoulders of the dishonest politicians who have been elected to the assemblies with the help of the votes of the people. When out of power, these very politicians sympathize with the people over their problems and troubles, but when they come to power they express their helplessness and try to make the people believe that they would like to do everything for the people but are restrained because of limited resources. The politicians or the parties that cannot solve the problems of the people even after coming into power do not have the

right to rule. If the leaders of any party despite having access to official resources and possessing authority are so helpless that they cannot provide facilities for the people and make life easier for them then at least the best thing they can do is step aside and give someone else the opportunity of serving the people and the government. The people who do not serve the people and yet do not wish to give up power and authority are looked upon by the people as incapable and prove themselves to be useless. But because of their obstinacy and lust for power they are damaging the cause of democracy. Under such circumstances, the people too lose hope in democracy. Every pro-democracy individual wishes that democracy should flourish and with that he would like to see individual and social problems be solved, the financial burden be lessened, facilities increase, and his life, property, and honor be protected. From among these, what has the democratic government given them. The people in power should account it for themselves.

The bloodshed and the lack of respect for life in Karachi and Hyderabad has disappointed the citizens of this country to such an extent that they have started asking one another whether or not this country belongs to them, too. Are we the citizens of a free and independent country. Was this country acquired so that foreign agents, criminals, and people fighting for special and limited interest will be given full freedom to play with the life, property, and honor of the dwellers in this country as they pleased. In Karachi and Hyderabad human lives are being lost in quick succession, when politicians irrespective of the fact that they belong to the party in power or the opposition are merely holding meetings making appeals and statements. When the demon of hate is destroying peace and tranquility, love brotherhood, moral values. Conditions are about to reach a climax at which point nothing will survive except repentance. The people who are dying of bullet wounds are human beings. They have parents, brothers and sisters, children and relatives, who did not die with the deceased, but are passing the rest of their lives with a deep wound in their hearts. What is their crime. Is it their poverty? Or is it that by ending their lives no shocks are felt in the halls of power and that they do not have any relationship with the high-ranking officials. According to someone, when a life ends a whole world comes to an end. The government that cannot protect the lives and property of the people does not have the right to remain in power. The rulers should state how many more lives they need for democracy and remaining in power. How much more human blood will be required to quench the thirst of the demigods of the selfish politicians so that the innocent people of the city may be able to live in peace and tranquility.

It is true that because of the unrest, the rising cost of living, bribery and corruption, misconduct, and unemployment the graph of the People's Party is falling on the public level. If the opponents of the People's Party desire to take it to the point where in the coming elections they will not be in a position to win significant seats it will not

be surprising. But it is to be seen why anyone would want to see any party including the People's Party to become unpopular. The People's Party, too, because of the gladdening talks of the stupid, emotional and to a certain extent incapable advisers, instead of becoming involved in vain imagination should consider the situation with a cool head and should adopt a program which could save both democracy and values. If power and authority has to be sacrificed to save democracy than they should not hesitate for the simple reason that if democracy survives there is a possibility of the party coming back to power and the party can halt its waning popularity. The Chief of Army Staff General Aslam Beg had proposed in the beginning that a broad based government be formed to strengthen democracy. The same proposal has been put forward from other quarters under the name of "national political government" and has been rejected by the People's Party leadership.

Th Party while reconsidering its views and decisions should weigh the pros and cons carefully and if it is still unacceptable then holding mid-term elections should be considered. The debate and difference of views over the "Shariat Bill" approved by the Senate in the National Assembly is expected to create a turmoil in the Parliament. At the time when the Budget is presented and afterwards protests are expected as a result of the situation that will prevail in July elections will have to be held. As such, if the possibility of this situation is mentally accepted then mid-term elections can be held and this can help in improving the conditions to a great extent. At the moment, there are no signs that the situation will be improved. The signs of the end of confrontation and the hope of cooperation between the federal and provincial government are fading. Nawab Mohammed Akbat Bagti, the Chief minister of Balochistan, and Mian Nawaz Sharif, chief minister of Punjab, also attended the National Economic Council held on 26 May in Islamabad under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. Both chief ministers, addressing a joint press conference the following day, said that not a single problem of Punjab and Balochistan was solved during the meeting. It was the first time after 15 months that the chief minister of Punjab and Balochistan had attended a meeting with Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto to discuss matters on which both provinces had differences with the federal government.

On the question of peace and tranquility other provinces have started presenting Balochistan as an example. On the occasion of a country-wide gathering it was openly said that the police officers of the regions in Balochistan where dacoity and other serious crimes were committed were dismissed at the instructions of the chief minister of the province, why then the same cannot be done in other provinces. This is a tribute paid to the Chief minister of Balochistan and his official team. But despite this, at the instigation of some influential people in the country, efforts are underway to change the government of Chief minister Nawab Akbar Bugti. Do the people who are trying to do this wish to create conditions in Balochistan

similar to those in Sindh. Some official circles believe that the next session of the Balochistan provincial assembly will be a riotous one and the opponents of Bugti's government will once again try to change the government. After Nawab Bugti, former chief minister Mir Zafrullah Jamali stands second in order of precedence in Balochistan politics. He occupies a seat among the independent members in the assembly. After an understanding reached between Nawab Akbar Bugti and Mir Zafullah Jamali, it was expected that both these politicians would be working together for the welfare and prosperity of the province, democracy, and the people. But the elements who do not wish to see these two statesmen reach an agreement are busily engaged in creating a rift between them. It is hoped that they recognize these people and render their efforts unsuccessful. If Bugti and Jamali are separated from each other, then perhaps another opportunity to reunite them may never come again. The Muslim League is a partner in the coalition government of chief minister Nawab Akbar Bugti. If the central leadership of the Muslim League makes a concerted effort to bring Mir Zafrullah back into the fold of the Muslim League, then it could help in bringing about a positive atmosphere and improve the situation in the parliamentary politics.

Women's Action Forum Letter Criticizes Shariat Bill

46000134B Lahore *VIEWPOINT* in English
7 Jun 90 p 3

[Letter to the Editor from Working Committee, Women's Action Forum, Lahore.]

[Text] The Women's Action Forum [WAF] totally rejects the controversial Shariat Bill passed by the Senate. The Shariat Bill violates the spirit of the Constitution and Members of the Senate have subverted the very Constitution which they are under oath to protect. The Bill in effect seeks to convert Pakistan into a theocratic State.

If this Bill becomes law it will take away the sovereignty of the people. Pakistan will then be ruled by mullahs who will destroy every institution of the country.

The Shariat Bill also violates the rights of the minorities; it jeopardizes the rights of women and erodes the independence of the Judiciary and the legal system.

The Shariat Bill does not have the support of the majority of the people of Pakistan. It has been thrust upon them by a minority group.

It is essential that the Government and Members of the National Assembly oppose this Bill without fear from the fundamentalists.

WAF calls upon all democratic groups to resist all pressures and actively denounce the Shariat Bill.

Terrorism Termed 'Challenge to Democracy'

46000132A Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English
2 Jun 90 p 44

[Article: "Challenge to Democracy"]

[Text] It had long been obvious that terrorism in Sindh was not purely ethnic-based. Masked scooterists sweeping through market places and residential areas with bursts of Kalashnikov fire, bands of dacoits picking up people the way they did, and now a whole bus-load of passengers suddenly having their life's journey cruelly ended—all have a clear stamp of deliberate indiscriminate. This terrorism is different from most others elsewhere—from the IRA's in Britain, the Sikh's in the Indian Punjab, the Palestinian extremists in the Middle East and elsewhere. This one doesn't have a cause or an object of righteous anger. Its murderous acts are aimed at no category of people in particular.

But if it does not have a cause it is not that it does not also have a purpose. The purpose simply is to compel an intervention against the ruling order. Or so it clearly seems. The vested interests in this country have been notorious for their lack of patience with representative government—in fact civilian government of any sort. The 43 year history is replete with instances of governments being changed or overthrown. There has almost never been an orderly transition, a normal change of guards. Only the tactics have altered, since a repetition would give the game away. There are obviously people now who on past experience believe that all it will take to force a political change is either to mobilise enough numbers on the streets or cause enough scare inside homes in order to show that the arrangement does not work. Of course it needs far fewer people to destroy an order than to set it up. And it is not difficult for determined, organised and resourceful sections to cause problems for a government already beleaguered by hurdles in its normal functioning and carrying a legacy of vast iniquities.

Not all the sections rooting for a change of government can support or even approve of methods of terrorism. But some obviously do, and it becomes vital for all the others not to let them succeed. The political opposition in the country particularly, if it has any foresight at all, will resist the temptation of giving heart to these elements which must count a great deal on them for attaining their objective. If terrorism succeeds in causing an abridgment of the democratic process, any departure from the popularly, peacefully determined order, it will not so much be a defeat of PPP [Pakistan People's Party] as humiliation of the people as a whole and a setback to the experiment so early in its life. It will by no means be a bid to save the country, as some will foolishly or cunningly argue on the pattern of the past. It will be the very opposite.

It is hard to visualise this happening, but all good sense dictates that the political parties need to join together to face the challenge. PPP should go ahead with the proposed all-parties conference and the opposition should respond with an offer of honest unreserved cooperation. It is a

common fight. And winning it is equally important to all. Terrorism will be defeated on the very day that it recognises that it would receive no political backing for its objective. The occasion is a sort of test for all the politicians and their commitment to the political process in the country.

Articles Examine Options on National Press Trust

46000131A Lahore THE NATION
in English 9, 10 May 90

[Article by Rashid Latif, Special Secretary, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting: "National Press Trust: How Can It Be Salvaged?—I & II]

[9 May 90 Supplement p 3]

[Text] The National Press Trust (NPT) came into existence through a Trust Deed executed on 8th April, 1964. Initially thirty-four commercial firms and one philanthropist (Mr A. K. Sumar) contributed Rs. 0.1 million each, while three organisations, namely, M/s Colony Textile Mills Ltd, M/s Adamjee & Sons Ltd and the National Bank of Pakistan, contributed Rs. 0.5 million each. These 38 initial 'Settlers'—in legal jargon, the contributors to a Trust—who contributed a total of Rs. 5 million, were later joined by some others, and thus the contributions eventually totalled Rs. 5.555 million.

The 'Settlers', while founding the NPT, had highly laudable objectives before them. These included, amongst others, 'the creation of an organisation that could create sound and healthy journalism with a truly national outlook, untainted by parochial, partisan or sectarian inclination, so as to contribute to the making of the Press a truly objective and effective instrument for propagating the ideology of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and for the furtherance of unity, solidarity, integrity and prosperity in the various spheres of national life'.

The NPT gradually acquired many newspapers in the then East and West Pakistan, and until the traumatic event of 1971, it was publishing:

(a) DAINIK PAKISTAN and the MORNING NEWS from Dhaka; (b) MORNING NEWS from Karachi; (c) PAKISTAN TIMES from Lahore and Rawalpindi; (d) IMROZE from Lahore and Multan; and (e) MASHRIQ from Lahore, Karachi and Peshawar (MASHRIQ, Quetta, came out a little later, in 1972).

Apart from these dailies, some periodicals and other publications were also being taken out by the Trust.

Since a few of the Settlers and Trustees of the NPT belonged to the then East Pakistan, the Government of Pakistan suspended, on 13th February, 1972, the Board of the Trustees of the NPT as well as the Boards of Directors of those three companies which the NPT was controlling in the then West Pakistan, viz.

(1) Progressive Papers Ltd (PPL) - (NPT's equity, 77 percent) (2) MASHRIQ (Pvt) Ltd (MPL) - (NPT's

equity, 100 percent) (3) National News Publications (Pvt) Ltd (NNPPL) (NPT's equity, 78.33 percent)

This measure was taken perhaps with the intention of meeting a difficult situation created by the secession of East Pakistan.

So far as the National Press Trust (Suspension of Board of Trustees and Directors) Regulation, 1972, itself is concerned, it seems that the Government's intention to control the NPT was apparently of a temporary nature, because the application of the relevant Articles of the Constitution guaranteeing Fundamental Rights was suspended only for a period of two years, extendible by six months from the "commencing day", i.e., 14th August, 1973 (cf. item 22 of the First Schedule to the Constitution). However, since any move to alter, repeal, or amend this Regulation needed the prior approval of the President (cf. item 22 of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution), no action could possibly be initiated without his approval.

As the legal status of the NPT or any of its subsidiary companies was not altered by the Regulation, and only the Boards of Trustees, and the Boards of Directors of respective Companies, then existing, were put in a state of limbo, the NPT and its Companies could neither function as Trust or joint stock companies nor as Government Departments or autonomous bodies under Government's supervision. The result was that 30 to 35 Trustees and Directors, some of whom were eminent entrepreneurs, and four Chief Executives were suspended and their functions and powers concentrated in one single person, the Chairman of the NPT.

As the Chairman, NPT, could "hold office during the pleasure of the President," (and, later, of the Prime Minister after Mr Mohammad Khan Junejo took over the reins of government), in case he mismanaged the NPT and its companies, only the appointing authority (i.e. the President or the Prime Minister, as the case may be), and no one else, could take him to task. Therefore, de jure, no built-in mechanism of check and balance existed so far as the NPT management was concerned.

If the Trustees and the Boards of Directors had been restored after two or three years of their suspension, they would have played the role of supervisory agencies over the Chairman of the NPT and kept a watchful eye on the performance of the Chief Executives. But the prolonged operation of this Regulation eventually created a peculiar situation, whereby the Chairman, NPT, came to wield unlimited powers. In fact, he was virtually turned into a monarch of an empire comprising a Trust and three joint-stock companies with a turnover exceeding Rs. 175 million a year and assets worthy nearly Rs. 400 million (the huge liabilities which the Government picked up from time to time, notwithstanding).

Such an illogical management system produced the expected disastrous results and, instead of the laudable objectives for which the Trust had come into existence, it turned into a propaganda machinery without much of a credibility either. It would not be out of place to quote

from the report (dated 10th April 1984) of a high powered Committee set up during General Zia's Martial Law period: "The NPT papers have served four Governments since they were taken over. For obvious reasons they have followed the policies of each Government during its tenure and are regarded by the public as the mouthpiece of the Government...." The Press controlled by the NPT, therefore, did not come up to the ideological expectations, such as those expressed by ALBERT CAMUS in 'COMBAT' of December 1944, which reads:

"The Press is not an instrument of commercial profit, it is an instrument of culture. Its purpose is to give accurate information, to defend ideas, to serve the cause of human progress....The Press is free when it does not depend on either the Power of Government or the Power of Money but only upon the conscience of its journalists and readers".

Now that there is no doubt whatsoever that the Trust did not serve any of the objectives for which it was created, let us assess its performance purely as a commercial venture. Two of its papers, i.e., MORNING NEWS, Karachi and IMROZE, were losing concerns right from their very inception. 'MORNING NEWS', Karachi was being sustained by 'MORNING NEWS' Dhaka, and after its fall the National News Publications Ltd, which takes out 'MORNING NEWS' has constantly been running in loss, while 'IMROZE' has been supported by 'PAKISTAN TIMES' almost all along its life.

The exhaustive study undertaken by that high-powered Committee which was set up by Gen. Zia-ul-Haq to study the management, technological capabilities and Finances of the NPT and its subsidiary companies, revealed (report dated 10th April 1984) that the Committee considered both 'MORNING NEWS' and 'IMROZE' as hopeless cases, and recommended the closure of these two paper. The concerned management and staff somehow persuaded the Government to give them about a year within which they would turn around those operations, at least to a break-even point. The miracle has, however, not happened and both these papers are losing more and more money every day. IMROZE is now losing nearly Rs. 3,000 per hour or whopping Rs. 24 million per annum, which is very close to the total loss of PPL or, in other words, even now 'PAKISTAN TIMES' is almost breaking even. MORNING NEWS, as compared to IMROZE, is losing a rather modest sum of Rs. 5.5 million per annum. Although 'PAKISTAN TIMES' and 'MASHRIQ' are sick papers, too, but instant drastic surgeries would, most likely, save their lives.

Since the taxpayer has all along been bearing the burden of such losses, there have been persistent demands from all quarters for disbanding the NPT. The journalist community had also been demanding the dissolution of the NPT, albeit for different reasons, i.e., the freedom of the Press from the fetters of the NPT or, in other words, the government of the day.

In deference to the wishes of an overwhelming majority of the people, the Pakistan Peoples Party included the freedom of NPT papers in its election manifesto. Last year, when the

Prime Minister hosted a party for the members of the APNEC [All Pakistan Newspaper Employees Confederation] and the PFUJ [Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists] on the 27th of January, their Chairman, Mr Minhaj Barna, strongly urged the Government to fulfill its promise of divesting NPT papers from the hold of the Trust. By then the Government had already engaged a firm of chartered accountants of repute to conduct a special audit to assess the financial position of the NPT and its various subsidiary companies, as on 30th November 1988, i.e., just before the present government had taken over. The audit revealed the details of that gloomy picture of which a hazy outline was already in everyone's mind. The accumulated losses of various companies totalled Rs. 107.39 million towards the end of 1988, as under:

PPL	Rs. 28.11 million
MPL	Rs. 36.59 million
NNPPL	Rs. 42.69 million
Total	Rs. 107.39 million

By 30th of November, 1988, the Provident Fund and Gratuity to the tune of Rs. 66 million were also utilised by various Trust Papers as a permanent source of funding. The total liabilities on 31-12-1988 stood at Rs. 178 million.

Instances of many other major irregularities, maladministration and pilferages, were also brought into focus by the auditors. Some of these area:

(a) A piece of land was sold at Rs. 10.1 million and an earnest money of Rs. 2 million was paid by the purchaser, but when he failed to pay the balance on the due date, instead of forfeiting the earnest money of Rs. 2 million, a

sum of Rs. 1.5 million was returned to him. In turn the purchaser has now dragged that Company into arbitration.

(b) A multi-storey building has been lying incomplete for a number of years. A group Company has paid Rs. 16.47 million, instead of the contracted amount of Rs. 13.75 million, to the contractors and yet the contractor has left the building unfinished, and has filed a suit against that Company.

Except for the space occupied by that Company itself, most of the space is unoccupied, and thus the capital invested in it is simply being wasted.

(c) The manner in which the shops in a multi-storey building have been let out was also questionable, and quite a few shopkeepers have not been paying any rent at all.

(d) During the audit, Trade Debtors' subsidiary record could not reconcile with the control accounts. According to the auditors, a provision of Rs. 6 million may be required for bad debts in the case of one Company alone.

(e) O The spot test check of the newsprint stock revealed a shortage of 46.5 tons in one Company, which costs almost Rs. 8.4 million at the current rate of Rs. 18,000 per ton.

(f) Hardly any bank statement reconciled with that in the Company books of the NPP.

(g) Securities from newspaper agents had neither any relationship with their purchases nor did those cover their outstandings.

To get an idea of the gradual and steady deterioration of the various Companies, which has since brought them almost to the brink of disaster, the Circulation figures and the Profit/Loss figures for the eleven year period (1978 to 1988, both inclusive) are given in Table A.

Table 'A'

Average Daily Circulation				
Year	PPL	MPL	NNPPL	Total
1978	82,790	80,746	9,800	173,336
1979	86,866	110,937	9,500	207,303
1980	84,188	106,875	8,100	199,163
1981	77,210	107,585	7,700	192,495
1982	59,005	94,715	6,200	159,920
1983	41,834	76,804	5,100	123,738
1984	47,378	71,762	5,276	124,416
1985	44,194	62,850	5,530	112,574
1986	32,263	53,723	5,245	98,231
1987	36,517	47,002	4,581	88,100
1988	34,615	44,126	4,101	82,842
Total	633,860	857,125	71,133	1,562,118

The circulation figures indicate a steady decline by almost all the newspapers of the NPT, which has fallen by 60 percent in aggregate as well as individually from the peak circulation figures of 1978/79.

Table 'B'

Profit/Loss (Rs in Million)

Year	PPL	MPL	NNPPL	Total
B.F.	(10.28)	(1.95)	(12.08)	(24.31)
1978	1.79	0.22	(2.62)	(0.61)
1979	1.17	0.68	(3.19)	(1.34)
1980	1.86	(1.49)	(3.04)	(2.67)
1981	6.06	0.31	(3.18)	3.19
1982	0.96	0.44	(3.90)	(2.50)
1983	1.61	0.91	(1.08)	1.44
1984	1.15	(0.23)	(1.00)	(0.08)
1985	(6.20)	(10.00)	(2.19)	(18.39)
1986	0.01	(4.20)	(2.75)	(6.94)
1987	(8.71)	(7.71)	(2.12)	(18.54)
1988	(17.53)	(13.57)	(5.54)	(36.64)
Total	(28.11)	(36.59)	(42.69)	(107.39)

(Figures in brackets indicate loss)

The Profit and Loss figures highlight the pathetic financial health of the 'MORNING NEWS' throughout the period under review, while the condition of MASHRIQ (Pvt) Ltd, started deteriorating after 1984. PPL's financial results, despite extremely poor performance of 'IMROZE', have not been too bad except for the last 2 years.

Table 'C'

Income From Ads (Rs in Million)

Year	PPL	MPL	NNPPL	Total
1978	30.50	13.71	4.19	48.40
1979	27.34	15.44	4.02	46.80
1980	29.68	18.69	4.55	52.92
1981	36.00	23.77	5.50	65.27
1982	36.81	26.73	5.96	69.50
1983	41.09	30.53	5.04	76.66
1984	48.29	34.97	6.21	89.47
1985	47.83	32.67	7.12	87.62
1986	53.07	31.99	8.09	93.15
1987	60.36	32.94	7.97	101.27
1988	58.13	35.66	6.62	100.41
Total	469.10	297.10	65.27	831.47

A cursory glance over the table given above is sufficient to show that from the base year of 1978, every Company has registered a modest increase in advertisement revenues. PPL, MPL and NNPPL have registered revenue rise to 191 percent, 259 percent and 158 percent, respectively, of what these were in 1978.

[10 May 90 p 7]

[Text] Looking at the advertisement revenues from a different angle, let us see what these figures should have been in the year 1988, if these were to match the

revenues generated through the sale of newspapers and other other publications (applying the Rule of Thumb that the advertisement revenues should be half of the total revenue receipts):

	Receipts from Publications	(Rs in Million)	
		Advertisement Revenues	Deviation from the desired level
PPL	21.63	58.13	+36.5
MPL	34.36	35.66	+1.3
NNPPL	2.04	6.62	+4.58

It is evident that the Companies have received generous advertisement support, and none of them has received advertisement below its optimum figure.

After having satisfied ourselves about the papers receiving adequate advertisement support, the next most important areas to probe for the major sources of loss are the cost of raw materials being used and the wage-bill.

The ideal ratio of the cost of newsprint to the revenue receipt from the sale of newspaper only should not exceed 75 percent which can be arrived at by a simple calculation: Standard size of a newspaper sheet (4 pages) in Pakistan, and the grammage we generally use are: 0.85M X 0.54M and 48.8 gms/Sq.M. respectively. The weight of each sheet, in Kgms, allowing the industry's standard wastage rate of 7 percent, will be: $(0.84 \times 0.54 \times 0.0488) \times 1.07 = 0.025$ Kgms. The landed cost of newsprint, excluding specific duty, could be worked out by adding 23 percent of the C&F cost (allowing for 5 percent Import Licence Fee, 5 percent surcharge, 7 percent Iqra Surcharge and 6 percent for other miscellaneous expenses). Thus the landed cost per US Dollar (at the current exchange rate of Rs. 22 per US\$) would work out to Rs. 27.00. The current C&F (Karachi) prices of the newsprint range from US\$ 400 (Russian) to US\$550 (Western countries) per metric ton, which would mean a landed cost (excluding duty) of Rs. 10,800 to Rs. 14,850 or, say, Rs. 14,000 to Rs. 18,000 per metric ton inclusive of the duty at Rs. 3,000 per ton. Taking the most expensive quality of the newsprint, the cost per sheet would not be more than 45 paisas. The cost of the newsprint in a 12-page or (3-sheet) newsprint should not, therefore, exceed Rs. 1.35. The net receipt, after allowing 40 percent commission to new newspaper agents, would be Rs. 1.80 per newspaper (Retail price Rs. 3.00). In other words, the percentage cost of newsprint, compared to the revenue receipts, should not exceed 75 percent (1.35/1.80). However for the usual 8-page newspaper on Russian newsprint, this ratio would be 0.70/1.80, i.e., 39 percent.

The ratios for the year ending 1988 for the various NPT companies, as against the range from 39 percent to 75 percent worked out earlier, are PPL 109 percent, MPL 94 percent, and NNPPL 121 percent, which clearly indicate the degree of loose management control resulting in colossal wastages/pilferages. Even if we assume 5 percent complimentary copies, the cost of the

newsprint should not ideally exceed 80 percent of the revenue receipts. If this wastage could have been controlled within the industry's limits, a drainage of nearly Rs. 11 million (ignoring the sale of waste) could have been avoided by NPT in 1988.

Coming to the staff position, today the daily 'MUSLIM' employs 176, the 'NATION' 143, and the 'BUSINESS RECORDER' 137 persons, whereas the 'PAKISTAN TIMES' Lahore has 456, the 'PAKISTAN TIMES' Islamabad 202, 'IMROZE', Lahore 279, 'IMROZE' Multan 182, 'MASHRIQ' Lahore 378, 'MASHRIQ' Peshawar 123, 'MASHRIQ' Quetta 71, 'MASHRIQ' Karachi 178, and the 'MORNING NEWS' Karachi 185, personnel.

The point that should be borne in mind is that two or more different city editions of the same newspaper should have lesser number of personnel per edition than single city newspapers like 'MUSLIM' or 'BUSINESS RECORDER'. But we find that 'PAKISTAN TIMES' has an average of 329 employees, IMROZE 231, and MASHRIQ 188 ('MORNING NEWS' sold its Press in 1986, but still carries a Press staff of 42!). These figures do not take into account the employees of the NPT and other smaller publications. Without any prejudice, therefore, one could safely assume that the wage bill could be trimmed down by 50 percent, if not more.

The 1988 audited figures for the wage bill are:

PPL	Rs. 52.35 million
MPL	Rs. 33.29 million
NNPPL	Rs. 7.28 million
Total	Rs. 92.92 million

These, if brought down to realistic levels, could be Rs. 46.50 million per annum. This alone could turn the group loss of Rs. 36.64 million into a profit of Rs. 10 million. Similarly, if the saving of newsprint even to the extent of Rs. 10 million was to be taken into account (instead of Rs. 11.00 million as stated above), the group loss could also have turned itself into a group profit of Rs. 20 million.

Let us not examine the options which are available to check the drainage and, if possible convert NPT group into a viable venture.

Taking first the NPT itself, we know that a Trust is created in perpetuity and it cannot be liquidated. So when we talk of "disbanding" the Trust, it actually implies lifting the control from the three newspaper companies, of that Trust, which has become infamous after its control was assumed by the Government through its appointed Chairman.

The Trust in itself seems to be one of the most satisfactory vehicles for achieving the professed goal of the 'freedom of expression' through a series of publications administratively under a group of 'Settlers' who may represent various shades of public opinion, rather than being under the sole proprietorship of a particular agency. So if the Trust could be restored to its pristine form, perhaps it could possibly prove to be one of the best newspaper owners.

Coming now to the three individual companies, the simplest solution, purely from the financial point of view, could have been a voluntary liquidation of each. This would, however, be the most unkind cut to the workers, and hence it should be considered as a last resort and only when all other options have been exhausted.

The second option could be to let the status quo continue. Unfortunately, it cannot be adopted because the heavy financial burden will eventually force a closure of all the three organisations within the next few months. The NPT resources are already drying up, and since the rate at which the losses are piling up is increasing day by day (the total losses in 1988 were Rs. 36.64 million, and in 1989 these are expected to be around Rs. 40 million), long before the end of 1990, due to paucity of funds, all the operations would come to a grinding halt. Thus the NPT papers would fold up in a highly disorganised manner, and since the Gratuity and Provident Fund now exist on papers only, the workers would be left high and dry. So this course of action seems worse than the first option.

The third option could be to take a dispassionate decision to close down those operations which can no longer be made economically viable and trim the fat wherever it is found to have accumulated. In this case the affected workers, would, of course, receive their due share of wages and other benefit. Such an exercise, thought it may sound harsh at first, would save some passengers of that boat, which is about to capsize and would take down all its passengers along with it.

The re-structuring of these Companies, both financially as well as administratively, could be carried out, first of all, by picking up the accumulated losses, clearing them and other liabilities, and then re-distributing the shares, say, in the following manner. (The percentages given below are not sacrosanct, and have been used merely to illustrate the basic idea behind the proposal):

(a) 45 percent shares to the workers (through a Workers' trust), after making it obligatory that no worker could dispose of his shares other than to a co-worker and

also after ensuring that no single family could hold more than 5 percent of the equity;

(b) 45 percent shares to other shareholders, including the NPT, but ensuring that at least 10 percent of this chunk is reserved for journalists only; and

(c) 10 percent (through a Management Trust) for the moderating and balancing power, which should remain with the key functionaries of each company. These 10 percent shares should be a special type of shares, which should be held only by the functionaries in an ex-officio capacity, that is, by designation, and not by name. Of these 3.5 percent could be reserved for the Chief Executive, 2.5 percent for the Chief of Finance Division, 2 percent for the Chief Editor, and 2 percent for the Chief of Marketing and Administration. The yield on these shares would be available to the executives concerned, but on their retirement or on leaving their jobs, such shares would automatically pass on to their successors. The executives would not have to buy these shares, but their dividends would be available to them. The measure would thus give an incentive to the key executives to strive for efficient administration of their respective units.

This proposal is, of course, subject to the cooperation of the workers. So far the response from the 'MASHRIQ' Union has been exceptionally good. The way they have analysed the grave situation and put forth their valuable and highly rational suggestions is quite commendable. Their reasonable response has belied the notion, which some of our businessmen and industrialists have, that workers cannot be entrusted with the intricacies of commercial or industrial management. Surely, when 'MASHRIQ' staff is capable of sizing up their day-to-day problems and suggesting ways and means of leading their Company to a much brighter future, there is no reason why others should not be able to do so.

Commentary Takes Issue With Benazir's Perception of Power

*90AS0121A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
7 May 90 p 10*

[Article by Ibnul Hasan under the byline entitled: "A Parenthetical Sentence"]

[Excerpt] The war between India and Pakistan will be when it will be, but meanwhile Benazir Bhutto has prematurely opened up a new front in the minds of the people. Answering a question during an interview with BBC representative Brian Byron, Benazir said, "If there is a war, I will be in charge," as though there was some possibility that in a war someone other than the government of Pakistan and its prime minister would be in charge. Obviously, India's Premier, V. P. Singh, or former premier, Rajiv Gandhi, would not be in charge of Pakistan. Is there any doubt that the affairs of state are run by the leader of the government? If government affairs are entrusted to the head of the government in peacetime, then it goes without saying that the head of

the government will be responsible for these affairs in time of war as well, and he or she will have to fulfill these responsibilities efficiently and successfully with the cooperation of the people and all the government institutions and personalities. But these are not matters that one talks about because, when questions are asked about these matters, the implication arises that some doubt exists in regard to them. And when the questions are considered worthy of attention, and the answers are given with a challenging attitude calculated to attract the attention of the four corners of the world, then the only conclusion to be derived at is that the individual answering the questions is in a state of uncertainty, and because of certain mental reservations or pressure, is anxious to express unnecessarily a sense of self-confidence. After all, a radio, television, or press representative may ask any number of foolish and unnecessary questions. It is not necessary to regard them as worthy of attention. As the saying goes, fools are best answered with silence.

These representatives of the BBC and factotums of the world communication media are very shrewd and well acquainted with the art of creating news. They are also fully aware of the psychological problems of important personalities and ask them questions full of hidden suggestions and meanings, thus amusing themselves and providing the right atmosphere and material for discussions, arguments, and rumors in the related circles. These people are only concerned with making the world media interesting and provocative for their customers and audience. To them, the problems of others are mere saleable material and it matters not at all to them if these problems are worrisome, dangerous, or even fatal. The attitude of these factotums of the world media is, let those who must, deal with their problems. If the opportunity arises for the world media to show off, they do not hesitate to employ sleight of hand and nimbleness of tongue. The world media is well aware of the background and prospects of Pakistan's men and women in power. They know who is involved with whom and who is burning with what secret desire or problem. If these factotums can possibly increase the confusion of the already confused and feed the fires of those already aflame, they will not hesitate to do so.

Brian Byron would not have considered it necessary to ask V. P. Singh, India's prime minister, the same question that he asked Benazir Bhutto, even though to stay in office V. P. Singh does not enjoy the kind of support in the parliament that Benazir has in the national assembly. Even the parties in the parliament which support V. P. Singh are not included in the cabinet. The largest party in the parliament sits in opposition under the leadership of Rajiv Gandhi. In fact, V. P. Singh is not running his administration with any great expertise; and as for the domestic problems, God forbid that Pakistan should have to deal with similar difficulties. Admittedly, the situation in Pakistan is not good, but the only thing wrong here is that, as the saying goes, we can crying for the bad ones. [as printed] There is a good possibility that

conditions will improve. As the verse says, the ground is fertile; all it needs is a little water. The malady which afflicts India has no remedy. Yet, with all these thousands of shortcomings, problems, and conflicts which beset India, it was not necessary for a Brian Byron to ask India's premier as to who would be in charge in case of war, not because the answer is in the Indian Constitution, but because no one in India has any doubts about the matter nor is the Indian prime minister worried as to who would be in charge of affairs.

I am not praising V. P. Singh, but the fact remains that no one need ask the Indian premier as to who would be in charge of affairs whether in time of peace or in time of war. Nor does the Indian prime minister have any intention of announcing that in time of war, he would be in charge. However, it was not considered unnecessary to ask this question of the Pakistani prime minister and she answered loud and clear that she would be in charge.

Now that the question has been asked and has been answered with great interest and excitement, a great many questions emanate from this answer and these cannot be ignored at this stage. A war has not started as yet, and the nation has not as yet been called upon to confront the enemy with a display of national unity, purpose, patriotism, and self sacrifice. A question which comes to mind is whether a war for Pakistan's survival would be fought only by the ladies and gentlemen in power, their hangers-on, and party workers in the same way that in peacetime, for the last year and a half, they have been carrying on a struggle for power and have been seeking unilateral control over the country's total destiny. Books written about wars and experts on the matter hold the view that a war can be fought successfully only with the nation's full cooperation, sense of purpose, and unity. Over the last 40 years, the nation has been faced with such trials that it no longer has any illusions about those who are in charge of affairs and desirous of remaining so. Thus, even if Brian Byron and I have no doubt that in time of war Benazir Bhutto would be in charge, it may still be necessary to convince the people that they trust the hands that hold power and should consider themselves safe therein.

Another question which arises is whether, in time of war, the prime minister will be able to keep the government and the country safely out of reach of those who cannot be trusted by the people politically, morally, or financially. The prime minister may entertain a good opinion about these elements, but the important point is that a section of the population does not like them and has serious doubts and misgivings about them. The reputation and background of these elements is unenviable. Will a war be fought in such an atmosphere of anxiety? A question which relates to the earlier one is whether the prime minister is doing anything to remedy Pakistan's political, social, and geographical weaknesses which the Indian military experts and political leaders professedly wish to exploit and use to achieve success?

In view of all such large and small questions which beset the prime minister, how will she be able, as head of the government, to discharge those duties which are hers both in peace and war? The prime minister has to face many bitter realities in this regard, and one very bitter fact is that all the heroes and villains of Pakistan's armed forces are not necessarily the same as those of the prime minister and her party and this fact has an important bearing on the psychology of the country's defense. The prime minister and her party have shown a great lack of moderation and caution in this respect during the last year and a half. Can this fault be remedied? And without such a remedying measure, will she be able to carry out those responsibilities which will be hers in time of war as they have been in time of peace? The prime minister may have been thinking of the Constitution when she answered [the BBC representative's question]. The prime minister should be the "man in command"; but this creates a practical as well as a national problem.

Commentary Critical of Use of Army in Police Role

90AS0128C Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
3 Jun 90 p 10

[Editorial]

[Text] The military has been assigned the task of arresting terrorists in Karachi city. According to an official spokesman, the military and civil administration have jointly prepared a list of terrorists. In addition to this, as additional military units become available, the military will be asked to initiate action against dacoits in interior Sindh. Military units have been called to assist the civil administration in Karachi and they are patrolling all four Karachi districts. The military have set up posts in all the city's important areas, main roads, markets, and suburban townships. Even though with the arrival of the military the Karachi residents are feeling somewhat secure, and during the last few days the bloodshed has also subsided to some extent, the duty that has been thrust on the military is ill timed. The military was needed on the borders where the Indian forces have taken up positions with aggressive designs and where they are posing a challenge to the Pakistani nation's freedom and the country's survival. At this critical juncture, for the military to abandon the borders and instead get bogged down in the streets and alleys of Karachi or to march to interior Sindh in pursuit of dacoits, is in no sense a wise move. We have already noted that, even before war, the crafty enemy, India, has scored a victory on the psychological front in its initial attack, and if we continue to remain puppets in the hands of the enemy and if we do not act intelligently, God forbid, some great tragedy may befall us. The fact is that the elected government has thrown its problems into the lap of the military. Arresting terrorists, rioters, criminals, rogues, and murderers, is the business of the government and the civil administration under it and, under current conditions, it is such a dirty job that whoever is involved in it will be tainted. It would have

been better if the government in power had itself prepared the list of terrorists and arrested them on its own guts, its own strength and power. It is not known at what level the police and the CID [Criminal Investigation Department] prepared the list and passed it on to the military. Before doing this, the government should have taken into confidence all the groups involved, through political diplomacy, so as to dispel all doubts and suspicions, and the government's good intentions would also have been demonstrated that it is not making any particular class the target of its revenge. Riots in Hyderabad began as a result of indiscriminate action by the police. Even though the people entertain respect for the military and slogans "Support the Pak military" are reverberating, the military's business is to put out these fires temporarily, but it is not in a position to remove the hatred from the hearts. One can understand the use of the military to the extent of restoring law and order temporarily, but the government has not done the right thing by giving it the police role. What is needed is that, in view of the serious situation on the borders, the military should be relieved of its police duty and the government should take steps to solve the remaining problems. Every other day there are reports that consultations will be held with all political forces, but action is needed to implement it immediately as well. If the government considers itself competent, it should rectify the law and order situation, otherwise, by holding consultations with other patriotic forces, the causes of everyday fighting should be removed through resorting to lasting and permanent steps, and the military should be immediately relieved and dispatched to the borders.

Commentaries View Budget

Editorial: 'Taxes Preferable to Deficit'

46000129A Lahore THE NATION in English
12 May 90 p 6

[Article: "Taxes Preferable to Deficit"]

[Text] Mr V. A. Jaffrey, Adviser to the Prime Minister on Finance, stated at the second pre-budget seminar held under the auspices of the Ministry of Information that the public should fear a fiscal deficit more than higher taxes since the former fuels inflation at a much faster pace than the latter. He accused provincial governments, specifically mentioning the recent statement of the Balochistan Chief Minister that he would not levy any additional taxes on the province, of increasingly relying on the divisible pool of Federal taxes an obligatory grants to finance their fast rising current expenditures; thus leaving the onus of taxation on the federal government alone. Mr Jaffrey opined that if the provincial governments would only increase their revenue by keeping taxes at par with the 40 to 50 percent appreciation in land values the federal deficit would become more manageable; and less reliance could then be placed on foreign aid. Besides he implies that our creditors could reach the limit of their patience and resources if

the Pakistan economy fails to improve. The latter statement comes in the wake of the current visit to the IMF delegation to Pakistan. There was speculation that the government of Pakistan had requested easing of some of the conditionalities to make the budget 1990-91 more palatable to a public fast losing the purchasing value of the rupee it earns. And Mr Jaffrey's emotional outburst reflects the limits imposed by IMF and its insistence that no more easing will be forthcoming—after all IMF has already extended the time period of implementing their directives by one year recently. It is no longer willing to re-extend.

Given that a fiscal deficit requires borrowing and reinjecting the sum in the economy which fuels inflation what exactly is the prescription for controlling the deficit of the IMF, so meticulously adhered to by our economic planners? As Mr Jaffrey put it: increasing taxes. The general consensus against this solution is that taxes, largely indirect and therefore regressive and inflationary, erode the real incomes in the country. A harangue against evasion and corruption will not increase collection under direct taxes. Furthermore the inflationary impact of aid conditionalities is not limited to increase in indirect taxes. The country is aware that other pricing policies pertaining to utilities, major inputs like oil and fertilizers, and withdrawal of subsidies all have an inflationary impact. Already the country is in the grip of an inflationary spiral not reflected by the government's quoting of absolute statistics but rather in the trend i.e. the Consumer Price Index has increased within one week in May by 7.1 percent in comparison to the comparable period last year. And blaming provincial governments would achieve little. Giving the provinces financial autonomy would isolate the revenues of the provinces from the Centre—a better solution to the recurring problem than accusations can ever be.

Revenue Increases Said Heavy Burden on Small Man

46000129B Karachi DAWN in English 6 Jun 90 p 7

[Article by Sultan Ahmed: "Budget and the Small Man"]

[Text] Pakistan's Finance Ministers have invariably been jugglers. Of course, most of the Finance Ministers around the world, including those of the rich States, have to be jugglers as they have to collect larger revenues with the least resistance from the taxpayers and meet the demands of conflicting pressure groups. But the temptation to be a juggler is stronger in Pakistan because of the variegated financial pressures of an inescapable kind they face, which is on the increase.

The first Finance Minister, Mr Ghulam Mohammad, and his successor, Chaudhri Mohammad Ali, did not need to resort to such jugglery, although they had to face the critical all-out of partition and the challenges of the birth of new State which many Indian economists had predicted would be an economic failure. Yet their task

was easier. And they could formulate their budgets on the basis of their past experience instead of depending on their officials excessively.

In the 1970s, though an engineer Dr Mubashir Hasan had his firm ideas on what the economic pattern and the budget should be, and hence had his way by and large. He was a self-willed Finance Minister who could brush aside bureaucratic objections and make his experts follow him.

In the 1980s, Dr Mahbubul Haq could formulate his two budgets on the basis of the experience he gained in the World Bank and later as Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission and Minister for Planning. When he became Finance Minister he got the opportunity he was impatiently looking for to give practical shape to his ideas and his 1985 budget is a landmark in our fiscal history because of the dramatic tax reliefs he offered to give a big boost to the private sector. His 1988 budget and his furious quarrel with the businessmen and industrialists which followed, as he dubbed them "lootera" again and again in his budget speech, came as an anti-climax to his 1985 performance.

But other Finance Ministers of Pakistan had to depend a great deal on their experts and be guided by the mighty Central Board of Revenue.

Budget-making has become a very tough exercise, and they have to satisfy too many groups within the government and the country. The pressure on them is at its peak now as they have to conform to the dictates of the IMF first, meet the higher cost of defence, allocate far more for development, provide them the inescapable welfare measures with larger outlays for education and public health, and pay the rising cost of debt-servicing which is the largest single item in the revenue budget now.

All that has to be accomplished while providing for higher pay scales for the 3.5 million employees of the Federal, provincial and local bodies, increasing employment opportunities and lowering the rate of inflation really—and not statistically alone. This is an impossible task for any Finance Minister or the government. It demands inconceivably tough tightrope walking.

At the moment we have a kind of triumvirate at the top to deal with the budget. While the Adviser to the Prime Minister, Mr V. A. Jafarey, will formulate the budget on the basis of his vast experience, the Prime Minister as Finance Minister has to approve that, and Mr Ehsanul Haq Piracha as Minister of State for Finance will present it to the National Assembly and face the music, which will be shiller this time because of the manner he has discredited himself through his role in the setting up of the Islamabad Stock Exchange.

The scope for easy selective increase in taxation and collecting larger revenues through that process came to an end in Pakistan a long time ago. So Mr Ghulam Ishaq Khan as Finance Minister came up with the across-the-board levy of a five percent surcharge on imports. Dr

Mahbubul Haq, who followed him, came up with an Iqra surcharge of five percent more on far more imports. As the Iqra surcharge was not really used for the spreading of literacy but for broader revenue purposes, his successors did not want to increase that and raise a hornets nest, but raised the import surcharge by one percent each to a total of 7 percent now.

It is a reflection of our under-development that we have been trying to tax the imports more and more instead of relying on industry which has not been expanding fast enough because of wrong policies and procedures. So the government came up with a licensing fee of 2 percent for all imports, Dr Haq raised that in 1988 to 4 percent, and the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government as it came in raised that to five percent.

Imports have really become the hobby horse of all Finance Ministers. Hence they have been able to raise the revenues from imports to Rs 60 billion from Rs 20 billion, although the volume of imports in dollar terms has remained almost constant for three years.

Now the government is to come up with a General Sales Tax of 12.5 percent to increase the sales tax revenue from Rs 19 billion by levying it this year on far more imports and local manufacturers.

Of course, the doors to further taxation and larger tax revenues without hurting low-income groups are not as tightly shut as our political leaders expect us to believe. The budget-makers have hamstrung themselves by not opting for taxing agricultural incomes because of the political diktat given to them. And now that the foreign experts are strongly urging the Government to have a land holding tax at least in the provinces, will the provinces agree to it? Or will they continue to depend on the Federal Government to meet all their development costs as well as finance the deficits after they had made their own modest revenue collection? If the National Finance Commission [NFC] had come up earlier and grappled with issues of federal and provincial revenues we might have had some answers to such questions. But though agreed in principle, the NFC is yet to be named and the proposals are yet to go to the President from the Prime Minister.

The question now is: What kind of a mix will the Finance Minister come up with in this tough economic and even more tough political environment which will not welcome heavy taxation? How much of printing of notes will he opt for after he had done all the borrowing that is permissible domestically and from abroad? How much of subsidies which now cost Rs 7.59 billion will be cut? And if he does not want to levy too much or too heavy taxes, how high will be the increases in electricity and gas rates after the 15.8 percent rise in POL [Petroleum Oil and Lubricants] prices?

And will he come up with all the levies and rise in the rates for utilities at one go as he presents the budget or in various stages to soften the blow? The mood of the country is not for accepting heavy taxation and a sharp

rise in the cost of living as a whole. The Finance Minister should be careful not to add economic fuel to the political fires or ethnic conflagration.

The new National Front Government in India came up with net additional taxation of Rs 19.59 billion, but two months after that Finance Minister Madhu Dandavate has been forced to come up with a series of tax concessions. Such two-step-forward and one-step-backward exercise should be avoided in Pakistan after the unhappy experience of the last three budgets.

What the Finance Minister, Prime Minister and the Cabinet ought to realise is that whether the new levies come as tax increase or rise in rates for various utilities as well as higher prices for the items regulated by the government like wheat and Atta, they have their direct impact on the low-income man's small wage packet. He has to pay all that from the same small source, which has been shrinking year after year in real terms because of inflation.

The Ministers and senior officials are not hit hard when prices rise high. They get their furnished houses with air-conditioners, cars with petrol and drivers, and domestic servants free. Their gas and power bills too are paid by the Government as also their telephones. They don't feel the pinch of the price rise much as they get all their free services in full regardless of how high is their cost to the public.

The Zamindars are not losers as prices of their agricultural products keep rising because of the enhanced support or procurement prices. When wheat prices are raised by 15 percent, the farm lords have reasons to be delighted.

Industrialists and businessmen too keep on raising their prices as additional taxation comes, and as power, POL, and gas rates are raised. In fact, their prices have gone up far above the level warranted by the rise in taxation or the rates for the utilities.

So it is the lower income and the middle class with fixed incomes who are hit hard. This Government is committed to promote and assist the middle class and protect the lower income groups. So what kind of contribution will the budget make in that direction now?

This class in Pakistan has usually a large number of dependents for each wage-earner. And the wages are hit by inflation—real inflation and not the modest official figure which promises to be lower next year.

This is also a country with high-rent rates and where the low-income groups are forced to have their own means of transport even when they cannot afford them as public transportation is scarce. They have also to pay high school fees for their children in private schools because of the paucity and low standard of Government schools.

Let the Finance Minister hence think of the heavy burden he will be placing on the small man, the low-income man, and the wage-earners with too many dependents, as he finalises his budget and presents it to the nation.

Economic growth in our midst should not mean greater economic hardships to the poor and larger inequalities in incomes, and a lowering of the standard of living of the ever-squeezed middle class.

Editorial Warns Against 'The Shariat Trap'

46000134A Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
31 May 90 p 5

[Editorial]

[Text] There can be little doubt that the Shariat Bill adopted by the Senate last week is primarily intended to embarrass the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] Government—and to some extent it will do so. The ruling party usually shows slow reflexes in the face of COP-IJI [Combined Opposition Parties-Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] attacks; this is evidenced again by the fact that the controversial Shariat Bill was allowed to be passed unanimously in a snap vote. Interestingly, a majority of Senate Members who voted gleefully for the Bill had deliberately helped to keep it in the freeze for five years, because Prime Minister Junejo believed that its passage would cause endless trouble and confusion, and serve no useful purpose. Despite pressure from President Ziaul Haq, Mohammad Khan Junejo was able to persuade his associates that the partisan Bill would weaken the constitutional framework as well as the country's legal structure. Waseem Sajjad, the then Law Minister, argued the case against the Bill convincingly, and presumably with conviction. It was also seen that the Shariat Bill would alienate the minorities, offend a large number of Muslim sects, and by giving the President power to make nominations to the Shariat Courts it would virtually place all authority in the hands of one man. It was agreed, therefore, that the matter should be held in abeyance until a consensus was reached at least among all Muslim schools of thought.

The Senate's volte-face on the Bill lays a trap for the PPP. The Government can, of course, and it should, amend the Bill in accordance with the maximum agreement possible among the smaller sects, and provide safeguards for all religious minorities. Unfortunately, the Constitution virtually allows the Senate to override the decisions of the National Assembly. If agreement between the two Houses is not possible, a joint session can be demanded and, today, the IJI-men nominated by Gen Zia are likely to secure a majority of votes. IJI strategists have been wanting to summon a joint session on one pretext or the other, so that they can demonstrate before the world the PPP Government's defeat in Parliament. Those who are not familiar with Pakistan's political history may be inclined to accept this as democratic procedure; in reality, the tactic seeks to use

superficially democratic methods in order to gain undemocratic ends, namely, the defeat of a properly elected Government through the votes of undemocratically elected Senators.

It is not clear yet what counter-strategy the PPP will evolve to defeat this sinister move. Anyhow, the facts of the matter need to be placed before all concerned citizens. They must be made to understand that love of power, not love for Islam, has apparently persuaded the Senate to adopt the present Shariat Bill, in defiance of wide sections of religious and political opinion in the country. It is essential that all public forums should be utilised to bring the issue before the people in its stark reality. It also needs to be shown that all laws must be codified, debated properly and then adopted by a representative legislature answerable to the people, because experience has shown that individual law-givers can prove dangerous for the country's unity and stability.

SRI LANKA

Peace in Sri Lanka Said Far From Won

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[Article by Gabriele Venzky: "Peace In Sri Lanka Is Far From Won—The Conflict Between the Singhalese and the Tamil Minority Is Becoming More Violent"]

[Text] Jaffna—The main street of Jaffna, center of the Tamil province at the northern edge of Sri Lanka, leads to an enormous mountain of rubble. The "Blue Lagoon" bar has closed forever; all that is left of its building is one wall, half of its original height. Around the corner is a neo-classic Methodist church, built in 1823, its Greek gable half-destroyed by bullets. In ruins are the venerable district court, the city administration building, city hall, the renowned library, half of the bazaar quarter.

An army unit marches through the ruins in a disciplined column, each man in camouflage uniform, bearing Kalashnikovs and assault rifles. Their leader is 15 years old at most, the others no more than 12: recently mobilized Tiger soldiers.

The last soldiers of the Indian peace troops left two months ago, and here once again are the Tamil Eelam Liberation Tigers (LTTE). Red and green flag poles are everywhere, flying the flag showing a roaring tiger above two crossed rifles on a red background.

The Tigers led a bitter two-and-a-half-year jungle war against superior Indian forces, which at times had stationed up to 100,000 men on the island. The Indians had arrived in the fall of 1987, supposedly to help the Tamils gain equality and recognition, and were therefore gladly received by the population. But that changed quickly, when the Indians started to disarm the Tigers. The

friends became enemies; cooperation turned into merciless warfare. Almost every family has stories about arbitrariness, murder, robbery, and rape.

Victory Over the World's Fourth-Strongest Army

The Tigers boast about having defeated the world's fourth-strongest army. As quickly as they melted into the northern impenetrable jungles before the advancing Indians in the fall of 1987, as quickly they reappeared after the latter's departure, filling the vacuum left behind by the Indians. All political rivals were done away with, especially those of the Eelam People's Liberation Front (EPRLF).

Hundreds of them were immediately liquidated; more than 600 are still missing. "That's the law of war; we had no other choice," says, without batting an eyelash, Mahattya, who now calls himself Mahendrarajah, the leader of the newly founded political party of the Tigers, the People's Front of the Liberation Tigers (PFLT). Mahattya is the deputy of legendary Tiger leader Prabhakaran.

The newly elected party leader is very disappointed after one year's negotiations with the government in Colombo. To date there have been no development programs for the north; no reconstruction is going on. In fact, complains Mahattya, there have been no talks whatever for three months. He emphasizes: "We want peace," but adds: "If they won't give us justice, there will be serious consequences."

What sort of consequences, he refuses to say. However, reliable sources in the north are convinced that a new confrontation with Colombo is in the making. The Tigers, who consider themselves the only legitimate representatives of the Tamils, are particularly disappointed over the fact that the Sri Lankan government has lately conducted talks also with their hated rival organization, the EPRLF. "That was treason," says Mahattya.

This strong reaction caused consternation in distant Colombo. A high-ranking government official indicates that all that had been intended was to talk with everyone involved in the conflict. Here people are just as far removed from reality as they are in cut-off Jaffna, where the euphoria of victory has distorted the Tigers' vision of feasible political objectives.

"We will not hesitate to resume the fight, if further efforts are made to oppress us," says Prabhakaran. His

cadres are on the way meantime to prepare the population for a possibly inevitable new battle.

Hardly anybody wants to believe of course that the Tigers as well as the Premadasa government would be foolish enough to expose the fragile peace to new dangers. The population in the north, in its destroyed cities and villages, is exhausted and wants only one thing: quiet. And in the south, where until recently the terrorist People's Front Janata Vimukti Peramuna (JVP) was in charge, people do not wish to have their hardwon normal situation destroyed which has existed since the JVP's demise. Even the hard-currency bearing tourists, who had previously provided a living for a big party of the country, have returned—almost 80,000 of them in the first three months of this year.

Buddhist Resistance Against Reconciliation Policies

Of the 16.5 million inhabitants of Sri Lanka, about 2 million are Tamils, who consider themselves oppressed in their rights and privileges by the Sinhalese majority. Even after a death toll of 16,000 caused since 1983 by the ethnic confrontations, the Sinhalese majority still does not appear ready to acknowledge the fact that Sri Lanka is in effect a multinational state. Especially the Buddhist clergy keeps on regarding the mainly Hindu Tamils as second class citizens. This represents a big obstacle for President Premadasa and the reconciliation policy he tries to pursue.

On the other side, the above-average educated Tamils are fed up with being harassed. There is therefore general applause for the fact that the Tigers, who enjoy almost unrestricted support from the population, have not renounced their demand for Eelam, their own Tamil state, and that they continue to hold on to their weapons.

"Without the boys we would be helpless," says a highly regarded attorney. The "boys" are 15,000 to 20,000 child soldiers. Added to this are 3,000 "girls," who also patrol the streets with Kalashnikovs over their shoulders, and about 70,000 civilian "helpers."

After the original relief about the departure of the Indians, the north is now harboring an atmosphere of nervous tension. There are rumors that the Sri Lankan Army is bringing reinforcements into its bases and that the Tigers are once again taking up positions. "Anything can happen," says the Bishop of Jaffna.

The peace which basically everyone in Sri Lanka desires and which the country urgently needs after all the murder and manslaughter remains elusive.

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