



# ***JPRS Report***

## **Near East & South Asia**

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# Near East & South Asia

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18 December 1991

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## REGIONAL AFFAIRS

### Independent Gulf Force Said Essential for Security

92AE0081A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
25 Oct 91 p 4

[Report by 'Isam Hashish: "Creating Independent Joint Gulf Force Fundamental to Security Arrangements in Region"]

[Text] Muscat, AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT—The idea of creating a joint independent Gulf force has become the mainstay of any discussion of security arrangements in the Gulf region. Although the idea itself is old and was raised even before the Peninsular [as published] Shield forces, composed of token forces from the armies of the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] countries were created, the implementation this time differs inasmuch as it comes when there is increasing talk about security arrangements in which both friendly and sister countries will participate to realize stability and security in the Gulf region.

Two days ago, army chiefs of staff from the GCC countries concluded a series of meetings in Muscat in the context of an emergency session requested by Sultan Qabus bin-Sa'id of Oman, in his capacity as head of the Supreme Security Committee, to discuss technical, personnel, and military details of creating a joint Gulf force from the GCC countries, but independent of them and grounded on at least 100,000 fighters with the highest level of qualifications, training, and arms. The basic goal of the force would be to provide the element of deterrence, able to block any aggression targeting the region or one of its countries, with the help of the armies active in it. The force would promote practical implementation of the idea of the Gulf's relying on its own people to protect its security and bring about its stability and welfare.

In an interview with Sayf ibn-Hashil al-Maskari, assistant secretary general of the Political Affairs Committee, a journalist asked whether creating a joint independent Gulf force would put an end to joint security arrangements by the Damascus Declaration countries as an approved formula to guarantee security in the Gulf.

The assistant general secretary stressed the erroneousness of such a view. "Security arrangements in the Gulf," he said, "are a broad concept that will move toward actualization through a number of levels and stages."

"Perhaps the first and most important level is for the Gulf to rely on itself for its security and stability—on the strength of the GCC countries themselves. That is why the idea of creating an independent, adequately prepared force of GCC personnel to provide the element of a shield in the event of aggression against any GCC country was proposed.

"The second level of these arrangements is based on the immediate regional element and takes into account the

role of neighboring countries, including Iran, in realizing Gulf security and stability. The conviction in this direction among GCC countries was confirmed by a joint statement issued in New York after a meeting of GCC foreign ministers with the Iranian foreign minister.

"The third of these elements stresses the importance of Arab depth in realizing Gulf security. This was embodied in the Damascus Declaration between the GCC countries and Egypt and Syria. The declaration expressed the GCC countries' conviction of the importance and usefulness of Arab depth in protecting the region's security and stability. At a meeting between foreign ministers of the GCC countries and the two sister countries scheduled to be held in Cairo next month, the first steps toward implementing this declaration will be agreed upon."

Sayf al-Maskari added that all these arrangements do not prevent any GCC country from concluding bilateral agreements under the international umbrella. Kuwait, for example, has signed an agreement with the United States consistent with Kuwait's sovereignty over its territory and independent national decisionmaking in accordance with its views and interests. This is the same principle that every country maintains. The recommendations reached by the chiefs of staff will be submitted to Sultan Qabus bin-Sa'id, head of the Supreme Security Committee. They are expected to be discussed at the committee's next meeting, before being submitted in final form to GCC leaders at their summit in the second half of this December.

As chairman of the meetings, Lieutenant General Khamis ibn-Hamid al-Kalbani, chief of staff of the Omani Armed Forces, gave details about the joint independent force at a brief press conference following the meetings. He said that bringing the force to the required size and capability could take several years.

About the chance that Desert Shield forces, composed of token units from the armies active in the GCC countries, will remain, he said: "The force was created by political decision; it will remain until another political decision is issued to dissolve it."

Lt. Gen. al-Kalbani explained that there are numerous details connected with the command and deployment of this force. He mentioned that, according to the current proposal, the command of the joint force will rotate. Many details about the operation and composition of the force will be left for the leaders of the GCC countries to settle.

### Petroleum Revenues for 1991 Up 8.3 Percent

92AE0081B London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
2 Nov 91 p 9

[Article by 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Sadiqi: "Emirates Industrial Bank Predicts Increase in GCC Oil Revenues to \$70.5 Billion This Year"]

[Text] Abu Dhabi—The Emirates Industrial Bank has predicted that the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] countries' oil revenue will rise this year to \$70.5 billion, compared with \$65.1 billion in 1990—an increase of 8.3 percent.

In a study of petroleum sector performance in the GCC countries, the bank said that the increase in revenues was due to an increase in production levels to 11.6 million barrels a day, compared with 9.6 million barrels a day in 1990.

The increased production began in the last five months of last year, after several OPEC member states increased their production in response to the shortage caused by the stoppage of Kuwaiti and Iraqi production after August.

According to figures cited by the bank, the United Arab Emirates' revenues from petroleum exports are expected to decrease to \$14 billion, compared with \$16 billion last year. Bahrain's revenues are expected to decrease to \$900 million, compared with \$1.1 billion last year; Qatar's revenues to \$2.5 billion, compared with \$2.8 billion. On the other hand, Saudi Arabia's revenues will increase to \$47.5 billion, compared with \$36 billion last year.

The study predicted that Kuwait's revenues from petroleum exports this year will amount to \$1.4 billion, compared with \$4.2 billion last year.

The study by the Emirates Industrial Bank discussed this year's crude oil price levels and mentioned that these levels had decreased from those of last year by varying amounts. The price of Dubayy crude had decreased from \$19.2 per barrel to \$16. The average benchmark oil price had dropped from \$42.3 to \$18.6 per barrel.

The study indicated that costs of the Gulf war had absorbed most of the increase in oil revenues in the past year.

The report said that economic sectors in the GCC countries could benefit more from the current stability in oil prices. This is particularly true because predictions indicate that the target price may be reached this winter due to the usual seasonal increase in crude oil prices, and also to the drop in Soviet petroleum exports.

The study by the Emirates Industrial Bank warned that the current increase in prices may not last long, because current total production of 23.5 million barrels per day by OPEC member states fully covers the organization's share of the international petroleum market. This quantity of production has played a large role in limiting price increases and has created a kind of stability in oil prices.

The study indicated that efforts for the time being should concentrate on the rest of the current year and the beginning of 1992, inasmuch as Kuwaiti and Iraqi production is expected to return to the markets again, especially in the middle of next year, at a time when world demand will be decreasing.

The study said that the gradual return of Kuwaiti and Iraqi production could add to petroleum markets no less than four million barrels per day, raising total OPEC production to 27.5 million barrels per day. This could cause a glut in the market, with unhealthy effects on the economies of oil-exporting developing countries.

The bank's study predicted that OPEC would return to a quota system in an attempt to prevent a general price collapse like the one that occurred in 1987, which caused an increase in production and disturbed the supply-and-demand ratio in international markets.

The study concluded that if a sharp drop in prices could be prevented, the Gulf economies would witness an improvement next year due to growth in sectors other than oil. There would be improved investment in these sectors, and many new projects would begin to be implemented, including some projects placed on hold during the Gulf crisis, not to mention the return of much of the capital that left the region during the crisis.

#### Popular Committees Contribute to PLO

92AE0081C London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
25 Oct 91 p 4

[Article: "11 Million Riyals From Popular Committee to PLO"]

[Text] Prince Salman bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz, amir of the Riyadh district and head of the Popular Committee To Aid the Freedom Fighters of Palestine, has ordered the transfer of 11,193,472 Saudi riyals to the PLO. This sum represents the second installment of donations by the popular committees in Saudi Arabia.

This was announced by Mr. 'Abd-al-Rahim Mahmud Jamus, general director of the offices of the Saudi Arabian Popular Committees To Aid the Freedom Fighters of Palestine.

Jamus expressed his appreciation to Prince Salman bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz for sponsoring and directing the popular committees so that they could realize their goals of supporting the struggle of the Palestinian people. Under the leadership of Prince Salman, these committees have for 24 years represented an important contribution to the broad stream of support that Saudi Arabia has given to the Palestinian people and cause, on the material and moral level.

#### PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

Khalid Al-Hasan on Confederation With Israel,  
Jordan

92AE0079A Jerusalem AL-MANAR in Arabic 4 Nov 91  
p 7

[Article by Khalid al-Hasan: "An Israeli-Palestinian Confederation Modeled After Switzerland Needed"]

[Text] Khalid al-Hasan, a member of the Fatah Movement's Executive Committee, is one of the founders of this movement, which is the largest of the PLO factions. Khalid al-Hasan is thought of as one of the most prominent of the PLO's moderate element. He is the author of this article, which AL-MANAR is publishing because of its importance:

The Madrid Conference, and the process that led to its being convened, are the logical results of the establishment of the new balance of power in the world and in the Middle East. I hope that the delegations meeting within the framework of the conference will take the first step toward establishing a dialogue that will be crowned by a lasting peace, instead of a temporary or interim peace. Our first steps toward a lasting peace will encounter—in my opinion—fewer obstacles than some imagine.

Moreover, the economic and security dimensions of the peace process are of considerable importance. I think that the changes that are occurring in the world's economy constitute a greater enemy for Israel, unless it has the ability to live in isolation without a connection to the world, save for a line extending to Europe or to the United States. Furthermore, the future horizons of small nations that are trying to build self-sufficient economies do not contain any guarantees of certain success. On the contrary, the current thrust is toward large integrated, regional economies, such as the European Community or the North American Free Trade Zone.

This evidence should generate the conviction that the hopes of economic comfort depend on establishing an integrated, regional economic system joining together all small nations in the region, including Israel and the future Palestinian state.

Israel must adapt itself to the new reality; it cannot continue in conflict with the proposed new world order, which is based on the principle of friendly cooperation, instead of isolation.

Undoubtedly, the establishment of a regional security system is a necessary requirement for establishing a regional economy such as this. Attaining this objective must be done by making our region a demilitarized zone. Disarmament, as Egyptian President Husni Mubarak suggested, is one of the important ways to establish the pillars of peace in the Middle East.

In order for Israel to be within this regional security system, it must commit itself to the system's principles. It could not be permitted to continue as a nuclear power in the middle of a demilitarized zone, because the stripping of Iraq's military power [and not Israel] would constitute a double standard.

The way to realize these economic and security objectives is to establish a confederation—based on the Swiss model—embracing Palestine as a whole, including Israel, the territories it occupied after the 1967 War, and Jordan, respecting the national and cultural identity of each party, as well as territorial integrity (Switzerland is

divided into 23 cantons, with each one having extensive powers). A system like this would facilitate achieving a just solution to vital questions such as division of water resources, the status of Jerusalem, and the refugee problem. I am convinced that a confederation along the lines of Switzerland would create a solution to the issue of Jerusalem, which is dear to our souls.

In regard to a confederation of this type, it is proposed that Jerusalem be given a status similar to the Swiss city of Basle, which is a canton of itself as well as the capital of the federation; or to a proposed two-state system, i.e., a municipal city embracing two political capitals.

If a confederation of this type is established, it will be the Palestinians' destiny to resolve the refugee problem themselves, instead of foreign powers imposing a solution. The proposed solution is to give each Palestinian refugee the option of returning to his home inside the new confederation, or to compensate him if he chooses to live abroad. These are the possibilities that recent world changes offer.

Peace is a psychological state embodied in material security for the people concerned, as well as peace of mind that creates a stable condition based on mutual respect and understanding, its roots bearing the seeds of justice which, of themselves, restore stability by resolving the problems of daily life that we face in our region, which operates in a continuum of conflict.

It remains to say that it is incumbent upon us, at this historic moment, to be endowed with wisdom, so as to reach an agreement that does not bear the future seeds of other conflicts. That wisdom—in my belief—would be to establish a Swiss-type confederation.

#### Profile of Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi

92AE0078A Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew  
15 Nov 91 pp 8-9

[Profile of and interview with Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi by Tzadok Yehezkel: "The Old Fox From Gaza"; place and date not given]

[Text] The Madrid conference exposed him to the spotlights overnight: Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi, a doctor from Gaza, the head of the Palestinian delegation to the peace talks. This is the man who has come to show the world that there is another side to the Palestinians adorned with olive branches.

When he spoke at the opening of the conference, the Palestinian on the street said about him: this is the doctor who has alleviated our pain. When he returned home a national hero, the convoys of welcomers accompanied him from the Erez checkpoint to his estate in the Rimel neighborhood in a demonstration of support of the sort that Gaza has not seen for a long time. But he, an old, battleworn, and experienced fox, told them: "Hey gang, the time has not yet come to celebrate! The path is still extremely long!"

Midweek, al-Shafi's home was full of tens of visitors, who came and went from the early morning hours until after nightfall: delegations of pupils, women's organizations, unions, foreign correspondents, Israeli parliament members. If not for the curfew in Gaza, which goes into effect at 2000, they would have come until midnight, laughed his son, Haled. In the garden of the two-story house, under the poinciana tree, colorful plastic chairs had been placed in a circle. In the middle were trays of baklava and black coffee. Dr. Haydar came down to receive his guests and to listen to popular sentiment.

He is a smooth man, slim and carefully dressed, with bushy eyebrows and a serenity that appears never to be disturbed. Seventy-two years old, the chairman of the Red Crescent in the Gaza strip, he retired from his surgical practice just four years ago. His English is excellent, his speech precise and clean of slogans. To those who have become accustomed to the twisted formulas of the Palestinian leadership on national issues, al-Shafi's directness is a refreshing change.

Today, after the death of Rashad a-Shawa, he is considered the unchallenged leader of the Gaza strip.

His territory is Gaza, not the West Bank. In his rare visits to the West Bank, he usually lunches with his contemporary from the "elderly group," Elias Freig, the mayor of Bethlehem. Faisal al-Husayni treats him with respect, and al-Shafi accepts, in effect, his authority with regard to the peace talks. But those who know him say that Dr. Haydar does not respect anyone, except for his own principles.

When asked whether he is close to 'Arafat, he responded: "Not particularly. I would not say that I am close to anyone. I have always maintained my independence."

Al-Shafi's senior status in the [Gaza] strip was created by virtue of his radiant personality, charisma, and uncompromising dedication to the Palestinian national cause. He is clearly a leftist, who took pains to maintain his ideological independence, although he was identified for many years with the Palestinian communist party (which has recently become the Palestinian People's Party).

Al-Shafi himself is careful to deny that he ever belonged to any organized political body, perhaps because such identification would be likely to cost him extensive popular support among the proponents of the central faction of Fatah.

Notwithstanding, he openly adopted the traditional communist position of recognizing Israel in the borders of the partition plan and, later, in the 1967 borders. This position placed him in the minority among Palestinians in Gaza, and aroused severe attacks against him. Yet, he adheres to it stubbornly, and has not deviated from it throughout the years. "Of course," he now says, "we preferred a binational state, or a single democratic state in which Jews and Arabs would live together. But the United Nations preferred the notion of partition."

Al-Shafi's political weight in Gaza is an extraordinary phenomenon, mainly in light of the fact that he does not belong to a large family. In a place in which political power is measured by the size and wealth of your family, al-Shafi is considered the black sheep of the elite. Dr. Haydar could have remained anonymous his entire life, had the refugees not appeared en masse, totally changing the social structure of the [Gaza] strip.

He comes from a well-to-do and respected family in Gaza. His father was a senior official of the Muslim Waqf in the [Gaza] strip. He studied medicine at the American University in Beirut, and did his residency in the United States. Two of his sons completed masters' degrees in economics in East Germany, his oldest daughter is doing her residency in pediatrics in the United States, and his youngest son is studying international law in France.

The Israelis have much experience with Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi as an uncompromising opposition figure. Orientalist Zvi Alpeleg met him for the first time when he was the military governor of Gaza in 1956-57. Alpeleg, who became a friend of al-Shafi, speaks with deep respect of the pleasant-mannered, puritanically simple man, who was as hard as a rock and never bent.

Upon the entrance of the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] to the [Gaza] strip, Gaza was appointed a new mayor. Al-Shafi was elected, without consulting with him, to the municipal council. After two months, he stopped coming to the council meetings. In response, as per the instructions of Yitzhaq Navon, who was then Ben-Gurion's personal secretary, the telephone, water, and electricity in his home were disconnected. But he did not surrender.

Al-Shafi's conduct, says Alpeleg, was the most prominent thing in Gaza then. It greatly resembled that of Western idealists. His opposition to the Israeli occupation was adamant. Al-Shafi did not come to the receptions to which all of the prominent locals fought to be invited. He was a nonconformist, and his conduct marked them as collaborators, flatterers, opportunists.

The Egyptians, too, were not pleased with him, although he was an enthusiastic Nasirite, who also saw himself as a pan-Arabist. When the plan to settle refugees from the Gaza strip in the northwestern Sinai desert was on the agenda, al-Shafi opposed it, together with the communists and the Muslim brothers, until it was no longer under consideration. This was part of a comprehensive struggle against any attempt to reach a permanent settlement of the refugee problem prior to the liberation of Palestine in its entirety.

Al-Shafi viewed the Egyptian government as temporary protective rule. He did not seek to establish a Palestinian state in the Gaza strip, but demanded more powers for the legal institutions. When the executive council was established in the late 1950's, al-Shafi, acting together with the governor, served on it as the official in charge of health affairs in the [Gaza] strip. The protocols of the council in this period are replete with his protests. After

three years, he resigned, due to what he defines as "differences of opinion." Later, in the early 1960's, he was elected chairman of the legislative council.

In 1964, al-Shafi participated in the founding of the PLO, headed by Ahmad Shukeiri, and became his deputy and a member of the first executive committee of the organization. After a year of clashes with Shukeiri, he left the organization, renewing his ties with him [Shukeiri] as an independent leftist only in the mid-1970's. In 1967, he found himself under the protection of the Israeli Government.

His overt political activity succeeded in angering the defense authorities. Dayan deported him twice: once to a military camp in the Sinai desert, and once to Lebanon, from where he returned through the framework of "family unification." The official reason was collaboration with terrorists, although al-Shafi is known as an opponent of terrorism. Yet, Dayan also appreciated his honesty and courage, and periodically came to ask his opinion of what was happening in the [Gaza] strip.

"Apart from that," says al-Shafi, "I do not think that we had anything in common. Dayan was a ruthless administrator, and he insisted upon his own opinion, without respecting the opinions of others. Notwithstanding, he did heed matters of protocol."

Once, a group of people headed by al-Shafi requested a meeting with Dayan in order to discuss a certain problem. The meeting was scheduled in Dayan's office in Tel Aviv. Al-Shafi announced that he would not travel to Tel Aviv, and did not give in even under heavy pressure by the governor. The next day, Dayan came to Gaza, and the meeting took place without another word on the matter.

Throughout the years, al-Shafi maintained a studied separatism in his contacts with the government. He was always introverted, thrifty with words, and extremely dogmatic. In 1975, an advisor of Peres, then the minister of defense, offered him the mayorship instead of Rashad a-Shawa, who resigned in protest of the demand to connect the refugee camps in the [Gaza] strip to the water and electricity supply.

"Not long ago, you held elections in the West Bank," al-Shafi then said. "Hold elections here, and if I am elected, I will become mayor." Two days later, a-Shawa was reappointed to the position.

Several years ago, journalist Paul Taylor, formerly the director of Reuters in Israel, held a lengthy interview with Dr. Haydar in the garden of his home in Gaza. At the end of the interview, Taylor asked him whether there was one good thing that the Israeli occupation had done for him. Al-Shafi thought a bit and responded: "Yes, the Voice of Music [the Israeli classical radio station]."

During the 1970's, al-Shafi fortified his status as a member of the PLO leadership in the territories and as a Palestinian patriot. In 1978, he was a member of the

National Direction Committee, which was established in the territories during the period of Ezer Weizmann's new policy, and was outlawed two years later.

In meetings with members of the national leadership, foreign consuls, or members of the Israeli left, al-Shafi did not remain absent, but he was not among the most prominent figures present. When the intifadah broke out, he was careful not to dirty his hands with field activity, confining himself to the political realm.

Over the past two years, a substantial change can be detected in him. He has either become somewhat more clever, or become a pragmatist. In his contacts with the Civil Administration, he appeared to be more open to conversation and dialogue. Palestinians say that Haydar abd-al-Shafi has become realistic. In a meeting with him this week, he smiled often, in contrast with the cold and scowling image that has adhered to him.

His appointment as head of the delegation to Madrid is a work of art, says a member of the delegation identified with Fatah. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi symbolizes Palestinian unity, and it constitutes a promise to the Palestinian in the street that there will be no deviation from what he dreamed of achieving.

As will be recalled, the communists initially refused to join the delegation. They claimed that the decisions with regard to its composition were not made in a democratic manner, and that its composition did not reflect all of the factions in the PLO. In light of this, the appointment in Tunis of al-Shafi was interpreted as a signal by 'Arafat to the left that the door to Madrid was open. In Tunis, they also took into account that only Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi could draw extensive support for the peace process in the trouble-strewn streets of Gaza.

A week prior to departure for Madrid, he had yet to give his consent to participating in the delegation. He blamed his age and health for the indecision. He later said that national responsibility did not allow him to refuse. To the question of whether he is happy with the composition of the delegation, he answers: "I do not wish to respond to that. I shall only say that we have succeeded in working together, and I think that is an achievement."

His impressive appearance at the opening of the conference drew much praise. It also gave rise to an exciting personal story for al-Shafi himself. When he studied at the university in Beirut, he had two close friends, an Armenian and a Jew. Since 1947, he lost touch with both of them. After 1967, he tried to locate the Jewish friend, whose name was Margolies, in Israel, but did not find him.

Following the speech, a fax arrived in Madrid from the Armenian friend, who lives in the United States and is now a retired professor of public medicine. "I called him," said al-Shafi, "and I asked about his family. I also asked about my Jewish friend, and he said: 'he is here, not far from where I am.' This was a very happy event, and I am now awaiting a meeting with the both of them."

Al-Shafi's speech, by the way, was originally written in English, and not by Mahmud Darwish, as was initially thought. The identity of the speechwriter has become one of the most guarded secrets of the Palestinian delegation, because it was written, apparently, by a staff that does not exist from the perspective of the protocol (Walid Haladi, Nebil Sha'ath, Hanan 'Ashrawi, and others).

[Yehezkeili] How did you feel when reading the speech?

[al-Shafi] I felt that I was representing the Palestinian people before the world for the first time, and that filled me with the feeling that I must be very clear in transmitting the words. I really did feel slightly tense, the situation was very delicate, and I am happy that I succeeded in maintaining continuity and not sounding overly emotional. I think that the message was transmitted. That was our only achievement in the conference.

[Yehezkeili] Did Chairman 'Arafat call you after the speech to congratulate you?

[al-Shafi] (laughing) No.

[Yehezkeili] How do you see the continued negotiations?

[al-Shafi] I do not know. I do not know whether there will ever be a breakthrough that will enable us to continue further.

[Yehezkeili] You sound pessimistic.

[al-Shafi] According to Israel's starting positions, there is room for pessimism, yes.

[Yehezkeili] First, you objected to the Camp David accords, and now you are willing to compromise on autonomy.

[al-Shafi] We are still against autonomy as is. We are willing to accept autonomy as a stage toward national independence.

[Yehezkeili] Will you present the cessation of settlements as a preliminary condition for the continuation of the talks?

[al-Shafi] I do not think that there will be any significance to the negotiations if the settlements continue.

[Yehezkeili] Are you representing the PLO in the delegation?

[al-Shafi] Yes.

[Yehezkeili] Assuming that you are independent in your positions, will you leave the delegation if the PLO does not adhere to the principles that you believe in?

[al-Shafi] Certainly. I have my own political world view, and if things do not conform to that view, I shall feel free to leave.

This weekend, al-Shafi will be the guest of honor at the convention of the Israeli Communist Party, which will

take place in Nazareth. Next week, he will travel with the delegation to a reception with King Husayn. In the interim, he must guard himself from the Islamic extremists, who view him primarily as an infidel. And he must calm the Palestinians in the street, who wish for change. It is not time for demonstrations now, and not time for celebrations.

### **Selling Apartments Difficult in Territories**

92AE0078B Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew  
22 Oct 91 p 7

[Article by Moshe Cohen: "Go Sell an Apartment in the Territories"]

[Text] Yonah and Itzik S. have been trying to sell their three-room apartment in Ma'aleh Adumim for five months—unsuccessfully. That is also the situation of Liat and Yaacov V., who have an apartment for sale in Kiryat Arba. And they are not the only ones encountering a similar problem.

"Sales of secondhand apartments in the territories is an impossible task," says Menahem Avitsur, director general of YESH DIROT, a biweekly that collects data on housing supply. The stalemate in the territories is not a new phenomenon, and it appears that it is not directly related to the fall of the market throughout the country.

According to the findings of a survey held by YESH DIROT, only eight of the 49 apartments offered for sale since January in Ariel have been sold. The eight apartments were approximately five years old, and were sold for an average price of 814 dollars per square meter.

In the past 10 months, 82 apartments were also offered for sale in Ma'aleh Adumim. Only four have been sold. The average age was seven years old, and the buyers paid an average of 1,024 dollars per square meter. In Alfei Menashe, 15 old apartments have been offered for sale since the beginning of the year. How many have been sold? Two.

In Emanuel, eight apartments have been offered for sale and three have been sold. In Kiryat Arba, on the other hand, seven secondhand apartments have been offered for sale, and not even one has been sold.

Two factors in particular are making it difficult to sell old apartments in the territories: a large supply of new apartments and special additional mortgages for those purchasing apartments from builders.

In some of the West Bank settlements, including Ariel, it is possible to receive a "location loan," which is an additional mortgage of 50,000 NIS [new Israel shekels]—partially a grant, with the balance at 4.5 percent annual interest. In the settlements where such loans are unavailable, a special loan of 14,500 NIS is given to buyers of new apartments, also with preferred terms.

"There is a tremendous supply of new apartments in the territories," says Avi Tsitrinbaum, director of the

"Project Information and Marketing Center." Like Avit-sur, he also maintains that the resale market for apartments in the territories is "dry." Shlomo Moyel, director of the "Rotem Nehasim" agency in Ma'aleh Adumim, also subscribes to this opinion. In the absorption committees, on the other hand, they say that this is not true. The secondhand apartment market is operating as usual, in their opinion, and they give the example of the recent awakening [of activity] in Emanuel. It turns out that the absorption committees are right. It also turns out that for 50,000 dollars, they are offering in Emanuel four rooms (95 square meters) in the center of the settlement, with a large terrace and a shaded terrace, as well. In Atar Rivka, a more distant, slightly isolated neighborhood, the price goes down to 47,000 dollars.

Those in charge of absorption say that the planned peace conference has absolutely no effect on the apartment market, but field data indicate that there are 500-700 secondhand apartments available in Judaea and Samaria. Most of the supply is concentrated in the big settlements—Kiryat Arba, Ariel, Emanuel, and Ma'aleh Adumim—and it increases with distance from the green line.

The supply of apartments is not necessarily indicative of departure from the territories. A substantial portion of the sellers are upgrading their housing: families move from small apartments to more spacious apartments or to houses, usually within the same settlement. In Alfei Menashe, says a local broker, 14 secondhand cottages are currently for sale. The owners of 12 of them are moving to large villas in Alfei Menashe. Only two families are offering their homes for sale because they are leaving the place.

One of the two is the Caspi family, which moved to the Haifa suburbs because of the father's place of employment. The family is asking 72,000 dollars for its cottage apartment, four rooms, 100 square meters in size, in Givat Heharsina (a neighborhood in which people undertake their own construction). The apartment has been on the market for two months, during the course of which two serious offers have been made. Neither was realized, because of problems in carrying over the mortgage.

The Perlstein family, also crossing to the west of the green line due to the employment requirements of the father, has been trying to sell a three room apartment (75 square meters) in Kiryat Arba for the past five months, for 52,000 dollars. Actually, the family says, they are not making such a great effort to sell: "Perhaps we will return," they say.

Since many of the settlements are defined as community settlements, secondhand apartment sales in the territories are conducted by direct sales methods. "Someone seeking an apartment in Ariel, Emanuel, or Kiryat Arba comes to the absorption committee and looks at the bulletin board," says the person in charge of absorption in one of the large settlements. In most of the settlements, there are no real estate brokers, either.

The apartment market is divided, in effect, into two: in the community settlements, each buyer must be approved by an admissions committee; without its approval, the buyer will not be allowed to move in. Some of the settlements offer the candidates a trial period with temporary rental housing.

At the end of the trial period, the absorption committee decides whether a particular family constitutes a desirable addition to the existing population. In most settlements of this type there is a waiting list.

In larger settlements, more urban in character, a regular housing market operates, although mainly by direct personal contact between seller and buyer. Like anywhere else, an upgraded kitchen or built-in closets increase the chances that the apartment will be sold. In the mountain areas, the heating system installed in the apartment is also of consequence.

#### Obstacles To Obtaining West Bank Building Permits

92AE0053A Jerusalem AL-USBU' AL-JADID in Arabic  
15 Oct 91 pp 40-42

[Article: "Building Permits for Rural Areas Difficult To Obtain; City Plans Delineate Town Areas Within Existing Construction Boundaries; Permit Fees High, Raised Quarterly"]

[Text] As the housing crisis escalates—creating much hardship for newlyweds and raising rental fees to a point of overtaxing the family budget, which is barely enough to pay for basic food and medical needs, water, and electricity; and in view of many reasons for the construction slump caused by skyrocketing fees and red tape that kill investors' ambitions and discourage them from even considering building a building for any housing, commercial, or industrial project—the new urban and rural construction projects are exacerbating the situation, making it impossible to get out of the housing crisis and develop the areas for which they were designed.

#### A Complicated Matter

Getting a permit has become a complicated matter requiring several stages, in addition to the fact that it takes up to two years, and even then, approval may not be granted. An individual seeking a rural building permit must first bring a survey of the planned building site prepared by a licensed surveyor and registration papers from the finance division, since most plots of land have not changed since 1957 or 1962. A title deed is also required as proof of ownership, and some heirs may be absent. The individual then pays 180 shekels in fees to the Planning Department, where he meets with an "information committee" composed of an Israeli who checks the site on a survey map. If it is within the limits of a blueprint taken from the air, the word "within" is



written on the application form, and if it is outside the aerial photograph, it is, of course, disapproved.

The small number of applications that are approved are sent to the Absentee Landlord Department, where proof of ownership is checked. If the land is in the grandfather's name, the owner is required to have a title search, and if the number of absentee landlords is greater, the application is disapproved. Applications approved in principle go to the Absentee Landlord Committee that screens and checks them for final approval. The approved applications are then sent to the Antiquities Department where a committee screens them again, whereupon the approved ones are returned to the Planning Department, and from there are forwarded to the Survey Review Committee. Applications approved by this committee are forwarded to the project architect, and from there to the local committee. The applicant has to pay 50 percent of the designated fees, which amount to 6.20 shekels per meter for buildings up to 150 square meters, and 24 shekels per meter for anything above that. Finally, if the local committee approves the plan, the individual pays the remaining fees and gets the permit.

#### Changing Fees

Fees are usually raised once every three months and the Planning Department provides an updated list of changes that no one can protest. Permit fees now cost almost as much as the building itself and are constantly changing.

#### City Plans

In 1967, all West Bank villages did not have plans. In the seventies, the Israeli authorities found it to their advantage to commission the Israeli engineer Shamshuni, to draw up 180 city plans for Arab villages. Shamshuni drew up these plans, leaving a small area for expansion and development, and excluding arable land where building was not permitted. However, his plans were not approved by the Higher Planning Council because they were considered illegal and not put into force.

Prior to that, villages used to be handled under the Kendall Law, a plan designed in 1942 by the British engineer Kendall during the [British] mandate. This law stipulated that construction would be allowed in development areas, but in agricultural areas only 150-square-meter structures would be allowed on sites of no less than 1,000 square meters, and a street front of no less than 40 meters.

However, the population at that time was one percent of its current size, and traffic has multiplied many times over, planning authorities adopted the first part of the decree, delineating development areas on the basis of the number of inhabitants at the time. Plans submitted nowadays allow for less than Shamshuni had proposed. They call for horizontal and vertical reductions, thus reducing the area, curbing rural and urban growth, and blocking any kind of growth and development plans.

#### Legal Plan

It is a common fact that city plans are based on scientific rules, regulations, and standards, with a view to developing and organizing all the land in the overall public interest, primarily to serve the people, reutilize the land in the reconstruction zones via economic growth and social development, and implement all the various phases of action by visualizing a future plan that can guarantee the people's right to long-term building development.

The organization plan deals with road locations, the building of new roads, the paving and expansion of existing roads and the land set aside for this purpose, the right-of-way, road building, and improvement, etc. It also demarcates sewage lines, technological installations, water projects, vocational and industrial zones, as well as the size of the construction area, land apportionment, and the elevation and the setbacks around buildings allowed in each area. In addition, it delineates land set aside for public and private areas, natural and public preserves and beautification areas, squares, parks, cemeteries, mines, quarries, as well as land set aside for public buildings, ports, railroads, schools, hospitals, and any other public service.

When drawing up city plans, the following points must be considered: the area's topography; the population growth rate; the size of the current local and expatriate population and repatriation potentials; the indigenous population's job profile, customs, and traditions; the public interest; and world technical standards.

Projects submitted nowadays state that their aim is to expand and carefully organize construction areas through street planning. These projects, however, curb the construction area's horizontal and vertical spread and delineate areas where construction is banned without following any international technical standards for building projects.

#### Lack of Familiarity

The person who prepares these rural projects is an employee named "Itan" who often knows nothing about the villages' location and population size, and is unfamiliar with their customs and traditions. Moreover, city plans are designed in accordance with an aerial photograph on which a line is demarcated whereby most of the buildings are included and, sometimes, 30 percent of them are excluded from the project.

The blue line that delineates the village's outline on the basis on the number of existing buildings does not, in the best of cases, allow any considerable increase in the size of the village, leaving no possibility for expansion. New construction is permitted only in empty spaces between the existing houses.

These projects cannot accommodate the current population, so what about the future?



As for buildings not included in the plan, even if pre-authorized, they do not fare well because renovations and additions are prohibited, and, according to military rules and orders, authorities can demolish them if they wish.

### Red Lines

There are red lines that any office desiring to draw up a plan for a village or city can overstep. Normally, blue-prints are announced in the daily newspapers, giving a chance to any aggrieved party to protest them within two months. The inhabitants, however, do not have the right to get a copy of the plan pertaining to their village. If the inhabitants file a protest, the local committee may accept it, but the final word is for the district committee, which does not pay any attention to the matter and rejects the protest without giving any reasons.

For example, when the inhabitants of East al-[Sawahirah] protested their village's plan through a committee of lawyers formed by the Arab Lawyers' Committee, the protest was dismissed out of hand, and the lawyers were not even called in for a discussion. Their protest was rejected.

Only one protest, the one filed by Bayt ['Anan]'s inhabitants, was reviewed, and another plan was organized for their municipality. City plans divide the village land into three areas—A, B, and C—where two- or three-story buildings are permitted to be constructed, depending on the area. In the cities, lines are drawn on the aerial photograph between the existing houses, with a note that the municipality is not responsible for any future changes because it is in the process of drawing up a new plan.

Unauthorized buildings constructed on vacant lots between houses in rural areas, which are included in the plan, are not in jeopardy because the Planning Department is aware that they are outside the prohibited areas and will have to be authorized at some time in the future.

It is noteworthy that the plan does not say anything about farm or other land, and this raises some questions and doubts.

### Reduction

The 1967 plan for the city of al-Bira included 9,500 dunams, which was reduced to 6,000 when Khallat al-Qir'an in Jabal al-Tawil was requisitioned and annexed to Jerusalem during the tenure of the Israeli officer who was appointed mayor following the ouster of the elected town council. In 1986, authorities promised to draw up a new city plan and give the municipality 3,200 dunams in Sha'b Kassab, but it is still dragging its feet on this.

Municipal sources say that potential changes may include what is known as custom-built plans for each area based on the planning law and organizational boundaries. When such plans are approved by the Civil

Administration's competent authorities, the municipality begins street construction, provided that no protests are filed against the plans submitted for the project, taking into account both the public interest and the city's organization plan. But if buildings are to be demolished, the injured parties receive compensation.

The municipality, however, does not usually restore custom-built projects itself, but sometimes reaches an agreement with the landowners, or is asked by them to build streets through their property. These are strictly beautification projects, even though under the planning law the municipality has the right to requisition 30 percent of any land.

The municipality collects 5.5 shekels in fees for every square meter of constructed property and only 22 shekels for additional space.

### Contradiction

Engineers say there are custom-built projects that are incompatible with city projects. For example, the district committee has given permission to certain custom-built projects to build three-story buildings, but the city project allowed only two-story buildings, even though it was prepared by the district committee itself.

It is said that the plan for any settlement is implemented on the basis that the number of inhabitants must equal 10 percent of the value of the land. With regard to neighboring Arab villages, however, the situation is totally different.

It has also been said that there is a 1983 regional road construction plan aimed at bringing roads under one system to include 120-meter wide expressways with a 150-meter right-of-way on each side, 100-meter wide roads with a 120-meter right of way on each side, 60-meter wide roads with a 100-meter right-of-way on each side, and 40-meter local roads with a 70-meter right of-way on each side.

## EGYPT

### Shaykh Al-Ghazali Comments on Madrid Conference

92AF0144A Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 28 Oct 91 p 5

[Report on remarks by Shaykh Muhammad al-Ghazali at a seminar held in memory of martyrs of the Engineers Association in Cairo on 23 Oct]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] His eminence Shaykh Muhammad al-Ghazali, the great advocate of Islam, said, "When I heard about the reconciliation, or peace, conference that was going to be held in Madrid, I was alarmed and afraid that destiny might lead us to the land where our fathers were punished [reference to Arab rule of Spain] so that we would be condemned the same way they were condemned."

"Our fathers stayed in this land 800 years, after which they were expelled by force," Shaykh al-Ghazali said with sorrow and pain. He added: "In 1967, we lost the West Bank, the Golan, Jerusalem, and the Sinai. The conference now being held is dealing with the 1967 defeat. I said at the Mecca conference [not further specified]: 'Come, let us defend the eastern front. Let Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt join hands and let us carry out our duty of fighting against the enemies of Islam.' But this nation is afflicted by internecine fighting, thus becoming divided into sects and parties. The result is the calamity that we now see. There is no cure for this calamity except by returning to Islam. The path is clear and the remedy is defined. We must reconsider our nation's structure and restudy our shari'ah [Islamic law] so that we will implement it. The Islamic world is in need of a new outlook, for everything in our life is in need of diligent work."

#### Shari'ah First

"I would like to tell the rulers that if only one article of the shari'ah were implemented, the tragedies would come to an end. If the criminal's hand is amputated or his head is cut off and hung in al-Tahrir Square, for example, Cairo would sleep peacefully, with all doors and windows left open.

"With regard to the conference that was held in Madrid, I have followed what was said in it. I am pessimistic about this conference; I am fully aware that the Jews are fanatics in their religious beliefs, and that they are actually aiming at building a greater Israel. They will not give up what they have taken and they will not allow halting building of settlements."

Shaykh al-Ghazali went on, "I have heard the speeches of the Egyptian and Syrian foreign ministers, as well as others. They were extremely good speeches. But the only failing of those people is the fact that the advocacy of Islamic belief or the religious teachings that God sent down as a belief, as a law, as a religion, as a state, as way of worshipping, and as a behavior—all these things did not touch their soul, nor did they heed them. This is at a time when their enemy was aware of his religion. Look at how Shamir left the conference on Friday in order to spend the Sabbath with his Jewish brothers. Thus, we see how the infidels adhere to their religion and are loyal to it, while at the same time we see the Muslims indifferent to their religious rites and care little for their belief. Would we expect victory? Victory comes only with belief and adherence to our belief as a law and a way of life."

He added, "Moreover, I do not view this conference in light of the propaganda fanfare that surrounded it, and I care less for those who are for it or against it. What matters, in the final analysis, is that the view of he who supports or is against should stem from a sound belief and a nationalist, Islamic objective. This was what happened in Israel. Thousands of Israelis said no to the

conference. I would like the Muslims to understand that nationalism, on which states were established, render man's thinking narrow."

He continued, "It is true that there is a difference between the right belief and the wrong belief. But the Jew is convinced of his belief. His belief is that he belongs to God's chosen people and that his is the best of all peoples. He reads the Torah and knows it by heart. If I were there, I would have read something from the Koran, but the Arab negotiators knew nothing of the Koran. Perhaps they look upon reading the Koran as a reactionary act. Secularism believes that religiosity is reaction. If I were there I would have read the Koranic verse that says: 'Call to mind, when thy Lord proclaimed that He would surely sit in authority over them, till the day of Judgement, those who would afflict them with grievous torment.'"

Shaykh al-Ghazali affirmed that the calamity which our nation is experiencing is something transient, and that the Muslims will return to their religion either by force or by religious awakening. "Let us leave this conference alone, with both its good and bad facets. We want to think of how our nation can triumph and how can we do something for our religion from a moral aspect. We have lost the faith, and we must once again revise the structure of our nation."

At the seminar held last Wednesday in memory of the martyrs of the Engineers Association, Shaykh al-Ghazali asserted that the conference has failed. He said, "Even supposing that the conference was a success, what concerns me and what preoccupies my thinking is the question: Why have all these efforts been marshalled for the conference? If I were asked to go to the Madrid Conference, I would have asked them: What have you accomplished? The Jews have manufactured an atomic bomb while we lost the first Iraqi nuclear reactor without being able to do anything about it. In fact, we were the laughing stock of the whole world."

He added, "The Jews teach their children to despise the Arabs, while we teach our children nothing. They do, while we only talk. The irony is that we want to impose conditions of the conqueror while we are impotent. We say that Muhammad's army will return, while in 1967, they said that Muhammad died and left "girls" [weaklings] behind.

#### Let Use Wait for Results

"I do not care for the conference. Let us wait for the results. I am amazed by the songs we are now singing about peace. Where is the peace? Whoever wants to go to the conference has the right to go. I would say that Yasir 'Arafat, despite my contempt for him, will not surrender one inch of Jerusalem, or the West Bank, or Gaza Strip. The reason for my contempt for him is that he says: 'I am a Muslim, but I call for secularism so as not to antagonize the others and to win the cause.' I would tell him, 'Be a true Muslim, then God will not let you down and nobody in the world can defeat you if God is with you.'"

"The stone-throwing children have achieved wonders and they will achieve even more. Madrid will not determine the future of the Islamic nation. Indeed, it is you, the stone-throwing children, who, as I have already told you, will determine and shape and the future of the nation with work, struggle and by dispensing with the need for others, whether here or anywhere. You must be loyal only to Islam and not to nationalism." Responding to the claim that there is a link between the Kuwait war and Madrid conference, Shaykh al-Ghazali said, "I know that the Islamic nation is being fooled just like philosophers would fool young children. Saddam Husayn had a strong army, but because of his recklessness and arrogance, he was in a hurry. I said that he had only a year and a half before he could possess an atomic bomb. He was hasty, and so he lost everything in an unjust attack on an Islamic country and people."

Shaykh al-Ghazali stressed that martyrdom for the sake of God is not a loss of life, but rather a favor and grace from God which destiny grants to whomever the Almighty wishes from among his worshippers. This was what the Almighty meant by saying "Allah may make some of you martyrs."

He said that the Islamic religion has many enemies, and there is need for heroic martyrs to defend it and to fight bravely in order to defeat aggression and to spare no self-sacrifice for the sake of this religion.

#### Former Prime Minister Discusses Peace Conference

92AF0141A Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic 6 Nov 91  
pp 8-9

[Interview with former prime minister Mustafa Khalil by Usama 'Ajaj in Cairo, date not given; "U.S. Comprehensive Participation Required in Negotiations; No Choice But Peace, Whether Labor or Likud Governs Israel"]

[Text] In this historic interview, Dr. Mustafa Khalil, one of the heroes of negotiating with Israel, offers all the expertise he attained though the long, arduous, and exhausting hours with the Israelis in the Camp David negotiations, the peace accords, and autonomy for the Palestinians. He recalls his experience as an Egyptian negotiator with the Israelis, and on that basis reaffirms the necessity of Arab negotiators' insistence upon a larger role and full partnership for America in the bilateral negotiations now taking place in Madrid, in accordance with Security Council Resolution 338. Dr. Mustafa Khalil calls for coordination among the Arab countries without linking progress on any front to another, due to the difference of the related problems.

He reveals the scale of progress Egypt realized in the autonomy negotiations, the second part of Camp David. He says, "The minutes of these meetings are there for whomever wishes to benefit from them." Mustafa Khalil also expects, from his experience, the dwindling of Israel's strategic importance. He says that there is no

alternative to the peace option, whether there is a Likud or Labor government in Israel!

[Ajaj] We wonder, first of all, if the preparation for the Madrid Conference was suitable, so that we may expect that it will produce fruitful and positive results?

[Khalil] In my view, the conference was well prepared, due to the tremendous effort undertaken by American Secretary of State James Baker, and we laud, honestly and in an unbiased way, the praiseworthy effort exerted by Egypt, led by President Husni Mubarak. It would not be exaggerating to say that, without Egypt's efforts, which continued along with American efforts for eight months, this conference would not have been held. Without doubt, the public consent of the Arab countries to the struggle to participate in the conference—in addition to representatives from the Gulf Cooperation Council, the [Arab] Maghreb Union, and a representative of the European Community—had a great effect on the holding of the conference. The Arab announcement of their desire for a peaceful solution and their recognition of Israel were encouraging factors for holding the conference and giving it a great chance for success.

#### No Room for Pessimism

[Ajaj] The first phase of the Madrid Conference has concluded. What is your assessment of the achievements of the first phase, and how do you read the famous Israeli-Syrian conflict, which has aroused such feelings of pessimism over the possibility of the conference's conclusion or success?

[Khalil] Let us say that, in its first phase, the conference is not considered to be a negotiation, nor is it considered to be similar to the Camp David Accords. We may say that this phase was an opportunity for each side to clarify its position. Most of these were known beforehand; the problem was in the way they were presented, not in the essence of the issues. Some observers were overcome by a wave of pessimism after the Syrian-Israeli clash. It did not seem strange to me. Let us look back to 1977, when I accompanied President Sadat on his visit to Jerusalem. After Sadat gave his historic speech, Menachem Begin got up and did not read his prepared speech; he responded sternly to President Sadat, which came as a shock to everyone. When we sat down to the dinner table the same day, Begin and Sadat—and I was to Begin's left—did not exchange a single word at dinner. Some of the Israeli officials, among them Ezer Weizmann and Yigael Yadin, asked urgently for a meeting with me and Dr. Butrus Ghali. The meeting went on in my residence there until the wee hours of the morning. We discussed all the issues, and Weizmann asked us to make him an appointment with President Sadat. We scheduled him the appointment, and events followed, and the tension from the session of Knesset speeches had no effect on the course of the negotiations. This is why I say that the Syrian-Israeli confrontation that took place in Madrid was no more than a clash in viewpoints, and that the presentation differed from one delegation to the other,

but in the negotiations, things will take a different form from the publicly-announced declarations in the first round of the Madrid Conference.

[Ajaj] It is clear that the coming rounds of negotiations, whether bilateral or multilateral, are most important. I wonder, before we get into the details of each side's problems—don't you think that these negotiations are starting without agreement even on an agenda, which makes them liable not to succeed, or to end at any moment?

[Khalil] What you say is correct. When the negotiators sit down to negotiate, there must be an agenda for the topics to be negotiated. It is worth pointing out here that, in the Camp David Accords, the sides, whether Egypt or the Palestinians, were represented by [two lines of text missing]

In Washington: [passage missing] in one of the rounds of Egyptian-Israeli discussions, Dr. Mustafa Khalil and former U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance in preparing the talks for peace in the region. The topics that will be the focus of negotiation, in the sense that they will make up the negotiators' agenda, in addition to new topics the negotiators see; but this is not the case in the Madrid meetings. It is not enough to announce that the negotiations will take place on the basis of Resolutions 242 and 338. The business requires effort and energy, and conflicts may arise between the negotiating sides.

[Ajaj] What is the way out of the dilemma? To set an agenda for the second round of negotiations?

[Khalil] In my view, Bush's speech and his call to the concerned governments constitutes a partial agenda, and after that, it is up to all the sides to agree on an agenda.

#### Various Bilateral Problems

If we go beyond the crisis of agreeing on an agenda and try to achieve a formula and look for the shape of negotiations in the second round, especially with the disparity in the issues that Israel, Jordan, Palestine, Lebanon and Syria differ over?

[Khalil] It was agreed that the negotiations should be in three separate committees: Israeli-Lebanese, Israeli-Syrian, and Israeli-joint Palestinian/Jordanian. And there is talk of bilateral negotiations in a phase following the separation of the Palestinian-Jordanian delegations. A remark: remember that Israel will negotiate with two separate delegations, Palestinian and Jordanian; and it was agreed that the delegations would be composed with the Jordanian delegation taking in a Palestinian member, and the Palestinian delegation taking in a Jordanian member as part of the coordination between Jordan and the PLO. In the final analysis, we can see that the negotiations laid out on the bilateral negotiating table will be different between each side and Israel.

[Ajaj] Let us start with the Lebanese-Israeli negotiations, especially with the clarity of Resolution 425, which provides for the unconditional withdrawal from southern Lebanon.

[Khalil] The situation in these discussions may look easy, with the Lebanese demanding the implementation of Resolution 425, the halting of military actions against Lebanon, the signing of a peace treaty between Lebanon and Israel, mutual security measures between the two sides, the position of the Syrian forces, and steps to normalize relations. The practical reality of establishing peace requires other details and various accords at all levels—military and economic, for example. After the peace accord, we signed 62 agreements with Israel.

[Ajaj] But Israel clearly will use the Syrian presence in Lebanon as a pretext for not withdrawing from the south.

[Khalil] Solutions can be based, for the most part, upon the basis of the al-Ta'if Accord, and can mandate implementation of the bilateral agreements—conditional on obtaining an accord in the multilateral talks or regional negotiations—dealing with armaments, water, and so on.

[Ajaj] What about the Israeli-Jordanian conflict?

[Khalil] In this part, there are no major conflicts, either in the occupied or other territories. It is enough that the conflict mentioned by the Jordanian delegate is over navigation in the Gulf of al-'Aqaba, and that can be solved easily.

#### Palestinians Not Being Sold Out

[Ajaj] But it's different with the Palestinian side. There is a real dispute over territory and sovereignty.

[Khalil] What the Palestinians need now is autonomy, and the Palestinian side has agreed to reach a solution in stages. Negotiations will focus on this topic especially, and that Resolutions 242 and 338 do not deal with this subject directly. The Palestinian delegation mentioned that it will discuss autonomy arrangements and the final concept of the situation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Autonomy has been the subject of negotiation between Egypt and Israel to put the Palestinians on the road to preparing an autonomy commission to continue for one full year, and has dealt with all the details. I say, in general, that the Palestinian delegation confirms that it alone will make the decisions on issues of concern to it, so I see no justification for other sides to interfere in what satisfies it for itself, or for going beyond it, or for airing opinions other than what the solution should be.

[Ajaj] What about Syria and the Israeli withdrawal from the Golan?

[Khalil] The Syrian delegation demanded withdrawal from the Golan first, to be followed by negotiation on security measures based on the principle of land for peace. What happened in the Egypt-Israel negotiations was the conclusion of an accord on withdrawal first, but

it was accompanied, not followed, by the accord on security measures between the two countries. By and large, it is left to the Syrian delegation to choose what it judges suitable as a negotiating style. It depends on the response of the Israeli side, but the demand the Israelis will make will be for signing a peace treaty, and accords exactly along the lines of those Egypt and Israel agreed upon.

[Ajaj] We pause, after this presentation of the disputants' problems, at the Israeli misgivings about Resolution 242, and the Israeli claim that they actually implemented it after their withdrawal from Sinai. Do you have a comment on this?

[Khalil] The above allows us to observe that the subjects the Arabs and Israelis disagree about are dissimilar, but we confirm that these negotiations are taking place between Israel and each side on a negotiating basis of Resolutions 242 and 338. This means that the exchange of land for peace must be examined carefully. Thus, it is absolutely impossible to accept Israel's excuse that its pullout from the Sinai be considered a substitute for a pullout from the rest of the Arab territories, in the Golan, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and southern Lebanon. Israel implemented Resolution 242 with the withdrawal from Sinai, insofar as its problems with Egypt were concerned, but the resolution must be implemented in all the other Arab territories.

#### Form of American Participation

[Ajaj] This brings us to the form of American participation in future rounds of the negotiations, especially as there are those who think America has pursued a course of non-specificity and non-commitment to anything in particular, in order to push all sides to the negotiating table, judging that this alone guarantees the opening of a dialogue on pending issues between Israel and each Arab side. What, precisely, is the form of America's participation?

[Khalil] The answer to your question is in the text of the third paragraph of Resolution 338, which Washington intended as one of the bases for negotiation. It refers to the necessity that the negotiations between Israel and each of the Arab sides should be under "appropriate" auspices, meaning a third party. Egypt has already interpreted the appropriate auspices as the necessity of U.S. presence. What was said in the Madrid Conference did not definitively clarify this point, and I see the need to apply this text. The "appropriate auspices" could be the United States alone, or the Soviet Union in addition, or a representative of the European Community, or Egypt. James Baker hinted, in a press conference, that the American presence will work at mediating and try to bridge the gap between views. I don't think that is enough. From our past negotiating experience, the third party, America, certainly did not pursue a major role in the negotiating room, nor did it pressure any side, or the achieving of an accord. However, the subjects raised were reached by voting, in the sense that America had a

vote. The greatest benefit from the presence of this third party was much better than keeping it outside the negotiating rooms. It isn't only a question of implementing Resolution 338, but of America's commitment, after the Gulf war, to settling the Arab-Israeli conflict by implementing international legitimacy, as translated into the United Nations resolutions. This means doing what it has promised. Its absence as a third party in the negotiations could exempt it from the commitment.

#### Autonomy Minutes Available

[Ajaj] Let us touch on a complex and delicate issue: What is the comparison between what was discussed between Egypt and Israel regarding autonomy, and what is now on the table, according to the American scenario for the same issue?

[Khalil] I don't want to get into comparisons between what was offered and what is possible. What's done—as we say—is dead. But the primary thing in the Camp David Accords was stipulating the establishment of total autonomy, an autonomy commission, a police force, and a committee called the Permanent Committee to Settle Disputes Between Palestinians Under Autonomy and the Israelis. It also provided for the redeployment of Israeli forces. All of these issues were the object of study and negotiations with Israel, and we reached an agreement that autonomy must be established on the existence of a legislative council elected under international supervision, because the elections would take place in light of the effectiveness of the military governor's authority.

We also turned our attention to authorities of various autonomy agencies, the laws that regulated the situation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, solving conflicts, creating a police apparatus at the local and regional level, and the way of forming and arming it. I have no idea about the topics put forth on this issue in the Madrid talks.

[Ajaj] But don't you think that the matter requires using what was achieved in the Egyptian-Israeli autonomy talks?

[Khalil] It did not provide that negotiations would be like what Egypt and Israel agreed upon before, but every side may ask to see the minutes of the sessions. They are all recorded, and we were careful to obtain the Israeli minutes to avoid any conflict over interpretation.

[Ajaj] In a previous answer, you raised the diversity of the problems between the various sides and Israel. How may we deal with the ambiguity of the problems' diversity and the demands for Arab coordination; and how to weigh the demands of some to link what is achieved in the direct talks to what is set forth in the multilateral talks?

[Khalil] Indeed, there are those that demand the coordination of Arab positions and the linkage of any progress on any front with the other fronts, but the issues set forth

might be different. It is easy to achieve progress towards solving some of the issues. The situation is different with other issues. As to the second part of the question, I would like to point out that the job of the Madrid Conference in the third round goes beyond the countries involved alone, and covers all the countries of the Middle East, Japan, and Canada, to discuss the issues of security and armament, economic cooperation, water, and the environment. There is conflict over linkage between what is achieved in the phases of the negotiations—to some, linkage is necessary, and to others, non-linkage and a focus on moving on to basic problems which might require the presence of other parties from outside the region—for example, economic development. This issue requires the participation of the countries behind the disputant countries, and Japan and Europe, to create inducements that might help the relevant sides to reach an understanding over their bilateral problems. For example, the Egyptians studied the water problem, and we have nothing to do with the water problem, but we were linked to the countries of the Arab east and with non-Arab sides which will take part in these negotiations, what will be achieved in multilateral negotiations, and what might encourage the bilateral sides to compromise. This would allow the postponement of confirming and consolidating what was achieved in the process of the bilateral or multilateral talks, to await settlement of the problems. But the one problem is if opportunities for achieving a solution do not lead to an accord between Israel and one of the sides. And here the matter is left to the governments, to decide as they see best.

#### **Dwindling of Israel's Importance**

[A'ajaj] We also wonder about the Arabs' negotiating cards in the Madrid talks and how greatly they differ with the conditions in which Egypt concluded the Camp David Accords.

[Khalil] The accords concluded between Egypt and Israel were signed in light of the intensification of the cold war between the superpowers, and it had an effect on the polarization within the Arab region. The decision made by the Arab countries to boycott Egypt and to reject the peace with Israel convinced Tel Aviv that its security was still threatened, even though they had reached a peace accord with Egypt. After the Gulf war, the events in East Europe and the Soviet Union, the agreement between America and Moscow and their declaration of the end of the cold war, the reduction in nuclear arms, and the Soviet Union's abandonment of communism signaling the end of the ideological war—these countries even took on market economies. All of this means that regional struggles may not escalate into armed conflicts. America and the Soviet Union want their harmony to be applied to all the regions of the world and its hotspots. As the Soviet Union did not become the major source of arms for countries bound to it by agreements, it cannot be relied upon in the arms race. The accord between America and the Soviet Union came up in the Madrid Conference. This means that there is absolutely no

chance for those considering any military adventure. This leads us to touch upon the general strategic situation in the Middle East. The end of the cold war, past developments, and the Gulf war have led to the United States becoming the influential power over the course of events in the Middle East, just as the oil-producing and oil-exporting Gulf states themselves requested an American presence to help them defend themselves, meaning an American guarantee of the continuation of oil supplies to the West and Japan. This means the enlarging and aggrandizement of the power of a unified Europe after the membership of the countries of East Europe and maybe even the Soviet Union, and the enlargement of Japanese power. America possesses the factor of its control over world energy, and can enhance the role of either power in the future.

[A'ajaj] What is the effect of this on the strategic importance of Israel, given expectations that it will dwindle or disappear?

[Khalil] I affirm that there has been a change in the strategic importance in the countries of the Middle East. After the war in 1973, an Arab oil policy was adopted, in which the United States saw that there was no stable security for oil supplies for it or the West. This meant that Israel, from the West's point of view, was a guarantor of the continued flow of oil, as well as a guarantor of the total nonalignment of some Arab states towards the communist system. These two factors really ended with the end of the cold war and the new harmony in which we now live. So the importance of the Arab countries, and of oil energy for Europe and Japan, is guaranteed—without a protector—just as the ruling Arab regimes are tending towards democratic ways and market economies. This means the disappearance of any tendency toward communism in the Arab world. All of these are important cards in the hands of Arab negotiators, and they must make the most of them.

#### **No Alternative to Peace**

[A'ajaj] But how do we read the Likud's recent intransigence?

[Khalil] It has gotten so that there is no alternative to peace, and Bush's message to Congress on 6 March 1991 expressed that very clearly. That was the one in which he mentioned land for peace, and that Israel—neither Likud nor any other party—cannot challenge the global will in an indefensible way, with the Arabs having shown their sure desire for peace and for coexisting with Israel. There is a large number of Israelis who lean towards and embrace peace with the Arabs. As for public positions and press statements, from my past experiences, we never paid them the slightest attention. They never provoked discussion at the negotiating table, and the public positions were generally for local consumption, and should not dissuade all the sides that there is no escape from peace and international legitimacy, or from

achieving an agreement that guarantees security, life, happiness, and economic progress for the peoples of the region!

### 'Political Crime' Cited in NDP Reorganization

92AF0146A Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic  
3 Nov 91 p 5

[Article by 'Ali al-Dali: "The National Press and Change"]

[Text] In its Sunday, 27 October edition, the newspaper AL-MASA' exploded an important political issue, that of change, new faces, and how sabotaging—i.e., old—elements stand against change and work to abort any decision for change, even if it comes from the political leadership.

The process of change mandated by President Husni Mubarak to revitalize the National Democratic Party [NDP] now runs the risk of being aborted. This was stated in an important AL-MASA' report by four young journalists—Salah Hamid, Majdi Yusuf, Ashraf Abu-Sayf, and Hisham Abu-al-Wafa.

The four journalists spread through Egypt to investigate President Husni Mubarak's decision to rebuild the ruling party's organizational structure by election. AL-MASA' uncovered political crime by all standards aimed at aborting the process of change by preventing new faces from entering the NDP, so that they would not enter the elections.

Opportunists and corrupt persons in the party sensed that if new faces joined the NDP and entered the elections, they would obtain the masses' votes. The objective of the decision for change would be accomplished, and the corrupt—the professionals who have monopolized politics and kept the masses out—would be thrown out of politics. This monopoly has existed ever since these professionals took part in the Liberation Rally, then the National Union, then the Socialist Union, and finally the nefarious Vanguard Organization. What have the Vanguard Organization members, who have infiltrated and corrupted the NDP, done?

As everyone knows, the process of a new member's joining the party requires a form giving information about the member and classifying him [by his occupation]. The minds of the scoundrels on the party's committees and among its village chiefs devised the idea of hiding the forms and claiming that there weren't any. At the same time, they distributed the forms among their relatives and disciples to guarantee that the NDP would remain in their grip. High NDP officials have more than a few questions to answer, because this report has documented that the current NDP leadership is against change and is fighting tooth and nail against any attempt by the people to approach the party or for new faces to appear.

The report plainly states that NDP leaders on the committees and among its village chiefs prevented ordinary people from obtaining NDP membership forms, so that the election process for the structure of the NDP might take place with the same old opportunistic, anti-democratic faces. The forms disappeared into drawers, so that no one but relatives and family members of current party leaders could obtain them. Citizens in all the governorates, according to AL-MASA', accuse responsible NDP leaders of hiding the membership forms for fear that new faces might join and win the confidence of the masses. Citizens told the editors of AL-MASA' that cliques, or gangs, had ensconced themselves in the party and paralyzed its movement, and that it had therefore lost the confidence of the people.

AL-MASA' has been zealous about the restructuring of the party. It did not hesitate to do its utmost to thwart the crimes that the political criminals—pardon the expression—within the NDP are committing against democracy and their wicked attempt to abort the decision of the party head for change. What did AL-MASA' do?

It printed NDP membership forms in its pages to break the monopoly imposed by those inside the party. AL-MASA' thus did something that, had the other national newspapers followed suit, would have thwarted the crime of the uncouth Vanguard Organization members and others who had ensconced themselves in the NDP and monopolized politics in the name of democracy, just as they had previously monopolized it in the name of socialism in the age of the inspired individual. Therefore AL-MASA' was zealous for democracy.

One would have expected the same zeal for the democratic experiment from the national press, which, like AL-MASA', enjoys freedom. It should have hastened to monitor President Mubarak's decision to restructure the NDP. Like AL-MASA', it should have exposed the crimes of the fascist Vanguard cliques in the NDP and their nefarious attempt to abort the decision of the party head so that change would not take place, so that the old faces would continue to monopolize politics in the name of the ruling party, and so that the party would remain these cliques' private fiefdom for personal gain—as if they had inherited the fiefdom from their forefathers.

But the national newspapers ignored the issue of the hour—the rebuilding of the ruling party. Not a whit of national responsibility led them to take an interest in how democracy would be deepened when serious new faces appeared in the NDP, or to oppose the elements of the secret Vanguard Organization that once promoted the dubious schemes that brought the nation to 5 June [1967]. Opposing the remnants of the party of 5 June within the NDP would undoubtedly count as a patriotic act serving the cause of democracy and preserving the safety of the country. How can the party of 5 June lead the party of 6 October [1973], the NDP?



The party of June 5th—remnants of the secret Vanguard Organization ensconced in the NDP and now trying to abort the restructuring process—these remnants of the party of June 5th, I say, have killed the spirit of October 6th within the party of October 6th.

A few weeks ago, I published in this place several articles about corruption and corrupt persons in the NDP. That was after the president's speech on 1 May, when he said that an important operation would soon take place to rebuild the NDP so that it would regain the trust of the masses and become, as the president said, an example to the generations.

In those articles I warned of leadership elements in the NDP. I said plainly that it was not in the interest of these opportunistic elements for any change to take place in the party or for new faces to appear in it. I said that these uncouth, barbarous cliques in the NDP would try to abort the process of change, even if it took place by election.

The following question is now inescapable: What is the role of the party leaders in the capital—I mean the General Secretariat, the secretaries, and the secretary general?

Did the crime of excluding the masses from the party before the elections—a crime AL-MASA' discussed a few days ago—take place out their sight and hearing? How? As the old saying goes: If you knew, it's a disaster; if you didn't know, the disaster is even greater!

I want to say that some of the political crimes happening in Egypt are getting no response from senior officials—those who have the right answer to the right question. Why have NDP officials kept silent after the publication of this significant newspaper report? Why has the secretary of the organization kept silent? Why has the secretary general kept silent?

AL-MASA' published the article and exposed the crime by itself. Before that, I also exposed NDP corruption and the reasons for it on the pages of AL-JUMHURIYAH by myself.

Is one national press company enough to confront the octopus of corruption in defense of democracy? Where are the other national newspaper companies?

Had these national newspapers shared with AL-MASA' in exposing this political crime aimed at neutralizing or aborting the decisions of the political leadership, had they done as AL-MASA' did and, like AL-MASA', exposed the corruption and rot in the NDP and the insistence by senior party leaders that the party stay with its old faces far from the masses, so as to remain a private fiefdom for these leaders, an inheritance to them and their families—had the national press done this, it would have carried out its national duties.

The national press must participate in deepening democracy. It is no secret that Nasirist elements in the press, remnants of the Vanguard Organization, are preventing

these newspapers from deepening democracy and confronting its enemies, while at the same time, they protect and cover up for these enemies.

### Thousands of Merchants Accused of Illegal Pricing

92AF0133C Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-MASA'I in Arabic  
24 Oct 91 p 1

[Text] Supply Minister Jalal Abu-al-Dhahab said that during the last three months, 21,800 corrupt and greedy merchants were referred to the State Security Prosecutor on charges of exploiting changes in prices of certain commodities, resorting to illegal methods to raise prices, and earning illicit profits without regard to the law.

The minister said that several measures have been adopted in order to protect the consumer, control the markets, and confront the greedy merchants. The minister said, "The basic commodities that are essential for the great majority of the people, and which are included in the ration cards, have been priced at 10 piasters [one-hundredth of an Egyptian pound] per kg of sugar, 50 piasters per kg of non-rationed sugar, 10 piasters for oil [not further specified], 30 piasters for non-rationed oil, and 75 piasters for rice, despite changes in the rate of exchange. He said that, for its part, the ministry is controlling and balancing the prices in a practical manner. Prices of commodities distributed from public sector outlets have been fixed and prices of vegetables and fruits are fixed weekly, depending on the conditions of their production, availability on the market, and seasonal factors affecting their availability.

## ISRAEL

### Space Cooperation Sought With Brazil

92SM0133X Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO  
in Portuguese 15 Nov 91 p 6-5

[Text] Israel is broadening its cooperation in the sector of space research. Technion, the Technological Institute of Israel, where the know-how in the field is concentrated, is seeking to collaborate with Brazil, through the National Institute for Space Research (Inpe), and with the former Soviet Union.

Technion is seeking cooperation that may be of mutual benefit, according to Zehev Tadmor, 54, president of the institute, who was in Sao Paulo last week. Technion would like to make use of Inpe's experience with research balloons to test its instruments.

Israel plans to launch a scientific satellite, probably in 1994, to study the sources of X-rays in space. The astronomical satellite will not be the first. Surprising the international specialists, Israel has already put a satellite in orbit using a rocket of its own manufacture.

Manufacturing rockets and satellites is routine for the Soviets, but they do not always have modern equipment.



Hence Technion has signed an agreement to develop the on-board computer for a space probe which the Soviets plan to send to Mars, as part of a program of exploration which will include the landing of men on the planet.

Researchers and students who have emigrated from the former USSR have caused a 20-percent growth of Technion in the last two years. Today the institute has 700 professors, 10,200 students, and 1,500 employees, Tadmor said. Its annual budget is about \$150 million.

The growth has not only been numerical. New lines of research have been transplanted to the institute, which is located in Haifa, the third largest city in the country. One of these new technologies is the manufacture of special glass.

Founded in 1924, Technion is the oldest research center in Israel. It is responsible for the training of 75 percent of Israel's engineers. The institute also offers courses in medicine and architecture, but none in the humanities.

Tadmor was here to meet with Brazilian companies and universities to discuss broader exchange, which is still limited in comparison with other countries. There are a few more than 100 Latin American students at Technion. The institute has experience with a wide range of technologies in electronics, agriculture, bioengineering, computer science, and structural and aeronautical engineering, for example.

Tadmor is a specialist in polymers, large molecules formed by the union of smaller ones (for example, proteins are natural polymers; nylon is a synthetic polymer). His specialty is the development of methods for the industrial processing of polymers.

Tadmor himself is an example of Israeli pragmatism in applying know-how to production. His military service consisted basically in using his knowledge to produce solid fuels for rockets for the armed forces.

#### **Druze Request Membership in Moledet Party**

92P40076A Nazareth AL-SINNARAH  
in Arabic 22 Nov 91 pp 1, 28

[Article by Mira Habib 'Isa]

[Text] Through an investigation conducted by AL-SINNARAH, it has become clear that about 450 residents of Daliyah al-Karmil have requested official membership in the racist Moledet movement led by transfer-advocate Rehav'am Ze'evi. This follows the killing of Jamil Hassun, who is from Daliyah al-Karmil, in the village of Zabubah about a month ago.

Rabi' Hassun of the Moledet administrative office in Daliyah al-Karmil explained that prior to Jamil Hassun's death, there were only 50 members, but now the number has risen to several hundred.

Benny Ben-Tzur, the director general of Moledet, told AL-SINNARAH that the number of Druze registered in

the movement ranges between 150 to 200 and that Rabi' Hassun came with him bringing 450 requests for membership from youth. The movement, however, will sort them and announce the names of those who have been accepted.

#### **Economic Trends in Territories Before, After Intifadah**

TA1212180391 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ  
in Hebrew 12 Dec 91 p 4

[Text] The Central Bureau of Statistics yesterday published for the first time data comparing the economic tendency in the territories before and after the intifadah. According to the data, local production in the West Bank (excluding olives and olive oil), rose in 1989 and 1990 by 2 percent to 5 percent above its level three years prior to that. The rise was lower than the population growth in the same years, and, therefore, the per capita production fell by 4 percent to 7 percent.

The per capita national income in 1989 and 1990 was 3 percent lower than that in 1986 and 1987.

#### **IDF Coping With Less Territory for Training**

92AE0096B Tel Aviv BAMAHAANE in Hebrew 23 Oct 91 p 5

[Article by Yonqi Galanti: "Less Space, Less Training"]

[Text] The peace agreement with Egypt and the evacuation of the Sinai created a big problem for the IDF [Israel Defense Forces]. The large training areas that the IDF had allocated to its various units in the Sinai were returned together with the rest of the peninsula, thus leaving the army short of training space. The members of the Ramon project, which was established by the IDF in the Southern Command in order to study the various effects of the Sinai evacuation, decided to allocate practice firing areas in the Negev. Since that decision, the Negev has become the main supplier of practice firing areas for the IDF. All IDF units practice there, and the practice firing areas are used to their full capacity.

Captain Gadi, who is in charge of the coordination of practice firing areas in the Southern Command, pointed out that "As far as the IDF is concerned, it is impossible to reduce the practice firing areas without simultaneously curtailing training. The pressure on practice firing areas in the south is currently greater than ever, in view of the huge number of troops in training and the limited practice areas at their disposal."

An additional problem has to do with the fact that the practice firing areas are very close to the border lines and fences. Every time there is an incident or penetration, as was the case in the area of Mount Harif, the army is forced to decree a break in training in the area. Additional problems arise when there are major brigade exercises. On such occasions the brigades require large practice firing areas, which just are not available, so that

they have to take areas from other units training in the region. This kind of circumstance forces the team in charge of practice areas' coordination to work by the "hot spot" method. One unit's planned dinner or lunch breaks are used by another unit.

[BAMAHANE] Does the shortage of practice firing areas hurt the units' level of training?

[Presumably Gadi] Definitely not. At the same time, there is no doubt that if it had been possible to allocate each interested unit unlimited practice firing areas, the situation would have been better. The present reductions cause minimal damage and do not affect the efficiency of the training units. The harm is a matter of at most several hours.

[BAMAHANE] How do you deal with the fact that the Negev areas in which the units train do not resemble the possible battlegrounds on the northern or eastern fronts?

[Gadi] This is not quite correct. The areas in the Negev meet every terrain outline. Before every exercise the specific terrain that the practice firing area simulates is determined and the troops know on which front they are supposedly fighting.

[BAMAHANE] The fact that the units usually get the same areas as in the past makes the exercise into some sort of mechanical-technical proceeding whereby the same objective is taken all over again. How do you handle this problem?

[Gadi] We try to allocate additional practice firing areas to the same units in order to vary their training, but once again, our possibilities in this respect are limited. Another means of dealing with this issue lies with the training installation, which knows what the units in question achieved in previous training and takes care to change the terrain or the objectives with which they are tasked during the exercise.

[BAMAHANE] Is the crowding not likely to cause tragic accidents?

[Gadi] Allocating practice firing areas to several units at the same time is a very complex operation from the point of view of security. The subject is very sensitive; there must absolutely be no mistake whatsoever, because any mistake means loss of lives. During the exercises the units must be continually tuned in to the signals network, which is also connected to the coordination center, and there is no moving from one practice area to another during an exercise without our permission, even if it had been approved initially.

#### **Territories Coordinator on Autonomy, Factionalism**

92AE0096A Tel Aviv BAMAHANE in Hebrew 6 Nov 91  
pp 4, 5

[Interview with Brigadier General Freddy Zakh, deputy coordinator of activities in the territories, by Yonqi

Galanti and Yuval Nathan: "Autonomy Is Possible and Feasible"; place and date not given]

[Text] "The euphoria in the territories reminds me of the beginning of the intifadah, when the population felt that in no time at all they would be getting a Palestinian state. Just like then, the expectations now are great and the Palestinians are expecting the world to impose a solution on Israel that will leave them with a state."

That is what Brigadier General Freddy Zakh, deputy coordinator of activities in the territories, thinks. According to him, any solution other than the establishment of a Palestinian state will bring about intensified terrorism.

[BAMAHANE] Brig. Gen. Zakh, in what direction is the wind blowing in the territories?

[Zakh] The rift between the Fatah and HAMAS [Islamic Resistance Movement] has deepened. HAMAS and those who oppose the conference called two days of strike on the first days of the conference, and it has been a long time since we had seen such a widespread and full strike. The Fatah, who is supporting the process, reacted by organizing peace marches. Both sides are persuaded that they have attained their objective. Comparing the Gaza Strip to Judaea and Samaria, we can say that Gaza was more violent in its reaction.

[BAMAHANE] How was the speech, made by the head of the delegation, Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi, received in the territories?

[Zakh] Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi is becoming a symbol, especially in the Gaza Strip, because that is where he comes from. He is likely to compete for the leadership in Judaea and Samaria, too. As for his speech, it is possible to convey an extremist message in elegant wrapping. He did not deviate one iota from the PLO's Palestinian Charter, and he mentioned the right of return and the intensification of the intifadah.

[BAMAHANE] Was the selection of 'Abd-al-Shafi—a left-wing, secular pragmatist—to lead the delegation tantamount to waving a red flag in front of HAMAS?

[Zakh] I do not know what the considerations were. In any case, Shafi's appointment was surprising, because Gaza, rather than Judaea and Samaria, was thereby honored, although Judaea and Samaria are more dominant. From the viewpoint of the PLO, Shafi's selection was a clever move, because he is a figure from the people, capable of representing them. At the same time, Dr. Shafi is not a moderate and he really believes in the extreme messages he conveyed in his speech.

[BAMAHANE] Is the delegation chosen to represent the Palestinians popular among the population?

[Zakh] There is no doubt that the delegation does not represent a real cross section of opinions. In the beginning it did not contain even one representative from the refugee camps.

[BAMAHANE] The territories keep sending signals of struggles between various currents and we are sitting down to negotiate with one central, but distinct current. The confrontations in the field give the impression that there is no one to talk to and nothing to talk about. Is this suspicion wrong?

[Zakh] The Palestinians are continuously trying to create the impression that they are speaking with one voice and that their objective is peace. In the field we know that there is no one voice, and the way the struggles about the conference have been going to date, that is only the tip of the iceberg compared to what may yet come if there is progress in the process.

The question of whether there is one with whom to talk is a political question that I am sure even the prime minister asks himself. We will have to remain in readiness in the field for a long time to come yet.

[BAMAHANE] Israel joined the process on the basis of the Camp David accords, which stressed the matter of Palestinian autonomy. Does the [Civil] Administration have a plan in reserve for such a possibility?

[Zakh] The fact that Israel is prepared to grant autonomy is no secret. The government approved that more than two years ago in the peace plan of May 1989. The State of Israel was also prepared to grant autonomy after the Camp David accords and we have expressed our willingness along that line now, too. We must also recall that the Civil Administration was established in 1981 in order to promote the issue of autonomy. I do not believe that there can be autonomy without a certain body to receive it, but if people are prepared and willing, I think that autonomy will become feasible. We have been preparing ourselves and will continue to prepare ourselves for whatever the talks will obligate us. We have the capability to do so. As for a fall-back plan, I am not about to go into details; this is a topic that is best left undiscussed.

[BAMAHANE] So even though autonomy is feasible, people continue to claim that the territories are linked to Israel by an umbilical cord. What is the administration doing in this respect?

[Zakh] In the past few months we took a number of economic measures that may not be linked to autonomy, but they can definitely contribute to promoting it. We published an order designed to encourage capital investment, granted income tax exemptions, and facilitated the establishment of enterprises by cutting through the bureaucratic process; in the past four months we approved the establishment of 150 new enterprises, decreed a reform concerning the inflow of "foreign aid" and money coming into the territories from abroad, began to invest in industrial areas, and encouraged new areas such as growing flowers for export in the Gaza Strip.

Currently the administration budget is almost entirely financed from tax payers' money. That does not mean that they can support themselves economically and they

will of course need additional aid, but I believe that if and when it becomes topical, they will find sources of support.

As for the umbilical cord, there is no doubt that Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza Strip are still intrinsically tied to Israel's economy. Alone the fact that over one third of the labor force earns a living in Israel and that 25 percent of the national gross product is derived from work in Israel, constitutes an umbilical cord. But the political process, which is what we are now talking about, is not designed to cut the territories from Israel, on the contrary. The people of the territories will be able to continue coming to work in Israel, just as the Jews will continue to visit and live in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza Strip.

## LEBANON

### Testimonies of Ex-Prisoners

92AE0090A Beirut AL-NIDA' in Arabic 15 Sep 91 p 4

[Article: "Testimony and Facts From Al-Khiyam Prisoners"]

[Text] These testimonies convey a description of the inside of al-Khiyam Prison Camp—a den of heroes, as one recently liberated prisoner put it. We won't mention his name because of reasons connected with his situation as a resident of the occupied border strip.

These testimonies contain information that gives a clear picture of the infamous Israeli-Lahdist savagery and the heroism of the Lebanese National Resistance.

The liberated prisoner talks about the detainees' daily life: "It is a murderous routine. Each day was like the other for more than five years. This was an attempt by the enemy and his agents to plant a state of psychological frustration in the minds of the imprisoned fighters and detainees."

Regarding the stages through which the prisoner passes, he stated: "Any prisoner entering al-Khiyam Prison Camp plunges into a stubborn battle with himself first, and with his people and nation. He bears a trust that he remembers every moment. Will he be able to carry this trust, no matter what kinds of repression and torture he is exposed to? This is the first thing he decides the first time he tastes the flavor of freedom."

The prisoner talks about the harsh stages of interrogation sessions and exhausting questioning: "These sessions are filled with all kind of torture and intimidation. It is no secret that the enemy and his lackeys plant "midget agents" who act on behalf of the enemy. However, they have failed to carry out the job assigned to them, as a result of the steel will that the prisoners and detainees enjoy.

"It is certainly appropriate to stress that al-Khiyam Prison Camp holds, within its cells and individual and

common rooms, the cream of fighters and mujahidin [holy warriors] for our people's sacred cause in all areas of the south, and for our people in all areas of Lebanon. The slogan of this cause is to "resist the Israeli occupation wherever they are, until liberation."

"The enemy planted a number of his agents in a cell that was usually the first stop for the prisoner or detainee. When he entered, they would try to question him in a friendly way as if they, like him, were being detained as a result of resisting the occupation. In the event the detainee or prisoner was simple-minded, he would get himself into trouble from the outset, because there was a daily link between those agents and the interrogators who, in their questioning, would rely on this information that those "agent-detainees" supplied. They were a bigger danger than the interrogators."

#### Torture

The torture was of all types: "violent blows; use of electricity, sometimes to the genitals; torture by cold and hot water; and by underground cells in complete darkness. Silence the beginning of detention was the most important element that helped steadfastness in the face of the interrogators and their viciousness.

"Sometimes the interrogators resorted to threatening the families of the prisoners and detainees, especially those who were from the occupied strip, intimidation of one's mother, sister, or daughter.

"So that we could get through the first stage of interrogation, we would claim that we had nothing to do with all the charges directed against us, and that our detention was a coincidence or random. In this way, we would try to mislead the agents whom the enemy planted in certain cells, until we got through this stage and entered the stage of collective imprisonment. We might be sharing a cell with three or four inmates, most of whom had spent two or three years in jail. Some of them had even spent more than six years in a cell, such as the heroic prisoner Nasir Kharfan, the hero of the operation to blow up the radio station of the Lahd agent. It was appropriate that Nasir was someone the inmates emulated inside the prison camp. He was a model for us all, because he still had the same steel will as when he entered prison. When he entered after destroying the radio station, he entered as a victor. He behaved toward the hangmen as if they were midgets, even inside the cell. The same case applies to the detainee Mahmud Sulayman (released a year ago). They guided us as to how we should behave, because they had much expertise regarding all prison matters inside al-Khiyam Prison Camp.

"It is impossible for you to doubt their resistance. Nasir Kharfan gave his heart and soul to the resistance through the work he did, and Mahmud Sulayman crushed the occupiers under his foot!

"There was an inmate from Hizballah and another from the Amal Movement, whose bravery was as clear as the sun, and there were others and others. These are the

prisoners and detainees of al-Khiyam Prison Camp. As for those responsible, they are agents. The top official was named John [Hamsa] (Abu-Nabil). He is from al-Kharbah in the Marj'uyun District; Abu-Faris; Husayn Fa'war (Abu-'Arab) from al-Khiyam, and others.

"The prison camp is supervised by a large number of Israeli occupation army officers who make periodic visits, once every 10 or 15 days, in order to see what is going on in the prison camp, and to give instructions to their agents. There are a large number of guards and kitchen workers, some of whom use aliases out of fear for their lives from the inmates when they get out, and for fear that the resistance will catch them in their homes. This was stated by more than one person to the prisoners.

"Most of the nurses that supervise the "health condition" of prisoners are agents. Any detainee suffering from any health condition is treated by being given a sedative pill, and nothing more."

The liberated prisoner added: "All interrogators use the methods of their Israeli masters. They threaten by the use of foul language, in order to provoke the prisoners and detainees. Even during interrogation sessions, torture methods are used, by means of electricity, hanging from posts, and violent blows. They used several methods of blackmail, including bringing in the sisters of several detainees and threatening to attack them unless the prisoner talks and gives information.

"The questions that are asked of the prisoners and detainees who were detained or imprisoned after carrying out operations against the patrols or centers of the Israeli enemy and his agents in Lahd's army, concentrated on the following: From what party? What affiliation? Where were you trained? Are you an official in the resistance? Who was with you? Do you know the area? How many operations were you in before? Along with these questions, there were other detailed questions and, during these sessions, the interrogators would try to tempt the prisoners by guaranteeing them long life and a life of luxury if the detainees would go along with them."

Recalling the first stages of detention, the prisoner said: "The most difficult days that the detainee goes through in al-Khiyam Prison Camp are the first days of his detention, which stretch from the first day up to a period of a month and a half. It is a time in which the detainee is subjected to all kinds of torture, psychological and bodily pressures, methods of awakening desires, and intimidation. It is a period of extreme ordeal for the detainee. If he gets through it, the feeling of pride, strength, and steadfastness drives him through his detention period of two years. He is satisfied. If he fails in this ordeal, it is a calamity for him, for his comrades, and for his reputation, because those who fall before the enemy and his agents will have fallen forever.

"In this period that I have defined, the prisoner enters a world about which he is completely ignorant. He needs someone to help him get through that period, but when

he realizes the number of prisoners, most of whom having been detained for five or more years, he understands the fighter's ability to get through all stages of imprisonment."

With regard to the detainees in al-Khiyam Prison Camp, he said: "The detainee joins about 225 prisoners, ranging in age from 15 to 65. For example, there was detainee Muhammad Khalil Zahr-al-Din, 65, and prisoner [Law'i] Yusuf from al-Habbariyah, who is 15. Both have been imprisoned for five months."

#### Female Prisoners in Al-Khiyam

"There were approximately 23 female prisoners in the prison camp; five of them have been released, and 18 remain. They are subjected to the same methods that the young male detainees are exposed to. Even the foul language to which we were subjected, they are subjected."

"They are interrogated by the same interrogators, but they have policewomen to guard them. The female prisoner is also exposed to methods of torture by means of electricity, water, and violent blows to the body, not to mention the abuse and foul language directed at them. In 1985-1986, the policewomen guarded them only at night. Today, they are guarded night and day."

#### Prison Sections

Concerning how al-Khiyam Prison Camp was divided, he said:

"The prison camp is divided into five parts, from 1 to 5. Each part is composed of 20 rooms, except for the part in which the women were detained, which has seven or eight rooms. The women's prison is in a building next to the young men's prison, and is called the fifth prison."

#### News

With regard to how the prisoners and detainees received news, he said: "The principal and main source of the news that we heard was through the new prisoners who arrived from time to time. We relied on this source 100 percent, because the enemy and his agents purposefully broadcast false reports about resistance operations, political news, etc. Some reports were aimed at planting a spirit of defeatism and despair among the prisoners and detainees. The method of distortion that the prison guards relied on was deliberate and had its purposes. Some of us were informed as to the truth of these reports; we obtained them from other sources. Sometimes the source would be the radio that the guards had, which we heard while carrying out our "business," or sometimes, when some guards were talking and discussing news with other guards, we would hear it indirectly. As for us, we would circulate news among all the prisoners, so that they could be informed about the situation, especially reports pertaining to the resistance and the south. However, the prisoners had no interest, for example, in a cabinet meeting in which there was no mention of the

issue of detainees, or about our unknown fate, or about someone who knew its conclusion."

Regarding relations among prisoners, he said: "The relationship was exemplary, free of egoism and sensitiveness. It was not based on organizations and parties; the issue was one, and the fate was one. There are many examples of that."

#### Another Prisoner

Another liberated prisoner gave the following information: "Food in the prison camp was very scant. For example, the amount allotted for six persons was six pieces of carrot, six pieces of potato, and two pieces of "toast." This continued from 1985 to 1987."

"On 27 April 1987, three prisoners went on strike against the food, demanding more food. This strike lasted for one day. The prison authorities relented, and the quantity of food improved a bit."

"In February 1988, another strike occurred that lasted two days, and in April 1988, a third strike was held lasting three days. As a result, the toast was replaced by bread. The suitability of the food was extreme, ranging from sardines to fruit preserves. In 1988, the food changed from Israeli to Lebanese, and the food's quality improved. When the prison's supply official began to steal food, the shortage returned to its previous state."

"In January 1989, one flat loaf of bread was given to each prisoner. The inmates demanded a second loaf, but they received only one-half loaf."

"The prison camp suffers from a severe lack of water. In the summer of 1986, the water was cut off for three consecutive days. As a result of thirst, one of the inmates drank his own urine, resulting in his transfer to the hospital."

"In July 1989, within the context of torturing the prisoners, the method of beating prisoners was used by the police. This continued for several months and created a psychological crisis among the detainees. In November, a policeman entered the prison and severely beat one of the detainees. As a result, the inmates went on strike on 25 November. The police tried to prevent it by force. The prisoners rebelled, and the police fled from the prison building. The inmates were talking by telephone and singing national and religious songs. This strike began in Prison No. 3 and, on the same day, spread to Prison No. 4, where the police suppressed it with smoke bombs. They tried to suppress it in Prison No. 3 by firing shots; then the prison official came, demanding that the uprising be stopped."

"This time, the uprising's demands were limited to allowing the Red Cross to enter the prison camp and to transport the prisoners to the prison, to stop the abuse, and to stop beating prisoners. After Prison No. 3 refused to respond to the prison official, smoke bombs were

fired, which led to the end of the uprising after the detainees became distressed.

"Later, the prison camp authorities singled out 12 prisoners and punished them by beatings; this led to the martyrdom of Balal al-Salman and Ibrahim Abu-al-'Izz. When the prison camp authorities became aware that Balal al-Salman was dead, they dragged him along the ground. This malicious behavior caused his comrades to rebel again, to which the police reacted with water cannon. Since this prison building was closed, and air could not enter it, the police were unable to penetrate it. This caused them to send for a prisoner to open the prison doors. By this time, the martyr Ibrahim Abu-al-'Izz was in serious condition and died during his trip to the hospital. On 13 April 1991, a strike was held in the prison camp to demand that the quality of food be improved and that entertainment materials be allowed in. It lasted three days, after which the prison authorities forcibly suppressed it."

### List of Prisoners

92AE0090B Beirut AL-NIDA' in Arabic 15 Sep 91 p 4

[Article: "List of Names of Detainees Still in Al-Khiyam Prison Camp"]

[Text] The following are the names of a number of prisoners still being held inside al-Khiyam Prison Camp, relying on the memory of some who have been released. We have not listed the names of young female detainees, or of many new prisoners.

- Kafr Shuba—Muhammad Jaradi, 'Ali al-'Abdallah, Isma'il al-Qadiri
- al-Nabatiyah—Samir Hamadah
- 'Ayn Fina, Shwayya—Badi' [Allud], Kamal Sinan, Fadlallah al-Shufi
- al-Shuwayfat—Kamal Judiyyah
- Kafr Hamam—'Afif Hammud
- Balat—Ja'far Dib, Hasan Salman, Jurays Jaradi
- al-Qantarah—Yusuf Ghusayn, Ahmad 'Ulayq
- Hasbayya—Bilal al-Maram, Muhammad Abu-Salih
- Yarin—Musa 'Akkashah, Mahmud Ramadan, Sa'ud Abu-Hadlah
- al-Bustan—'Ali Ahmad al-Ahmad
- 'Ayta al-Sha'b—[Yamhamidh] Salih, Fadl Surur, 'Ali Surur, 'Ali Bahuq, Ahmad al-Tini, 'Ali Qasim, Hasan Surur, Ihsan Kurayk, Hasan Surur, Ibrahim Surur, Hasan Mansur
- Bint Jubayl—Samir Dabbajah, 'Ali Sa'd, Husayn Sa'd, Ghassan Baydun, 'Ali Ayyub, Husayn Huraysh, Salim Bazzi, Ni'mah Bazzi, 'Abd-al-Karim Hamid, Rafiq Busi, Rafiq Dabbajah, Nasir Abu-al-'Alawah, Samir Dabbajah, Nasir Nasir, 'Ali al-Saghir, Ramiz Hammud, Ibrahim Bazzi, 'Imad Khalil Dagher, 'Abd-al-Gharib Baydun, Mahmud al-Sawanah
- Bayt Lif—'Ali Hamid, 'Ali Bidah, 'Abbas Faraj
- al-Naqurah—Muhammad 'Awwadah
- 'Aytarun—Yahya al-Shaykh Husayn, Rida Sawi, al-Niqabi Tawfiq Mansur, Ibrahim Baydun, Habib Mahdi
- Marun al-Ra's—Hasan and Akram 'Alawiyah, Ibrahim Kurnayb
- Mays al-Jabal—Lafi al-Masri, Hasan and Husayn Hammud, Muhammad Zahr-al-Din, 'Ali 'Abbas, Husayn Qablan, Sa'd [Jaydurah]
- 'Udaysah—'Ali Mar'i
- Hula—Najib and Mufid 'Abbud, Hasan Ayyub, Ibrahim Abu-Zaki
- al-Tayyibah—'Abbas 'Abbas
- Dayr Siryan—'Ali Mar'i Karim
- Majdal Silm—'Abd-al-Halim 'Ali Yasin
- Tallusah—'Uqayl, Yusuf, Husayn, Amin and Najib Turmus
- Kafr Killa—Ibrahim Ballut, Husayn Sirhan, Husayn Sirhan [as published]
- Kunin—'Ali Fu'ani, Ahmad Haydar, Jawdat Isma'il
- al-Khiyam—Jihad, 'Imad, and Hasan 'Awwadah, 'Ali Mahmud Khushaysh, Samir and 'Ali Ghazzawi, 'Ali Qashmar, Muhammad al-Sanawi, 'Ali Rashidi, Ibrahim Rashidi, Ahmad Yahya, Haydar al-Ghul, Muhammad Khuraysh, 'Izzat 'Ikir, Mahdi Ibrahim
- Bayt Yahun—Muhammad and Mustafa Ramadan, Taysir Sha'ban, Husayn Muqashshar
- al-Habbariyah—Raja'i and Bassam Abu-Hamin, Fadi 'Ali, Muhammad 'Assaf, Mufid and Nasim Barakat, Riyad and Hamdan 'Isa, Lu'adi Yusuf, 'Ali Ibrahim, Sa'id al-Akhras, Akram Abu-Qays, 'Ali al-Sha'ar
- Rashayya al-Fukhkhar—Wasim al-Khalil
- Shab'a—Ghassan Dahir, Ghassan Musa Dahir, Ahmad Sa'b, Mustafa Sa'b, Kamil Dahir, Muhammad Ghadir, Yusuf Qasim
- Ibl-al-Saqi—Nu'man Nasrallah, Shahar Jadid
- Ba'bak—Nasir Khirfan, Salman Ramadan
- al-Hirmil—Husayn Maradah, Yuhmur al-Shaqif, Kamil Nasir, Nasir 'Aliq, 'Isa and Anwar Zuhur, Samir Qasim, 'Ali Husayn, 'Ali Bu-Dallal
- al-Wazzani—Ahmad al-Muhammad, 'Umar and Ahmad al-Ahmad
- Shaqra—Muhammad Dahir
- Sribbin—'Ali and Muhammad Hazimah
- Khirbat Silm—'Ali Sharri
- Qabrikha—Rashid Hijazi
- Jba'—'Ali Ra'd
- Habbush—Muhammad Ni'mah
- a prisoner from al-Numayriyah
- al-Tiri—Muhammad Faqih, Na'im Shu'aytu
- Markaba—'Ali Husayn Haydar, 'Ali Qasim Hammud, Ahmad Mundhir, Sharif 'Atawi, Hajar Zaraqit
- Dibbin—'Ali Hijazi, Riyad Kalakish
- Beirut—'Ali Darwish (a Kurd)
- Syrian prisoners—'Abd-al-Khalif Safi-al-Din, Husayn al-Bashsh, Hassan Ghannam, Ahmad al-Khansa
- Jordanians—Badr-al-Din Nuwas, Muhammad Qatawi
- Musa Abu-Dahhan (Algerian)
- Palestinian prisoners—Hasan Yahya, Ghazi Iskandar, 'Imad [Miyadi], Muhammad Jawad, 'Abd-al-Rahman, Yasin, 'Abd-al-Nasir, Maqsud, [commas as published] 'Imad Nabhani, As'ad al-Qatt 'Imad Abu-al-[Kal], Muhammad Darwish

### Mounting Resentment Over Services Reported in Sidon

92AE0101A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 6 Oct 91 p 8

[Article: "People of South Lebanon Capital Demand Their Share of Services, Care"]

[Text] Beirut, AL-HAYAH—There is talk these days among Sidonians about a certain amount of bias toward the city and its people. Regardless of whether this bias is intentional or not, sources among the people describe it as old and as having more or less permanently characterized the relationship of the state and its successive governments to the capital of South Lebanon.

Current political developments may not be helping to mend that relationship, which some describe as "a relationship of divorce." Voices from prominent economic and political circles are rising now to remind the government of the promises that it made before the army's deployment in and around the city. They note that the promises have remained promises. What is being implemented in the capitals of the other provinces or what these provinces, regardless of their size, are receiving exceeds the attention and care that the capital of South Lebanon is receiving. A constant complaint about deteriorating basic social services—electricity, water, telephone, etc.—is being added to the demand for redressing the city's unfair political representation in the current ruling team or in the teams that preceded it in government. This may explain why some prominent political forces in the city have highlighted the "debt" to the city, its people, and its forces, which government authorities discussed in return for the city's position supporting army deployment and extension of state control over all national territory.

While some tend to explain this state of affairs by the absence, with a few exceptions, of Sidonian figures from all organs of the state (public administrations, army, diplomatic corps, and top state offices), others tend to link the "bias," whatever its amount, to the absence of what one might call an "effective political authority" for the city. After all the previous illegitimate political structures disappeared—for many years, these had the character of political parties—Sidonians were counting on another kind of political representation commensurate with the city's actual numerical, economic, and moral weight. The pivots around which this expected authority were to turn were the city's leading personalities, but subsequent political developments demonstrated that these pivots either were unable to form a powerful "authority," or refused, for one reason or another, to play the role of this "authority." They either disdained or avoided their anticipated promised role.

The most important of these pivotal personalities, according to sources in Sidon, are:

Minister Nazih al-Bizri: He is shouldering a role. One cannot say that Minister al-Bizri has chosen not to play the role of a possible political "authority" for the city.

However, it remains to be asked whether he alone can be this authority and whether his actual political weight is sufficient to represent the city at this level. Sources in Sidon say that Minister al-Bizri, who is doing all he can to shoulder the responsibilities of this representation, is well aware that other, less fortunate forces are not less represented or effective. According to the same sources, within the context of loyal representation, he is therefore demanding that only what is possible and perhaps what is least costly be given when it comes to guaranteeing services, demanding them, or using pressure and influence to redress the unfairness of which Sidonians speak.

Engineer Mustafa Sa'd: In past years, he was able to constitute a kind of local political authority in the context of what was then called "the Political Council of the City of Sidon." However, sources say that the role he played in the past has not been exploited or borne fruit in the present. Not only did parliamentary appointments ignore him after two seats were demanded for the city of Sidon, the second of them supposedly his, but he was kept out of the government structure, although he was classified as one of the militia forces, alongside Nabih Birri, Walid Junblatt, Samir Ja'ja', etc., though different in size and weight.

Party circles close to Mr. Sa'd say that his current efforts are focusing on the absorption issue affecting "part of the personnel of his organization." Of a total of 500 persons whose names were included on the absorption lists, only 100 have been approved to date; and they are to be absorbed into the army, not into local agencies or the municipal guard, as Sa'd had demanded. Thus, the absorption process has still not taken place, and this has caused a considerable social and moral burden. This explains why circles around him speak about a "bias" that can be redressed only by real balance in the city's political representation. Some describe the position of the Popular Organization head as a "state of siege," because the latest positions have not undone what preceded them and because the classification he was assigned does not give him the ability to press for redress of the bias now.

With their fears, Sidonians are expressing a desire that the rift, if it is true, should not continue between them and a state that continually announces that it is working and striving to heal a breach that lasted more than fifteen years.

While many questions are being raised about the political role played, or yet to be played, by Sidon's new or old leaders, they cannot stretch farther than current facts and realities. Bets are no longer useful, except in the context of political representation able to shoulder the responsibilities assigned to it. In what they call "bias" or "the absence of an authority," Sidonians are experiencing two connected sides of one reality: chronic separation from the framework and logic of the state.



Their talk today about the absence of one figure, the weakness of another, and the inadequacy of still another may be an open expression of desire that their political representation in the state structure be more balanced. It may be a call that those who sponsored separation, justified it, and operated under its logic should participate in a relationship that would not be difficult to restore.

## MOROCCO

### Measures Urged Before General Elections

92AF0153A Rabat L'OPINION in French  
13 Nov 91 pp 1, 3

[Editorial by Idrissi Kaitouni: "The Democratic Gamble"]

[Text] With the organization of the referendum planned by the United Nations, at the beginning of 1992, which will confirm the Moroccan character of the Sahara, Morocco will enter an important stage in its History [as published] and know a new era marked—we hope—by the end of the tension artificially created around our country's right to recover its Sahara, which was under colonial yoke, and the many plots and machinations undertaken to sever it of an integral part of its national territory.

However, in addition to the fact that this era will be marked by the solemn and unanimous recognition—even by our detractors—of the Moroccan character of the Sahara, Morocco can expect to undergo considerable reforms, both written in the law and in actual practice, to establish democracy on strong bases and to ensure that elections, and the institutions that will come out of them, are genuine and credible.

Actually, as His Majesty the King stated in his speech on the occasion of the 16th anniversary of the Green March, general elections will be organized immediately after the referendum. For this, a series of measures will have to be taken before and during the organization of the elections, to ensure their honesty and obtain greater support from the masses.

Such measures must prevent any abusive intervention on the part of the authorities, and any irregularities that might taint the elections, from the preparation of the electoral rolls, which must be replaced in their entirety, to election laws, voting and eligibility conditions, monitoring, appeals, etc.

The success of the representative assemblies will depend on the voters' confidence, on whether their will and their choices are respected, and on the elected officials' responsibility to the electorate, to whom they must be accountable and who may punish them by a negative vote if they do not live up to their promises and do not keep their commitments.

The regional and international environment demands that our country be endowed with all means of immunity and defense that will enable it to take up a choice place in the concert of nations and play the leadership role it has assumed throughout history.

Like all developing countries, Morocco suffers from social and economic problems that require urgent, radical, and global solutions, as the patching up and improvisation policy has done nothing but increase the complexity of these problems and exacerbate social tensions.

The government must be accountable to elected institutions that are really representative and in a position to punish it if it fails or if it does not follow the orientations provided by the people.

Next year therefore will be, to quote His Majesty the King, "decisive for our Sahara, our territorial unity, and our march toward the 21st century."

Morocco has all the assets it needs to win its gambles, both on the preservation of its territorial integrity and on the establishment of genuine democracy.

### Democratic Institutions Urged After Referendum

92AF0159C Rabat L'OPINION in French  
22 Nov 91 pp 1,3

[Editorial by Mohamed Idrissi Kaitouni: "Genuine Democracy Needed To Build Future"]

[Text] While the Moroccan people may be convinced that the referendum is a wager already won and that the Sahara will remain Moroccan, there are measures that should be undertaken immediately in order to prepare for the post-referendum phase, which ought to usher in a genuine democracy that answers the aspirations of the people and guarantees stability and progress to Morocco so that it may rise to the challenges of the 21st century.

The Istiqlal Party and the USFP [Socialist Union of Popular Forces] believe that in order for true democracy to be established, the Constitution must be reshaped, credible institutions must be formed, and the democratic option must be strengthened, because the advancement of a national program of development and progress depends upon it.

A recasting of the Constitution would not undo the immutable foundations and sacred institutions of the nation: Islam, territorial integrity, and the constitutional monarchy. Rather, the purpose would be to endow our country with a Constitution that reflects the evolution Morocco has undergone, the imperatives of development and emancipation, and the regional, continental, and international environment.

In his speech commemorating the 16th anniversary of the Green March, the king stated: "As I have always told you, apart from the principles and foundations that must be respected by all as the pillars of the state without challenge or question—faith in God, devotion to one's



country, and a loyal and unfailing commitment to the Constitutional monarchy, we will see new economic and social choices arise from one year to the next and from one phase to the next."

What the Istiqlal Party and the USFP hope will be achieved is a consolidation of the powers vested in the elected assemblies, a strengthening of the rule of law, modernization and democratization of state institutions, and the construction of a strong and developed Morocco.

The elected institutions must be allowed to play their full role in determining policy and in making political, economic, social, and cultural choices. They must also be allowed to oversee the actions of the executive branch within a framework of complete separation of powers. The two parties believe that if the representative institutions are to enjoy the trust of the people and carry out their responsibilities, free and untainted elections must be held under the auspices of an independent, neutral, and upright national body endowed with the prerogatives and powers necessary for it to organize elections under new electoral laws that are suited to the requirements of a democratic Morocco.

Furthermore, the voting age should be lowered to 18 and the minimum age required of candidates to elected office should be lowered to 21 in order to encourage young people to take part in political life and to lay the foundations for the future of the upcoming generations who aspire to better living conditions. This would require that previous unreliable electoral rolls be abandoned and that several legal and practical guarantees be put in place against any form of illegality, fraud, abuse of power, or infringement of the fundamental rights and dignity of the citizen.

In reality, the common declaration is a platform for edification, mobilization, and progress. It is a joint action aimed at serving the general interests of the country and at ensuring that it has the immunity and dynamism necessary to face the dangers that lie in wait for it and the challenges that have been laid out before it.

#### **Soviet Official on Future of Fishing Relations**

92AF0159B Rabat ALMAGHRIB in French  
22 Nov 91 p 3

[Text] The Soviet Union attaches particular importance to its cooperation with Morocco and promises to honor the terms of the fishing agreement it has signed with the kingdom, said Mr. Eugene Dimitri Shiryayev, the Soviet deputy minister for fishing.

In an interview at the Moscow bureau of the MAP, Mr. Dimitri Shiryayev announced the formation of an inter-republican fishing committee to replace the former Soviet Ministry of Fish Industry, which was dismantled in the wake of the coup attempt by conservatives on 19 August. The new committee, he continued, will see to it that all agreements and conventions signed by the former USSR are enforced. He noted that the Soviet-Moroccan

fishing agreement signed last year will go into effect on 1 January 1992. Officials from the two countries will exchange visits before the end of 1991, he indicated.

When asked how the inter-republican committee intends to settle the question of the fleet operated by the now-independent Baltic Republics, which was included in the Soviet-Moroccan agreement, the Soviet official replied that the committee recently signed an agreement with the Baltic states that provides for all Baltic fishing boats to be replaced by Russian fishing boats. He emphasized that all Soviet fishing boats operating in Moroccan waters will henceforth come under the authority of the inter-republican fishing committee, which will conduct all future negotiations.

According to Mr. Dimitri Shiryayev, all previously unsettled problems between Morocco and the Soviet Union have now been solved—the payment of arrears in fishing fees and the problem of Soviet ships held up in the port of Casablanca for nonpayment of berthing fees.

In addition, he noted the exceptional nature of the Soviet-Moroccan fishing agreement that "constitutes a legal framework that can be used to lay new foundations for the expansion and enrichment of our bilateral cooperation in general."

The Soviet deputy minister acknowledged violations by "a few undisciplined Soviet captains who break the law by operating in areas where fishing is banned." He went on to say that "violators are relieved of their duties whenever their cases are brought before our department."

The agreement also provides for the creation of two jointly owned fishing companies and for the training of Moroccan fishing industry specialists.

According to Mr. Dimitri Shiryayev, Soviet boats catch 10 million metric tons of fish a year off the coast of Morocco. Of that amount, 5.5 million metric tons are processed on the spot.

In return, the Soviet Union pays Morocco 220 million dollars a year.

#### **Economic Cooperation With Italy Outlined**

92AF0159A Rabat ALMAGHRIB in French  
15 Nov 91 p 3

[Text] Italy followed France and Spain as Morocco's third-largest supplier in 1990. Business volume between Italy and Morocco rose from 2,917 million dirhams in 1989 to 3,870.5 million in 1990, a 0.5-point increase in market share.

The demand for Italian products remained unchanged in its focus on manufactured goods, which increased by 36.3 percent. Foremost among them were capital goods for industry, which increased by 60.6 percent, followed by consumer goods (+36.8 percent) and semiprocessed products (+17.2 percent).

Italian investments in Morocco represent nearly 4 percent of all approved investments. The two countries have signed several agreements, in particular a line of credit of 100 million dollars for small- and medium-sized businesses, a loan of 140 million dollars for joint ventures involving Morocco and Italy, and 80 million lire in technical assistance. (1,000 lire are roughly equivalent to 6 dirhams).

Italy's approach to cooperation with Morocco is centered on identifying sector-level priorities outlined in the five-year plan for 1988-92. It involves the development of water resources, agriculture and fishing, energy, mineral resources, and professional training. The health sector has been singled out for special attention.

Cooperation between Italy and Morocco has taken the form of grants and aid credits to finance major projects. Specific projects financed with the help of Italian aid credits are the Dkhila dam (900,000 dollars), a small-scale agricultural mechanization program (10 million dollars), construction of the Matmata tunnel (15 million dollars of which 13,261,790.88 in currency were disbursed against the line of credit of 50 million dollars). Construction of the Matmata hydro-electric complex has been completed.

Grants were made for mining exploration activities in Oujda province (a total commitment of 3,985.50 million lire with 2,256.66 million lire disbursed in 1989) and the King's Ruby viticulture program for the production of sugar in Kelaa and Marrakech (a total commitment of 1,908.66 million lire, with funds of 833.56 million disbursed in 1989).

Grants were also made for a professional training center now being built for the textiles sector in Casablanca (a total commitment of 8,532.33 million lire, with 1,692.80 million disbursed in 1989). The project already under way to create lakes in the hills of Tangier will receive a total commitment of 11,578.59 million lire, including 2,256.66 disbursed in 1989.

The training center now being built in Tangier for technical instructors received 803.26 million lire in 1989 out of a total commitment of 2,533.48 million lire.

Cooperation between Morocco and Italy has already resulted in a number of accomplishments such as the first oil refinery (SAMIR [Moroccan-Italian Refining Corporation]), the automobile assembly company SOMACA [Moroccan Automobile Manufacturing Company] specializing in Fiat cars, partial financing for the M'Jara dam, and the construction of hillside dams—an area in which the Italians have superior expertise.

### **Citrus Competing With Brazil for European Market**

92AF0122A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
9 Nov 91 p 9

[Article by Muna al-Bustani]

[Text] Rabat—The major Moroccan citrus and juice-concentrate processing and exporting companies are facing the danger of bankruptcy due to the decline of

Morocco's share of the European markets, confusion in marketing, and the onslaught Brazil has launched in the international markets through cheap marketing of juice concentrates at prices Moroccan sources describe as "dumping."

The extensive cheap marketing of Brazilian citrus has led to this commodity's price dropping by 40 percent, which has gravely affected the processing of citrus concentrates in Morocco. The Frumat company, which has the monopoly in this field in Morocco, is facing the danger of bankruptcy due to the large amounts of money it owes to a number of citrus producers and commercial banks, thus increasing its debt servicing to an unprecedented level at a time when its revenues have decreased substantially due to the drop in citrus prices, which concentrate factories have absorbed.

The difficulties Frumat is facing are multiplied by negative international conditions, coupled with the Moroccan production facing difficulties that have affected the cost and quality of production. The Moroccan export of Clementine fruit to the EEC faced some difficulties at the beginning of the recent season due to a deficient artificial coloring process, hastiness in launching exports, and competition with the Spanish product. The EEC has imposed a tariff on the Moroccan Clementine, effective 7 December, as a measure to counter its marketing at a reduced price.

The Frumat company's capital consists of 50 percent of the shares contributed by all the parties to the private capital invested in citrus production, while the remaining 50 percent belongs to a government institution, namely the Office of Marketing and Exporting, and some banks.

The crisis has recently forced the shareholding companies in Frumat to agree on salvaging the company by fixing the price of citrus paid to juice factories at 23 centimes per kg, with the additional amounts to be paid as an increase in the capital of Frumat's juice factories. This measure will actually lead to increasing the producers' shares in the capital. The same solution will be proposed to the creditor banks. Meanwhile, businessmen in the sector proposed that the state accelerate the payment of 50 million centimes to Frumat, which is the reimbursement for the value-added tax on exports. The management and administration of the company will be reviewed, with the aim of streamlining expenditures. Leaders of this sector wager that this measure would help the Frumat company to overcome its present crisis.

What is interesting is the fact that the Frumat company crisis is paradoxical to the success of Morocco's citrus production during the 1990-1991 season, as a result of the suitable climatic conditions and subsequent production, which were preceded by a substantial drop in the earlier season's crop.

Total Moroccan citrus production last season reached 1.467 million tons, an increase of 38 percent over the 1989-1990 season. Exports to foreign markets reached about 47 percent of the total production, equivalent to 685,000 tons. The local market consumed the remaining 53 percent. There has been an increasing demand in the foreign market for the early type of Moroccan citrus. Sales of the "navel" type abroad increased by 85 percent and of the "Maroc-light" by 73 percent. The "Maroc-light" leads Moroccan citrus in terms of production, followed by the "Clementine" and the "navel," and by the [Sankin] and the [Salostiana].

Moroccan citrus fruits have been marketed at low prices during the recent season in comparison with the previous season. But the increase in citrus exports has relatively compensated for the price drop of all Moroccan citrus production, despite the relatively high percentage of small-size fruit.

The Frumat company was established in the seventies, along with a chain of juice factories belonging to it, following a crisis caused by surplus citrus production in Morocco. The objective of establishing it was to strike a balance between the foreign market and the domestic market; the soft fruit surplus to the domestic market is delivered to Frumat, which exports 85 percent of its production abroad in the form of preserved juice or juice concentrates. But Brazil, which dominates about 60 percent of the concentrates world market, had a bumper crop last year, with which it flooded the market. This has caused a major drop in citrus concentrate prices, declining from \$2,200 per ton to \$1,300 per ton. This unexpected development has caused a financial crisis for the Frumat company, about 80 percent of whose production consists of citrus fruit, while the remainder consists of preserved juices.

In addition to the difficulties which juice factories in Morocco are facing, the promotion of Moroccan citrus in the EEC is facing several problems due to the "benchmark" regulations and the quota for operation in this market. The European citrus competition with Moroccan production goes beyond the European markets, since the EEC provides grants to subsidize its exports to markets outside the EEC, with Spain being the biggest competitor of Morocco in this field.

With the intensification of competition within the EEC, the Moroccan export groups have resorted to relative diversification of the export outlets. This year Morocco signed an agreement with Algeria to export 60,000 tons of citrus, of which 50,000 have actually been exported. Also, more than 10,000 tons of citrus have been exported to the United States and 1,000 tons to Hong Kong. This was the first time Moroccan citrus has entered those markets.

These international conditions coincide with the citrus export system in Morocco entering a transitional period. Within the policy of freeing up the economy, it was decided that, beginning with the 1985-1986 season, the

monopolistic status that the Office of Marketing and Exporting enjoyed in the foreign marketing of Moroccan fruits and vegetables should be cancelled. It was also decided that businessmen in this sector should be free to choose between establishing private export companies or continuing to export through the public institution. Since then, 10 private export groups have been established, the most important of which are [Sodia] [De Lassus] al-Salam, and al-Duha. Some 85 percent of citrus exports now go through these groups. Consequently, the Office of Marketing and Exporting's share in the export business has become marginal.

Businessmen in the citrus sector believe that freeing up foreign marketing has had a positive effect on their activity, in that it has created new incentives for quality improvement and for developing competitive ability.

However, current developments in the world market make it essential for the producers and exporters to improve the quality, wrapping, and packaging of Moroccan goods.

The recent season has underscored several problems relating to production and its cost, especially regarding the size of fruit and the age of plants, as well as the growing phenomenon of the farmer selling his crop before picking it. This phenomenon contributes to the decline of quality. There is also the question of increase in the electric power bill and in fuel prices, as well as the increasing interest rate on agricultural loans. Quality in certain locations, such as Sous and Marrakech, is affected by the scarcity of water. The condition of roads and crossings has become so poor that it causes damage to the means of transport and affects the quality of citrus being transported.

#### **Bilateral Trade With Algeria Expanding**

*92AF0153C Casablanca LA VIE ECONOMIQUE  
in French 22 Nov 91 p 30*

[Article by Djamila Bouchra: "Morocco-Algeria: True Complementarity, When?"—first paragraph is LA VIE ECONOMIQUE introduction]

[Text] Since the resumption of diplomatic relations, the volume of trade has appreciably increased. There are great ambitions, huge prospects. But is that enough for Maghreb integration to materialize?

The issues that hampered the UMA [Arab Maghreb Union] were settled at the latest regular summit meeting in Casablanca. The installation of the various UMA authorities in each of the five countries crystallized the region as a whole but it does not represent, to say the least, the only panacea.

Complementarity and integration in various sectors, these are the leitmotiv of the greater Maghreb, but there are still pitfalls and constraints to overcome, which suggest that the odds are unfavorable.

Bilateral relations, especially between Morocco and Algeria, were given new impetus. Since the signature of the trade and tariff agreement of 14 March 1989, trade (formerly an insignificant 0.5 percent) has appreciable increased.

To promote trade, incentive measures were adopted. All original products with an integration percentage of at least 40 percent were exempted from customs duties and similar taxes.

However, compared with the increasingly flourishing informal trade sector, this trade increase is far from what was expected.

### Significant Figures

Since the implementation of the trade and tariff agreement, imports of Moroccan products have amounted to about 284 million Algerian dinars, and Algerian exports to Morocco to about 223 million Algerian dinars.

In 1990, imports almost doubled: over 507 million Algerian dinars' worth of Moroccan goods entered Algeria, while exports increased slightly (382 million Algerian dinars).

The range of products traded is varied. Algeria sells essentially energy-related products, lubricants, gas, and ISMMEE (steel, mechanical, metallurgical, electronic, and electromechanical industries) products. Moroccan exports involve mostly agrifood and manufactured products.

During the first half of the current year, oil and gas accounted for over 80 percent of the 360 million Algerian dinars' worth of goods sold in Morocco.

And close to 50 percent of the 604 million Algerian dinars' worth of Moroccan products imported were foodstuffs.

The Algerian private sector is doing just as well. Its contribution to 1989 exports was significant: close to 80 million Algerian dinars, consisting essentially of manufactured products, building materials, agrifood products, veneer sheets, fish, and tubeless tires.

### The Problem of Subsidized Products

However, many observers agree that trade development remains below expected objectives and existing potentialities in both countries.

Paradoxically, the informal trade sector tends to prosper, especially in the case of consumer products subsidized by the Algerian state and discounted at the border. Nearly 28 products, including five of animal origin, are the subject of contraband. They range from sugar to pasta and drugs.

For coffee and butter, to mention only these two examples, the quantities confiscated at the border are mind

boggling: in 1989, the rates of increase were 219 and 203 percent, respectively. The following year, they were 173 and 414 percent.

### Obstacles Felt

This shows how fast the underground trade progresses, while the official trade is still hampered by a number of obstacles.

Although some explain this situation by the lack of a tradition of trading between the two countries, and by the fact that economic agents are not aware of existing opportunities, other blame it solely on trade barriers.

The verification of the authenticity of certificates of origin at the border has discouraged several exporters in both countries and brought to nought all the efforts deployed to promote cooperation in all domains.

This, by the way, raises many questions as to the real possibilities of free movement of capital. The stakes are high, though. To overcome obstacles, many solutions have been proposed.

The development of barter is one of the solutions put forward to cope with the problems of transaction financing and the low level of foreign-currency reserves in both countries. Yet, the adoption of such a proposal may lead to unfair exchanges and render relations more complex. The creation of free zones and the harmonization of customs regulations are also widely demanded.

In some circles, people believe that the creation of an independent arbitration body, or a Maghreb chamber of commerce, would suffice to solve the problem of marketing standards, in particular that of the certificate of origin.

A first step in this direction was taken: we hope that the Maghreb bank recently created will remove a number of ambiguities and promote trade and investment. There is much room for complementarity.

### A Long Way To Go

Moroccan and Algerian private operators are busy creating associations and groups in various sectors, to develop joint companies and processing.

It is in this context that the UMIAC (Maghreb Automobile Industry and Components Union) was created. Its main objective is to "contribute to industrial development and facilitate the sale and exchange of products between its members."

In other sectors, such as tourism, complementarity is hindered by environmental constraints. For many Moroccans, tourism in Algeria is not an attractive proposition. In 1990, Morocco welcomed 1,200,000 Algerians, but only 70,000 Moroccans visited Algeria.

With regulations that provide no incentives, Algerian tourism still lacks the desired momentum. The development of partnerships would enable it to make a fresh start.

However, integration in this sector is not easy, as nothing concrete has been done to make it easier for Algerian and Moroccan operators to form associations and partnerships.

With no joint strategy of deployment in certain sectors, with no systematic organization of trade, Algerian-Moroccan cooperation still has a long way to go. Free movement of people and capital, complete abolition of a number of bureaucratic constraints, these are prerequisites to real cooperation; without them, the edification of the Maghreb itself will have achieved nothing.

**Finance Minister Explains Policies, Measures**  
*92AF0154A Casablanca LA VIE ECONOMIQUE*  
*in French 22 Nov 91 pp 6-7]*

[Article: "Minister of Finance Defends His Policies;" first paragraph is LA VIE ECONOMIQUE introduction]

[Text] Do not be surprised at the very direct style of the comments by the minister of finance. We recorded a number of his remarks, just as he made them, in the course of a conversation during that Minister Berrada told us of his ideas, his objectives, his policies, and the specific means that he intends to employ. We dedicate these comments, marked with realism and good sense, drawn from the lessons of our experiences and those of others, staying close to the realities, to all of those who continue to oppose him, apparently already committed to these views or to scepticism.

Minister of Finance Berrada said: "Many countries found themselves in a difficult position during the 1980's, and they had to undertake readjustment programs. Which countries succeeded? Which ones failed? In most cases the readjustment programs were carried out to the detriment of some social classes and, above all, of economic growth. Now Morocco has reduced all of its imbalances. However, during the past four years Morocco has recorded an average annual growth rate of 4.6 percent. It is the only country, apart from Chile, which has followed a policy marked by an increase in the growth rate."

He was asked: "What is going to happen now?"

He answered: "We should end the process of readjustment in 1992. But what comes after that? We need to develop a new strategy. There are some very remarkable examples in the Far East. For example, I see Thailand, Indonesia, and others that, about 10 years ago, were in a situation similar to ours and that now have surpluses equal to our state budget. A country that spends less than it makes and manages its affairs well inspires confidence. Rich countries like the United States can allow themselves to run a deficit. However, in a country like

Morocco we cannot do anything other than what we are doing. To attract foreign investment, we must pay much more than the rich countries, which have no problem. For example, the U.S.A. finances its deficit with its own currency. However, in our country we do not make dollars. We have to finance the deficit with domestic resources. To invest, you have to import, and you cannot pay for imports with dirhams. Those are the problems that face Morocco, where, after 1993, we will be forced to act in a different way because there will no longer be an agreement with the IMF. Therefore, we need to have our own policy, based on our own strategy and on our own resources, to achieve a rate of growth, which must be much greater.

"When I see Thailand, for example, I am optimistic. Five or six years ago it had a deficit amounting to 5 or 6 percent of gross domestic product. It succeeded in eliminating the deficit three or four years ago and now has a surplus of 12 percent.

"Another example is Taiwan, whose economy has been based on small and medium-sized companies, contrary to South Korea, where the basis for development has been essentially provided by large company groups."

**When the State Has a Deficit, It Takes; When It Has a Deficit, It Gives**

He continued: "However, in all of these cases the state plays a fundamental role. When it has a deficit, it cannot finance it. On the contrary, it takes from other sectors. When it has a surplus, it distributes it to all of the productive sectors. To move faster now, using this strategy, you have to invest money where the return is the most rapid. And that is in the productive sector. Therefore, after 1993 the Moroccan state will have to play a role of providing capital and of financing its productive sectors. This could not have been its role until now, since its economy was running at a deficit. Let us go back to the countries of Asia. They were in a deficit situation and now they have a surplus. However, at the same time, and that is what you see, there is an interdependence between all points (because the economy is a single entity). It is precisely because they have a surplus that they have been able to encourage the productive sectors. The growth rate has increased in a substantial way. For the past three years Thailand has had a rate of growth of 12 percent and more—12 percent in net terms—with an inflation rate of five to six percent. Now that is extraordinary.

"When the growth rate increases so quickly in a country that has no resources or major raw materials, where there is no petroleum or phosphate for fertilizers, that means that growth is distributed across the board in the economy. That creates a more and more substantial degree of diversity. And that is the essential base for economic growth. It should not be analyzed solely in quantitative but rather in qualitative terms.

"Economic growth of seven percent is more significant when it is spread out over a number of sectors instead of

having a growth rate of 15 percent, thanks to agricultural production during a single year. In this economy of growth climatic variations from one year to another and external crises matter little. The economic machine continues to turn, and if there is a crisis in one country to that we export, the system continues to export because it is more competitive. The cost structure is more important. It is the power of the economy that asserts itself. External assets no longer depend on climatic risks or foreign developments. An economy is fragile when all of the basic conditions depend on the world overseas.

#### A Problem of Will and of Cohesion

Minister Berrada stated: "While we say that our foreign exchange reserves amount to \$2.5 billion, in 1990 Thailand, with 50 million people, had \$18 billion in foreign exchange reserves. Taiwan has \$95 billion in foreign exchange reserves. It is the eighth largest industrialized country in the world, whereas 15 or 20 years ago it was nothing at all. Today the problem of development is no longer something that is impossible to resolve. It is a problem of will, of reaching agreement, of cohesion and social accord, of definition of an object to which you remain attached and you believe in. Everything is possible, provided, first of all, you want to do something and everyone in the country agrees on that objective.

"That is why it is very important for the nation and for all of us to explain all of that, to say what bets have been placed on economic growth. This is because, when you have an objective or a policy to pursue or reforms to carry out, it is not appropriate to raise questions about everything because of some concerns that may be felt or by certain groups where each person is only concerned about his own interests. A policy must be overall in scope and must not be halted because someone is losing money. We must make a distinction between what is microeconomic and what is macroeconomic. We should not say, in macroeconomic terms, that everyone must be happy. At times microeconomic analysis is contradictory to macroeconomic interests. What counts is the overall picture. In 1991 tourism has gone through a very serious crisis. Well, we are going to finish 1991 with a growth rate in real terms of 4.6 percent."

We commented to Minister Berrada: "However, the Asian countries have the extraordinary capacity of their people for work."

He replied: "All of this does not mean that we are going to copy our economic policy from the Asian countries. Every country has its own, specific characteristics. However, we must keep up-to-date on what some countries are doing. For example, we must know what policy they have followed in terms of investment incentives. Despite enormous, demographic pressures they have been successful. It is important to know what advantages they have in fiscal and financial terms, what their monetary policy is, how they set up their financial system, etc. There are many things that we must know and not just refer to models that have become well known and are

European models, although we wish to penetrate their markets. At present Europe is protecting itself from the competitive pressure of the Asian countries. If we adopt these Asian working methods, we, who wish to enter Europe, will find it possible to do so under better, competitive conditions within the European Community."

#### A Necessary Evolution

He was asked: "It is really a new era that is opening up. Will our people's minds be able to adjust to it?"

He answered: "Things have to change because we no longer have any choice. The major industrial firms in Morocco have made a great deal of money. They were provided with an overly large amount of protection, and the quality of their products was mediocre. The consumers suffered the consequences. The policy of liberalization has forced the industrialists to equip their factories with more modern machinery, to change, and to adapt. Those who have not done so have gone out of business.

"It is very simple. We should transfer this example of a growing business to the national level. As of now our economy is forced to change, because competition is going to become more and more aggressive. GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade] negotiations are going to resume. They will lead to an agreement."

He was asked: "Will this agreement be beneficial for Morocco?"

He replied: "It has to be. However, that depends on how our business firms react, as well as on the national economic environment. The market is there. The most efficient companies will take over this market. The countries of Eastern Europe are transforming themselves. By 1993-94 they are going to be more efficient. We have joined the GATT. We should adopt a policy of openness at home. We will be forced to face up to foreign competition in our country. However, in the same way we must face up to competition in the countries where we have traditionally sold our products. We must think of that, beginning now. To do that, we must have a plan, an overall view. We must know where we are going. That is, we must bring in more liberalization and eliminate the distortions in the system. Our resources must go to where they are best used. We must rationalize, continue to reduce the deficit, and manage the state budget well. We must do all of that to reach the point, by the year 2000, where our economy will reach the threshold of such a level of development that we can enter the European Community without any difficulty and, moreover, the whole international community."

He was asked: "Do you think that one day we will be a full member of the European Economic Community?"

He replied: "Personally, I think so."

### The Calendar of the Forthcoming Agreements

Minister of Finance Berrada stated: "We are engaged in reaching an agreement with the IMF. It will probably be signed around 20 January 1992. Then we will ask for a meeting of the Paris Club, which will be held around 10 February. Once the agreement with the Paris Club is reached, the negotiations will be over. At the meeting of the Paris Club we will announce that we will no longer have recourse to debt rescheduling after 1993. And by not rescheduling the debt, we mean that we will be making normal payments on it. This is one of the conditions for moving to convertibility."

### "It Is Inflation That Creates Unemployment"

Minister of Finance Berrada said: "I now see countries that are under political pressure and are increasing certain expenditures and worsening their deficit. This is going to lead to an increase in inflation, a loss of competitiveness, and, therefore, unemployment. Everything is related. Unemployment is the consequence of a policy. What creates unemployment is inflation."

He continued: "When people tell me, 'Lower interest rates,' I answer: 'That is going to lead to inflation.' They tell me, 'That makes no difference!' However, I say, 'Inflation is what is going to kill investment.' They do not understand that everything is connected."

We commented to him: "In Morocco the unemployment rate is going down."

Minister Berrada replied: "What you should remember is not a decline of 0.5 percent in the unemployment rate. What you should remember is that our population is growing by 2.6 percent each year. The fact is that, on the one hand, we have absorbed the increase in the population and, furthermore, we have reduced the unemployment rate."

"When I said, in my speech in the House of Representatives, that in 1983 the unemployment rate was at 18 percent and that we had to reduce it to less than 16 percent, you should understand that this was after the population increased by 40 percent. During this period the unemployment rate declined. What does that mean? It means that during this phase of adjustment the economy created jobs. The essential element of growth is the extent to which an economy is capable of generating jobs. People do not see that. I said in my speech that it is not up to the government to resolve the problem of employment. Quite to the contrary. A government that recruits additional employees without this recruitment reflecting the effective needs of the various government offices is going to kill employment, companies, and the growth that creates jobs."

He continued: "Why? Because all of that creates costs that are going to have repercussions on the productive sectors of the economy. If I recruit employees, I have to have money to pay them. That is going to make it necessary to increase taxes. On the contrary, we must

recruit employees within the limits of our possibilities. If I recruit qualitatively, I thereby create a government that pays its way. That creates a better environment for the productive companies that recruit employees and that do so definitively. The productive sectors create many more jobs than the government does. Of course, I recruit employees for the educational system. That is only proper, because the population is growing. We must open schools. About 70 percent of the jobs created in the 1992 budget will be in the social sector and, in large part, in the field of national education. Now that is good for the productive sectors of our economy, since training is an essential element for investment. And in the budgets for 1993 and 1994 the operating expenditures of the social sectors must increase to a level much higher than it is now.

"Education and health are two essential variables, along with, of course, the social structure and activity in the streets, that is, culture, youth, and sports.

"However, in my view, the two essential poles of growth are education, which involves training people, and keeping in good health."

### Finance Law Explained by Minister

92AF0154B Casablanca LA VIE ECONOMIQUE  
in French 22 Nov 91 pp 8, 10-11

[Report on interview with Finance Minister Berrada; place and date not given; first two paragraphs are LA VIE ECONOMIQUE introduction]

[Text] Who better than a minister of finance can comment on a finance law, particularly when this is a man who is much more careful about spending state money than he is with his time? Minister Berrada is the last of the cabinet ministers to leave his office at night. He is among the first, if not the first, to return to his office on the following morning. The finance law, despite the high quality and the clear awareness of the public good that are his close companions, is his job to prepare. Therefore, he is in a position to comment on all of its provisions and, still more, to explain its purposes. This is because the finance law is not a "financial pump," that is, the means of implementing a policy that aims, as we have said in our last few issues, at moving from an economy based on austerity to an economy based on growth.

Therefore, we carry below the views that Minister Berrada expressed to us in the course of a press interview on a number of more or less controversial aspects of the finance law. They are intended for those who continue to be dubious about this law. The minister confirmed to us his desire to maintain the greatest openness, particularly in his relations with the media.

### Tax on Interest for Those Living on Fixed Incomes

Minister Berrada said: "You want to declare this income in the form of interest that you collect. You will pay 15



percent by value, according to the provisions of the law that are now in effect. You pay this 15 percent definitively. However, even so, you declare this income as part of your overall income. This is an advance payment that you make. However, if the final tax that comes out is less than the advance payment which you have made, we do not return the difference to you. There is no right of repayment. Personally, I find that this is an unjust aspect of the present system, because if you accept the principle of paying by installments, you accept the rules. If I have lost money, you must pay me back. And if I make a profit, I pay you the difference. Those are the rules of the game.

"If you do not wish to declare this money now, at that point you pay 20 percent of its value. Now today, in this area, everyone declares it at 20 percent. You pay the 20 percent and that's all there is to it! This means that all capital remains anonymous. We respect anonymity. We respect each person. However, to do that, you have to pay. Why? Because today a salaried worker has money deducted for taxes that amounts to as much as 52 percent, whereas someone who has simply invested his money pays only 20 percent tax."

[LA VIE ECONOMIQUE] Why did you not do more from the beginning?

[Berrada] "Because the first time we instituted this process was in 1987. It was my idea. In our country the policy is to make the necessary adjustments little by little. When you do this from the beginning, you risk breaking up a process of a savings formation. It was not necessary to have a high tax at first.

"Now they say: 'Do you want to keep things anonymous?' Agreed. However, you must pay a rate that is close to the average tax provided for in the IGR [income tax law], which goes from 14 to 52 percent, as the marginal rate. For higher incomes, the average rate is 45 percent. Therefore, 45 percent of your income will be deducted at the source, and that is all. Those who wish to give their names will only pay 20 percent. However, this involves an installment payment on the definitive total of the tax.

"Nevertheless, we have given taxpayers an advantage, which involves the principle of repayment. This advantage is all the more important, since the five points of the increase are applied to the tax. This system also seems to me to be better balanced.

"If some taxpayers consider that the rate of 45 percent is too high, they have only to declare their income and they will benefit in this way from the rate of 20 percent and also from the possibility of repayment."

[LA VIE ECONOMIQUE] How is repayment made?

[Berrada] "By deductions depending on the kind of activity. The important thing for us is that taxpayers should make their declarations. And we prefer that they pay 20 percent, rather than the 45 percent, because they

have declared their income in the latter case. That is the whole system. A lot of noise has been made about it when, in fact, there is very little to it."

#### Changes in the VAT [value-added tax]

Minister Berrada was asked about changes in the VAT. He replied: "As far as the VAT is concerned, we have limited ourselves to cancelling the 12 percent-rate and resetting it between 14 and 19 percent. And even at zero percent for doctors, which is not an easy thing for us to do.

"In a hospital bill there is the medical service on the one hand and the costs of hospitalization on the other hand, which are taxed at the rate of 12 percent. The medical service is free of tax. The remainder is subject to tax. In that sense a hospital is like a hotel. The rest has been raised to 19 percent. However, we have agreed that related, deductible expenses will result in a reduction in costs. The same thing applies to legal services, accounting services, etc. People have an interest in purchasing these services with a written bill because with this in hand they can benefit from a tax deduction. Thereby we encourage people to purchase services and have written bills, and that is what interests us.

"We also have agreed that the VAT on postal and telephone bills will be deductible. In this way we picked up 3 billion additional dirhams and lost 20 billion dirhams elsewhere. However, I have played the game."

#### VAT on Construction

Berrada said: "With further regard to the VAT and still in the interest of openness, let us take the case that someone is building a house. That is production, and all production is subject to the VAT.

"At present the law totally exempts such construction. We have thought about this and we did not think that it was right. We see very large villas being built, very large homes, and luxurious apartments. And the people building them are completely exempt from payment of the VAT tax on this kind of activity.

"The problem for me is not collecting the VAT on construction. Once construction is completely exempt from the tax, you have no declaration to make when you complete the construction of your house.

"However, during the construction period, when you go to buy cement, hardware, pipes, or bathroom fixtures, you ask the supplier to remove the VAT from the bill, and you pay in cash, which also makes it possible to pay without having a written bill presented. That is one obvious source of tax fraud.

"If the supplier refuses to remove the VAT and to arrange payment 'without a written bill,' you threaten to go to one of his competitors. Now this situation happens everywhere. Manufacturers have come to me and said: 'We cannot go on with this system. Customers ask us to



sell to them without a written bill and without paying the VAT. If we do not do this, they go to other suppliers.' That is not right.

"With the VAT at 14 percent of the value of construction, everything changes. If, for example, a house costs 100 million dirhams to build, the builder must pay 14 million dirhams in VAT tax.

"However, when he pays this tax, he has the right to deduct all of the taxes that he paid on the supplies that were needed to build the house. For example, if he paid 80 million dirhams for building supplies, taxed at a rate between 14 and 19 percent, that will come to deductions of about 10 million dirhams in VAT tax. Therefore, he will only pay 4 million dirhams, and the problem will be resolved. However, it is not the 4 million dirhams in VAT tax that interest me. It is the fact that all of the payments are made against written bills. And that means openness.

"This is a very good principle. However, the problem is complicated with people who build small housing units costing 10 to 15 million centimes and who are not able to hire an accountant.

"People tell me that there is no need for accounting services. When you buy something, you keep all of the bills. When the building is completed, you total up the bills, plus the labor, and you have the cost of the house. You make a declaration regarding it, which gives you the tax you have to pay. You deduct the taxes that you paid and that are mentioned on the invoices, and your declaration is made. There is no need for accounting services.

"Nevertheless, it is difficult for an ordinary person to handle all of that. We have thought about it and have said: 'Well, we will apply the tax on the construction of housing that covers more than 200 square meters of surface. Ordinary people will be exempt.'

"In that way this measure works effectively against tax fraud. It is a measure that provides for a greater degree of justice and it does not apply to ordinary people.

"Meanwhile, those who criticize all of that come to tell me about it. Just what do they want? That people should not pay taxes? Do they want rich people to be exempt? Finally, I only tax the rich.

#### VAT for Large Retailers

"When you have gaps in the economic circle, where some sectors are not subject to the VAT tax, there is no way of making up for it, and the whole economic tax system breaks down."

[LA VIE ECONOMIQUE] How does this circle develop?

[Berrada] "You have the importer who sells to a company, who processes and resells the item, and so on until the wholesaler who sells to a retailer who, in turn, sells to the consumer. Therefore, payment of the final VAT tax is borne by the consumer. However, if I once exempt one

of the points on this circle, the chain is broken, and the system breaks down. Now we have a system where the different elements are distorted. In principle the total amount of the added value gives you the gross domestic product [GDP]. If this person increases the value by 10 percent, the VAT receipts go up by at least 10 percent. It is simple. It is the tax that is directly linked to economic activity. If the agricultural sector is exempt, if the retailers are exempt, the system will no longer function. And for a GDP that goes up by 10 percent the VAT tax is only seven or eight percent, because of these distortions in the system.

"What is more serious is that the breaks in the system open the door to tax fraud, to failures to make declarations. If everyone is involved in the payment of the VAT tax, everyone has an interest in asking for written bills. The VAT tax was instituted in 1986. There were a lot of complaints about it, but that is over. This is because when we set up the VAT system, not everything went into effect at the same time. That is why there are now distortions that should be reduced progressively.

"In France retailers pay the VAT tax. In Germany, also. In every country where the VAT system exists, business is taxed. As far as we are concerned, we must tax retail business, if we really want the circle to be completed. Finally, everything is retail business. I am not going to begin collecting the VAT tax from small companies whose turnover is 20 million centimes per year. This applies to small grocery stores in particular. All the more so since in many small grocery stores many products are exempt from tax. So we told ourselves: once the wholesaler is taxed, he can have a business turnover of 100 million and pay the tax, while a retailer who makes one billion will be exempt, because he is a retailer. The distinction between wholesaler and retailer should therefore be reexamined.

"In principle a wholesaler is someone who sells to a retailer. However, a wholesaler can have a smaller turnover than this retailer. We are bringing in a new distinction in terms of the business turnover. When a retailer has a business turnover of more than 200 million centimes, he will henceforth be subject to payment of the VAT tax. All the more so since that should cause him no problem. Why? Because when someone has a business turnover of more than 200 million centimes, he is required to have an accountant and to make a declaration in terms of his net, real profits. Once he has accounting services, this service can very easily provide the basis for his declaration of VAT tax due. I do not ask him to do anything more than that.

"People will reply that these small retailers are not sufficiently organized in terms of accounting. That is false, because the IGR applies to anyone with a business turnover of more than 200 million centimes. Therefore, this businessman must have an accountant. That is why we set the threshold at 200 million centimes. However,

10 years from now, no doubt, it will be necessary to make this a general provision. Policy is made by taking small steps.

"Finally, when a retailer buys a product for 10, he resells it for 11. What VAT tax does he pay? He pays the VAT tax on the portion between 10 and 11 and only on the added value. The value added by a retailer is what is called the gross margin. He only pays the VAT tax on his gross margin. However, it is very small. This does not bring much in for the government, because that is also a structural measure. Why? Because in that case also the law pushes the retailers into demanding written bills from their wholesalers. The wholesalers on the Rue de Strasbourg are now being bombarded by retailers who want to buy without using written bills, when they go to obtain their supplies of merchandise. They do not want written bills because, in their view, if you remove the VAT tax, this is more than their profit, and all of that because they are not subject to making a VAT tax declaration. They have no interest in asking for a written bill. However, if I make them subject to the VAT tax in the future, they will be obliged to ask for written bills. The advantage that we are going to have is in openness and the reduction of tax fraud."

#### For a New Awareness of the National Economy

Minister Berrada said: "We must develop a new awareness of the national economy and no longer think as we did in the period immediately following independence. We need to define the economic policy that will apply to Morocco after 1993. That is, to say how we see Morocco in the year 2000, when new constraints and new challenges are going to be presented. I hope that we will not go beyond that in terms of the integration of Morocco in the European Economic Community. We also need to define our relations with the UMA [Moroccan Farmers' Union] and relations between large and medium-sized companies in Morocco. All of that must be the subject of public debate."

#### A Novelty: Housing Loans

Minister Berrada said: "All of the other actions that we have taken are positive. Look at the case of companies that make tax exempt arrangements for housing their personnel. They could not make use of these arrangements because they are small and they cannot use them to build housing. So the CGEM [Moroccan General Economic Federation] has asked us to allow them to make use of these provisions in the form of loans to their personnel. We have told them that we agree. However, we have added a limitation in the text of the law. Three-quarters of the loan must be used for small housing units as part of the social program. Why? Because I do not want this money to be used to buy large homes for company directors. Because these loans are deductible from taxable income, I do not want the state to make sacrifices that do not benefit ordinary people. It is essential for you to understand the social character of all of that. Another measure has provided for a series of

tax advantages for the leasing of real estate. That is very important for construction. Particularly the possibility of accelerated depreciation of the value of the property.

[LA VIE ECONOMIQUE] And what about automobiles?

[Berrada] A company can buy the automobile that it wants, including a vehicle worth 500 million dirhams, if it wishes. I have seen companies buy Mercedes Benz automobiles for 150 or 200 million dirhams. Indirectly, it is the state that pays half of the cost. This is not right. The same problem came up when I agreed to the deduction of the tax on interest for the banks. What did the banks turn around and do? They built central offices, spent money on entertainment, and began to deduct the VAT tax included in these installations, whereas previously they could not deduct the VAT tax because the tax on interest was not deductible. We lost a lot of money, but we did our part. Let companies buy de luxe automobiles. I say, let them, but not to the detriment of the state. I want to see clearly that this is a tool of production, but it is necessary to limit this kind of expenditure."

#### We Must Support the Agricultural Sector

Minister Berrada continued: "We have also simplified the procedures for reimbursement of the tax on agricultural equipment. At present, to obtain an exemption, you have to provide certificates, sworn statements, etc.

"All of that will be simplified. Personally, I am extremely sensitive to the agricultural sector. In terms of economic analysis it is very clear that in a country like Morocco it is absolutely necessary for the agricultural sector to continue to grow. About 55 percent of the population lives on farms. We must increase the income of the farmers. We provide the agricultural sector with equipment, and the farmers pay it back gradually. They pay for the water from the irrigation projects.

"However, if you want economic and social stability, you have to have an abundance of agricultural products in the market. It may be funny to hear a minister of finance talk like that, but it is very important. That is why the largest investments in the budget are always for water and the agricultural sector, and we must continue to support it. For this is an enormous market even if we leave it alone until the year 2000. Furthermore, the agricultural population is the group most fully integrated into the economy. Practically speaking, they buy 90 percent of their cloth, shoes, and tools from Moroccan sources.

"The urban population is more diversified in its purchasing habits. The rural population buys Moroccan products. When it buys industrial products, it pays the VAT tax included on these items. As they are not subject to the VAT tax, they are not reimbursed for it. However, when they consume things, they pay the VAT tax.

"You have to take this variable into account in our economic model, until the year 2000. When agriculture

reaches a high level, no doubt they will see things differently. However, the agricultural sector receives support in all countries. Look at what is happening in the European Community."

[LA VIE ECONOMIQUE] Will it be possible to apply a smaller VAT tax on small automobiles?

[Berrada] "We are tending more and more toward a single VAT tax rate of 19 percent. However, if we continue to extend concessions and exemptions, we will move backward. If you take the tax off automobiles, why not cloth? It is very, very difficult to increase the rates. If you reduce them, you can no longer increase them afterward."

"It is easy to develop a policy that pleases everyone. However, this means leaving small resources to one's successors and to the country, which will have to repair the damage. In any case, there is no free lunch. Every policy costs something. It is necessary to know how to make the necessary sacrifices today to ease the burden on future generations."

"I would present the whole problem of the debt in that way. We must know how to take unpopular actions. A minister of finance is not popular in any country."

#### **Morocco Will Preside Over 1992 World Bank/IMF Annual Meeting**

Morocco is currently presiding over the Council of Governors of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. It is presiding because it is a country that has succeeded in completing its economic readjustment and that is now moving to another level of development. In September 1992 Morocco is going to preside over the annual assemblies of the IMF and of the World Bank in Washington. This is an important event, because 10,000 people will be present: the presidents of all of the international banks, the ministers of finance, and the governors of the central banks of all countries. The whole international financial community will be there. And Morocco will preside over this meeting. Morocco was chosen by about 30 countries that voted for it. It was supported in particular by the U.S.A. and by France. The reason for this choice was evidently its success.

#### **Businesses Comment on Manpower Situation**

92AF0153B Casablanca AL BAYANE in French  
1 Nov 91 pp 1, 3

[Article by Mimoun Habriche: "Economic Conditions: More Personnel Reductions in 1991"—first paragraph is AL BAYANE introduction]

[Text] In the September issue of its bulletin, CONJONCTURE, the French Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Morocco [CFCIM] published the first part of its memorandum on economic conditions; it covers the first half of the current year. Based on the answers of 135 businesses, this memorandum sheds light on the trends

of economic activity in Morocco and on the way business managers perceive them.

A revealing indication of the problems encountered by businesses during the first six months of 1991 is that more of them have reduced their personnel.

In 1990, the CFCIM bulletin notes, 37.5 percent of businesses reported more employees than in 1989. By the end of the first half of 1991, only 30.3 percent employed more people than during the first half of 1990.

On the other hand, the proportion of businesses that reported personnel reductions increased from 5.5 percent during the first half of 1990 to 11.2 percent by the end of the first half of 1991.

The percentage of businesses that retained about the same number of employees from one quarter to the other did not change much: 57 percent in 1990; 58.5 percent in 1991.

The personnel reductions thus reported can no doubt be attributed to the negative effects of the Gulf crisis. This is confirmed by the fact that businesses in the textile and leather sectors were the most strongly affected. In fact, whereas only 17 percent of the businesses in this sector reported personnel reductions in 1990, 36 percent did so at the end of June 1991.

In the printing, data-processing, and office-automation sector, 15 percent of businesses reduced their personnel; in the agrifood sector, 13 percent did.

Certainly, the concept of frictional unemployment, i.e., unemployment linked to the vagaries of economic conditions, has become a common concept in free-market economy. But, whereas some countries have set up mechanisms designed to protect workers' interests, no such provision has yet been adopted in Morocco or in most Third-World countries.

As a result, workers find themselves in the following position: during periods of recovery, businessmen ask them to work harder, for all that without sharing with them some of the wealth created by their labor; and during periods of economic stagnation, they let them bear the brunt of the crisis.

This attitude is all the more prejudicial to employees as their pay is so low that they have barely enough to live on, considering the rate of inflation. It stands to reason, therefore, that they are unable to cope with periods of unemployment.

This blatant injustice has implications within the businesses themselves. Indeed, you cannot expect employees to score high on productivity when they are left well below the minimum required for business growth. But how many businessmen are aware of it?

**Construction of 6 New Dams Under Way***92AF0159D Casablanca LE MATIN DU SAHARA  
in French 3 Nov 91 p 9*

[Text] Morocco boasts 70 major dams already in service, while six new major dams are in the process of being built.

Morocco's dams have a capacity of 10 billion cubic meters and regulate the flow of some 7.5 billion cubic meters. In 1990, about 4 billion cubic meters of water were made available for farming, providing for the irrigation of 716,500 hectares of land. An additional 250,000 hectares were irrigated using "small- and medium-scale water management methods." A total of 1,220 gigawatts of hydro-electric energy was produced as a result of policies that made it possible to optimize management and minimize lost flow, thereby making the most of turbine capacity.

At present, 400 million cubic meters of water from dam sites help to ensure an adequate drinking water supply for the cities. Ground water accounts for 40 percent of the drinking water supply and industrial needs. Morocco has some 40 surface water sources and as many aquifers at an intermediate depth.

It is estimated that 3 billion cubic meters are drawn from them every year, 85 percent of that amount for irrigation.

**Assessments**

In 1990, under the heading of general studies, detailed assessments were made of 10 aquifers lying near the surface or at some depth.

In the area of planning, the most significant activities conducted in 1990 are the following: the continuation of studies pertaining to the master plans for the basins of the Sebou, Bou-Regreg, Oum Rbia, Tensift, Loukkos, Tangier, the Mediterranean coastal basins, and the Sous-Massa basin; the completion of the study of the Mou-louya basin; the start of a preliminary study that will lead to a master plan for water management activities in the basins of the Guir, Ziz, Rheris, and Draa; and continuation of the prefeasibility study for the national master plan for rural drinking water supply.

**Studies**

Among the economic studies conducted in 1990, a study for the supply of drinking water to the coastal zone of Kenitra-Casablanca from the Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah dam was completed. Work is continuing on an economic study of the Dchar El Oued-Ait Messaoud complex, an environmental impact study of the M'Jara dam and a study of fees to cover the costs of water supply.

In the domain of resource management, the main accomplishments of 1990 were an assessment of silting at five dams, the start-up of silt monitoring at six other dams, the start-up of studies of propagation and submersion in

the areas downstream of four dams, the start-up of studies on protecting the banks of three wadis, the continuation of studies for the pilot project to reuse waste water from certain cities and monitoring of the quality of subterranean water.

**The Nation's Resources**

Of the projects entrusted to contractors, construction of the Aoulouz dam on the Souss wadi, begun in 1989, is nearing completion.

The Ait Youb dam was completed and put in service in mid-December of 1990.

The country's water resources will be augmented in 1991 with the start-up of the M'Jara dam and the Hachef dam.

Another project under the 1988-92 plan is the Dchar El Oued-Ait Messaoud complex.

A total of six dams were built directly by the state: Joumoua, Blad El Gaada, Jorf El Ghorab, Tizguit (upstream), Agherghis, and Imaouene. Work has proceeded as planned on these projects and they are scheduled to be put into service in 1991.

Construction work on the Aricha, Douiss, and Ras Bel Firane dams is 90-percent complete.

Since 1984, 10 small dams have been built directly by the state. They have a combined storage capacity of 7.826 billion cubic meters.

The dams constructed under state control have rates of return that vary from 13 to 20 percent. Concern for providing employment guided the selection of highly labor-intensive construction techniques for these dams.

**Localized Needs**

Well-drilling activities in 1990 were focussed on meeting localized needs: 71 percent of these activities were devoted to rural water supply; the remainder involved urban water supply (3 percent), agricultural development (9 percent), resource assessment and the monitoring of ground water tables (14 percent), and the supply of drinking water to units of the Royal Armed Forces stationed in the southern provinces (3 percent).

The piezometric network for monitoring ground water sources has been expanded in recent years. At present 70 aquifers are being monitored. Nearly 20,000 readings were taken in 1990 from 1,904 piezometers distributed across the aquifers.

Surface water sources are assessed on the basis of several measurements, among them the flow rate of waterways and rainfall. Variations in the flow rate of the kingdom's primary waterways are regularly monitored at 226 hydrological stations, while periodic measurements of flow rate are taken at 1,000 points in the hydrographic network distributed across the kingdom's drainage basins.

**New Trade Union Holds Constituent Congress**  
*LD0312202991 Rabat MAP in English 1248 GMT  
3 Dec 91*

[Text] Rabat—The constituent congress of a new trade union "Syndicat National Populaire" close to the "Mouvement National Populaire" [MNP] was held in Rabat Sunday under the theme "Defense of Territorial Integrity, Achievement of Social Justice and Respect for the Moroccan Worker's Dignity."

In an opening address, MNP Secretary General Mahjoubi Aherdane explained the broad lines of the trade union's mission, which pledges to "defend national acquisitions, back the working class, see to the respect of its dignity, and promote cooperation and coexistence between all workers' organizations, as well as between employees and employers in the general interest."

Aherdane urged all the union members to "endeavor, in an atmosphere of dialogue, to reach the objectives of the working class."

Akkael-Ghazi who was elected secretary general of the union, underlined the union members' mobilization to defend the country's territorial integrity. He vowed to promote dialogue between employees and employers to reach satisfactory solutions.

The congress adopted the union statutes and elected provincial representatives to the union's national council.

**Students Injured in Demonstration; Prisoners on Strike**

*LD0512223991 Paris Radio France International  
in French 1830 GMT 5 Dec 91*

[Text] In Fez, Morocco, several students were injured or arrested on campus yesterday. This is what the opposition daily AL ALAM claims, specifying that the security forces intervened to disperse a demonstration. According to the paper, students could be seen with their faces covered in blood as they were being taken away to the police station. The demonstrators, who were acting in a responsible and disciplined fashion, writes the daily, were calling for improvements in working conditions.

Elsewhere in Morocco, on 23 November, six political prisoners held in Casablanca prison were transferred to Ain Sebaa prison in the district of Roches Noires on the edge of Casablanca. Since then they have been subjected to torture and mistreatment. They have been deprived of their personal effects. They have been in solitary confinement since 25 November. Since that date, they have gone on a hunger strike and are demanding the restoration of their previous conditions of detention, an end to the torture, the right to family visits, and for legal proceedings to be instituted against their torturers.

**Marrakech Court Jails 5 Students**

*LD1012134891 Rabat MAP in English 1240 GMT  
10 Dec 91*

[Excerpt] Marrakech—Five alumni of the Cadi Ayyad University were sentenced to five-year jail sentences Monday by the Marrakech Court of First Instance. The court announced its verdict in application of Articles 17 and 20 of the 15 November 1958 Dahir [decree], sending to jail Moussaoui Abderrahman, Fadili Abdelhak, Sabbar Abdelmoula, Haddouch Lahcen, and Abdenour Mohamed. The alumni were charged and found guilty of an armed gathering in the street, offense to a civil servant on duty, and physical abuse. [passage omitted]

**Country's Nuclear Energy Program Viewed**  
*92AF0153D Casablanca LA VIE ECONOMIQUE  
in French 22 Nov 91 p 15*

[Article by A. El Maleh: "Nuclear Energy: The Parts of the First Reactor To Be Sent to Mamora Next December; Morocco Intends To Strengthen Its Nuclear Program"—first paragraph is LA VIE ECONOMIQUE introduction]

[Text] Morocco will be equipped with its first nuclear reactor, a Triga Mark II<sup>1</sup>. This is a research reactor bought in the United States, whose first components will start arriving at the Nuclear Studies Center (CEN) in the Mamora forest, 27 km from Rabat, next December. The National Center for Nuclear Energy, Sciences and Technologies (CNESTEN), the kingpin of the Moroccan nuclear program, has already outfitted the CEN, which covers an area of 25 hectares and will be operational in 1993-94.

This will be a huge step forward in the nuclear sector for Morocco. However, nuclear technologies have been used in our country for at least one quarter of a century.

In fact, as far as "nuclear technologies" are concerned, a sector that keeps expanding and diversifying, we should note that Morocco has already benefited from nuclear technologies in medicine (intensive efforts to control cancer and other tumors), in agriculture (pilot experiments were performed by the INRA [National Institute of Agronomic Research] to increase soil fertility and improve crop yields), and in the industry.

**"Nuclear Spies" Among Us**

In the industrial sector, we should mention that nuclear technologies are already used by several state-owned companies. "Process control," in particular, is applied in certain units, such as cement works and sugar refineries<sup>2</sup>. In particular, these "nuclear spies" monitor product quality, and companies will use them extensively in the future. Nuclear technologies are also used in oil drilling.

Certainly, in Morocco, these technologies are used by foreign companies. But we should point out that, when it comes to water prospecting, these are proven, albeit

tentative, technologies. Actually "tracers" make it possible to locate ground-water tables and define their characteristics (renewable or not) and dimensions. Attempts have already been made with respect to insect control, especially in Marrakech.

The objective is to check the "bayoud" disease of palm trees.

Certainly, nuclear technologies cover other sectors that are just as important, e.g., medical equipment sterilization, food preservation (meat, fish, spices, produce). But, thanks to the acquisition of the "Triga Mark 2," the CNESTEN will work without respite to develop the country's nuclear sector. According to Dr. Aziz Houari, the CNESTEN general director, Morocco has all it takes to join the club of countries that have harnessed nuclear power.

#### Radioisotopes "Made in Morocco"

The Mamora site is in keeping with the immediate ambition of CNESTEN officials.

The CEN, which will receive the research reactor in two or three years, will enable CNESTEN cadres—some 40 high-level academics and engineers—to test the theoretical knowledge they have acquired in various foreign universities.

In anticipation of 1993-94, when the Mamora site will become operational, several departments have already been created within the CNESTEN.

These are the "nuclear reactor," "nuclear safety and radiation control," "nuclear technologies" (research and development and creation of a database), "radioisotopes<sup>3</sup> and nuclear physics," and "cooperation and development" departments.

Thanks to the "Triga Mark 2," the radioisotopes that Morocco has been using for nearly 25 years will now be produced locally.

The CEN which, in 1992, will be provided with a scientific and technical environment<sup>4</sup> worthy of the best nuclear centers in the world, will enable CNESTEN cadres to progress in scientific research and in the training of skilled personnel for companies and, if need be, for nuclear power plants.

#### International Cooperation: A Necessity

For CNESTEN officials, there can be no nuclear program without international cooperation.

According to Professor Ait Haddou, scientific and technical director of the center, this is an unavoidable process. "In this respect, independence is inappropriate," he said.

Within this context, the CNESTEN has signed several agreements with various countries, including France, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Argentina, and Malaysia. These

agreements do not cover only well-considered exchanges of experiments; they also involve additional training for Moroccan cadres.

For instance, cadres from the maintenance group have already been sent to Hungary for a suitable training period.

However, people at the CNESTEN pointed out, cooperation can and should also take place at national level. The state-owned companies which use nuclear technologies should cooperate with the Center at one stage or another.

[Box, p 15]

#### What Is the CNESTEN?

It is a public institution located in Rabat, created and supervised by the Ministry of Energy and Mines in order to serve as a scientific, technical, and industrial base for all of the country's nuclear activities. Created by Law No. 17-13, Decree No. 1-85-98 dated 14 November 1986, it is a financially independent legal entity.

#### Missions:

The tasks assigned to the CNESTEN, as defined in the law that created it, can be divided roughly into three categories:

A) To provide scientific and technical assistance to the launching, and possibly the implementation, of the future National Nuclear Power Program contemplated for the year 2,000, in close cooperation with all of the departments concerned, in particular: the National Electricity Office (ONE) and the Directorate of Energy of the supervising ministry. Such assistance shall be provided in fields such as personnel training, site-selection studies, the final choice of a nuclear reactor type, management of the fuel cycle (with the CNESTEN being exclusively in charge of fuel imports, storage, and distribution), processing of the resulting waste materials, and technical inspection and safety analyses of all of the country's nuclear facilities (at the request and on behalf of the State), etc.

B) To promote and coordinate at the national level all present and future uses of nuclear technologies in the country's various social and economic sectors.

C) To support and augment scientific research and teaching capacities, even beyond the scope of nuclear activities, thanks to the precious tool that the research reactor "Triga Mark II" of the Mamora CEN will represent for the country's universities and scientific institutions.

#### Footnotes

1. The research reactor purchased in the United States (\$8 million less the price of the Triga Mark I purchased by Morocco in 1978) has a power output of 1.5 megawatts. The quality of this reactor resides in its intrinsic

safety, as it has a negative temperature coefficient. Some 60 reactors of this type have been in use in various countries for the past 30 years.

2. Two sugar refineries out of nine already use this technology.

3. Radioisotopes are obtained essentially through neutron irradiation in research reactors operating at suitable power output levels.

4. The CEN, the site of which was acquired in June 1988, is already equipped with a modern weather station whose total cost is estimated at 3 million dirhams. Implementation studies were made by the CNESTEN with technical assistance from the Swiss consulting firm Electrowatt and experts from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

## SUDAN

### Goals of National Strategy Conference Detailed

92AF0120A Khartoum AL-INQADH AL-WATANI  
in Arabic 22 Oct 91 pp 3,4

[Article: "Initial Vision of National Strategy: Peace, Federal Rule, Establishment of Political System"]

[Text] Dr. Sayf-al-Din Muhammad Ahmad, director of the Strategic Studies Center, reviewed the initial vision of the national strategy. Following is what he said in his paper:

#### Introduction

The Comprehensive National Strategy Conference articulates the need for comprehensive planning to define higher national goals and steer all national endeavors toward them in an integrated, consistent, and systematic fashion. It is the prelude to a new phase in the course of the national salvation revolution that transcends the salvation phase to a comprehensive awakening. Moreover, it mobilizes all government and societal forces toward loftier objectives and goals, inspired by a revolutionary course that defies hardships and transcends the present-day living crises to higher objectives, thus turning the nation into a model that inspires other human societies and charts a revolutionary course in politics, sociology, ethics, economics, culture, and other aspects of life.

Since strategic planning does not emerge from a vacuum, accomplishments achieved so far, including: the administrative system as represented by the federal system option, the channels for dialogue in accordance with the popular conference system, the guidelines and foundations defined by the economic conference, efforts to reform the civil service, and the educational revolution; all these constitute a solid base for launching and developing strategic planning to ensure the orderly and systematic utilization of government and societal forces to achieve the desired ends.

Based on the above, and in compliance with it, this initial vision of the national strategy includes the following: national purpose, national goals, strategic guidelines, sectoral goals, and means.

#### National Purpose

The national purpose the government is seeking to achieve is the establishment of a comprehensive civilizational awakening that allows Sudan to establish its identity, liberate and elevate its people, and attain the power that can protect its existence and values based on the following constants:

1. **Power:** It means the development of the government's civilizational constituents and defensive capabilities in such a way as to guarantee an effective existence and progress.

2. **Freedom:** It means freedom, in the full sense of the word, to liberate the national will and achieve dignity for the nation and the people.

3. **Prosperity:** It means realizing an advanced standard of living for the people that underscores their human and social rights, meets their basic needs, and fulfills the nation's aspirations.

#### National Goals

The desired goal is to achieve comprehensive national security according to the following constants:

1. **Political goals:** to move Sudan from the phase of revolutionary legitimacy to the phase of constitutional legitimacy in accordance with an effective revolutionary advisory course; to achieve peace; to implement a unionist rule; and to establish a new political system

2. **Military goals:** to develop the country's defensive capabilities to protect its security

3. **Diplomatic goals:** to have a genuine political decision-making process free of foreign pressures; to enable the diplomatic authorities to implement policies and serve the country's interests; and to make Sudan politically effective, both regionally and internationally

4. **Social goals:** to make Sudan the best society in the developing world, in terms of religion, ethics, culture, standard of living, and environment, and to give precedence to and separate society from the state in most aspects of its life.

5. **Economic goals:** to enable Sudan to develop its economic capabilities to be in the forefront of the developing countries

6. **Technological goals:** to enable Sudan to acquire basic skills in the field of science and technology.

**Strategic Guidelines**

To achieve the aforementioned strategic goals, a number of guidelines in the economic, political, social, technological, national strategy, and military fields shall be adopted.

**Political Guidelines**

- The Sudanese people are the product of Arab-African intermingling over the centuries. This intermingling is the essence of the Sudanese identity. Sudan, with its religions, traditions, and cultures, is a nation qualified to build a civilized society buttressed by national unity that is the basis for an equitable distribution of power and wealth and active participation by all in public life.
- The political structure in Sudan is based on the affirmation of the people's power via their democratic institutions, popular conferences, and the federal system that is reinforced by its diversity. It is also founded on the advancement of the values of freedom, justice, and human rights, which are upheld by divine law and regional and international charters.
- Legal justice is based on the sovereignty and force of the law, and litigation before an independent and impartial judiciary is a right guaranteed to everyone.

**Economic Guidelines**

- All policies and economic and financial practices in the country stem from society's higher values.
- The overall economic activity in the country will be based on freedom of owning the means of production and consumer goods, and stimulation of economic activity by means of a guided-market mechanism.
- The government shall take upon itself to guide the economy to achieve equitable distribution of income and wealth to all segments of society and all provinces; development of production infrastructures and distribution of essential services to individuals and society, and adoption and promotion of strategic economic activities.
- The government shall employ economic policies to achieve social welfare and economic and financial stability, and provide a climate conducive to domestic and foreign investments.
- The government shall protect the freedom of economic and political decision-making through optimum mobilization of the country's economic resources and the release of their potential energies. It shall also follow policies that guarantee growing self-reliance and cooperation with others on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

**Social Guidelines**

- The human being is the goal and the means of social development.
- The family is the core of society, and it is essential to take care of it, to ensure its means of subsistence, and protect it so that it may carry its great societal responsibility.

- Social development is a joint effort and the product of combined action among the citizenry and the government. Popular participation is one of the constants of social care and development.
- Education is aimed at instilling religious belief and mature social traditions and values. It strives to bolster national unity, allegiance, and participation in building the country and protecting its environment.
- Sudanese society is a tolerant society that fosters cultural diversity and guarantees freedom of expression via the mass media and the various vehicles of cultural creativity.
- The continual updating of the education system's composition is essential for embracing its people's aspirations and keeping pace with its progress.

**Diplomatic Guidelines**

- Sudan is part of the Arab, African, and Islamic Nation whose unity it is striving to foster. Its foreign policy and international relations are based on compliance with the principles of freedom, justice, and peace, and on the resistance to all forms of oppression, racial discrimination, and hegemony. It seeks to reinforce efforts to build and develop the country and reinforce its security and stability through diplomacy.
- Sudan shall honor all regional and international pacts, agreements, and conventions. It shall make efforts, through regional and international organizations, to achieve justice and mutual cooperation, and to foster a good-neighbor policy based on mutual respect and benefit and non-intervention in the affairs of others, making special efforts to develop political, economic, and cultural relations with all the neighboring countries with a view to attaining peace and security in the region and prosperity for its people.

**Military and Security Guidelines**

- Defense of the country's security and territorial integrity is everyone's responsibility, and can be achieved by training and conditioning the armed forces to assume their combat missions, and by training the people, through military service and popular defense, to support the armed forces.
- The regular forces are responsible for the protection of the people's security, lives, and property, for the enforcement of court decisions, and for the protection of the nation's resources. The government shall make every effort to help them fulfill this role with competence and efficiency.

**Sectoral, Economic Objectives****A. Infrastructure**

- **Roads and bridges:** quadruple the number of roads and extend them beyond the political boundaries to link them to all the eight neighboring countries. Build bridges over the Nile and its tributaries in production and densely-populated areas
- **Railroads:** triple the size of the current system and link it to the neighboring countries' railroads. Raise its load capacity twentyfold



- **Trucks and tankers:** raise their capacity twentyfold
- **Air transportation:** build a nationwide air transportation system and upgrade airports and airstrips; turn Sudan into a regional and international air transportation center
- **Maritime transportation:** raise the current maritime fleet's capacity fivefold, restore Port Sudan and Sawakin harbors, and build more ports and docks
- **River transportation:** raise the current capacity twentyfold, restore the waterways, raise the number of Nile ferryboats, and expand the use of sailboats and rafts for river conservation
- **PTT:** Every major city and village shall be covered by a PTT and a direct-dial telephone system, as well as other postal services.
- **Computer systems and centers:** increase such systems and centers a hundredfold and link all political and commercial centers in Sudan to domestic and major international databases
- **set up transportation, communication, and information industries**
- **Storage:** raise the storage capacity at major production, consumption and export sites in keeping with the target increase in production; secure basic grain and commodities reserves while taking advantage of modern and traditional capabilities.

#### B. Irrigation and Water Resources

- full utilization of Sudan's current share of the Nile waters and additional water from al-Mashar, Jonglei, and other places
- construction of dams on non-Nile rivers, ravings, and seasonal ponds
- deal with the silt problem behind the reservoirs, build new ones, and raise the level of existing ones
- develop, modernize, and upgrade irrigation systems
- develop groundwater sources
- enhance rural and urban water resources to put an end to the potable water shortage and provide clean, sanitary water nationwide
- develop water windlass, driller, pipe, tank, and spare parts industry.

#### C. Agriculture

- triple the area of land irrigated by man-made and stream-water systems
- increase by tenfold the area of land irrigated by rain water
- increase by at least sixfold Sudan's grain production, and diversity and double the production of other crops such as medicinal and aromatic plants
- increase by fivefold the number of qualified farmers and support agricultural scientific research, institutes, and universities
- establish an agricultural machinery industry to achieve self-sufficiency in essential agricultural machinery and equipment.

#### D. Animal Resources

- triple animal resources

- develop animal breeding, and train herdsmen and ostrich owners
- increase by twentyfold animal and animal product exports
- eradicate endemic and pandemic diseases
- achieve self-sufficiency in basic sera and vaccines
- promote the veterinary profession and veterinary research.

#### E. Fish Resources

- develop the fishing industry
- expand the construction of fish farms in rivers, canals, and farms
- develop the canning and fish dehydration industry, and provide the necessary equipment.

#### F. Natural Resources

- develop forests and grazing land, and protect them against random grazing and logging
- preserve natural diversity and balance
- conserve and protect the soil against erosion, decomposition, desertification, and chemical pollution
- draw a national map for the preservation and utilization of natural resources.

#### G. Energy

- increase by tenfold hydroelectric and thermoelectric production, and optimize use of river and pond water and irrigation canals in electric-power generation
- develop solar, atmospheric, and biotic sources of energy
- construct a nationwide electric power grid
- achieve self-sufficiency in oil and natural gas, and open export markets
- acquire a domestic capability for oil discovery, production, and refining, and set up petrochemical industries.

#### H. Mining

- complete and update the geological and economic mineral charts
- complete mineral exploration operations, and prepare a mineral exploitation chart
- utilize raw minerals in domestic industries while focusing on [2 words missing].
- develop chrome, mica, gypsum, marble, iron, gold, precious stones, uranium, tungsten, tin, nickel, magnesium, lead, and zinc mines
- exploit minerals suitable for light industries to achieve self-sufficiency (magnesium, phosphate, etc.)
- enhance technological and human capabilities and channel financial resources commensurate with this sector's responsibilities.

#### I. Industry

- utilize to the fullest ideal energy for existing industries
- establish agricultural industries (fertilizers, insecticides, farm machinery)

- establish basic industries such as iron and steel, petrochemical, arms, electric power, electronic, automobile, packaging, building materials, and educational and cultural industries
- achieve self-sufficiency in the basic life-saving pharmaceutical industries and export the surplus
- increase the volume of sugar, textile, and leather exports to three times the local consumption volume
- increase the number of engineers by fivefold and the number of technicians by tenfold
- establish an electronics industry to produce radio and TV sets, communication equipment, and computers, and to provide maintenance and spare parts.

#### J. Economics and Finance

- increase the GNP twentyfold
- achieve equitable distribution of income and wages whereby no citizen will be deprived of the basic necessities of life, and wealth will not be controlled by a small segment of the population
- stabilize the domestic and foreign values of the national currency
- increase the volume of domestic trade exchanges and facilitate the movement of goods among the provinces
- increase the volume of exports by a rate consistent with the GNP target growth to finance imports for investment and consumption purposes
- increase investment by a rate consistent with the GNP target growth
- increase the rate of domestic capital contribution to investment financing
- finance government spending in a manner consistent with economic growth and monetary stability
- increase by tenfold the number of banking units and savings
- increase insurance by tenfold
- increase almsgiving, endowments, insurance funds, and government and private mutual funds by a rate equal to the GNP growth rate.

#### Social Objectives

- **Morals:** foster morality, good character, and adherence to what is good and right in form and substance. This can be achieved through educational programs, the information media, and religious guidance.
- **Family and Society:** give first priority to child care and allocate resources and provide special care to the handicapped and the gifted and talented; give youth the proper training they need to serve and protect society
- enhance female status and capabilities and give women equal job and production opportunities; free women of all forms of injustice and bias
- triple the marriage rate among people under 30 and help them meet their marital responsibilities; revive the joint marriage practice for widows and divorcees and lower the divorce rate
- combat poverty and stave off and eradicate the

- resultant social and moral perils such as homelessness, prostitution, and vagrancy
- promote solidarity, cooperation, kinship, and neighborliness
- combat racial bigotry and its various byproducts, including internecine fighting and refusal to enter into marital and intimate relationships for racial considerations
- combat evil deeds educationally and socially, fight them economically, and curb them legislatively, in particular crimes of murder, adultery, theft, and violence in general
- stimulate social action by tripling the number of charitable, social, voluntary, and missionary organizations
- develop human resources, upgrade the labor force, and promote production opportunities and equitable production relationships
- promote athletics for health, production, and defense considerations, and diversify sport activities, making them available to all the contemporary generations to bolster active Sudanese presence at regional and international sports events
- promote domestic tourism and upgrade its services to encourage the citizenry to take advantage of this opportunity to get to know their country and love and be proud of it, as well as to attract foreign tourists
- provide sanitary housing for all citizens, and universalize urban and rural planning to provide comfortable housing and social services; lower the cost of home building, making the architectural design compatible with the environment.

#### Population

- update the census and undertake a comprehensive count during the first year of the strategy
- redistribute the population to achieve growth and bolster national security
- advance demographic qualities and maintain a rate of population growth commensurate with geographic expansion.

#### Health Care

- make primary health care services accessible to everyone nationwide
- lower the infant mortality rate to less than 2 percent
- eradicate endemic diseases ring the vaccination rate up to 100 percent.
- increase by twentyfold the number of hospitals and beds
- lower the number of sick hours for workers to less than 20 percent of the current rate
- make medications fully available
- establish medical industries to manufacture hospital supplies, surgical instruments, medical requirements, and laboratory equipment; double the existing equipment to achieve self-sufficiency in basic medical supplies.

### Culture

- stimulate cultural activity by doubling the number of cultural organizations such as literary, poetic, and athletic associations; increase cultural production and performance, such as clubs, theaters, museums, and libraries (by tenfold) and increase the number of participants in these activities (twentyfold)
- train and raise the number of cultural activity leaders, missionaries, and preachers by twentyfold, and sponsor authors, poets, and innovators
- unify the country by making the Arabic language the main spoken language in Sudan, and boost and promote it as the colloquial and written language, thus making it the national language of education and culture; promote the other native languages, and enhance foreign language instruction
- promote the printing and publishing business with a view to turning Sudan into a major regional center for such activity; increase the number of published books and cultural activities such as plays and films (a hundredfold).

### Information Media

- enhance and upgrade media capabilities and put mass media services within the citizenry's reach
- integrate mass media activities, and coordinate them with educational, social, and familial institutions; guard them against all kinds of cultural invasion and subjugation
- bolster Sudan's media activities and influence at the world level, in the cultural and regional domain in particular, by diversifying radio and TV programming and enhancing radio and TV transmission nationwide; broadcast to the world in at least three languages, and improve the standard of the press and boost its circulation rates inside and outside Sudan (a hundredfold)
- furnish radios, TV sets, and telephones to all the citizens.

### Education

- universalize basic and elementary education and eradicate adult illiteracy
- develop technical education to bring it up to 60 percent of general education
- Provide professional and vocational training to meet the needs of the comprehensive strategy
- quadruple the number of schools, institutes, universities, academies, teachers, and lecturers
- universalize and upgrade on-the-job training for public and private sector employees.

### Political Objectives

- achieve constitutional and legal efficacy through codification and education; establish judicial bodies and achieve a measure of satisfaction with the rule of law and judicial performance
- complete the establishment of unionist rule and raise its efficacy

- achieve peace, rehabilitation, and resettlement, and balance growth
- establish an efficacious political order based on democratic participation and raise the rate of participation in public affairs to over 80 percent of the citizenry; bring up the rate of satisfaction with the regime's policies to 70 percent, at the very least
- complete the establishment of central, provincial, local, and specialized advisory boards, and improve their efficacy (standard of satisfaction)
- create a balance between society and the state to give society a great measure of independence, as well as precedence, in the areas of religious endowments, social security, philanthropy, education, cultural creativity, and private sector production
- achieve societal rehabilitation via political, social, and economic structures to assimilate the revolutionary spirit and concepts and to overcome all forms of revolutionary powers and hegemony.
- extend freedom of worship, religion, and expression and equal participation in public service
- achieve civil service efficacy and base its laws, convention, and ethics on public service and growth
- establish union, professional, and scientific organizations to serve society with a view to achieving higher production rates and broader participation (over 70 percent).

### Diplomatic Objectives

- develop Sudan's foreign relations and bolster integration and unity with neighboring Arab and African countries
- enliven popular democracy and develop cultural and social relations with Arab and African neighbors; achieve a measure of cultural presence in the region
- triple diplomatic representation and ensure its efficacy
- double trade and technical exchanges.

### Military Objectives

It is up to the competent authorities to draw up the guidelines, taking the following into consideration:

- train all those who have the ability to fight
- train and raise the efficiency of the armed forces, in number and readiness, to enable them to protect Sudan's borders and act as a deterrent defensive force to repel attacks and aggression
- upgrade the performance of security agencies through proper training and guidance, so that they may retain their commitment to society and its judicious principles.

### Cultural Objectives

- draw up a scientific research plan in all the various scientific fields, and tie them to development priorities and national strategy objectives
- upgrade and increase the number of scientific research centers

- institute a system and prerequisites for the acquisition and modification of imported technologies, and test the most appropriate ones using the strategy's objectives and data as a basis
- develop the ability to invent new technologies and develop existing ones used in rural handicraft industries.

### National Strategy

**Ideologically:** elucidate doctrines and concepts, and steer them toward this strategy's aims and objectives with a view to underscoring their positive meanings in terms of ideological commitment and pragmatic conduct, and formulate a pragmatic planning course compatible with material progress and high moral objectives able to establish a balance between them, and to tie them to the spiritual fortitude and material power necessary for human existence.

**Tactically:** utilize all political organizations and forums (central, provincial, local, and domestic governments, and conferences, councils, and secretariats) to espouse the plan and abide by and comply with it; and utilize educational, cultural, and informational institutions and the official and popular call to inform the people about the plan and its guidelines and requirements, to instill in them the aforementioned concepts, and to enlist their help for its implementation.

**Pragmatically:** The implementation and effectuation of this strategy calls for approval of the initial vision by the conference steering committee and its submission to the conference for ratification; and specialized committee action to draw up plans and programs in accordance with the following order:

- a study of basic data and statistics on the status quo in the various sectors
- a comparison between what is in place and what is required, in accordance with the strategic guidelines and objectives
- defining objectives and setting of priorities
- scheduling and preparation of interim plans
- drawing up a timetable for implementation
- defining qualitative and quantitative statistical precepts to measure performance and accomplishments in every field; Each sector will prepare a report based on the above.

### Final Report Phase

- The steering committee will convene to examine and coordinate reports submitted by the sectors, and to prepare the final report.
- The final report will be presented to the conference for ratification.
- The report will be presented to the National Constituent Assembly.
- The report will be presented as a comprehensive national strategic plan to the chairman of the RCC for submission to the council for approval.
- Follow-up: periodic follow-up every two years, using

performance standards and a work progress report as a guide.

### Information Under Al-Bashir To Reflect New Policies

92AF0151A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
20 Nov 91 p 5

[Article by Sayyid Ahmad Khalifah: "Al-Bashir's Assumption of Information Ministry: Retreat or Review of Some Policies"]

[Text] Jiddah, AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT—Until Lieutenant General 'Umar al-Bashir, the Sudanese Revolution [Command] Council chairman, begins implementing his new information policy, which he launched with a severe censure of the Sudanese media and with a promise to create a revolution in the media, the dismissal of former Sudanese Information Minister 'Abdallah Muhammad Ahmad will remain a mystery that requires an expert to decode its ciphers and explain its meanings, after clarifying its secrets, which are hidden to the common people.

The issue over which there is no disagreement at the Sudanese level is that the Ministry of Information has continued to be a source of difficulty and trouble for the leadership under both the military and the democratic administrations. The military regime views it as its mouthpiece and the democratic system tries to transform it into a living entity with considerable activity amidst seas of democratic media that make the Ministry of Information a mere sign or "pawn" in the entire democratic game.

At the outset of his administration, Lieutenant General al-Bashir tried to make the Ministry of Information and the Military Council's Information Committee a clamorous alternative to democratic media. Conflicting powers and overlapping roles between ex-Information Minister 'Ali Shammu and Information Committee Chairman Colonel Sulayman Muhammad Sulayman led to ousting both men from the field of information activity. Colonel Sulayman was dispatched to al-Jazirah to be its governor. 'Ali Shammu's resignation was accepted and he was replaced by Muhammad Khawjali Salihin, the man of transitional phases and the readily-available reserve. Salihin was succeeded at the Ministry of Information by 'Abdallah Muhammad Ahmad, the man for information tempests and storms in both the democratic and the military administrations.

But before we talk about 'Abdallah Muhammad Ahmad's surprise dismissal and his surprise appointment earlier, let us ask: For what does Lieutenant General al-Bashir fault the Sudanese media, that have backed and supported him and took a 180-degree turn to be with him?

In 1989, after days of preparing in the wake of Lieutenant General al-Bashir's coup, the regime's media performance was a reflection of the media of the

National Islamic National Front [NIF] and of its media allies. Nearly all or most of the people working in papers controlled by the information authority existing during the democratic era were appointed in AL-INQADH, the biggest newspaper of the new military regime. The rest were absorbed in AL-WATAN AL-HADITH, the regime's second-largest paper.

If indications of the relationship between the present regime and the NIF are [buried] in scattered statements here and there, the media's abovementioned performance is the biggest proof of the presence of an evident fallacy in the situation. The people cannot accept a formula that says that the new regime is national but its information is partisan.

After interpreting this formula correctly, any observer who says that the salvation [government's] media performance in support of the salvation policies has been a feeble performance would do this media an injustice and slight its great role in bolstering the regime's policies and actions, despite the regime's numerous faults. The emergence of cases of general deterioration in the various fields was due more to mistakes in the partisan performance preceding the salvation government. The presence of positives cannot be attributed to accomplishments by the military regime. This regime's biggest mistake to date is in its avoidance of the national path in its domestic policies. It has been eager to measure all Sudanese affairs with a narrow partisan scale. Never in Sudan's history has there been job discrimination between one Sudanese and another on the basis of one's old political color, as there is now. If this policy was applied at a very small scale in October 1964, then the man who advocated and applied it is Ahmad Sulayman, who is now one of the NIF leaders.

Perhaps the fault in the foreign policy is evident and has been acknowledged, since a committee has been formed under the chairmanship of Lieutenant General al-Bashir himself to eliminate duality and overlapping in the Sudanese regime's foreign policy. It has seemed as if this policy is a three-headed policy moving in obvious contradiction when Colonel Muhammad al-Amin Khalifah moves to perform his role in his capacity as the Military Council Officer in Charge of Foreign Relations and Peace, or when Dr. Hasan al-Turabi acts from his position as secretary general of the International Islamic Council. This activity is a political and partisan activity, and not the activity of a statesman whose foreign moves are governed by the rules, protocols, and interests of a country which has its problems and its relations that must be employed wisely, expertly, and flexibly to serve this country's interests and causes. There is, moreover, the Friendship Council, which competes and struggles openly to have a role in foreign policy. Between these three, the only specialized and concerned—or rather, eligible—authority, namely, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which has been infiltrated by some of the NIF politicians, leaders, and cadres—is absent from the picture.

To return to the media, the blessing the media give to these domestic and foreign policies and their advocacy of these policies, based on the "revolution's" plans and declared line, cannot be considered a contradiction with, and a departure from, the revolution's spirit and from its political concepts, unless Lieutenant General al-Bashir wants to state explicitly that the government wishes to retreat from and review its policies, and to take itself to a better position in its national domestic performance and to a position in foreign policy based on wisdom, reason, foresight, and on measuring issues with a mature national yardstick; not with the yardstick of the student unions and of some of the agencies of a party whose domestic and foreign policies have been long founded on a radicalism matching that of the "leftist revolutionaries" at the outset of the cold war. We mean here the NIF party.

While waiting for what Lieutenant General al-Bashir plans to do with his information line, the reasonable and acceptable alternative is not in slaughtering the media as the sacrificial lamb and as the only way to atone for past mistakes, which are fundamentally mistakes of policy, not media mistakes. In a totalitarian military regime, the media are a mirror reflecting the regime's policies. They are not permitted to make any initiative or offer any opinions beyond the framework of the policy established by the regime's leadership. Rather, people expect the change to be political, meaning that they expect the new media, led by al-Bashir, will find something new to reflect at the domestic and foreign levels, so it will then be logical to say that what has changed is the political decision-maker in Sudan, and not the party that reflects this decision, preaches it, and embellishes it, even if the decision is ugly (as in the case of job discrimination); expropriates people's money, imposing almost monthly increases on the prices of essentials in the market; or flip-flopping foreign currency policies, under which the same government that has executed its citizens for dealing in dollars now blesses and tends the policy of trading in hundreds of millions (of dollars) after calling this trade "commercial investment." We will conclude by talking about the surprise dismissal, or relief, of Information Minister 'Abdallah Muhammad Ahmad, who has been appointed ambassador at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Less than two months after 30 June 1989, it was announced that 'Abdallah Muhammad Ahmad had been arrested and kept under guard for a month and a half at a police station in North Khartoum on the charge of major financial violations at the government-owned Maritime Transport Company, whose executive board he chaired during al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's democratic administration. Both AL-INQADH and AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH published the indictment against 'Abdallah Muhammad Ahmad in August 1989, saying that his trial would offer decisive proof of the corruption of the parties and of their leaders. What was surprising is that in less than two months, the important partisan man was turned into the salvation government's "minister of

education." The new regime did not even wait for the man to be acquitted or convicted.

It was said at the time that there were family considerations which had their role in this sudden transformation from "defendant to minister." It was also said that the indictment against the man was purely military and issued by head of the committee that interrogated 'Abdallah Muhammad Ahmad, namely, a young colonel who found in his interrogation of Ahmad elements dictating an indictment. But the decision to appoint Ahmad as minister of education was a partisan decision with which he was rewarded for his old fundamentalist affiliation. Some say that Ahmad never severed this affiliation, that the man's bond was with al-Turabi's NIF, and that his presence in the Ummah Party was just a role which he played in the interest of the Islamists.

The added surprise in the issue is that Ahmad was dismissed, and his information policy attacked indirectly, while he was at the peak of his support and loyalty to the regime. He even tried to split the ranks of al-Ansar [al-Mahdi supporters] and to steer them away from the line of the central leadership that has been guiding them and reflecting their beliefs and their political position since the 1940s.

In the past two months, and shortly prior to his dismissal, the dismissed minister of information tried to organize a religious rally comprised mainly of al-Ansar to declare their support for the salvation government and for Lieutenant General al-Bashir. Though such action is permissible by virtue of the fact that al-Ansar are Sudanese citizens and that they may be polarized behind any policy or politician, the fact that this action was initiated by 'Abdallah Ahmad Muhammad, personally, makes it seem to be a divisive action planned by somebody who has no right to such action.

While awaiting Lieutenant General al-Bashir's new information policies, people must logically expect a fundamental political, not informational, transformation. The media existing prior to al-Bashir's control of the Ministry of Information is the media that accurately reflected his regime's policies and actions. People attest that those media were committed and accurate. They attest that, at times, those media went too far in their love, their exaggerated justification of mistakes, and in deceiving people and themselves.

People also understand now that a change can be made in foreign policy, which is the source of all problems in Sudan's policy, thus making the new media a reflection of this change and an element preparing for and preaching the change. Perhaps al-Bashir wants to say this, and perhaps he has chosen the media to make his statement.

## SYRIA

### Proceedings of Communist Party Congress Reported

#### Practice of Democracy Extolled

92AE0093A Cairo AL-NIDA' in Arabic 20 Oct 91 p 7

[Damascus: "World Convulsions Force Us to New Initiatives, Breaking Molds"]

[Text] The democratic climate and spirit of national and nationalist responsibility that we perceived during the Seventh Unified Conference of the Syrian Communist Party seem to be interrelated and pervasive.

It was practically the first time that Communists publicly affirmed that without this democratic climate and ground-level (and popular) participation in decision-making, the role in national and nationalist issues would become marginal and formal, at a time when the sweeping changes shaking the world are forcing our Communists in the Arab countries to deal with matters daringly, and learn the right lessons from the experience.

For if the "ideal" experiment in the Soviet Union and elsewhere has failed, along with internationalism, as it has been commonly understood for so many years, then the post-mortem must clarify a long series of practical and theoretical issues. There must be, as well, a conviction that there is no longer any real authority behind any communist, revolutionary, worker's, or democratic party other than its people, its nation, and the groups that speak for their agenda and struggle.

In the ocean of current events in the world, the Syrian Communist Party conference, which finished its work early this week, is especially significant. The delegates elected in the popular-level and preparatory conferences had to try to answer the hardest questions posed in our time and deal, at the same time, with the problems of their society, their homeland, and their party, and palpable problems that directly affect the party organizations and conference members, each in its region and place of action, and so on.

We mean, above all, that despite our respect and gratitude for the credibility of our Syrian comrades in the long preparation for their conference, when we received our invitation to attend the conference, we thought, "naturally," that there could not possibly be any serious discussion, frank proposals, or true democratic struggle in this conference, despite its public nature, and before the media and the large number of Syrian, Arab, and foreign guests!

Who knows? Perhaps the history of our societies, founded on repression, fear, detention, forced silence, domination and autocracy; perhaps this dark history has made us incapable of believing that a true conference, in an atmosphere of total democracy, could be held by the

Syrian Communist Party, with everything in it open to discussion and open to vote, from the largest issues to the smallest.

The international changes, and the deeper understanding of the needs of the people and country in Syria, have urgently pushed the Communists into making this unified step, and to take on the "risk" of a public and democratic conference of such breadth in this atmosphere.

### Conference a Victory Over Self

In fact, it must be remarked that the conference represented the party's victory over itself. True, it was an assimilating step between two communist organizations, preceded by phases of difficult and intermittent dialogue with a third organization (Khalid al-Bakdash's supporters). But the matter transcended this limited context to rise to meanings and factors of a victory over self, which the Communists tried to achieve and establish in their long preparations, and in the conference itself. For example:

- They feel the necessity for the party to exist, and the party's importance, despite all that has happened here and throughout the world, or more precisely, because of all that has happened here and throughout the world!
- They affirm that they see the need to rebuild the party on new foundations, not only because current events in the Soviet Union and the world require it; but basically because the course of party, national, and international action for the Syrian Communists imposes this rebuilding—putting the party, its leadership, and its whole "body" to a possibly fateful test.
- They also affirm that the re-examination must include the very mentality of party action, making allowances for democracy, the leadership's relations with the [popular] bases, the party's relations with people, and so on. The issue of democracy was a major and fundamental focus, taking over the reports and discussions.

### Disparity of Analysis; Insistence on Democracy

Despite the great difference in the evaluations and positions we heard throughout the four days, on subjects such as democratic centralism and organizational hierarchy; majority and minority; committees and their reforms; the individual, his control and exclusive power; and so on. Thus, despite contradictory, or at times even diametrically opposed, conclusions (among the "old style" hardliners in democratic centralism clinging to hierarchical reckoning common in Communist parties; those calling for its destruction in favor of free and direct balloting, and the election of the secretary-general himself at the conference; down to views from which is derived a party with leadership committees, though it is something from the bad old days; and views supporting

the establishment of a party with a liberal-type organization or giving very broad powers to regional, governorate, or district committees, except for greater national or popular issues, which would be reserved to coordinated leadership of the one party, etc.); despite this disunion and diversity, and the contradiction in the proposals and recommendations we heard or read about in the conference, it can still be said that more than 90 percent of the organizations, party delegates, independent party members, friends of the party, and intellectual Marxist personalities who had the chance to express their views. However, they gathered because of the need to create a specific formula, or formulas, guaranteeing a minimum of democracy within the party; guaranteeing democracy of action with supporters and friends and in dealing among member parties in the National Progressive Front [NPF]; and democracy in organizations for the masses in committees representing workers, peasants, students, youth, women, intellectuals, the free trades, and so on.

We perceived the sacredness of the democratic issue, despite the extreme disparity of opinions and proposals, and despite the large number of presentations that might have been considered tantamount to an invitation to abrogate or cancel some of the broad democratic-leaning recommendations in the report by the two parties' central committees merging at the conference, or the one on "Political and Intellectual Directions and the Missions for which Syrian Communists Now Struggle." This is a document already prepared by the two parties' leaderships' joint committee—and presented for general discussion in the party organizations, its press, and in communist and other national circles—by a resolution from a joint Central Committee meeting held last July 12.

### Rush To Practice Democracy

Some of the proposals may have led to an "about-face" on the democratic issue itself, as some of the participants in the conference feared, or a "brilliant" return to democratic centralism, not just a cover for perpetuating centralism at the expense of democracy, but even this matter does not rule out the existence of these proposals coming democratically from the popular bases and party districts. Also, as to the proposals calling for the total cancellation of any kind of hierarchy, or crediting "confederal" solutions inside the party, these are also from the party bases.

Not only that—merely the ample openness and democratic climate of the conference encouraged the delegates to debate frankly, objectively, and boldly. Astonishing talents were revealed. We saw and sensed them in many presentations—most of them had previously been effaced, ignored, or repressed.

The vital link between the demand to develop the democratic experiment in Syria and the demand to release democracy in the Communist party was not an artificial link. Dozens of the summarized presentations

we heard excelled at presenting the essential reasons for making a diverse and complex step in Syrian political life.

While presentations and responses from some party leaders during the sessions confirmed that the mistake was the Communist party's, too, not just the Ba'th Party's or the political leadership's—that "we, the Communists, were not always the people to do our part or commit ourselves at the Front and popular levels, etc.,"—this did not prevent the delegates from moving the critical process and the elucidation of democracy to a higher and more outspoken level. Some of the presentations dealt with very important and "sensitive" (so to speak) matters, some of which—and there were a great many—were:

- speculation about "revitalizing the NPF," its "failure to assume an effective role," and "its inability to contribute, even from the democratic margin"
- criticism over reasons for the breakup and weakness of several parties in the NPF
- persistent questions on the situation of this or that popular organization, and linking this with the perceived distance between the youth and politics as a whole, from the spreading of waves of despair and hopelessness, psychological disorders, modern conflicts and old oppressive trends
- questions about the continuance of practices and discrimination against certain factions in several regions or social strata in Syria, both in jobs or public activity; the failure of the NPF's, and even the Communist Party's, ministers and parliamentarians to do their part to deal with these matters and demands, to correct wrongs and achieve the justice, equality, and freedom that the constitution charges them to
- presentations dealing with feudal-type violations and domination in certain parts of Syria, so that "agricultural reform had not been applied yet," in the words of the delegates, who accused the authors of the party's reports of "not knowing what was happening on the ground in some rural areas"
- Of course, many of the delegates brought up the issue of the absence of an open press in several of the NPF parties.
- At the internal party level, some of the delegates and unelected speakers, or those not organized in specific party organizations, were afraid that the four days of the conference would be "only a democratic excursion," after which there would be a return to autocracy and the domination of resolutions. There were frank or implied responses to these fears, such as that the guarantee was in the party bases themselves; that, for those would elect them to membership in the Central Committee, "it will be up to you to judge them constantly, to compel them to practice democracy, to continue party reform and development, to pursue the masses' economic and political issues and issues affecting the country and the Arab nation, in accordance with what you said in your presentations. And if you do not make the leadership answerable,

whomever they may be, then you will be responsible if matters do not go the way you want them to." This is perfectly sound logic.

There are always doubts, and the democratic experiment is still young. Some say that "he who burns will be burned," and that "bureaucracy is capable of using any reform, any new internal order, and turning them to its own interest," etc. Other diametrically opposing views were raised, speaking of the need to urge total confidence in the democratically-elected leadership, although it was absolutely essential that there be constant monitoring by the party bases as a fundamental guarantee that grave mistakes would not be made and that the party not be allowed to get "flabby," or absent itself from the scene of popular struggle, parliamentary, governmental, and Front action, and its nationalist duties.

### One Section Not Enough

It was striking when one delegate said that it was "futile to deal with the collapse of other parties and ignore our own collapses"; that "you are turning this conference into a speech-making festival with prefabricated interpretations." Another delegate said, in his discussion of the conference's main document: "The document devoted one summarized, divided section to the issue of democracy. I would have liked for democracy to have been the guiding spirit [of the document], not just a section." Another delegate opined that what was needed was "a democratic program to lay out clearly our people's right, and the citizens' right, to live in freedom and honor."

One of the presentations resorted to the language of psychiatric analysis, saying, "True democracy creates men and offers heroes in defense of the people and the homeland, the occupied Golan and usurped Palestine; delusory democracy creates impotent men and builds twisted ideas, and does not give men the meaning of manliness."

Another delegate gave a presentation on "The Detachment of the Communist Party and NPF Parties From the Common Man." He affirmed that "strengthening democracy will be good for government, too."

### Three Specialized Committees

There were differences, contradictions, and disparities in analysis and conclusion, but none of this diminishes the importance of the experiment we witnessed. These important models, among them the actions of the Syrian Communists' conference, increase the importance of the experiment.

Of course, the conflict between the bittersweet sayings of the "old," and the proposals of the "new," with all its promise, was prominent in the business of the conference, both in the main hall and in the committees elected at the end of the conference's first day. Willing conference members were appointed to a number of committees, most prominently:



- a committee to discuss "Political and intellectual directions, and the missions for which Syrian Communists strive," a document alluded to above. It was formed by a joint committee of the leadership of the Syrian Communist Party "Popular-level Organizations." This committee has a difficult and complex task: finding a way to balance the flood of proposals and suggested changes from regional, popular-level and other conferences, or those that were laid out during the conference sessions.
- a second committee, with the job of studying and discussing a plan for the Syrian Communist Party's internal system and offering changes to be presented to a conference general session. It was noticed, in this regard, that the proposals were many and various, some going beyond what came up in the organizational document, to the point of demanding that the present conference be considered a transitional conference. It demanded the election of a temporary central committee for a maximum period of a year, and a politburo and secretary-general for a year as well. After this, an extraordinary party conference would be called to continue the discussion "taking place in the present conference," and to settle the larger issues related to the party, its policies, and a new internal system. The new leadership would be elected on the basis of this new system, and it would be truly democratic.
- The third committee's task is to set plans for the decisions, recommendations, and salutations that came up or were presented in the conference's general session.

The conference attendees met day and night, while white smoke rose from the hall of the Youth City, and a new central committee was elected to take on huge tasks requiring both the vitality of youth and the wisdom of age. This was what the conference members tried to take into account. They chose a mix of experienced strugglers, middle-aged cadres, and the youngest in age. (In the conference, it had been remarked that the appointees were getting relatively older—the average age of conference members is 45—and that the rate of university graduates and intellectuals was very high, at the expense of workers and peasants, according to what many people said in their critical presentations.

The conference also tried to manage the representation of the two merged sections in this unified conference, and to take into consideration the need to snap up some of the Communists who had moved aside to avoid one thing or another, for many and diverse reasons. Some of these were outstanding and had prominent social, union, or cultural roles.

#### Communique Reported

92AE0093B Beirut AL-NIDA' in Arabic 20 Oct 91 p 7

[Eight Resolutions, Leadership Committees' Election]

[Text] The communique issued after the Seventh Unified Conference, held in Damascus 11-14 October—after

discussing four major reports and working papers and listening to 20 presentations by party organizations and more than 60 individual presentations—stated that the party adopted several recommendations and resolutions and elected party central committees in an atmosphere of far-reaching democracy.

The communique began by saying that the conference was attended by more than 300 delegates elected in party organization conferences inside and outside the country, 21 comrade observers, and a large number of guests—old party members, union members, philosophers, and intellectuals. The opening session was attended by representatives from all the National Progressive Front [NPF] parties, from organizations representing the masses, a large number of intellectuals, members of Arab Communist and workers' parties, liberation movements, officials of Palestinian revolutionary factions, a large number of European and Mediterranean Communist parties, several Kurdish parties, and a number of ambassadors.

The communique touched on the speeches given at the opening of the conference (covered by AL-NIDA' at the time), adding that the conference had received more than 45 salutations.

Turning to the points discussed in the four-day conference, the communique said that a report from the unified party central committees, a report on "Political and Intellectual Directions and the Missions for Which Syrian Communists Now Struggle," an internal system plan, and an agricultural paper were discussed.

It touched on the discussions that took place "in a spirit of democracy and renewal, and a spirit of international responsibility towards the nation, the people, and the party." The conference formed three committees (see other news item).

The resolutions were as follows: a salutation to President al-Asad; a resolution on the liberation of the Golan Heights; a resolution on the Palestinian intifadah; one on solidarity with the Iraqi people and Iraqi victims of repression, Arab, Kurdish, and others; a resolution on solidarity with Soviet Communists; a salutation to the Cuban Communist Party and its martyrs; and a resolution on the unity of Syrian Communists.

The conference elected a central committee and an inspection and financial review committee, and concluded its business with Yusuf Faysal's closing speech.

#### New Politburo

92AE0093C Beirut AL-NIDA' in Arabic 20 Oct 91 p 7

[Text] The Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party, which was elected in the Seventh Unified Conference, held its first meeting on Friday, 8 October, and Yusuf Faysal was elected secretary general of the Central Committee. It also elected its politburo:

Yusuf Faysal, Daniel Ni'ma, Murad Yusuf, Khalid Hammami, Ra'fat al-Kurdi, Ya'qub [Kiru], Yusuf Nimr, Fayiz [Jallamij], Mahir al-Jajah, Radwan Mursi, Nayif [Qatibah], Dr. Faruq [Duray'i], Ansi Qassam, 'Abd-al-Jalil [Bahbuh], 'Adnan [Kizzawi], and Husayn 'Amru.

### Yusuf Faysal's Closing Speech

92AE0093D Beirut AL-NIDA' in Arabic 20 Oct 91 p 7

[Article: "We Must Learn Dialogue"]

[Text] In his closing speech to the conference, Yusuf Faysal said that the conference had "inaugurated the process of unification. We have started one party with the same intellectual, political, and organizational orientations; we have elected unified central committee." He said that from this moment "we will seek the restorative spirit of the democracy of the conference."

In his summary of preliminary conclusions, Faysal stated that "What we (the conference and its preliminaries throughout the country) have done, may give us and other political powers a style of pursuing and broadening democracy, pushing true party life forward, and making political pluralism a palpable reality."

"We hope that our experience will pass this spirit on to our comrades and Arab brothers."

"We are proud of the experiment in broad, frank, and rich discussion throughout the four days, for our people to see and hear, and we expect to develop the experiment. We must all learn democracy, and learn to use dialogue with one another and with others. Dialogue is the only means we have for seeking the truth."

"Important steps have been made on the road to organizational and intellectual renewal, but we aim still higher. Renewal is not just a word, it is a continuing operation. Renewal is no longer a demand that bases make of high committees; it is everyone's demand."

"The idea was to secure Syria's national policy and safeguard achievements. We are not an opposition party, nor are we a ruling party. We are a responsible party participating within the framework of the alliance with the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party in the government, the parliament, and local administrative councils. A number of its members have lofty responsibilities. [passage omitted in text] This imposes an even more profound struggle upon us, in serving the people's demands [passage omitted in text]. We protect this nation from the treachery of Zionist enemies and the plots of the American imperialists."

"Strengthening the alliance and developing the NPF—We want higher wages for all workers, peasants, and toilers. We want to strengthen the single national fabric. We want our country to be one front against our lurking enemies, who want to deprive us even of a drop of water."

Faysal thanked the parties, countries, and persons who attended the conference in the name of all participants, and saluted President al-Asad and the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party "for all the help they extended for this event to take place. It is no secret to anyone that the president of the republic has followed the activity of this conference and taken an interest in its results."

At the regional and international level, the speech criticized American exploitation of present conditions in order to impose unipolar domination, to allege that socialism had collapsed, and that capitalism was the last word and the eternal system. He added, "Our conference, which has expressed the will of our party to renew itself, has taken the measure and lessons of the changes and collapses. It has reaffirmed its adherence to the Marxist path and the path of dialectical materialism as a basic analytical tool. It has reaffirmed its adherence to the socialist option, continuing the struggle—with all Arab, national, and progressive forces, and in the world against the efforts of imperialist hegemony—to liberate the Golan and all our occupied territories, and for a just and lasting peace in the region. This conference represents, in our view, a bright light and indicator of the will of the peoples and progressive forces to achieve their complete liberation and build a world without wars, oppression, or hunger."

"We reaffirm that our whole world must change, and that the efforts of imperialism to impose its domination will meet with mounting resistance and will fail."

### UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

#### Writer Discusses Democracy, Political Participation

92AE0087A Al-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic  
29 Sep 91 p 6

[Article by 'Ali 'Abdallah al-Muna'i: "Democracy Accepts Neither Gradualism Nor Delay"]

[Text] There is continual talk concerning issues of human rights and the question of democracy, especially political participation, but it is idle conversation, particularly at this stage. This stage has produced many political programs and activists on the world scene in regard to democracy and human rights. There is some progress, implementation, and success, and some withdrawal, downfall, and defeat. A quick look at world political events and developments today will show us that there is significant development in the emerging dawn of democracy, as well as an appreciation for human rights in some countries of the world. Events in Eastern European countries, as well as heroic attempts by the people of certain Third World nations, such as India, Bangladesh, and some Asian and African countries, confirm that. In contrast, we see that the program of democracy and its activists in certain other countries are in retreat, or rather, are being crushed. The peculiar thing here is that the new world order that certain world

powers are attempting to propagate, gives evidence of glaring inconsistencies with regard to this question. The leading, and perhaps only, proponent of this new world order, preaching it and most concerned about it, is the United States, which practices a policy of clear inconsistency in this regard, within a policy and framework of its own special interests. In most cases, they are contrary interests, not the interests, will, and rights of other people; but rather, contrary to and incompatible with the avowed policy of that great nation.

The United States is using political, media, economic and, perhaps, security pressures against certain nations and their policies under the pretext of achieving democracy and upholding human rights. This is what we see the United States doing on the Soviet scene and in the countries of Eastern Europe, while it pursues another role contrary to that and incompatible with its declarations about other international events. For example, there is the United States' shameless role in crushing democracy and human rights in many Third World countries—South Korea, Pakistan, Philippines, Chile, Panama, certain African countries, and the Arab nation. Perhaps in its relations with certain dictatorial and repressive regimes, such as South Korea, South Africa, and Israel, its true interests and claims in this regard are revealed, as well as its glaring overt and covert inconsistencies.

However, despite all the retreats and downfalls of the democratic experience, program, and activists in certain countries today, and despite all attempts to crush and delay democracy; human rights issues and the question of democracy will continue as the main defense of the movement and activists of people today, until that democracy is established and human rights are upheld in all countries of the world. These issues are based on a group of main principles, including political participation, rotating power, and the establishment of multiple human freedoms, from freedom of speech and expression, to freedom of belief and organization, to freedom of the press and other freedoms.

However, talking about issues of human rights and the question of democracy is idle chitchat on the international scene, but it is even more so on the Arab level. The many attempts to establish and build it in our Arab nation are answered by violent and crushing reactions, either from within or from foreign powers hostile to the simplest of Arab human rights to freedom, justice, and progress. At the head of these powers is Israel and the United States.

Despite that, forces with an interest in democracy and in establishing Arab human rights will continue to grow, propagate, and prepare. Forces hostile to that are multiplying, diversifying, propagating, and preparing, both domestically and abroad.

### Illiteracy and Democracy

Regarding the question of democracy and the extent of its application in our Arab nation—of which the Arab

Gulf is a principal part—two separate dialogues have emerged between me and two colleagues, one of whom considers the problem of applying democracy in our Arab nation to be a national interest, since the application of democracy is a basic input for the solution of all problems that our Arab nation faces, whether security, political, social, economic, or cultural problems. This is especially true at this stage, when the circumstances of our Arab nation on all levels have reached a "less than zero" degree at times, i.e., a degree that is incapable of being dealt with by delay or silence. The way out is clear, and will not permit delay or postponement, not even piecemeal. The way is democracy; democracy chosen by the majority.

One of my colleagues is a pessimist on the extent of applying democracy, claiming that we are people in whom literary and cultural illiteracy is wide-spread, and in whom social and cultural values contrary to democracy are deeply rooted, with all of that deeply embedded in our cultural and psychological being. How can we establish and apply democratic values in a society that contradicts democracy with its social and political values and beliefs, and the human and cultural behavior of its individuals? Thus, the solution as he suggests, is to delay democracy, and especially political participation, until we put an end to literary and cultural illiteracy. This logic is used as an excuse by all anti-democratic forces in our Arab nation—I think that this colleague of mine is not alone. When you ask them: Why are they installing a comprehensive democratic system in our Arab country? They reply to you that "it is colonialism and illiteracy, and you claim that colonialism has gone, while illiteracy has remained. That is the new colonialism, which you frighten us with. The lack of your democracy is justified."

I said to my interlocutor, "We don't disagree about the importance of education and the spread of scientific, educational, and cultural awareness. However, the dispute between us is: Is literacy one of the results of democracy, or is it a cause of it? We don't wish to be like someone who puts the cart before the horse. Education does not precede democracy; on the contrary, it is its counterpart. Before that, it is its result. If we delay democracy until after education, then we delay its establishment and spread—which is the logic of putting the cart before the horse—what is the political system, what type is it, that will precede the spread of education, and to which the spread of education becomes the priority in its program? Naturally, you will agree with me that one cannot imagine the occurrence of a political vacuum. A political system must precede the spread of education. Logic and history tell us that the political system is either a democracy based on freedom and participation, or a dictatorship hostile to freedom and participation. Therefore, the system that will precede the establishment of teaching and the spread of education is either democracy working to achieve this, or a dictatorship hostile to education and its spread, and to teaching and its establishment. What is the identity of our Arab political

system that will precede the spread of education and combat illiteracy in all its forms? If it claims it is for the spread of education, the political system must definitely be democratic. Democracy will not accept fragmentation, nor stop short of spreading education. Education is only one of its supports, because democracy is far more than that, more comprehensive. Otherwise, it would be a dictatorship hostile to freedom and democracy and, accordingly, hostile to education and its spread, to cultural instruction, and to political and social awareness. When it is alleged that democracy should be put off until the spread of education, that is a deception that does not deceive any man, because it definitely will not spread education, since its intentions are anti-democratic. Both education and democracy are mutually supportive, and one cannot be separated from the another."

Moreover democracy, the democratic way, and democratic decision-making are established with political and social development. Whenever democracy is put off, you delay education and training. Anti-democratic illiteracy is deeply rooted in emotion, mind, and behavior. Does my dear colleague say that the values of our Arab society are anti-democratic, as the enemies of democracy among intellectuals and politicians claim? Is not this hostility artificial, unnatural, and out of proportion? Is not this hostility the result of delaying democracy, as well as the result of its not being applied and established? Is it not the result of a ruthless campaign of hostility to democracy in our Arab nation? Therefore, let us begin democracy. It will sweep away every vestige of illiteracy in our Arab nation, or rather, it will clear away all those anti-democratic values. Let us put the horse in front of the cart. That would be logical, that is the correct, sound, and healthy way for [curing] most—and I did not say all—political, social, security, and cultural illnesses from which our Arab nation suffers in all its countries.

### Why Delay?

As for my second colleague with whom I have a dialogue about democracy in our Arab nation, he is an optimist (unlike my first colleague) about the extent of the application of democracy and its need, certain about the awareness and understanding of the decisive need for democracy's application, sure that democracy is coming and is the solution for most—we did not say all—the Arab problems. This includes the problem of not appreciating freedom and human rights in our Arab nation.

His question was about the spreading of false rumors that we are an undemocratic people who do not value democracy. Was this view correct? The dialogue was also about his second question, regarding the reason for the delay of democracy in our Arab nation—i.e., why put off democracy in our Arab nation?

There is agreement that rumors about our being an undemocratic people who put no store in democracy are untrue and unsound. What is the measure of that? Should democracy be applied in our Arab nation, and is

the popular position on that negative and rejectionist? We must measure the credibility of this view.

As to why democracy should be delayed in our Arab nation, that is a matter of extreme importance. Many conferences, forums, and studies have been conducted on that. The responsibility for all of them was borne by foreign powers and Arab political authorities at home. Despite sincerity and its logic, objectivity, and its reality, it is not enough, for the following reasons:

1. Democracy takes and doesn't give. The struggle between democratic forces and those who benefit from it, which is the majority; and the anti-democratic forces, or those who oppose it, is continual and has multiple facets. Ancient and modern history in many parts of the civilized world confirm that for us. Accordingly, if the Arab people expect democracy to be a gift from within, they will not get it. If they believe that outside forces will provide democracy to them, as many of our intellectuals believe, especially at this stage in which the struggle is being intensified over the application of democracy in many countries of the contemporary world, they are ignorant of history and of the facts of modern life. Our intellectuals are self-deluding and isolated. They avoid these facts. Therefore, the Arab forces calling for democracy have to wake up from their dream and not rely so much on the foreign factor. Perhaps the foreign factor will be hostile—and that is, in fact, the case—to democracy in our Arab nation. The fact is that the perception of interests of this foreign factor, represented by international forces led by the United States, decrees their hostility to democracy in our Arab nation because their interests, for the most part and for the immediate future, are inimical to the interests of the Arab people and their nations. Democracy is the foremost threat to these foreign interests, whether strategic, economic, or other.

### Islamists and Nationalists

2. As I said before, we must not hang our errors on other people's coat racks. Arab forces with an interest in democracy, whether Islamist, nationalist, liberal, or leftist, made a strategic error in their thesis regarding values and Arab reality. This is a fragmentary and distorted concept of democracy, because democracy's invariables, such as political participation, rotation of power, respect for human rights and its freedoms, are not incompatible with Arab values and reality. On the contrary, it is on the first rung of these values, and retreating from it on this rung would be a plus for the vicious anti-democratic campaign in our Arab nation. Accordingly, these forces must retract their strategy. They will definitely find that democracy's invariables and pillars are compatible with higher Arab interests. Their interests should be as a political force achieving democracy.

As for the second force—nationalism—its strategy has backed away from the values of democracy. It has given priority to social change and the question of Arab unity. That is one factor of democracy's setback, or rather the setback of social change and Arab unity. The conflict was

between the wings of nationalist forces over the place of freedom and democracy in its strategy and ideology, that is, should we value democracy and establish it first, or should we achieve unity and insure its establishment before that? The dialogue and the conflict delayed the attainment of democracy and, perhaps, helped to cause its relapse. The nationalist forces must reconsider their strategy and place the question of freedoms, democracy, and human rights on the top rung of that strategy and ideology, and in the attention of their cadres, so that we can insure the attainment of Arab unity and the establishment of social justice as well.

### Problem of Westernism

As for the forces of liberalism and the leftists in the Arab nation, they are undoubtedly forces with a basic interest in democracy. Their political and ideological westernism, however, has cast doubt on the credibility of their thesis and endorsement of the Western democratic formula by the liberals, and Marxism by the leftists, has made them incapable of achieving true democracy, since the majority of the Arab masses are farther away from them than from the center of democracy. In addition, their thesis of the Western democratic formula or Marxism makes them subservient to them. This in turn has led to subservient formalism, which has weakened their role and cast doubt on the credibility of their theses. Therefore, they must totally reconsider their strategy and understand that they are not in tune with the Arab majority's view of democracy. Subservience and ideological and cultural westernism weaken those forces and make them a justification and support for the anti-democratic forces in their vicious attack against democracy and Arab political, economic, social, and cultural human rights, or rather, against humanity.

3. All efforts of Arab forces with an interest in democracy must be integrated and coordinated in order to confront the anti-democratic forces, and those pro-democratic forces must adopt the methods of democratic confrontation. It is one of the ways out of the crisis of these forces to oppose this withdrawal of values and the democratic system in our Arab nation, so that the principle of "lose something, don't give it," is not applied. All forces with an interest in democracy in our Arab nation must make democracy's activists, programs, and values the basis of governing the relationship, either among themselves, or between them and their domestic forces—i.e., their cadres and masses—or between them and the anti-democratic forces opposed to them. Today we are in dire need of establishing the values and methods of democracy among the institutional forces with an interest in democracy in order to achieve democracy at the lowest cost.

Among the reasons for democracy's retreat and relapse in our Arab nation is that the institutional forces—our political parties, unions, federations, etc.—have not been anxious to establish the values and practices of democracy as a system of operation among their cadres,

which marginalized democracy, even within its theoretical models. It also planted anti-democratic values even among forces with an interest in it, and isolated new dictatorial forces and values even among forces and institutions calling for democracy, which made it easy for anti-democratic forces in our Arab nation to crush it, not just delay it.

Those are some of the subjective factors that helped to marginalize and delay, or rather, smash democracy in our Arab nation. Because of them, the Arab forces with an interest in democracy must reconsider their political and organizational programs, first among themselves, and then between them and other forces resisting democracy, for the purpose of finding a formula to build institutions that will guarantee the values, models, and invariables that will achieve and maintain democracy in our Arab nation, even achieve comprehensive democracy, neither piecemeal nor delayed.

### Chemical Industries Report 1990 Production, Payroll

92AE0085A *Al-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic*  
9 Oct 91 p 8

[Article: "Al-Shariqah Chemicals Industry Has 61 Major Plants"]

[Text] In 1990, the number of major facilities operating in the chemicals and products industry in al-Shariqah reached 61, with a total capital investment of 64 million Emirian dirhams, of which citizens contributed 53.4 percent of the total capital.

Moreover, the value of plant production in this sub-sector amounted to 431 million dirhams during 1990. There are 1,914 persons employed in this sector, whose total wages and salaries amount to 49 million dirhams annually, i.e., an average of 25,600 dirhams per worker per year.

In a study prepared by the Studies and Statistics Office of the Economics Administration in al-Shariqah, the office divided the chemicals industry into three parts, including the plastics industry, in which 13 large plants operate. The capital of one of them is more than 150,000 dirhams, and there are more than 10 workers per facility. Total capital is 34.1 million dirhams, of which citizens contributed 21 million dirhams. They have a total staff of 753 persons, whose annual payroll totals 19.4 million dirhams.

The production value in the plastics industry for 1990 was 219.3 million dirhams, which represents 51 percent of total production in the chemicals industry.

The study pointed out that in the fiberglass industry, there are 13 facilities, with a capital of 17.2 million dirhams. The citizens' share of this is 14.5 million dirhams. The industry employs 344 persons, with an annual payroll of 7.221 million dirhams. The fiberglass industry's production in al-Shariqah for 1990 was

27.739 million dirhams, which is 6.4 percent of the chemicals industry's total production value.

There are 35 other plants operating in the chemicals industry sub-sector, representing 57.4 percent of the chemicals industry's total facilities, with an investment capital of 70.3 million dirhams, i.e., 57.8 percent of total capital used in the chemicals industry. The citizens' share in these facilities amounts to 29.4 million dirhams, or 41.8 percent of the total capital invested in other facilities.

Furthermore, the production value of the plants in the third section of the chemicals industry, described in the study as "other," totaled 184 million dirhams. This figure represents 42.7 percent of total production value in the chemicals and products industry. There are 777 persons employed in this sector, with a 1990 payroll of 22.231 million dirhams.

### GNP Increases 6 Percent Despite Gulf Crisis

92AE0085B Al-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic  
7 Oct 91 p 9

[Article: "Emirates Economy Overcomes Crisis; Industrial Production Was 9 Billion Dirhams"]

[Text] Hasan 'Abdallah al-Nawman, first vice president of the United Arab Emirates' [UAE] Chamber of Commerce and Industry and president of al-Shariqah's Chamber of Commerce and Industry, stated that total production for the industrial sector reached approximately 9 billion Emirian dirhams, compared with 176 million dirhams in 1972.

He added that the number of industrial plants has grown to 8,380, of various kinds, distinguished by quality production and standards.

In a speech published by the magazine AL-SINA'AH, produced by the General Industrial Organization in Abu Dhabi, al-Nawman stressed that "despite this major achievement, we still have the goal of strengthening the industrial sector through increased development in terms of volume and diversity of production."

He called for the elimination of certain negative elements that form a barrier to rapid industrial development. Foremost of these is duplication of industrial projects, not only at the UAE level, but also within individual emirates as well.

Al-Nawman also asked that attention be paid to the program of domestic and foreign coordination, because stimulating sales activity is important to promote industrial products and open more distribution outlets for them and, consequently, increase and improve the volume of production. Al-Nawman called on the visual, audio, and print media to allocate reasonable space in their programming to identify national products and encourage the people to prefer them to other similar products.

Al-Nawman pointed out that some segments of the private sector are still reluctant to invest in the industrial field, despite the incentives made available by the government, in both basic construction for the industrial sector, and in the concessions and financing that this sector is allowed. Al-Nawman called on the Chamber of Commerce to make efforts to induce investors to enter the arena of industrial investment.

Al-Nawman described the development of joint projects, either on the Gulf or Arab level, as a practical way to reach the goal of integration, direct the use of resources, benefit from the advantages of a broader market and the utilization of advanced technology, and to prevent duplication.

Al-Nawman referred to joint Arab companies that the Council of Arab Economic Unity has established in the fields of mining, food production, and pharmaceuticals. He also referred to the efforts being made by the Organization of Arab Oil Exporting Countries, OAPEC, which has established several joint projects among its members in the fields of transportation, construction, ship repair, and engineering investments.

Despite these joint projects, al-Nawman said there are circumstances preventing their accomplishments from attaining the desired heights, since political relations still leave their legacy of negative and positive influences on economic relations. Moreover, certain Arab countries are pursuing protectionist policies, which have repercussions on commercial exchanges.

He emphasized the strength of economic accomplishment in the UAE during the Gulf crisis, and stated that statistical indicators have shown that local production in the beginning of 1991 reached 124 billion dirhams, which is an increase of 22.2 billion dirhams over 1981. Total investment in the UAE at the end of 1990 was approximately 23.8 billion dirhams, with joint participation between the government and private sectors. This is a 6.1 percent increase over 1988.

The UAE trade balance had achieved a growth rate of 14.1 percent by the end of 1990, with a surplus totaling 23 billion dirhams. Al-Nawman pointed out that the positive results achieved by the UAE economy in the shadow of the stifling crisis suffered by the region as a result of the Iraqi attack on Kuwait, "indicates that, since we have overcome the affects of the crisis, our economy will have continued growth in the future."

Al-Nawman said: "We must never adopt the system of privatization, since there are huge projects that the private sector cannot operate, no matter what material, administrative, or technical resources it has, such as petrochemical and other gigantic projects that must continue to be under government operation."

## Report States Petroleum Reserves To Last 200 Years

92AE0085C Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic  
3 Nov 91 p 20

[Article: "UAE Crude Oil Reserves Sufficient for More Than 200 Years; 51 Billion Dirhams Invested in Oil Sector Over 11 Years"]

[Text] An economic report stated that the United Arab Emirates' [UAE] oil reserves are sufficient for more than 200 years, based on the rate of local production. The report said that the amount of investment in the oil sector had totaled 51 billion Emirian dirhams over 11 years. The rate of UAE [natural] gas utilization has risen to 70 percent. The report on the features of the UAE's industrial economy, prepared by the Gulf Industrial Investment Organization in cooperation with the Industrial Office of the Ministry of Finance and Industry, made it clear that proven reserves, according to reports of the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries [OAPEC], had grown from 31.3 billion barrels in 1978 to 98.1 billion barrels in 1990.

Accompanying the report, tables on the growth of oil profits from 1980 to 1989 referred to a drop in profits from \$19.5 billion in 1980 to \$10.5 billion in 1989. Profits registered their lowest point in 1986, reaching \$4.25 billion in 1985, and then rising again in 1988 to \$8.2 billion.

The report attributed the reasons for this fluctuation in oil profits to the development of oil prices, which it blamed on competition among producers and the emergence of new producers, in addition to programs to conserve energy in consumer nations, and the growth of nations using—instead of conserving—their strategic reserves of crude oil.

The report cited the fact that the UAE, by virtue of its being an active member of OAPEC, has striven to devise a clear policy on oil production that would comply with the UAE's higher interests and contribute to stabilizing world oil markets. It is striving to use its profits to create a radical change in economic and social structures, in order to change the economy from limited activities to an advanced, modern economy. Therefore, the processes of development and modernization of crude oil facilities are essentially rooted in this sector's importance to the UAE economy, and the volume of investments from 1975 to 1985, amounting to about 51 billion dirhams, reflects this importance.

The report stressed that crude oil will continue to be an influence on the world economy, because the development of options is restricted by a great many difficulties, inasmuch as the use of atomic energy is fraught with dangers, apart from rising costs, while the use of coal is linked to the ups and downs of crude oil prices, as well as pollution.

As regards production development and use of natural gas in the UAE, the report pointed out that reserves of

natural gas have considerably increased, rising from 581 billion cubic meters in 1979 to more than 900 billion cubic meters in 1985; then rising to 2.963 trillion cubic meters in 1986, and jumping to 5.7 trillion cubic meters in 1988 and 9.765 trillion cubic meters in 1989. This reserve equals 29 percent of the Arab Gulf's natural gas reserves, as well as 5 percent of the world's gas reserves.

According to the statistical data accompanying this report, gas production in the UAE has risen from 15 billion cubic meters in 1978 to more than 28 billion cubic meters in 1989. The rate of gas utilization has risen from 26 percent in 1978 to 48 percent in 1980, and to approximately 70 percent in 1987. This makes clear the extent of efforts aimed at deriving benefit from accompanying gas, both by liquefying and exporting, and by using the gas for local industry.

At the same time, the report stressed that the percentage of gas usage could be improved, because this percentage in other Gulf states reaches 80 percent and sometimes 100 percent, as is the case in Qatar.

On the other hand, the Gulf Industrial Investment Organization's report anticipated that mineral resources in the UAE would contribute to a diversification of the production base, by virtue of being one of the important pivot points. It is clear that, despite the fact that surveys, exploration, and exploitation were limited during the past few years, initial results indicate the presence of copper, iron, manganese, gypsum, and iron oxide, and that the state needs to conduct surveys, exploration, and exploitation of some of these resources.

The Gulf Organization's report cited the importance of developing the processing industries that have been established by the chemical and petrochemical industries. Total local production value of the financed [not further elaborated] processing industry in the state rose to 8.118 billion dirhams in 1988.

In this regard, it was emphasized that UAE industrialization is a strategic goal that attempts to deal with the imbalance of the economic structure, in view of the crude oil sector's large share of total local production. Most of the economic and social activities in the state depend on its revenues. This imbalance must be dealt with in order to avoid its difficulties. This can only be done by diversifying production sectors.

The report also indicated that, despite the growth of industrial investments, industrial investment does not measure up to the aspirations and hopes that have been pinned on it as a production sector apart from oil.

## Four New Dams To Increase Storage Capacity

92AE0091A Al-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic  
14 Sep 91 p 3

[Report by Muhammad Amin]

[Text] The progress towards completion of the four new dams now being built by the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries—the Wadi Zikt dam, the Wadi al-Quz dam,



the Wadi Hadhf dam, and the Wadi al-Tawiyayn dam—is 35-85 percent, varying from dam to dam. It is hoped that construction on all the dams will be completed by the end of this year.

This was announced by Deputy Minister Hamad Salman. He added that, speaking of dams, the Ministry had dug several of them to hold water from the wadis [valleys], [previously] annually wasted into the sea, to feed the groundwater and raise the water tables. These include the dams at Wadi Ham, Wadi al-Bih, Wadi Julfa, Wadi Idhn, and Wadi al-Ghayl, which can hold 15 million cubic meters of water, an amount that may be multiplied by repeated floods in one season of the year.

He said that the Ministry had produced and completed designs for four other dams, besides the four near completion, with the aim of building them soon. The Ministry is sure that the construction of the dams is an effective means of developing groundwater, thus occupying the highest degree of social and national development in this land, because of long-range goals of building up water resources, treating polluted water, and protecting the properties and dimensions of seawater from the dividing line of fresh water.

He added that, turning to the four new dams being built now, total storage capacity is 24 million cubic meters: 3 million cubic meters (660 million gallons) for the Wadi Zikt dam, 4 million cubic meters (880 million gallons) for the Wadi al-Quz dam, 3 million cubic meters (660 million gallons) for the Wadi Hadhf dam, and 14 million cubic meters (3,080 million gallons) for the Wadi al-Tawiyayn dam.

He said that the cost of planning and building the Wadi Zikt dam was 28.641 million Emirian dirhams. The site of the dam was selected for maximum economic feasibility and for protection from the annual destruction of property and closure of roads [caused by floods]. They can serve areas as large as 23 hectares.

He added that the cost of building the Wadi al-Quz dam was 31.641 million dirhams. Its best economic advantage is its 2.8 percent interest rate on the cost. This dam could serve existing farms, equalling approximately 6 hectares, in addition to about 23 hectares of new land.

The cost of the Wadi al-Hadhaf dam was 25.228 million dirhams. It has a greater significance, because the region of Muzayri/Masfut is closed off and encircled by a series of steep mountains down which water flows quickly, without any chance to feed into the groundwater reserve. Thus, this region suffers from a water shortage. In addition, the high-density agriculture creates a great deficit in groundwater reserves.

The cost of the Wadi al-Tawiyayn dam was 34.875 million dirhams, with dam water likely to benefit about 134 hectares of agricultural land.

### New Dams

As for the four other dams to be built in the future, the agricultural area whose groundwater reserves can be supplied by the Wadi [Sufni]/Wadi 'Ashwani dam is estimated at 99 hectares, including the very densely agricultural al-Dhayd region.

One dam, at Wadi al-Naqab, can serve areas up to 78 hectares, most of which are in Ra's al-Khaymah and suffer from brackish water and decreasing levels as a result of the high agricultural density, especially in the al-Diqdaqah, al-[Nakhil], and 'Uyyun Khatt regions.

Another of the dams, the Wadi al-Wuryyah dam, can serve areas of about 50 hectares of agricultural land by feeding groundwater reserves and protecting villages, farms, and streets that the valley immerses in every flood, causing problems for the citizens. The fourth dam is the Wadi Kub dam.

Hamad Salman confirmed that the construction of the dams would, in general, provide a large quantity of water and help to partially reduce the current groundwater shortage. It would also provide water for agricultural, residential, and industrial uses; improve water quality; safeguard groundwater levels; delay the advance of saline water; and protect public and public property from damage caused by flooding.

He said that the Ministry was constantly searching for alternative sources for current productive levels—which are being run down at the expense of reserves—though great efforts to discover deep levels in the first phase of water surveying.

He added that the Ministry was making contacts and cooperating with all water-related agencies in the government, with the aim of coordinating efforts to provide alternative sources, such as seawater purification for residential use, treating sewage water for city "greenification" and sometimes agricultural uses, to ease the burden on groundwater.

Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries Hamad Salman explained the importance of these dams by saying that the United Arab Emirates was considered a country with a dry and hot climate. The highest temperatures can reach 48[C], with average annual rainfall of 102 mm, maximum humidity of 98 percent, and evaporation from 3.16-4.45 mm.

He added that in the last ten years, the country had witnessed a steady flourishing in the agricultural and social fields, leading to an increase in water consumption demand for agricultural, residential, and industrial needs. Annual consumption had reached approximately a billion cubic meters, 800 million of which came from groundwater; the rest was from reclaimed seawater.

He said that continued annual consumption of 800 million cubic meters of groundwater reserves would lead to a sharp drop in water levels in all regions of the country, at a time when groundwater reserves were being



replenished at an annual rate of 100 million cubic meters. This illustrates the resulting large deficit in the water budget.

He explained that the decrease in water levels had led to a decline in water quality in many regions, to seawater permeation in other areas, and to salinization of soil in some areas.

He said that the Ministry had recognized the severe challenge facing agricultural development in the country, and had used all its means to meet the challenge, to develop alternative water sources, and to get the maximum benefit from every drop of water that falls on the country. This would be by way of implementing projects such as dam construction, carrying out land surveys of water sources, developing streams and brooks, using modern irrigation methods, and educating consumers.

He indicated that Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries had begun to plan projects and actions to develop and maintain sources. The studies made of surface water and dams come to fruition with proposals for building dams in the large wadis. These studies, pertaining to fifteen wadis in the north of the country, mentioned that there was a large quantity of water emptying into the sea. About 103 million cubic meters annually are lost as they flow into the sea or into unusable areas, where the water quickly evaporates.

#### Moderate Rainfall

The deputy minister of agriculture added that records from the al-Shariqah station showed that average rainfall was 102.8 mm over 40 years, with a maximum of 256 mm in 1956-1957, and a minimum of .3 mm in 1961-1962. In addition, several plains and mountain regions were monitored by stations built by the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. The results were analyzed and programmed, and showed that rainfall averages were 154 mm in mountainous regions and 188 mm in the plains. When records for all parts of the country are averaged, it may be said that the overall average is approximately 102 mm.

He said that a number of periods of rainfall in the mountain region fluctuated between 5-7 rainy spells, with 3-5 rainy spells in the plains, and less than 3 in the desert and coastal regions. The U.A.E. has a four-year rain cycle; there is one rainy year and three dry, or nearly dry, ones every four years.

He added, "Thus we see that the greatest rainfall is in mountainous areas, and lessens in the plains areas and on the coasts. The problem of that quantitative reduction in rainfall is that the mountains become flood-producing areas, which contributes significantly to replenishing groundwater through underground hydrological action. Rain that falls directly on the plains does not add to groundwater. All it does is irrigate surface crops and soil, and remains only briefly before evaporating, due to wind and heat."

He said that it was a mistake to depend on increased rainfall on any plain to lead to an increase in groundwater reserves. This was because of the disparity between the drainage system, geological and topographical conditions, and the declivities in the regions mentioned. According to these factors, we find that the rainfall in mountainous regions is most effective at feeding groundwater, while rainwater does not reach the plains, due to other reasons and factors, such as the lithological structure of the strata, the depth of those strata, wind speed, and temperatures. All these factors contribute to the failure of the water to reach the groundwater. It evaporates faster than it can be absorbed into the ground.

As for surface water, represented in the great floods that slice through mountainous regions to the plains and then the sea, it makes no real contribution to replenishing groundwater.

It is worth mentioning that the rate of rainwater flowing through wadis varies between 3 and 8 percent [not further elaborated], depending on the nature of the mountain rocks, the declivities, and slopes, as well as the declivity of the wadi. In mountains whose rock is made of limestone—as in areas of Ra's al-Khaymah—the rate of flow to stoppage is less than that in mountains of igneous or variable rock, as in the mountains of al-Shariqah or Masfut. In the former regions, the rate of rainwater loss is very high; the water disappears into clefts and crevices. For example, in one wadi monitored for water flow in Ra's al-Khaymah, in one year 1.3 million cubic meters of water passed through the wadi at a time when approximately 70 million cubic meters of rain fell on the total area of the wadi. He said that this showed that replenishment of the groundwater was poor, and did not compensate for the depletion, which was several times greater. The wadis' contribution would not count unless the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries continued to build more dams to hold the water and force them to replenish. There was a large loss of water in the mountainous areas, so the Ministry was trying to study it and find appropriate solutions to halt the severe depletion through channelling the water and using modern irrigation to limit water drainage.

#### WESTERN SAHARA

##### Sahrawi Women's Leader Breaks With Polisario

92AF0152B Rabat ALMAGHRIB in French  
16 Nov 91 p 2

[Unattributed article: "The Former Chairwoman of the 'National Union of Sahrawi Women,' Mrs. Gajmoula Bent Abbi, Stated at a Press Conference in Madrid: 'I Decided To Return to Morocco Because I Have Lost Faith in the Polisario'"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] At a press conference in Madrid, Thursday morning, Mrs. Gajmoula Bent Abbi, member of the political bureau of the so-called "Polisario" [Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el Hamra and Rio de

Oro] and former chairwoman of the "National Union of Sahrawi Women," stated that she had decided to break with the "Tindouf horde," denounce the fascist ideas of the "Polisario" executive committee, and draw public attention to the situation of the Sahrawi people confined by force to refugee camps.

"The reasons that pushed me to break with this group of torturers are very clear," she said, pointing out that "during the 17 last years that I spent as a 'Polisario' militant, I experienced all sorts of suffering and was the victim of empty slogans and false promises. I have now lost confidence in this pack of individuals who form the so-called 'Polisario' executive committee and who completely disregard the opinions of the Sahrawi populations. The members of this committee have enriched themselves through the suffering and misery of this population whose image they have used to acquire an international audience and reap humanitarian aid," Mrs. Gajmoula indicated, pointing out that "the Sahrawi population aspires to peace, to returning to its lands, and to well-being within Moroccan society."

After denouncing all those who try to stir up the Saharan conflict, the former president of the "Union of Sahrawi Women" invited the Spanish press to "ask the Polisario Front to give up its policy of repression, the victims of which are the Sahrawis." "The Polisario Front," she said, "must be realistic and let the Sahrawi population express itself freely and go back home."

"We must work to put an end to the tragic situation of the people who live in the camps and demand that the Polisario Front let them go and give them a chance to choose the way that suits them. We must struggle for that, for the moment has come to denounce and acknowledge the mistakes made in the past," Mrs. Gajmoula emphasized.

"We want to go back to our houses and prepare our future within Morocco," she exclaimed.

"I have decided to rejoin Morocco because I want to go back to my house, which is in Laayoune, in Morocco," she added.

"The people in the camps are in total disagreement with the Polisario Front apparatus, for they finally realized that they were the victims of wrong ideas and fallacious propaganda that lead nowhere."

"The slogans especially directed at the foreign press, proclaiming democracy, a multiparty system, and justice, are pure lies," she indicated, adding, to the attention of a Spanish journalist, that "executive committee members will not have to go back to Sahara the day they lose, when the conflict is resolved, for they already have secured a livelihood for themselves."

Especially, she went on, considering "that Morocco has changed a lot since 1985: there are no Sahrawi political prisoners; Morocco has welcomed democracy, and everybody should benefit by it, including the Sahrawis.

We must acknowledge these initiatives and contribute to promote them. Morocco, therefore, has changed and I learned it through others. This country has shown its willingness to resolve problems, and that is what counts. We must therefore congratulate Morocco on its determination to open up to democracy and improve the well-being of individuals. I place great hopes in a prosperous future for the Sahrawi and the Maghreb people."

#### Former Polisario Officials Arrive in Morocco

92AF0181B Rabat L'OPINION in French  
4 Dec 91 pp 1, 3

[Text] MAP—Three former officials of the Polisario [Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el Hamra and Rio de Oro] recently returned home to Morocco in response to the king's assurance that "the homeland is clement and merciful."

They are Mr. Ali Salem Ben Abed Ben Al Abd, a former official in the Military Security; Mr. Ahmed Mokhtar, head of the department of photography and cinema at the "Ministry of Information;" and El Habib Mohamed Mohamed-Cheikh, a former official of the "Ministry of Defense." [quotation marks as published]

In statements made on Moroccan television Monday evening, these three Moroccan Saharawi citizens spoke about the catastrophic conditions in the shameful camps of Tindouf and described the repressive tactics used against Moroccan citizens who have been incarcerated by the mercenaries of the Polisario.

They stated that all the Moroccan citizens who are sequestered in the camps in Tindouf are impatiently awaiting the opportunity to return to the motherland, despite being forced to remain.

#### Declaration Issued by Former Polisario Leaders

92AF0181A Rabat L'OPINION in French  
4 Dec 91 pp 1, 3

[Text] MAP—The following is the text of a declaration by former members of the ruling circle of the Polisario [Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el Hamra and Rio de Oro] who have returned to their country Morocco. They are Mr. Omar Hadrami, a former member of the executive committee; Mr. Mustapha Bouh, former member of the Political Bureau; Mrs. Gajmoula Ebbi, former member of the Political Bureau and general secretary of the Polisario Women's Union; Mr. Moulay Abbas, former member of the Political Bureau and commander of the 8th Military Region; Mr. Noureddine Bellali, former Political Bureau member and Middle East representative; Mr. Bellahi Dhalifa, former general secretary of the Union of Polisario Journalists; Mr. Lemdeimigh Hassanna, former representative in Spain; Mr. Lemghaifir Ahmed Lebrahmi, assistant to a wali [provincial governor]; Mr. Ramdane Ennas, former representative to Ethiopia and the OAU

[Organization of African Unity]; and Mr. Leibek Abderahmane, former president of the Saharawi Red Crescent.

"When the so-called government of the SADR [Saharan Democratic Arab Republic] met on 30 November 1991, its discussions went beyond the plan of the United Nations. The repeated attacks against the United Nations and its representatives—unfounded, gratuitous, and defamatory—were an indication of nervousness on its part. But what the communiqués do not say is that pressure from and impatience on the part of the sequestered Saharawis are now openly expressed inside the Polisario."

"Ever since the cease-fire, in fact, the Polisario's soldiers have been deserting it and refusing to report to the areas to which they are assigned. All the young people studying in Algeria, Cuba, Libya, and East Europe were brought back to the camps, but are now rebelling against serving the Polisario in any capacity. The sequestered Saharawis have prepared themselves for the return home that they are impatient to make. An atmosphere of general relocation is settling in. The Polisario is disorganized. Discipline is gone. Thefts are taking place. Everyone is happy about re-entering the country at last and being free of the Polisario's organizational cells and endless meetings."

"Reacting to this state of affairs, the Polisario's leadership recently met and concluded that at this rate, the Polisario would disintegrate and collapse entirely. They therefore decided to enact a "general alert" affecting not only the military units, but civilians—women and children—as well. No one may travel without first obtaining permission. Searches have become systematic. Fuel is forbidden to ordinary people. Guards have been posted from the Algerian-Malian border to the southern edges of Tindouf and between the camps and Tindouf."

"Stifled and having lost hope that the high commission for refugees would arrive, several persons fled in vehicles belonging to leaders who were attending a wedding and returned to Mauritania."

"Against this backdrop, the Polisario is trying to shift its problems onto the United Nations, openly questioning its credibility. The Polisario's views are disseminated to a wider audience by the newspaper AL WATAN, which is notorious for its sources of "silence and music" and is no newcomer to the practice of disinformation."

"The Polisario's communiqué accuses Morocco of violating the cease-fire, but the Polisario infiltrated entire mechanized units into the territory immediately following the cease-fire, taking advantage of the arrival of military observers from MINURSO [UN Mission for the Organization of a Referendum in the Western Sahara]. The Moroccan authorities reported the move at the time it occurred. The Polisario's units are supposed to remain at their bases outside the territory until their personnel are identified, and only those who are eligible will be allowed to return to the territory after being disarmed to

vote in the referendum. That is both the spirit and the letter of the United Nations' peace plan."

"While Morocco and the United Nations are working to enable all Saharawis—the territory's authentic inhabitants—to vote in the referendum so that the outcome will not be challenged or placed in doubt, the Polisario is working to keep the number of voters to a minimum because it fears the verdict of the population, including that of the fathers and mothers, the brothers and sisters, the very leaders of the Polisario whom it rightly describes as Moroccans from the north. But the UN identification commission will surely be enlightened on that score, because the power to decide the matter belongs to the commission and not to the Polisario."

"The disinformation practiced by those who are behind the newspaper AL WATAN consists of thinly veiled trickery. They began by attacking the United Nations and questioned the integrity of the international civil servants and of the special representative himself. When Perez de Cuellar denied their false allegations, he became their target because they knew he was leaving office. The purpose of the calumny is to terrorize, to lay blame, and to sow doubt and suspicion. What they want is to discredit the United Nations and have it removed from the case, because they know that the Polisario is on the losing side. They would like to see the matter entrusted solely to pro-Polisario groups and activists that claim "universal conscience," so-called "neutral observers," as the Polisario refers to them openly questioning the integrity of the United Nations and its member nations."

"It is all the more ridiculous to assert that Morocco lacks any information whatsoever about the Polisario. The former director of security and member of the Polisario's general staff who conducted the Polisario's census of the camps, who verified the Spanish census in the field, who prepared the documents submitted to the United Nations (figures multiplied by three), and who knew the capability, wherewithal, and size of the Polisario's army as well as its order of deployment is now in Morocco, having returned in response to the king's appeal."

"The Polisario's political commissioner as well as the Polisario member who announced the cease-fire in Tindouf on 6 September 1991 are already in Morocco. Hundreds of other Polisario officials have returned to the kingdom, and the latest to do so is the former general secretary of the Polisario Women's Union. The move to rally to Morocco's side is growing."

"But it is no surprise to read these libellous statements in a newspaper that belongs to those who arrested the journalist Bahi Mohamed for a supposed assassination attempt against Mohamed Abdelaziz and who handed him over to the Polisario after he had spent four years in prison. He now languishes in a hole southeast of Tindouf."

"AL WATAN, which seems to be an expert in 'previously unpublished' news, mistakenly concludes from the

widespread shortages it experiences that medicines are unavailable in El Aaiun. More than 30 journalists from every country in Africa and journalists from Spain, China, the United States, and other countries recently visited El Aaiun and were impressed by its development, the abundance of all products, the serenity of the population, their determination and testimony to their Moroccan identity."

"El Aaiun has the largest supply of medicines of any city in Morocco. A highly capable Swiss medical unit equipped with planes for medical emergencies is in El Aaiun to work with the MINURSO."

"The steady erosion of support from the population confined to the camps has caused the Polisario to fear the coming referendum. It has turned that fear into attacks on the United Nations to a point that no self-respecting member of the press can continue to deal with the Polisario unless it offers proof or a public apology. So nervous is the Polisario that it has begun to resort to insult and calumny. Its friends have come to its aid in a last-ditch disinformation campaign to discredit and influence the activities of the MINURSO."

"But the United Nations, the kingdom of Morocco, and the entire international community are determined not to be distracted or deterred from the primary objective which is to end the problem once and for all. Hence the uneasiness of those who long for the days of continual confrontation."

### Ministers Attend Launch of New Dam Construction

92AF0160A Casablanca MAROC SOIR in French  
9-10 Nov pp 1-2

[Text] In conjunction with the 16th anniversary of the historic Green March, an important ministerial delegation launched construction of the Saguia el Hamra dam in the province of El Aaiun on 7 November 1991.

Yet another in a series of basic infrastructure projects already carried out in the Saharan provinces, the dam is being built to protect the low-lying section of the city of El Aaiun and Highway 41 and to replenish the water table.

The Saguia el Hamra is a river subject to flooding. Its flow rate can rise to 400 cubic meters per second. The river's drainage basin spans 81,000 square kilometers.

The size of the dam is estimated to be 500,000 cubic meters. The dam's maximum height above the foundation will be 16 meters. Its crest will be 692 meters in length. Its reservoir will cover an area of 3,000 hectares and have a volume of 110 hm<sup>3</sup> [hectometer].

The budgetary allocation required for the Saguia el Hamra dam is estimated at 60 million dirhams. The dam is expected to be completed in 1993, and the region's water resources will thus be enhanced.

Because of its irregular water flow, which results in flash flooding, the Saguia el Hamra has always been a threat to the road infrastructure serving the city of El Aaiun. In fact, the heavy rains that fell in the southern provinces in October 1987 resulted in exceptionally high water levels, causing floods in the areas surrounding El Aaiun and a complete interruption of traffic on Highway 41. It became apparent that in order to protect Highway 41, which links El Aaiun and Tarfaya, a dam would have to be built across the Saguia el Hamra as a means of retaining and controlling the flood waters, thus avoiding damage downstream. In addition, the dam will bridge the route bypassing the city and will protect all future infrastructure projects to be carried out downstream, among them the railway linking El Aaiun and Marrakech.

Moreover, the expansion of the city of El Aaiun following a wave of intense urbanization has resulted in a greater demand for drinking water. The Saguia el Hamra dam will make it possible to replenish the Fom El Oued water table on which the city depends for a portion of its needs. The dam will provide an additional 20 million cubic meters a year.

### Hydrological Factors

Although humid along the coastline, the climate of the El Aaiun area is Saharan in general. Rainfall averages about 40 millimeters a year and causes highly erratic surface run-off.

For a lack of statistics spanning a long period of time, the hydrological study of the Saguia el Hamra is based primarily on data relating to the last major flood in October 1987.

The Saguia el Hamra collects water from a drainage basin of about 81,000 square km with a very gentle slope averaging about 0.4 percent.

The peak flow rate of the October 1987 flood is estimated to have been 410 cubic meters per second and its volume 110 mm<sup>3</sup> [millimeter] with an estimated base time of nine days. It is thought to have a cycle of 50 years.

### Geology and Technology

The area of the future Saguia el Hamra dam is dominated by a tabular molassic formation dating from the late Tertiary/early Quaternary (Moghrebien). It is made up of a succession of coquina, marly limestone, calcareous sandstone, and marl.

At right angles to the site, the foundation is formed by alternating layers of varying softness (marl, marly limestone) and hardness (coquina and calcareous sandstone).

The banks consist of coquina, calcareous sandstone, and marly limestone. The valley bottom is covered by a layer of clayey silt varying from brown to beige in color and exceeding 20 meters in depth, at times interspersed with

clayey sand. These formations lie on a marly substratum, believed to be of considerable thickness, dating from the miocene era.

The construction materials for the dam (primarily clays and riprap) are available in sufficient quantities at the dam site.

#### The Dam's Primary Characteristics

- Type of dam: Earth and rock embankment
- Fine-grain materials: Clayey mud
- Gradient of crest: 27.50 NGM [nanograms per milliliter?]
- Length at crest: 692 meters
- Width at crest: 12 meters
- Reservoir area: 3,000 hectares
- Reservoir volume: 110 M cubic meters
- Upstream slope of embankment: 3 horizontal: 1 vertical
- Downstream slope of embankment: 3 horizontal: 1 vertical
- Maximum height above foundation: 16 meters
- Dam volume: 500,000 cubic meters

#### The Overflow Spillway:

- Type: Free flow over crest of dam Location: Crest of embankment
- Gradient of threshold: 27.50 NGM
- Length of spillway: 692 meters Maximum load: 0.15 meters
- Drainage Mechanism:
- Type: 2 concrete-encased steel conduits Location:
- Left and right banks Cross-section: 2 x 800 millimeters
- Regulation of drainage: Two butterfly valves positioned downstream
- Cost of project: 60 million dirhams
- Construction time: 16 months.

#### Launching Development Projects Discussed by Ministers

92AF0152A Rabat L'OPINION in French  
13 Nov 91 p 4

[Unattributed MAP (MAGHREB-ARAB PRESS AGENCY) article: "Sahara/Development: Launching and Inauguration of Several Projects"]

[Text] As part of the celebration of the 16th anniversary of the glorious Green March, a ministers delegation—consisting of Messrs. Driss Basri, minister of interior and information; Mohamed Kabbaj, minister of equipment, vocational training, and cadre training; Taieb Chkili, minister of national education; Mohamed Laenser, minister of post and telecommunications; and Khali Henna Ould Rachid, minister delegated to the prime minister, in charge of the development of Saharan provinces—went to Smara and Laayoune last Thursday; in both provinces, they launched large projects, inaugurated others, and attended rallies.

The delegation of ministers—accompanied by General Abdelaziz Bennani, commander of the South military zone; and Messrs. Mohamed Hajjaj, general secretary at the ministry of interior; Saleh Zemrag, His Majesty's governor in the province of Laayoune; Khalil Dakhil, His Majesty's governor in the province of Smara; local deputies; elected officials; and several former leaders of the so-called "Polisario" [Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia elHamara and Rio de Oro] who have come back to the motherland—inaugurated automatic telephone exchanges connecting Smara, Laayoune, and Boujdour to the national automatic system, and laid the foundation stone of the Smara drinking water supply project and a hill run-off dam on the Saquiet Al-Hamra wadi.

The telephone exchange that was just inaugurated in Smara represents a major breakthrough for the program designed to improve telephone service between the various regions of the south and the north of the kingdom.

The delegation heard explanations concerning the specific characteristics, and present and future capacities of the exchange, which was designed to meet the demand for telephone service, which increases steadily as the town grows.

Elected officials and civil and military personalities watched as the exchange was set into service with a direct call between Smara and Rabat, the kingdom's capital.

The second project launched in Smara concerned the town's drinking water supply from the Sidi Khattari water table. It involves the construction of a water-processing station and a water pipeline about 100 km long, scheduled to be set into service progressively starting in October of next year.

This project is part of a comprehensive program set up by the National Drinking Water Office to supply drinking water to all towns in the Saharan provinces; it provides in particular for the creation of two large sea-water desalination plants, in Laayoune and Boujdour, and one ground-water processing unit in Dakhla.

The ministers delegation's visit to Smara was also marked by a large rally with several speeches by personalities.

For instance, deputy Biadillah Mohamed Cheikh El-Bachir pointed out that this meeting was taking place at a time when all of Morocco is preparing for a historical event that will put the finishing touches to the construction of our country's unity.

"We are all ready for this event of historical significance, to put the finishing touches to the construction of our country's unity, and thus act as a vanguard under the enlightened guidance of His Majesty King Hassan II, may God exalt him," he said.

For his part, Mr Henna Ould El-Bachir, municipal councillor, expressed the pride felt by the city of Smara by extolling "the feast of victory and the closing of the

ranks, and savoring the joy provided by the reunion with the sons of that province's tribes who had been expelled by Spanish colonialism."

"We reaffirm that the inhabitants of this province stand as one man, still far more so than in the past, and are ready to speak their word of truth that will decide between us and our enemies, namely that the Sahara is Moroccan, and that Morocco is Sahrawi," he emphasized.

The chairman of the Smara municipal council, Sidi El-Alem Ould Sidi Salem, for his part, welcomed tribe members who had come from various regions of the kingdom to reunite with their brothers in the town and perform their national duty, to say "yes to the Moroccan character of the Sahara at the planned confirmation referendum."

"We welcome our brothers who have come from various provinces and prefectures, in the plains and in the mountains, the Rguibat and Ouled Ben Sbaa chorfa, and the Tekna tribes; let us welcome them in their country and among their brothers to fulfill their national duty. They thus answer the call of duty, and they have come to say yes to the Moroccan character of the Sahara during the contemplated referendum, God willing."

Mr. Driss Basri, minister of interior and information, recalled the terms of the royal speech of 6 November, emphasizing that all conditions to win the wager were met, and that the confirmation referendum in the Saharan provinces will fulfill our expectations and our wishes.

All Sahrawis, wherever they are, Mr. Driss Basri pointed out, have the right to take part in the referendum that will confirm the Moroccan character of the Sahara.

The minister also mentioned the process of economic and social development taking place in the Saharan provinces, according to the supreme guidelines of His Majesty King Hassan II, may God exalt him, advocating a high level of overall development for that region.

Simultaneously with the efforts undertaken to confirm its territorial unity through the work accomplished by the sons of the Saharan provinces, Mr. Driss Basri explained, Morocco spares no efforts to develop the region and ensure the well-being of its inhabitants. His Majesty King Hassan II, he indicated, has issued his supreme instructions to ensure that all the needs of the people living in unity camps are met and to assist them.

Mr. Driss Basri announced that construction sites will be opened in all towns and villages of the Sahara, to enable the sons of that region to participate in the construction of buildings, the planting of trees, or any other work likely to bring well-being and prosperity to this beloved region of the motherland.

Under the enlightened guidance of His Majesty King Hassan II, may God exalt him, Morocco is courageously rising to give an example of patriotism and self-sacrifice

in order to confirm the Moroccan character of the Sahara, which will remain Moroccan in spite of the machinations of its enemies, the minister pointed out.

Alluding to the presence of Minurso [UN Mission for the Organization of a Referendum in Western Sahara] members, Mr. Driss Basri recalled that their mission is limited to organizing the confirmation referendum in the Saharan provinces. He also mentioned the atmosphere of fraternity and enthusiasm that prevails in the unity camps which house the Sahrawis who, in the past, were forced to leave the Sahara under various circumstances.

"Today, we are confident that the inhabitants of the Sahara will reject the allegations of the enemies of our territorial integrity and will confirm once and for all the Moroccan character of the Sahara, the minister said.

The delegation then went to Laayoune to lay the foundation stone of a hill run-off dam on the Saquiet Al-Hamra wadi.

The delegation members heard an expose of the various aspects and data of this project, which is designed to protect the main road to Laayoune against flood waters, and to feed "artificially" the Foun El-Oued groundwater table that in turn feeds the Laayoune drinking water system.

Later on, the delegation inaugurated a state-of-the-art telephone exchange connecting the towns of Laayoune, Smara, and Boujdour with the national automatic network.

The exchange, which currently controls traffic over 4,000 lines, was designed with a capacity of up to 10,000 lines.

It cost 42 million dirhams to complete the project.

These activities were followed by a large rally in Laayoune.

For his part, Mr. Taieb Chkili, minister of national education, demonstrated the importance of this meeting, which was part of the celebration of a glorious national holiday.

The minister mentioned the development process that began after the start of the Green March and enabled this region to reach the same level of progress as that achieved by the kingdom's other provinces.

"We can expect to win the wager, as His Majesty the King said yesterday. To those who attempted to cast doubt on the Moroccan character of the Sahara, we say that a time will come very soon when, thank God, the Moroccan character of the Sahara will be confirmed publicly and internationally," the minister of national education pointed out.

The minister of equipment, vocational training, and cadre training, Mr. Mohamed Kabbaj, stated that he was proud of being in Laayoune, which is now one of the

largest cities in the kingdom, adding that the projects inaugurated today were just one link in a chain of projects completed and programs set up to promote the region's overall development.

"In accordance with the guidelines of His Majesty King Hassan II, may God exalt him, the entire town of Laayoune will be supplied with drinking water during the next two years. It will therefore, thank God, be the first Saharan town to get its drinking water from desalinated sea-water," the minister explained.

For his part, the minister of posts and telecommunications, Mr. Mohamed Laenser, recalled the profound meaning of this meeting and paid homage to the courageous anticolonialist war led by the region's inhabitants during the fifties. He also congratulated the people of the Sahara who will soon be writing radiant pages of the kingdom's present-day history through their participation in the referendum that will confirm the Moroccan character of their provinces, which was already confirmed by their brothers and thanks to the enlightened policy of His Majesty King Hassan II and to the efforts of the royal armed forces.

"The reunion of the Sahrawis from the north and from the south in this blessed land are a feast in themselves. I sincerely congratulate you on this historical occasion that will enable you to leave your mark on the record of Moroccan history," he said.

This was followed by speeches by several Moroccans of Sahrawi origin who returned to the motherland in answer to the King's appeal, "The motherland is clement and merciful." For instance, Mr. Abdellah Ould Bouh stressed the historical meaning of the Green March, which was an innovation on the international political scene.

The inauguration of dam and drinking-water projects in the Sahara was one of the Green March miracles, Mr. Ould Bouh said, adding that it was this historical epic march that eventually allowed the people in the unity camps and the people of Laayoune to celebrate this 16th anniversary together after being separated for many years by colonialism.

Mr. Nouredine Blali emphasized that it was the Green March that restored symbiosis between Sahrawis in the north and in the south, after the rifts resulting from the expulsions ordered by Spanish colonialism.

It was then Mr. Driss Basri's turn to speak; he conveyed to the audience the supreme concern of His Majesty King Hassan II, may God exalt him, for his faithful subjects in the Sahara.

The minister recalled the contents of the speech delivered by the sovereign on the occasion of the 16th anniversary of the Green March, pointing out that Morocco is about to hold a referendum that will confirm the Moroccan character of the Sahara, in the eyes of the entire world, and irreversibly.

Alluding to the few provisions that will have to be made to determine criteria pertaining to the right to vote, Mr. Driss Basri recalled that His Majesty King Hassan II, may God exalt him, wishes that every person of Sahrawi blood should vote in the referendum in order to show to the entire world and to the enemies of our territorial integrity that every Sahrawi is fully entitled to take part in the final confirmation of the Moroccan character of the Sahara.

The presence of the ministers delegation provided an opportunity to launch or inaugurate a number of development projects such as the drinking water facilities that will serve the town of Smara, whose population will soon number some 100,000, as well as telecommunication equipment that will put this town in daily contact with the rest of the kingdom's provinces and with the outside world, Mr. Driss Basri said.

The minister also mentioned the enthusiastic reunion of the people of the Sahara and their brothers who had been forced to leave the region for other provinces in the kingdom.

Those who are coming back now are Sahrawis confident of their right to vote in the confirmation referendum which, after a few final touches, will make it possible to differentiate between error and truth and to confirm the victory of Morocco, relying on its sacred values, Mr. Driss Basri pointed.

The minister then introduced to the audience several former leaders of the so-called "Polisario," who returned to the motherland in answer to the king's appeal "The motherland is clement and merciful," pointing out that their return is proof of the futility of the separatists' machinations.

Finally, the minister announced the forthcoming construction, in Smara, of the "Hassan I" mosque and an Islamic studies institute, and the decision of His Majesty King Hassan II, may God exalt him, to create a university specialized in the sciences and studies concerning the areas of the Sahara ranging from the Atlantic to the Red Sea.

At the conclusion of this rally, the audience recited prayers imploring God to protect His Majesty King Hassan II, assist him for the good of the nation, and favor him in the persons of His Royal Highness Crown Prince Sidi Mohammed, His Royal Highness Prince Moulay Rachid, and all members of the royal family.

## REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

### Foreign Minister on Relations With Gulf States

92AE0073A Nicosia AL-HURRIYAH in Arabic  
20 Oct 91 pp 25-27

[Interview with Dr. 'Abd-al-Karim al-Aryani, Yemeni Foreign Affairs Minister, by AL-HURRIYAH correspondent in New York; date not given]



[Text] The Gulf crisis and the war that followed it had major effects on Yemen, which is still paying a high price. Although the crisis is over, several important questions are still unresolved, such as the security arrangements in the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf, and the way the situation develops in the region. AL-HURRIYAH conducted an interview with Dr. 'Abd-al-Karim al-Aryani, Yemen's Foreign Affairs Minister, in which he focused on Yemeni relations with the countries in the region. The following is the text of the interview with Dr. al-Aryani while on a trip to participate in the work of the UN General Assembly.

[AL-HURRIYAH] Yemen is a part of the Arabic Peninsula and among the countries that have suffered from the Gulf crisis. Now that the war is over, how do you see the situation in the region?

[al-Aryani] I believe the situation does not appeal to the countries in the region because of the depth of the problems brought about by the occupation of Kuwait, despite the fact that Kuwait now is independent and sovereign. Several problems created by the crisis are still unresolved. I can say that the region has to exert great efforts to overcome the difficulties created by the crisis.

#### **New Situation Has Left Many Scars**

[AL-HURRIYAH] In your opinion, how can we identify the crises and their repercussions that occurred before and after the Gulf war?

[al-Aryani] These crises can be found within the framework of the bilateral relations between the countries of the region. They also can be found in the financial responsibilities resulting from the economic situations. It is clear that the end of occupation in Kuwait did not put an end to these crises, but rather ensures their continuity. Some of the issues need to be discussed and we have reservations about other issues, such as the issue of security in the region and the tensions that dominate bilateral relations between Yemen and its neighbors. All the post-war issues, in my opinion, have not yet reached their required dimensions.

#### **Gulf Crisis and Relations With Neighboring Countries**

[AL-HURRIYAH] Because of Yemen's stand during the Gulf crisis, her relations with the Gulf States are tense. Are there any attempts to renew and normalize these relations and how will they be in the post-war era?

[al-Aryani] First of all, the disagreement between Yemen and the countries in the region was not on principles, because there was a unanimity between all the countries that the occupation of another country's land is not permissible and respecting sovereignty and independence is a basic obligation of international relations. Freedom and sovereignty cannot be denied under any circumstances. I do not disagree with this principle at all, but the disagreement is exceeding the event itself. At least theoretically, I believe the disagreement was valid, but unfortunately, the events took on new dimensions

locally and internationally, which, at that time, made any calm dialogue between differing countries impossible. Certainly, the crisis could have been solved by the Arabs and without seeking the assistance of foreign forces. This is the position we clung to all along. Now we should not focus on who was right and who was wrong, but rather on being ready to evaluate the past and agree on ways of preventing what happened from happening again, not only in the Gulf or the Arabian Peninsula, but in the Arab world as whole. What happened had no one's consent, and we were unable to stop it by ourselves in our own Arab way. Now it is necessary for all not to side with one party or another, because this will lead to nothing but continuing disagreement and alienation.

[AL-HURRIYAH] Is there any tangible sign of improvement in Yemen-Saudi relations?

[al-Aryani] If you are asking me as a Yemeni, I say that Yemen has no obstacle or conditions that may prevent the Yemeni, Emirates, Saudi, and Kuwaiti relations from being normal. You should ask the other side.

[AL-HURRIYAH] Are there contacts between the two countries?

[al-Aryani] Since the end of the Gulf crisis and until now, the two countries have had diplomatic contacts and the ambassadors hold contacts on various subjects. However, there are no high-level contacts.

#### **About the Electronic Wall Between Yemen, Saudi Arabia**

[AL-HURRIYAH] Some American and foreign newspapers leaked reports concerning the building of an electronic wall on the Saudi-Yemeni border extending from the desert to the sea. According to these reports, the project will cost three billion dollars and will be built by a Dutch company. Have they discussed this project with you?

[al-Aryani] No, we learned about it and read about its three billion dollar cost in the foreign newspapers. Until now there are no negotiations between us and the other party; in fact, we have not been informed about it.

[AL-HURRIYAH] Several reliable sources confirmed that the project is ready but there is a disagreement on when to begin implementation. Are you responsible for the disagreement, knowing that this project aims at determining the boundaries with Saudi Arabia once for all?

[al-Aryani] In principle, building a wall between neighbors is not the ideal solution because it damages the friendship and brotherhood between them. I hope the news is just rumors because we have no official information about it. Based on the European experience, it is clear that building walls and installing barbed wire—as was the case between some Eastern and Western European countries, such as Austria and Czechoslovakia—has been overcome. If the information is true, the project will be similar to what happened in Europe and that is



not the best way to create confidence between neighbors. Once again, I say that we have not officially been informed of it. However, we read about the building of an electronic barrier between Yemen and the Kingdom. We are still unable to comment on it officially. I assure you that this tactic is something of the past.

[AL-HURRIYAH] The Damascus Agreement aims at establishing security arrangements between Egypt, Syria, and Gulf countries. Does this agreement aim at keeping Yemen outside these arrangements?

[al-Aryani] We have indicated more than once that the Arab League Charter permits any number of Arabic countries to enter into special political or security arrangements among themselves. These arrangements are not at all incompatible with the charter and, in principle, do not contradict it. At the same time, other members have the right to ask whether this is the best way to achieve peace and stability in the region. In my estimate, this is a legitimate question and need not be opposed. In any case, Yemen is a part of the Arabian Peninsula, for its coast starts near the Omani coast and ends in the region of the Red Sea. If the arrangements are meant for the security of the region, then every country should be taken into consideration.

[AL-HURRIYAH] The countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council are acting as one bloc and are entering into security arrangements with other countries in the region, such as the latest agreement with Iran. Was this, in your opinion, meant to keep Yemen and Iraq outside these arrangements?

[al-Aryani] Any peace or stability should be established on relations of trust among all countries of the region. This is the most important safety valve for peace and security. Some might see the necessity to establish special arrangements. These arrangements are only short-term, because in the long run, everyone will realize that peace and security are only achieved by mutual trust among all parties in the region.

[AL-HURRIYAH] Does this apply to the American-Kuwaiti security agreement?

[al-Aryani] This is a matter between Kuwait and the United States. The question that should be asked here is whether this is the best way to protect Kuwait and the Gulf region.

#### Return of Yemeni-American Relations

[AL-HURRIYAH] What about the relations between Yemen and the United States after the Gulf crisis?

[al-Aryani] Yemeni-American relations are quickly returning to their normal state. In fact, there was never a rupture, even though each country had its own position, which it explained thoroughly to the other. It is true that, during the crisis, agreement was not reached between the two countries on some issues. However, I assure you now that the uncertainty, misunderstanding, and disappointments have been overcome by both countries and I can frankly tell you that the reestablishment of Yemeni-American relations is going much better than the Arab-Arab relations.

[AL-HURRIYAH] How about the financial assistance that was stopped?

[al-Aryani] Much of it has been resumed and others will not be resumed until the next fiscal year. The assistance was not really stopped, but was frozen during the crisis. The trade relations and food assistance which were frozen have been resumed.

#### New Fears of the "New World Order"

[AL-HURRIYAH] Yemen is a developing country, what do you think of the concept of the "new world order?"

[al-Aryani] Statements made by several Prime Ministers and Ministers of Foreign Affairs of developing countries at the UN General Assembly reflect new concerns about this order. They all have heard of the new order, but none of them have found a clear explanation about its nature. They all are afraid that the "new world order" might change into a "new world to order." The specifics of this order are not clear yet. The small and weak developing countries have the right to inquire about this new system and to make sure that it will not be similar to attempts that were made at the beginning of this century and which finally led to mandates and new colonization activities. We must turn to history when we become anxious. In addition, the concept has not been rejected. However, it is still clouded with many doubts and Yemen is not the only country that is concerned about this concept, especially when we know that the relations between strong and weak, industrial countries and developing countries, and between North and South are not yet clear. These matters deserve to be discussed, but there is no need to reject them.

[AL-HURRIYAH] The American initiative to solve the Middle East crisis, or more precisely, to find a solution for the Palestinian issue has been agreed to by almost all the countries bordering Israel. Do you have a specific position toward the initiative?

[al-Aryani] We are among the countries that endorsed the initiative and all Yemeni positions are based on the principle endorsed by President Bush, which states that peace in the region must be founded on Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. This is the initiative

announced by President Bush, according to which peace efforts are now being carried out. Some might argue about the technique and mechanism and that, in our opinion, is secondary. The principle that Yemen adheres to is the nature of the peaceful solution and as a consequence we should await the achievement of peace based on Resolutions 242 and 338. In effect, the Arabs have adopted the same principle and called for the same principle in their resolutions at the Fez Summit.

[AL-HURRIYAH] However, there are several obstacles and difficulties, such as the Palestinian representation and...

[al-Aryani] [Interrupting] Yemen does not enter into details. We support the initiative in the light of the principles I mentioned and for the rest, I go by the popular proverb which states: "Let the baker handle the dough."

## BANGLADESH

### Navy Chief Returns From Visit to PRC

92AS0309 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 16 Oct 91 p 1

[Text] Chief of the Naval Staff Rear Admiral Mohammad Mohaiminul Islam returned home on Tuesday ending his goodwill visit to the People's Republic of China, says an ISPR [Inservice Public Relations] Press release.

During his stay in China the Navy Chief called on the Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission Admiral Liu Huaqing, the Defence Minister Mr. Qin Jiwei, Chief of General Staff of the PLA [People's Liberation Army] General Chi Haotian, Commander of PLA (Navy), Vice Admiral Zhang Lianzhong and Commander of PLA (Air Force) General Wang Hai and discussed matters of mutual interest.

He also paid visits to the East China Fleet and training complex of the PLA (Navy) in Shanghai and went on board some of the most modern ships belonging to the East China Fleet. He also visited the surface ship Academy and Naval Shipyard at Canton. Earlier, Chief of the Naval Staff visited the National Defence University in Beijing, the highest seat of Military learning in China.

The Chief of Naval Staff was accompanied by a three-member goodwill delegation.

### Japanese Diplomat Reviews Economic Aid

92AS0311A Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English  
11 Oct 91 pp 1, 8

[Text] Japan attaches top priority to economic cooperation with Bangladesh to help develop latter's economy.

Disclosing this at a press briefing at the Japanese Embassy in Dhaka yesterday morning, Mr. H. Kitaoka, First Secretary, economic cooperation, said Bangladesh being the South Asian country, enjoys a special privilege to receive increased Japanese grants and assistance in the coming years.

Mr Kitaoka, who took up his new assignment in Bangladesh about two weeks ago, said the level of Japanese grant and assistance will rise to about 22.2 billion yen in 1992 from 20 billion yen till the end of 1991 marking an average increase of about two billion yen per fiscal year. In 1989, the quantum of grants and assistance was 17.5 billion yen.

Elaborating, he said, Japanese grants and assistance to Bangladesh stood at 182.8 billion yen by the end of 1989.

Referring to Japan's economic policy towards Bangladesh, he said, Bangladesh has been taken in high esteem for providing economic aid and support to strengthen her fragile economy which suffered a serious setback by catastrophic cyclone in the month of April.

With this end in view, Government and people of Japan have sympathy for Bangladesh which is exposed to natural calamities because of her geographical location.

In this context, he said, to supplement Bangladesh Government's efforts rehabilitate her economy, Japan dispatched emergency relief assistance to the tune of 20 million US dollars, besides two helicopters and a 50-member team to conduct relief operation.

Giving a detailed breakup of Japanese economic assistance which includes grants and assistance, Mr Kitaoka said, Japan so far provided loans amounting to 449 billion yen. This figure includes 55 percent commodity assistance. In term of economic assistance, Bangladesh is the 9th largest aid recipient country. On project loans, he said at the end of 1990, industrial sector of Bangladesh received 19.7 percent, electricity, 11 percent, telecommunications 2.9 percent and the remaining portion was consumed by other sectors.

Japan also made available 12.2 billion yen as commodity loan for rehabilitation of projects affected by cyclone. These include Chittagong airport and electricity generators.

He also referred to various Japanese-aided projects like Narayanganj-Narsingdi irrigation project, Dhaka city drainage project, agricultural rehabilitation project, among others.

Describing the present communication between the two governments as "good," he called for more cooperation in this field to promote increased inflow of economic aid to Bangladesh. Japan is also eager to take up more projects in the near future after conducting feasibility study according to new policy she is going to embark upon. He, however, said environment is a very important factor while undertaking construction of a project. The environment aspect must be taken into consideration, he observed.

He also said Japan attaches priority to the development of road communication for economic uplift and his country is likely to announce its policy in this regard soon. He also called for project performance evolution through exchange of information between the two governments. He also referred to the telecommunication microwave project at Khulna and water supply project at Jhenidah completed with Japanese economic assistance.

He also referred to eight other different projects set up with Japanese assistance.

Replying to a question on Karnafuly urea fertilizer company (KUFCO) situation, he said, the Bangladesh authorities should issue letter of guarantee as soon as possible to make the credit available to start its construction. Both officials of Bangladesh and Japan met recently in Dhaka to resolve the KUFCO crisis, he added.

Already, 1,400 staff have been employed in the project site. He said KUFCO would be a beneficial project for Bangladesh.

About training facilities for Bangladeshis to improve their skill, he said, as many as ten Japanese companies made investments in Chittagong Export Processing Zone (CEPZ) and a good number of Bangladeshis have been working there.

He said, Bangladesh Embassy in Tokyo is holding seminars almost every month urging Japanese investments.

He said, Japanese Government welcomed Bangladesh's return to parliamentary democracy which would further promote ties between the two countries. Japanese people are encouraged more about Bangladesh after establishment of democracy, he said.

Press briefing over, the Japanese Ambassador to Bangladesh, Mr Toshio Saiki, talked to the journalists.

Referring to Japanese aided projects, he said, these projects would be helpful for Bangladesh. He further said, "we would like to strengthen existing ties between Japan and Bangladesh and efforts shall continue in this regard.

Speaking about KUFACO, he described it as "great problem." Unless the problem is resolved KUFACO will collapse financially, he added.

## Reportage on Visit of EEC Delegation

### Report on Dhaka Talks

92AS0314A Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English  
22 Oct 91 pp 1, 8

[Text] The whole spectrum of the EEC cooperation for the development efforts of Bangladesh was discussed at the formal talks between the Government and the visiting EEC ministers' delegation here yesterday, reports BSS.

The talks, held at the conference room of the National Economic Council (NEC), lasted three hours during which the two sides discussed various aspects of the EEC cooperation and the assistance Bangladesh needed, an official said.

Finance Minister M Saifur Rahman led the 170-member Bangladesh team at the talks while the 12-member EEC side was headed by the Minister for Development Cooperation of the Netherlands, Mr J P Pronk.

The other members of the Bangladesh team included Health Minister Chowdhury Kamal Ibne Yusuf, Food Minister Shamsul Islam, Planning Minister Zahiruddin Khan, State Minister for Education Prof. Mohammad Yunus Khan and State Minister for Shipping Harun al Rashid.

Talking to BSS at the end of the talks, Finance Minister Saifur Rahman said Bangladesh has apprised the EEC delegation of its fundamental policies for development and democracy.

The Finance Minister said the delegation was apprised of the priorities the Bangladesh Government had set and added, those are fully in line with the EEC.

He said, agriculture was given the top priority while the other priority sectors included rural development, reduction of poverty, education, women development and preservation of environment.

The Minister said Bangladesh had urged the EEC to continue its (EEC) food assistance at an enhanced level.

Mr Rahman said that he informed the delegation of the Government's monetary and fiscal policies to mobilise domestic resources.

He said, the Government's economic policy which gave emphasis on private sector was explained to the delegation. "We want to give infrastructural support only" for the development of education, health and social welfare in the private sector, he said.

The Finance Minister said that he drew the attention of the delegation to the "stringent conditions" attached to the various assistance programmes of the IMF, World Bank and Asian Development Bank which, he added, had been creating "social tension and social disharmony."

"We requested the delegation that since four members of the G-7 belong to EEC, the EEC should try to reduce the stringent conditionalities attached to various assistance programmes as those cause difficulties to implement the projects," he said.

Mr Rahman said Bangladesh urged the EEC to make efforts for early conclusion of the Uruguay Round conference of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

The EEC delegation appreciated the development programmes undertaken by the Bangladesh Government.

### Delegation Leader Meets Press

92AS0314B Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 23 Oct 91 pp 1, 10

[Text] Mr. J.P. Pronk, leader of the EEC Minister's delegation and Minister for Development Cooperation, the Netherlands, on Tuesday assured long-term assistance of the European Economic Community to Bangladesh for alleviating poverty, flood prevention and augmenting food production.

Addressing a Press conference at a local hotel on the eve of the delegation's departure after a four-day visit Mr. Pronk congratulated the people of Bangladesh for their return to democracy. He said development policies could not be implemented without democracy.

Expressed the EEC's commitment and priority to the newly emerged democracies, he ruled out the possibilities of any aid cut to the developing countries following the community's aid programme in the East European

countries. Commenting on the utilisation of EEC aid in Bangladesh, Mr. Pronk said that situation was better than many other developing countries.

Lauding the development programmes undertaken by the new democratic government in Bangladesh, he assured continued EEC assistance in its efforts.

Stressing the importance of consensus between the government and the opposition in implementing development policies the EEC delegation leader said the government should maintain contact with the opposition. He also underscored the need for taking into cognizance the views of the opposition in the development policies saying those who were in the opposition might in the government next time. Terming opposition as part and parcel of democracy, Mr. Pronk said the views of the opposition could not be neglected.

Pointing to the student unrest in Bangladesh, he said, the Parliament should take lead in resolving the differences.

Referring to the delegation's meeting with the Prime Minister and the other ministers of the Government, Mr. Pronk said they had shown earnest desire for diminishing poverty and undertaking development policies for the country. He assured EEC's assistance in overcoming post-flood crisis in the northern districts of the country.

The leader of the EEC delegation said the problems of Bangladesh could be solved in the regional framework, specially through increased cooperation with its neighbours including India. Economic cooperation of the countries of the region was vital for the mutual benefit of the countries of the SAARC, he suggested.

When his attention was drawn to the protectionists policy of the industrialised countries and quota restrictions imposed on developing countries' exports. Mr. Pronk said EEC followed Generalised System of Preference (GSP) in the trade. He, however, said the EEC's market would be made more flexible in near future regarding quota restrictions.

Explaining the policy of the European Economic Community, he said the EEC had put conditions while providing aid which among others, include the human rights conditions, defence expenditure, economic management in the countries seeking the EEC assistance. In this context, he mentioned that the human rights condition in Bangladesh was better than many other Asian countries. About the defence expenditure, he said, Bangladesh was spending a small percentage of its GNP in this head.

#### **Emergency Relief by Government Lauded**

BSS adds: Mr. Pronk said the EEC was opposed to the increased defence expenditure as seen in many countries in Asia.

Answering another question he said Bangladesh wanted the EEC to use its good offices to convince the World Bank to reduce conditions while disbursing aid.

The EEC leader said the Bangladesh Government was pleased at the coordination of EEC assistance. We have received no complaint, he added.

Mr. Pronk highly appreciated the emergency relief and rehabilitation programme undertaken by the new Government in Bangladesh and said "everything is going well."

He told a questioner that the EEC assistance covered the health and education sectors besides food aid.

Mr. Pronk said the EEC was keen to provide long-term assistance to Bangladesh on various projects to be designed by the government.

Replying to a question he said some of the problems of Bangladesh should be resolved through regional cooperation. In this context, he referred to the problems of ecological imbalance.

#### **Further Details on Press Conference**

92AS0314C Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English  
23 Oct 91 pp 1, 8

[Text] Dutch Development Minister J.T. Pronk, who led the European Commission mission yesterday said that the European Commission would provide for Bangladesh development support on a long-term perspective.

He told a press conference at the end of his visit to Bangladesh yesterday that the main objective of the visit by the mission led by him was to discuss Bangladesh's development priorities and development cooperation with the present democratic government.

Congratulating the people of Bangladesh for the recent return to parliamentary democracy on behalf of the European Community Pronk said that development policy without democracy will not be sustainable.

Pronk said that he was impressed with the talks he had with the Prime Minister and other ministers of the Government and the priority the Government attached to diminish poverty particularly in the rural areas, where a large number of the people lived below the poverty line.

J.M. Duraro Baroso, State Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Portugal, Juan Prat, Director General, North-South, European Commission Ungeheur, of Luxembourg, members of the mission, also took part in the press conference.

Pronk said that his delegation assured the Government of the long-term assistance from the European Commission so that Bangladesh could take the tasks of sustaining democracy.

He said in categorical terms that European Commission's assistance to Bangladesh would in no way be affected by its assistance programmes to the eastern European or other countries.

Pronk said that the present democratic government in Bangladesh has taken the policy of mobilising more resources from domestic resources before looking for foreign aid.

He said that this policy taken more by the present democratic government than by the previous government has been appreciated by all.

The European mission leader said, "That's the proper way."

Pronk said that the European democracies highly appreciated Bangladesh for its recent return to democracy.

In a democracy, he said, the opposition being part and parcel of the government took the responsibilities as well.

He said that if necessary assistance would not be lacking in Bangladesh for meeting the aftermaths of the recent floods.

Replying a question whether European Commission would pursue the same policy with regard to SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] as it did for the ASEAN. Pronk said that for a country like Bangladesh too many poor people the answer would not be the same as for the ASEAN countries in the mid-income bracket.

But, he added, for Bangladesh there were a number of problems which could be solved only within the regional framework.

Pronk in this regard said that for solving Bangladesh's problems like water management and environment India and the Himalayas are involved. [sentence as published]

Pronk said that donor countries can press other countries of the region to be responsible in this respect as there is a lot of politics involved.

Bangladesh, he suggested, could look for more export markets including India.

To a question he said that European Community would continue to extend to Bangladesh the general system of preferences for its exports beyond 1993.

But he said that for trade in the ultimately analysis competitiveness rather preferential treatments would be more helpful. He said that preferential treatment could be useful for the transitional facilities.

Pronk said that Bangladesh was doing very good with its garments exports.

Replying to another question, Juan Prat, Director General of European Commission said, "there are no quota restrictions for Bangladesh's garment exports to the community."

Prat said in reply to another question that Bangladesh's utilisation of emergency aid from the European Commission has been "very good" since the democratic government came to power.

"In general we are quite satisfied with the way it has been utilised," he said. He in this regard mentioned the tackling of the aftermath of the recent cyclone that battered the coastal belt of Bangladesh on April 30.

Pronk said, "we are trying to diversify our aid according to your priorities" which he added includes balanced rural development with human rights.

Pronk said that European Community discouraged aid to the countries which spent more on militarisation and armaments.

But he said that Bangladesh's development expenditures were much less compared to the others.

Pronk also said that the European Community attached conditions of human rights and environment for giving assistance. But, he added, we have started a discussion among ourselves to make the conditions more flexible so that development can take place. He said that he himself chaired a meeting recently with this objective in view.

Asked about coordination of aid Pronk said, "we have the impression that Bangladesh Government is pleased with the coordination."

### **Water Transit, Trade Pact With India Renewed**

92AS0322A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 4 Oct 91 p 1

[Text] The two-year inland water transit and trade protocol between Bangladesh and India was renewed in Dhaka on Thursday reports BSS.

Under the protocol, certain waterways of both the countries will be allowed to be used by the vessels of the other country. Besides, transit facilities will be extended to Indian vessels for passing through Bangladesh under certain terms and conditions.

The previous protocol which was signed two years ago also expired on Thursday.

### **Indian Attackers Sink Trawler in Home Waters**

92AS0319A Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English  
5 Oct 91 pp 1, 12

[Text] Khulna, 4 October—A fleet of eight armed Indian trawlers allegedly entered into Bangladesh territorial waters near Hiron Point Wednesday and attacked two Bangladesh trawlers and looted them.

Of the two attacked trawlers one was sunk and 12 crew were injured.

Wednesday afternoon eight armed Indian trawlers approached two Bangladeshi trawlers near the Hiron Point and asked their crew to vacate their trawlers.

The crew of the Indian trawlers attacked the crew of the two Bangladeshi trawlers with bombs and other lethal arms.

The Indians looted valuables including radio sets, nets and fish worth Tk 10 lakh and left the area.

During the attack one Bangladeshi trawler was sunk by the Indian miscreants.

All the 29 crew of Bangladeshi trawlers reached Khulna Thursday night with great difficulty.

They alleged that the Indian trawlers frequently entered the Bangladesh waters and caught fish.

They could identify two Indian trawlers out of eight. "Chand Sawdagar" and "Chandan Sawdagar." Meanwhile, a Bangladesh Navy patrol craft caught one Indian trawler from Bangladesh territorial waters, the fishermen said.

Bangladesh Navy also arrested 12 crew of the Indian trawler "MA Sharbani" when they were fishing in Bangladesh waters near the Hiron Point on Wednesday.

The arrested crew are Ramesh Biswas, Rohon Biswas, Probir, Ashish, Niam Biswas, Bhagadhar, Gopal, Bimal, Vanu, Shambu, Panchanan and Parikhit.

The trawler and crew were handed over to Mongla thana. A case has been registered with Sharankhola police in this connection.

#### **Biographical Information on New President Biswas**

*92AS0318A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 9 Oct 91 p 10*

[Text] Born in September, 1926 in a respectable Muslim family at Shaistabad, Barisal, Mr. Biswas was a brilliant student. He had his early education in Barisal Zila School. He obtained BA (Hons) M.A. and L.L.B. degree from Dhaka University. He was a resident student of Salimullah Muslim Hall.

He actively participated in the Language Movement. He joined the Barisal Bar in 1955 and was enrolled as an advocate of the High Court Bar in 1959. He established himself as one of the leading lawyers of the country.

Right from the beginning, he was actively associated with various social activities. He was elected Vice-Chairman of Barisal Central Cooperative Bank, Chairman, Barisal Islamia Urban Cooperative Bank, Cooperative Union for several times since 1955. He founded a large number of educational institutions including Shaistabad High School, Char Aria High School, Barisal College, Barisal Law College and has been associated with all educational institutions.

He was recognised by the then government as a veteran social worker published in the Dhaka Gazette. He was elected member of East Pakistan Provincial Assembly in 1962 and 1965 on Muslim League ticket. His role as a parliamentarian was appreciated by all. He was Parliamentary Secretary to the then government of East Pakistan for Finance, Planning, Service and General Administration and Education. He was also Chairman of the Standing Committee for Law and Parliamentary Affairs.

He was member of the 10-member-delegations of Pakistan to the UNO [United Nations Organization] in 1967 and topped the non-official delegates. For his excellent performances, he was offered diplomatic assignments abroad but he declined. He was an important member of Pakistan Central Jute Committee. He was also director of the then EP Provincial Bank.

He was elected President of Barisal Bar in 1974 against Awami League nominee re-elected in 1976, founder Vice-President of Jatiya Ainjibi Samity. He was elected Chairman of Barisal Pourasabha in 1977, Chairman of Chairmen's Association, Bakerganj District. Extensively toured USA, some countries of Europe, including UK and France, some Far-Eastern countries and performed umra hajj.

He responded to the clarion call of late President Ziaur Rahman, joined Jatiyatabadi Ganatantrik Dal led by the then Vice-President Justice Abdus Sattar, was a member of the central committee and Convenor of Bakerganj administrative district committee. During presidential election of Shaheed Ziaur Rahman in 1978, he was in charge of election of the district—he was also chairman of the District Front.

His services were appreciated by late President Ziaur Rahman and all. At the request of late Ziaur Rahman, he joined his newly formed party "Bangladesh Nationalist Party," was a member of the original central committee, Convenor of Barisal Sadar political district committee, organised the party at all levels, steered the MP [member of Parliament] election of 1979 at the direction of Ziaur Rahman and due to President Zia's popularity at that time and his personal service and popularity all over the district. Quite a new faces was elected as MP—these faces were supported by all authentic sources. He himself was elected Member of National Parliament from Barisal Kotwali constituency by overwhelming majority votes.

He was taken in by late President Ziaur Rahman in the Cabinet and given the charge of the Ministry of Jute when the position of jute and jute industry was in a precarious condition. Against all odds, jute sector for the first over-excessive work he fell ill and was retrieved of the charge of the Ministry. [sentence as published] He was Chairman of the Board of Directors of Agrani Bank and also Chairman of Estimates Committee of the Parliament.

During the Presidential Election of 1981, he was given in charge of election of Barisal political district. He was a

member of the Council of Ministers and was assigned the charge of the Ministry of Health and Population Control and remained there till power was virtually taken over by Hossain Muhammad Ershad. He was awarded civic reception by the people of Barisal in 1981.

## **Zia Participation in Harare Summit Reported**

### **Speech at Opening**

92AS0317A Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER*  
in English 17 Oct 91 pp 1, 10

[Text] Harare, Oct. 16—Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia today underlined the need for achieving self-reliance by each of the Commonwealth member-states for realising the goals of freedom from political oppression, vindicating human rights as well as attaining social and economic emancipation, reports BSS.

The Bangladesh Prime Minister was addressing the opening ceremony of the 11th Commonwealth heads of government meeting (CHOGM) in Harare international conference centre as one of the five heads of government, specially invited to speak in response to the welcome address of the host President Robert G. Mugabe.

The Prime Minister said people's prospect for economic and social progress could not flower without participatory democracy and without improved standard of living and vision for future to sustain democracy.

She said the myth that only "command regimes," could ensure progress had been exploded in Bangladesh as elsewhere. "It is now plain that without popular participation in decision making, without transparency and accountability, the basic values cannot be realised," she added.

Begum Zia said the Commonwealth with its core value to pursue human rights and democracy had an important role to play in promoting these perceptions and processes.

The Prime Minister said the 11th CHOGM was taking place at an important period of continuity and change. She said: "we are now faced with rare opportunity and challenges to make Commonwealth an enduring force for humanity—at a time when mankind was living through the most complex and rapid changes in world affairs." She said "we hope that the spirit that impels this Harare meeting will be translated into meaningful plans of action."

Four other heads of government who addressed in response to the welcome speech include Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom, President George Vassiliou of Cyprus, Prime Minister Michael Manley of Jamaica and President Sam Nujoma of Namibia, the new member of the Commonwealth.

Earlier on arrival at the venue, Prime Minister Begum Zia was received by President Robert Mugabe and Secretary General, Chief Emeka Anyaoku.

Begum Zia said the Commonwealth priority must reflect an increasing emphasis on promoting "country-specific" economic development.

She stressed increasing attention on policy development through studies in areas like Uruguay round, lesser reliance on community exports, debt restructuring, financial flows, comparative work in foreign investment policies and negotiation techniques with donors.

The Prime Minister described social aspects of policy improvement as important, especially concentration on those disadvantaged groups who were tended to be by-passed in the pursuit of economic growth.

Dwelling on issues of global interdependence, the Prime Minister said long-term perspective was vital to tackle the threats to eco-system and the impact of natural disaster affecting survival of many countries. She mentioned the "Langkawi Declaration" in 1989 which highlighted the Commonwealth concern on environment and sustainable development. She said: "much more needs to be done in conservation efforts and participation in international agreement in this respect."

The Bangladesh Prime Minister said the role and status of women was crucial especially for sustainable development and population planning.

Begum Zia said the promotion of multilateralism always remained a fundamental commitment of Bangladesh in its quest for a new world order. She said in South Asia Bangladesh sought to enhance SAARC's [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] socio-economic mandate and to promote confidence-building to reduce tension. "We support all measures to preserve the security of small states to strengthen the financial and institutional base of peace keeping, find new direction for preventive diplomacy and contain and respond to the impact of man-made and natural disaster," she said.

Begum Khaleda Zia said Bangladesh had contributed to peace keeping by sending contingents to police ceasefire lines and helped reconstruction efforts in Gulf.

The Prime Minister said Bangladesh had helped monitor elections in Namibia and Zimbabwe and had striven to project the concern of the least developed countries and to keep alive the commitment for preferential treatment of the poorest of the poor.

She said, "we have sought to address solution to global problems of drugs, terrorism and environment damage in the light of our own experience."

Begum Zia described the Commonwealth as powerful forum to pursue political dialogue and consensus-building because of its diversity. She said the Commonwealth's political role was illustrated by its tenacity to end apartheid. The goal remained paramount—to promote negotiations for the future constitution of a democratic and multi-racial South-Africa. She said adding, her government fully supported the decisions of the



Commonwealth Foreign Ministers to relax sanctions in phases as concrete objectives were made.

The Bangladesh Prime Minister said "all states in southern Africa must be supported in achieving security and sustained development." Bangladesh like all other peace-loving states wants just and peaceful solution of the Palestinian issue, she said adding "we welcome the relent initiatives in this regard."

### Environmental Meeting

92AS0317B Dhaka *THE NEW NATION* in English  
19 Oct 91 pp 1, 8

[Text] Harare, Oct. 18, (BSS)—Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia today stressed the need for global co-operation to tackle the environmental problems effectively from the curse of natural disasters.

Begum Zia made the call while intervening the discussion on environmental issues at the executive session of the Commonwealth heads of government meetings at the international conference centre here.

She said Bangladesh, prone to natural disasters, could not but be concerned about the environmental hazards. She said, Bangladesh in the recent past was wrought by the strongest cyclone of the century in its southern parts of the country which was followed by a series of floods in the north. Being a developing country it is not possible for Bangladesh alone to tackle such recurring natural calamities, she said.

Begum Zia said poverty alleviation and improvement of the living standard of the people were the main thrusts of the Third World countries and Bangladesh was no exception to that.

She called for worldwide co-operation to find solution to the environmental problems so that the Third World nations could sustain their development efforts.

In this context, the Prime Minister referred to the Langkai declaration of the Commonwealth in 1989 and appreciated the concern expressed by the Commonwealth community about the environmental hazards. She said, it is high time for the Commonwealth to come forward with financial and technical assistance to study the environmental problems and to find their solutions.

Begum Khaleda Zia said Bangladesh on its part had undertaken a gigantic reconstruction programme to repair the damage caused by recurring natural calamities. She said, a massive afforestation programme was underway in the country particularly in the southern coastal belt to maintain ecological balance and prevent natural disaster.

"Besides, construction of coastal embankments and multi-purpose shelters are also underway to save the people from cyclone and tidal bore, she added.

Begum Zia made an appeal to the international community particularly the Commonwealth to come forward to help implement the programmes.

Foreign Minister A S M Mostafizur Rahman also attended the executive session.

### Meets Queen

Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia attended a banquet last night hosted by Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe for the heads of government and their spouses at Hotel Sheraton here.

Begum Zia talked to the distinguished guests at the banquet and exchanged pleasantries with them.

Earlier the Prime Minister had an exclusive luncheon meeting with Queen Elizabeth II at the state guest house Thursday.

She was one of the three heads of government who were invited by the Queen to have lunch with her.

### Talks With UK Delegate

92AS0317C Dhaka *THE NEW NATION* in English  
19 Oct 91 pp 1, 8

[Text] Harare, Oct 18 (BSS)—Britain will continue to give assistance to Bangladesh for its overall economic development.

This was stated by the British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd when he called on Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia at her Monomatapa Hotel suite here Thursday evening.

Later briefing BSS Special Correspondent Shafiqul Karim Foreign Secretary Reaz Rahman said they had a cordial meeting lasting about 30 minutes.

Mr Hurd said the British Government would not limit its assistance to Bangladesh during the time of disaster only. He said the Government and people of Britain had genuine sympathy for Bangladesh and they would do whatever they could.

Referring to the democratic system in Bangladesh, Mr Hurd said, the Government and the people in the UK were watching with great interest the remarkable progress towards democracy that had been made in Bangladesh.

Begum Zia mentioned the transition to parliamentary system of Government through unanimous decision in the Parliament.

The Prime Minister thanked the British Government for its generous assistance during the cyclone.

She also referred to the various programmes including those for the women undertaken by her Government to change the socio-economic conditions of Bangladesh.

The Prime Minister thanked the British Government for looking after the interest of the members of Bangladeshi community living in Britain.

The British Foreign Secretary invited Begum Khaleda Zia to visit the United Kingdom and she accepted the invitation.

Foreign Minister A.S.M. Mostafizur Rahman and Foreign Secretary Reaz Rahman were also present.

#### Talks With Malaysian Delegate

92AS0317D Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 18 Oct 91 p 1

[Text] Harare, Oct. 17—Bangladesh and Malaysia today agreed to increase bilateral trade and cooperation for the mutual benefit of the two countries, reports BSS.

This was decided at an exclusive meeting held between Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia and her Malaysian counterpart, Dr. Mahathir Mohammed at the International Conference Centre here this morning.

A spokesman said the two leaders exchanged views on bilateral, regional and international issues during their meeting lasting more than half an hour.

Dr. Mahathir stressed that the two countries should maintain close links in all fields for mutual benefit of the two peoples.

He said the Joint Economic Commission meeting would be held in Malaysia this year where efforts would be made to increase trade between the two countries.

Dr. Mahathir said Malaysia would import manpower from Bangladesh both unskilled and skilled labourers and professionals including engineers and doctors.

Malaysia would also extend help to Bangladesh in rubber plantation through providing expertise, he added.

He also stressed the need for close cooperation between ASEAN and SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation].

Dr. Mahathir maintained that there should be exchange of visits by leaders of the two democratic countries.

Begum Khaleda Zia extended an invitation to Dr. Mahathir to visit Bangladesh which the latter accepted.

The Malaysian Premier also invited Begum Zia to visit his country.

Foreign Minister A.S.M. Mostafizur Rahman was also present on the occasion.

#### Remarks on Return

92AS0317E Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 21 Oct 91 pp 1, 8

[Text] The Prime Minister, Begum Khaleda Zia, yesterday described the reports in a section of the press

which alleged that famine situation was prevailing in the northern districts as "not correct."

The Prime Minister, who returned from Harare two days before the on-going Commonwealth Summit is due to end, told newsmen at the Zia International Airport that more than necessary food was being provided to those who needed it in the deficit areas in the northern districts.

She said, replying to a question, that the reports published in a section of the press seeking to alleged that a famine situation prevailed in the northern districts "were politically motivated."

When asked to identify the newspapers or political elements seeking to do this the Prime Minister said, "You know better as also the people know them."

Asked whether she cut short her stay in the Zimbabwean capital, the venue of the on-going summit, because of the alleged famine situation the Prime Minister said, "it's not correct."

The Prime Minister said that she came earlier as she has a lot of work to do at home and also because Parliament is in session.

The Prime Minister said that she asked Foreign Minister Mostafizur Rahman to stay back in Harare till the end of the summit.

At the first ever summit meeting she attended as the head of government Begum Khaleda Zia said, she had discussions with the leaders of the 50-member countries.

She said that she had discussions with Namibian leader Sam Nujoma. Namibia is the latest country to be member of the Commonwealth, which is now 50-nation forum.

At the summit conference, the Prime Minister said she spoke for Bangladesh stressing on environmental and economic issues.

She said that she discussed various issues of mutual interest with the leaders of other nations who attended the conference.

The Prime Minister, replying to a question, said that during her talks with Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao, the question of Tin Bigha and other issues of interest to the two countries were discussed.

Begum Khaleda Zia expressed optimism that all the issues would be resolved between the two countries.

She said that it should not be difficult for the two countries to solve them because in Bangladesh now a democratic government was in power and in India too a new government had been installed.

Replying to another question the Prime Minister said that Bangladesh expects a solution to the Ganges and other issues with India would be possible soon through discussions.

The Prime Minister said that on the Ganges issue the Secretary level talks were held recently and added further talks would follow for a solution.

The Bangladesh Prime Minister said that her talks with the Indian leader took place in a different atmosphere of the summit. She said that the Indian Prime Minister also had to cut short his visit for the by-election in his country.

She said that the Indian Prime Minister extended an invitation to her to visit India and added she reciprocated by inviting him to visit Bangladesh.

Asked whether she would visit India this year the Prime Minister said that it may not be possible as she would have to attend the SAARC and the OIC [Organization of Islamic Conference] summit conferences.

She, however, said that her visit to India would take place according to convenience.

Asked whether she would remain present at the ceremony when India hands over Tin Bigha Corridor to Bangladesh, under an agreement signed 17 years back, the Prime Minister said it could be decided at that time.

The Prime Minister expressed her optimism about repatriation of Pakistanis stranded in Bangladesh to Pakistan when asked whether the question was discussed during her discussions with the Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and when this problem could be resolved?

Earlier on her arrival at the Zia International Airport a detachment drawn from the three services gave the Prime Minister a guard of honour as the national anthem was played by the band. The Prime Minister took the salute.

Cabinet Ministers, Heads of Diplomatic missions' of Commonwealth countries available in Dhaka, and senior civil and military officials including the three service chiefs received the Prime Minister at the airport.

#### **Razzak Ali Elected Speaker of Parliament**

92AS0310A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 13 Oct 91 pp 1, 10

[Excerpt] Deputy Speaker Razzak Ali has been unanimously elected as the new Speaker of the Parliament on Saturday when the Jatiya Sangsad began its third session. He replaced former Speaker Mr. Abdur Rahman Biswas who was sworn in as the President of the country on Wednesday.

Earlier, a consensus was reached between the ruling party and the opposition in the Parliament on the election of Sheikh Razzak Ali as the Speaker of the House.

The new Speaker took his oath from President Abdur Rahman Biswas at the Sangsad Bhaban immediately after his unanimous election.

Members from both the Treasury and Opposition benches congratulated the new Speaker after his election. He was warmly embraced by the Opposition members and received greetings from his fellow members of the ruling party BNP [Bharatiya Janata Party].

The new Speaker termed the current session of the Jatiya Sangsad, now being held after the establishment of parliamentary democracy, as "historic" and he congratulated the members of the Parliament on this occasion.

The day's session started at 4.12 p.m. with Deputy Speaker Sheikh Razzak Ali in the chair. He announced the names of panel of chairman for conducting the business of the House in the absence of the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker. The panel of chairman included Mr. Humayun Khan Panni, Mr. Abdur Rob Chowdhury, Mr. Nizamuddin Khan, Mr. Asaduzzaman and Begum Selima Rahman.

The Deputy Speaker adjourned the House for five minutes for the election of the Speaker. The election session was chaired by Mr. Humayun Khan Panni who informed the House that he received two proposals, both in favour of Sheikh Razzak Ali, for the election of the new Speaker.

Local Government Minister Abdus Salam Talukder who is also the Secretary General of the ruling party BNP proposed the name of Sheikh Razzak Ali as the Speaker which was seconded by Home Minister Abdul Matin Chowdhury. When the chair placed the proposal for voting it was passed unanimously by members of both Treasury and Opposition benches.

BBS adds: Replying to felicitations extended to him by the Opposition and Treasury benches, Speaker Sheikh Razzak Ali called for cooperation in discharging his responsibility to fulfil the hopes and aspirations of the people. He assured them of his neutrality and sincerity in performing his responsibilities. [passage omitted]

#### **Report on BBC Interview With Khaleda Zia**

92AS0316A Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English  
20 Oct 91 pp 1, 8

[Text] Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia yesterday said peace and economic progress could be achieved in the sub-continent if all worked in cooperation to solve the problems facing the countries of the region.

During an interview with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in London, where she is on her way back home from the Commonwealth summit in Harare, the Bangladesh Prime Minister said that she had talks with the heads of governments of India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, the Maldives in the Zimbabwe capital on the problems of the region.

Replying to a question Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia said that during her talks with Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao "we discussed different issues."

The Bangladesh Prime Minister said that she discussed the problem of Tin Bigha with the Indian Prime Minister.

During the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] summit due for the next month, she said, she would have further discussions.

Some of the issues, she said, were already discussed.

She said replying to a question that she might visit India some time next year according to mutual convenience.

Begum Khaleda Zia described the BNP [Bangladesh Nationalist Party] Government in Bangladesh led by her as "people's government" and "nationalist government."

She said, BNP had faith in the people of Bangladesh and was inspired by nationalism.

Welfare of people, development of Bangladesh, were the basic ideas guiding the politics of her BNP government, she said, adding, "at the same time friendship with all is our objective."

The Bangladesh Prime Minister dismissed a suggestion from the BBC correspondent that there was a feeling in India that BNP government was against India.

Begum Zia said that BNP government had its own positive policies and added that it was not against anyone.

Replying to a question she described the Indian allegation that Bangladesh was assisting the separatists in Assam Province of India as baseless.

The prime minister said, "we wish everyone well, we want the advancement of our own country, and for the neighbours we have our good wishes."

The Bangladesh Prime Minister hoped that all would contribute towards further strengthening the relations between the two countries instead of spreading such concocted stories.

#### **Paper Interviews Finance Minister Rahman**

92AS0315A Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English  
22 Oct 91 pp 1, 8

[Article by A.Z.M. Haider]

[Text] Finance Minister M Saifur Rahman said the 25-million dollar industrial credit he had negotiated with World Bank would be made available almost entirely to help promote the growth of small and medium-sized industries in the rural areas.

He made this announcement yesterday when he was talking to THE NEW NATION. The Finance Minister's

announcement was merely a reconfirmation of the policy statement made by Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia at a recent interview with BBC in London that her Government would promote small and medium sized industries in the rural areas to generate employment opportunities in the countryside.

The Finance Minister further went on to add that he was trying to arrange more credits from the Asian Development Bank and bilateral donors for the purpose. As a matter of fact, I had detailed discussion with the Director for Bangladesh desk of the Asian Development Bank at Bangkok to line up fresh credit for the setting up of small and medium-sized industries in rural Bangladesh.

Dwelling in brief on the prospects of the small-scale and medium-sized industries, the Finance Minister thought the products of such industries of our country held out much larger export potentials. The performance of our small and medium scale industries appears to be much better than that of our big industries.

In response to a question concerning economic activities that have come to a virtual standstill, the Finance Minister disclosed that he had called a meeting with the secretaries, heads of autonomous bodies and development agencies tomorrow to identify the reasons for inertia and lethargy in our economic activities. There is no dearth of funds for undertaking large-scale economic activities. He said funds required for construction of roads, schools, embankments, dykes, hospitals, expansion of irrigation facilities and other infrastructural activities during the first six months of the current fiscal year have already been released from the Annual Development Programme. Then why things are not moving, the Finance Minister asked.

The proposed meeting convened by the dynamic Finance Minister is intended to impart necessary push and drive to the strides which must be made to accelerate the tempo of economic development all over the country.

#### **Continuing Reportage on Ershad Trial**

##### **Witness on Corruption**

92AS0323A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 6 Oct 91 pp 1, 10

[Text] Mr. Tajul Islam Chowdhury, a former Minister under the Jatiya Party government on Saturday told the court trying former President H.M. Ershad on corruption charges that he had handed over Taka two crore to the accused in four installments between August and December last year to purchase an office building for the party, reports BSS.

Appearing before the Special Tribunal for the first time as a Defence Witness (DW), the former Land Minister and Office Secretary of the Jatiya Party Mr. Chowdhury

said some of the money was given to Mr. Ershad at the President's Secretariat and some at his official residence at Senabhaban.

The deposition of Mr. Chowdhury was completed on Saturday but the cross examination could not be finished as the Attorney General Mr. Aminul Haque sought time to attend the High Court. Special Judge Mohammad Ali Khan adjourned the court till 7 October.

Being examined by the chief Defence Counsel Mr. Serajul Haq, the DW told the court that at one stage in 1990, Jatiya Party (JP) leaders had decided to have a permanent office and accordingly sought the approval of party Chairman Ershad. The DW said the chairman approved the proposal and said if funds were arranged we would try to procure the building that was housing the party HQ [headquarters].

Mr. Chowdhury said following the Chairman's advise, the party leaders decided to raise funds for purchasing the house through a membership drive. He informed that Taka 1.46-42.800 were realised from ministers and party leaders entrusted with different districts for the membership drive and deposited the sum to the party Chairman as advised by the JP Secretary General.

The DW said 1.5 lakh membership books each containing 100 pages were printed.

Mr. Tajul Islam Chowdhury said an abandoned House (No. 104) at road No. 3 in the Dhanmandhi Residential Area which was rented out to Janadal by the Works Ministry continued to be occupied by JP till early December last year. He said as advised by party chairman, JP Secretary General Shah Moazzem Hossain, applied to the Works Ministry to purchase the house in question. The Works Ministry fixed the price of the building at Taka 1.65.18.000 that included about taka 30 lakh as arrear rents.

Mr. Chowdhury said besides the money from the membership drive, Taka 25.35.150 was collected from Ministers and party MPs [members of Parliament] as their arrear monthly contributions to the party fund as decided in 1988. He said, donations amounting to about Taka 25 lakh were received from JP leaders for purchasing the office building. Former Vice President Moudud Ahmed and JP leaders and Ministers Kazi Zafar, Anwar Hossain, Naziur Rahman, Shah Moazzem Hossain and Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury were among others who donated to the party fund.

The JP Office Secretary said that a Deputy Secretary of the Works Ministry dealt with party Secretary General Shah Moazzem Hossain's application regarding the purchase of the house and the party came to know that the house in question was listed as a saleable house, he told the Court.

Mr. Chowdhury said they came to know in the later part of December that the money handed over to the Chairman had been seized by the police. He said after

failing to have any answer in writing from the Acting President, the Acting Secretary General of the party filed a suit claiming the money.

The Chief Defence Counsel (CDC) at this stage submitted to the court a copy of the constitution of the Jatiya Party which authorises party chairman to keep party funds. The CDC claimed that the constitution he submitted was the final copy and the one earlier submitted by the Attorney General was the draft.

After a compromise, the Judge announced that two copies of the constitution were accepted without a prefix attached to it.

During the cross examination it was revealed that Mr. Chowdhury who associated himself with politics in his student days, was the Organising Secretary of NAP [National Awami Party] (Bhasani) of Kurigram. Later he along with his leader Mashiur Rahman Jadu Mia joined the BNP [Bangladesh Nationalist Party].

In reply to a question, Mr. Chowdhury said after the imposition of Martial Law, he went to Kurigram and stayed there till the early part of 1983. He said after losing faith in BNP, he along with others joined the Janadal which later was turned into Jatiya Party.

The next date of hearing was fixed on 7 October.

### Party Constitution Status

92AS0323B Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 13 Oct 91 p 1

[Text] The special tribunal further heard on Saturday the evidence of defense witness Tajul Islam Chowdhury in the case against former President Hussain Muhammad Ershad for amassing wealth beyond his known source of income, reports BSS.

Cross-examining the defense witness, the Advocate-General Mainul Huq mainly concentrated to show the difference between the earlier deposition and now by the prosecution. Mr. Chowdhury is the Office Secretary of the Central Committee of Jatiya Party [JP].

Mr. Huq showed the witness a copy of the JP Constitution and asked if the word "ad-hoc" was written on it. Mr. Chowdhury said though the word ad-hoc was not written in the earlier deposition, the subsequent one was final and thoroughly revised.

The Attorney-General said the Constitution provided that the Chairman and Joint Secretary could operate bank accounts, but the subsequent Constitution says the money raised for the party fund could be given neither to Ershad or his nominee.

Mr. Huq said the subsequent Constitution was illegal because it was drawn after the anti-corruption case was instituted against deposed President Ershad and asked the witness questions about it, Mr Chowdhury said: "It was not a fact.

The court was adjourned to reassemble on 14 October (Monday).

### Dispute With Witness

92AS0323C Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English  
15 Oct 91 pp 1, 8

[Text] Exchange of shouts between the Attorney General and a defence witness in the corruption case against deposed President Ershad yesterday led to the abrupt adjournment of hearing till 21 October, reports UNB.

"I can't tell lies as you do" Tajul Islam Chowdhury told Attorney General Aminul Haq who retorted with same accusation.

It all began when Tajul refused to reply [to] a persecution question: Is Chandan a boy or a girl? (Tajul was reported to have earlier told the court he has three sons—Jewel, Chandan and Russel—from the first husband of his wife).

"I'll not reply to personal questions," the defence witness said.

The Attorney General submitted to the court to record that the witness do not know if Chandan is a boy or a girl.

Sharp came the retort from Tajul: How can I identify a girl as boy—I can't tell lies as you do.

"It is you telling lies... you are a liar...." retorted the Attorney General.

A former minister in Ershad government and sitting MP [member of Parliament] from Kurigram Tajul shouted back "you are a liar."

This made Aminul Haq furious: Forget you were a minister. You are a witness. And addressing the court said, "Let it be noted that he called me a liar.... I will prosecute the witness for falsehood."

The acrimony continued for more than 15 minutes when the court was found not at all intervening. "Law will take its own course," observed the Special Judge Mohammad Ali Khan before adjourning the hearing.

Certain remarks of defence lawyers Babu Sudhir Hazra and Mosharraf Hossain Kazal fuelled the tension in the court. Advocate Yufuf Hossain Humayun and Advocate Fazle Rabbi, however, tried their best to diffuse the situation and assuage the Attorney General.

The learned Judge was quietly observing the situation from the podium while accused Ershad on the dock looked pale and dumb.

The former President has been charged by the Bureau of Anti-corruption with amassing wealth including a cash of Tk. 1,90,81,565 (found at his official residence Senabhaven) beyond his known sources of income. He has

already been convicted to 10 years' rigorous imprisonment for keeping illegal firearms.

Jatiya Party Office Secretary Tajul Islam Chowdhury is the first defence witness in the case. Cross-examination of him by the Attorney General resumed on the third day yesterday. Excerpts of yesterday's question-answer are:

[Question] Here are seven petitions of Ershad to the Home Ministry he filed between 23 December 1990 and 15 January 1991. Do you find any mention in the petitions that the money belonged to Jatiya Party?

[Answer] No, there is no mention of the money.

[Question] You have signed, the affidavit in the money suit claiming that it is Jatiya Party's money. Is there any mention in the petition that you were directed by the party to raise a fund of Tk 2 crore and the mode of your raising funds?

[Answer] No.

[Question] Is there any mention in the petition as to when, how, where and how much money you have given to Ershad on different occasions?

[Answer] No, All these were written in my diary which I could not collect from the ministry after 4 December. (Tajul was a minister when Ershad abdicated power on 6 December in the face of mass movement).

[Question] Did you inform Anti-corruption about the money you kept with Ershad?

[Answer] No. We have informed the Acting President who was controlling the Anti-corruption Bureau.

[Question] How many sisters your mother has?

[Answer] They are two sisters.

[Question] Whose daughter is your wife Shamsunnahar Chowdhury?

[Answer] She is not my own cousin (sey amar apon khalato bon noy).

"You are telling absolute lie," suggested the Attorney General "you told the other day that she is your cousin."

This evoked a strong objection from the defence. At least three defence lawyers—Sudhir, Mosharraf and A.R. Mollah—were on their legs at a time. The Attorney General is asking personal questions which have no bearing in this case.

"This is intended to insult, annoy and embarrass the defence witness," they submitted to the court.

This and certain other remarks from back bench defence lawyers might have encouraged Tajul who was heard saying: "I will also divulge personal affairs of the questioner," obviously directing at the Attorney General.

Chief defence counsel Sirajul Haq raised objections to the Attorney's touching personal affairs of witness. Quoting sections 151 and 152 of the Evidence Act, Haq submitted that the court may forbid such questioning which has no bearing in the case except insulting and embarrassing the witness.

No ruling from the learned judge came forth. And Aminul Haq continued:

[Question] Who was shown as father in Jewel's passport?

[Answer] I am not aware.

[Question] Don't you know that Jewel identified you as his father in the passport and obtained visa from the American Embassy?

[Answer] I am not aware of this.

#### Charge of Abetment

92AS0323D Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 6 Oct 91 pp 1, 10

[Text] Former President Lt. Gen. (Retd) Hussain Muhammad Ershad has been formally charged on Tuesday by a special tribunal for "abetting and conspiring" with other accuseds in the biggest ever gold smuggling cases detected last year, reports BSS.

Judge A.T.M. Fazle Kabir, Judge of the Special Tribunal Number 16 while reading out the charges against the ex-ruler, observed that Mr. Ershad, by his activities has committed an "offence" punishable under Section 25-D of the Special Powers act, which was within the cognizance of the Tribunal.

The former President, who along with five out of six other co-accused present in the court, stood up from the chair as the charge was read out.

Ershad pleaded "not guilty" and said the charge has been framed to "malign him." He said, if this was the state of judiciary he had nothing to add but to say "sorry."

Earlier, the court had rejected the defence's petition submitted on 6 October praying for the acquittal of accused Ershad from the charge of gold smuggling.

The Judge directed that the accused Ershad be tried by the tribunal on the aforesaid charge in the gold smuggling case and fixed 9, 10 and 11 November 1991, as the dates for trial. On the asking of the lawyers, the Judge agreed that defence will be allowed to cross the prosecution witnesses in this case.

As the accused Ershad was making a statement, public prosecutor Abdur Razzak Khan raised objection and said there was no scope for any statement at this stage.

Ershad continued his statement saying that the charge "showed the mentality of the government," he claimed himself to be "honest" and "innocent."

The former President was accused in the gold smuggling case in the supplementary charge sheet submitted on 31 August 1991. The original charge sheet was earlier submitted in late August last year.

The prosecution story was that two foreign nationals David Anthony Chalmer Chalmeaz Chalker (British) and Bernhard Rudiger (German) brought 3,000 tolas of gold in 300 bars valued at Taka 2.4 crore on 17.7.1990 in a Bangladesh Biman flight. As the gold was brought without valid documents, the contraband was seized by airport customs and the two were charged with commission of offence of smuggling, punishable under the Special Powers Act.

The charge said that Lt Gen. Ershad acting in collusion with six other accuseds including the two foreigners abetted the commission of the aforesaid offence and therefore committed punishable offence under 25-D of the Special Powers Act.

Earlier as the court resumed its sitting, Barrister Rakanuiddin Mahmud, defence Attorney for the two foreigners, prayed for the return of their articles particularly the apparels seized when they were arrested.

Public prosecutor A. Razzak Khan did not object to handover the apparels but said other things like camera and drink should be kept, the Judge ordered handing over the apparels of the two foreigners.

Defence Attorney senior lawyer Mr. Serajul Haq and other lawyers of the accused appealed to the Judge for better accommodations for conducting the case. They maintained that because of space problem, it was becoming difficult for them to run the case.

The public prosecutor while admitting the space problem, informed that he has already intimated the relevant quarters for redressal.

#### Minister Cross-Examined

92AS0323E Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 22 Oct 91 pp 1, 10

[Text] Former Minister Tajul Islam Chowdhury Monday expressed his surprise and showed ignorance that Shamsun Nahar Begum alias Hasan whom he married in 1981, and divorced him in 1984, reports BSS. [sentence as published]

Mr. Chowdhury, who is the first defence witness in the corruption case against former President H.M. Ershad, during cross examination for the fifth day Monday, denied that he was hiding facts relating to his matrimonial status.

The cross-examination remained incomplete when the court was adjourned around 1 p.m. and the next date of hearing was fixed on 2 November.

Mr. Tajul Islam Chowdhury also denied to have induced Shamsun Nahar Begum away from her previous husband

Khandakar Serajul Islam when she was working as a typist in the office of former Minister Reazuddin Ahmed Bhola Miah.

Attorney General Aminul Haq while crossing the DW [Defence Witness], produced two affidavits before the Special Tribunal chaired by Judge Mohammad Ali Khan. The first affidavit was related to Shamsun Nahar divorcing her previous husband Serajul Islam, and the second about her decision to divorce Mr. Tajul Islam Chowdhury, on 4 January 1984. The Attorney General also produced the Kabinnama of the marriage solemnised between Tajul and Shamsun Nahar and a notice to the Kazi Office in Goran, Dhaka, dated 2 July 1984, to the effect that she had divorced Tajul.

When asked by the Attorney General to comment whether the witness was "living together with Shamsun Nahar immorally and against Islamic law," he shouted saying "completely lie."

When the Attorney General suggested that like in the West you are behaving as if you are living together," Tajul said, "you are at liberty to comment any way you like." Sitting in the dock he loudly said, "whatever people say, we are too happy a couple."

In her affidavit announcing her decision to divorce Tajul Shamsun Nahar Begum said Tajul has been putting pressure "upon her to "hand over her ornaments to him, to realise share of her paternal property and advances from her office." On refusal, Tajul treated her with "cruelty" and on several occasions "abuse her in filthy language and threatened of severe assault and molestation" the affidavit added.

A copy of the affidavit which was made available to the press, said Shamsun Nahar Begum apprehending "harm and injury decided to divorce" Tajul with effect from 4 January 1984. She further states that the "tie of marriage with him Tajul had been repudiated" and that Tajul "is no more her husband as a result of divorce which she did at her free will."

Tajul stated that what has been written in the affidavit was not true. In reply to another question, he said he did not see the affidavit by which Shamsun Nahar Begum had divorced her previous husband Serajul Islam. "I heard and believed that she divorced him," he added.

When told by the Attorney General that Tajul was "leading an immoral life" and is not true. You can say anything." [quotation marks as published]

Tajul who denied that he was expelled from Kurigram College, as alleged by the prosecution, however said he had to take T.C. [expansion not given] from that college to get admitted into a Bogra College for he was involved in students politics during 1962.

Mondays cross examination also touched upon the scheme to purchase an abandoned house in Dhanmondi by Jatiya Party to most of the questions Tajul answered in the negative.

When asked whether they used the influence of Ershad to purchase the House No 104 in Road No. 3 at an "astonishingly low price," Tajul said the allegations are not true. To another question, he said he was not aware of any court case pending against the said house.

Earlier, as the court started at 10:50 a.m. chief Defence Council Serajul Haq requested both the Attorney General and the Defence Witness to help maintain the sanctity of the court. The last day of Cross Examination (14 October) had witnessed exchange of hot and unpleasant words between the defence witness and the Attorney general leading to the court's adjournment.

Defence Witness Tajul Islam Chowdhury expressed his sorrow for what had happened on 14 October. He also stated that he did not describe Attorney General as "liar" as reported in newspapers.

### Minister Comments on University Problems

92AS0320A Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English  
30 Oct 91 pp 1, 8

[Text] Home Minister Abdul Matin Chodhury's statement on the Dhaka University situation touched off a heated debate in the House yesterday.

Speaker Sheikh Razzaque Ali was in the chair when the Home Minister by way of statement as per rule 300 made an impassioned appeal to all concerned to help wipe out acts of violence and terrorism from our educational institutions as well as from our national life.

The Home Minister urged all to rise above narrow party considerations and discard hatred and hostility to strive for restoration of peaceful academic atmosphere in the educational institutions.

Dwelling at length on the violence that shook Dhaka University on 27 October, the Home Minister told the House that terrorism on the campus was a political problem requiring political solution. He stressed the need for political consensus to curb terrorism which, he said, had caused session jam, frequent extension of the dates of examinations and, in short, impaired the entire education system in the country.

Giving details of violence in Dhaka University campus on 27 October, Abdul Matin Chowdhury said a group of armed activists of BCL [Bangladesh Chhatra League] raided DUCSU [Dhaka University Central Students Union] office on that day when JCD members were holding meeting there, and opened unprovoked fire resulting in the killings of two JCD boys namely Ghalib and Liton.

No sooner had he completed this sentence than the members of the opposition Awami League present in the House sprang to their feet and started raising hue and cry until it turned into a pandemonium in which the Home Minister's voice was drowned.



The chair however managed to restore order in the House by giving an assurance to Awami League leader Tofael Ahmed that he would be given floor after the Home Minister rounded off his statement.

Making a pointed reference to acts of terrorism at Narail, Sirajganj, Rangpur Medical College, Chittagong BIT, Bangladesh University of Engineering and Technology and last of all Dhaka University, the Home Minister noted with deep anguish that the student wing of a political organisation was solely responsible for these acts. He said that a political organisation appeared hellbent on destroying our entire education system through a well-planned and systematic activities.

The Home Minister informed the House of the meetings he had with the opposition leader, Sheikh Hasina, leaders of various political parties including Awami League, Jamaat-e-Islami, Five-Party Alliance, Vice-Chancellors of Dhaka University, syndicate members and university teachers. He noted with satisfaction that all sections and shades of opinion demonstrated their eagerness to eradicate violence from our educational institutions.

He described how violence in the campus was retarding our economic progress and creating impediments in the field of human resource development.

Taking the floor Awami League leader, who appeared visibly excited, urged the administration to identify terrorists as terrorists and not to accuse a political party of acts of terrorism.

He asked the Home Minister to tell the House if Ghalib was a student of Dhaka University. He also wanted to know from the Home Minister if Ghalib was not involved in the Chunnu murder case. He also asked why the killer of Shahin of Munshiganj was allowed to go scot free. He asked if terrorists were not found in ministers' cars or in Sugandha.

Tofael Ahmed in his fiery speech observed that the home Minister's statement was unlike a minister's statement and had vitiated the atmosphere of the House. He appeared to be making a statement as a BNP leader could possibly do.

To Chief Whip, Delwar Hossain, said there was no room for any speech after the Home Minister's statement as per rule 300. He said it had set a bad precedent and requested the chair to expunge Mr. Tofael's speech. The chair however did not do that.

### **Papers Report Bangladesh Communist Party Conference**

#### **3 Oct Opening**

92AS0321A Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER*  
in English 4 Oct 91 pp 1, 10

[Text] The fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Bangladesh (CPB) began in Dhaka on Thursday with the

party leaders expressing confidence that socialist movement in Bangladesh would weather all storms and eventually emerge stronger through trials and tribulations, reports BSS.

The six-day Congress, taking place after four years, would evaluate the conditions of the international communist movement against the backdrop of socialist setback in the Soviet Union and some east European nations and draw new strategy how to innovate the party policies to meet the needs of time.

Several thousand party activists crammed the Engineers Institute premises Thursday afternoon during the inaugural session to hear the party leaders that socialism is an inevitable consequence of inherent class conflicts and it is bound to march ahead notwithstanding setbacks in recent times.

Comrade Saifuddin Ahmed Manik, General Secretary of the organisation, presided over the session which was addressed by guest speakers BNP [Bangladesh Nationalist Party] Joint Secretary General and Labour and Manpower Minister Abdul Mannan Bhuiyan, Acting President of the Awami League and Deputy Leader of the Opposition in Parliament Abdus Samad Azad, General Secretary of the National Awami Party [NAP] Pankaj Bhattacharaya and President of the Gonotantri Party Syed Altaf Hossain.

Nuh-UI-Alam Lenin, Convenor of the Congress Preparatory Committee, in his welcome speech touched upon party's policies in the current national and international scenario.

Mr. Saifuddin Ahmed Manik, in his presidential speech, dwelt on such issues like the international communist movement vis-a-vis the task ahead for the CPB today and the role the party could in strengthening democracy and establish peoples rights in the country. [sentence as published]

Comrade Nurul Islam Nahid, read out the message from Communist Parties of different countries, notably China, Vietnam, Cuba, India CPI [Communist Party of India] and CPM [Communist Party of India-Marxist], and even Britain.

It was the first time that no message wishing the success of the CPB Congress was mentioned from the Soviet Union—birth place of socialism.

Political leaders of different parties including Tofael Ahmed and Begum Matiya Chowdhury of Awami League, Pir Habibur Rahman of Gonotantri Party, Maulana Ahmedur Rahman Azmi of NAP, Nirmal Sen. Bimal Biswas and A.F.M. Mahbulul Huq of Five-Party Alliance were present.

Comrade Barun Roy read out the obituary references and one minute silence was observed to condole the death of those national and international figures who died during the interregnum of the fourth and fifth congress.

"Long Live Marxism-Leninism"—"Struggle for Socialism Will Continue" and similar slogans rent and air of the venue as party General Secretary Mr. Manik hoisted the national flag and elder party member Ashu Bharaddaz hoisted the party flag amidst uninterrupted applause from the party workers.

Never before a Congress of the CPB attracted so much attention because of the time this Congress is taking place. The crumbling of the socialism in Soviet Union and several other socialist countries must have come as a big disappointment for the organisation, hitherto known as the main pro-Moscow political organisation in the country.

But judging by the gathering and the spirit of the Congress, there was little dearth of enthusiasm among the party cadres regardless of the setbacks in international communist movement although theoretical interpretations of communism and socialist polemics have gripped the party more than ever before.

"Those who feel that international setbacks to socialism would signal an end for the communist party here are living in fools paradise and the CPB will march ahead as a monolithic communist organisation with different shades of opinion within it" Mr. Manik said in his presidential speech.

He said communism had not been the brain child of anyone but an inevitable outcome and this would continue to march so long [as] class conflicts remained in the society and socialism is bound to triumph regardless of what happened in some countries.

Mr. Manik, turning to the national scene, said a democratic government had come to power in Bangladesh but major patriotic and progressive forces must forge unity to face the national issues so that people could get the taste of success of 1971 Liberation War and anti-autocracy movement of 1990. "We support a national front with such forces for the greater good of the people" he said.

Labour and Manpower Minister Abdul Mannan Bhuiyan, wishing the success of the Congress, said the CPB was a part of the political force in the nine years relentless struggle against autocracy to establish democracy.

Mr. Abdus Samad Azad said socialist nations were great friends of Bangladesh during the 1971 Liberation War and the CPB here had always been associated with peoples movement.

Party leaders agree that the Congress is taking place at a critical juncture when confusion, divergence and approach towards communism have become a raging debate within the organization. However, the leaders said the CPB, made up by dedicated, disciplined and largely educated people would remain stuck to the basic ideology of socialism despite varying interpretations of current situation.

#### 4 Oct Meeting

92AS0321B Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 5 Oct 91 p 10

[Text] Delegates attending the current fifth congress of the Bangladesh Communist Party (CPB) Friday on the second day of the six-day conference discussed the Central Committee report presented on Thursday by party General Secretary Saifuddin Ahmed Manik, reports BSS.

The report contains political, economic and social conditions [that] prevailed in the country and international level during the interregnum between the current congress and last one that took place four years ago.

Prominent those took part in the discussions on the report till Friday evening include comrade Mujahidul Islam Selim, comrade Shamsuddoha M.P., comrade Nazir Hossain MP and comrade Ahsunullah Chowdhury. [sentence as published]

Delegates and central committee members dwelt on different aspects on the report against the backdrop of the drastic changes taken place in international scenario since the last Congress of the Party. Delegates from 20 districts so far deliberated on the report.

The focus of the discussions was mainly on the theoretical interpretations of the "Marxism-Leninism" and its relevance to the current conditions. Delegates viewed the setback suffered in the Soviet Union and some other East European countries from different perspective but were near unanimous that socialism that stemmed from inherent class conflicts is bound to triumph regardless of what happened to socialism in some countries.

However, some delegates stressed the need for remaining stuck to the basic ideological aspects of the Marxism-Leninism while many felt that the concept needs to be invigorated and embellished—which is an euphemism for "reforms."

#### Party Leader Meets Press

92AS0321C Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 15 Oct 91 pp 1, 10

[Text] President of Communist Party of Bangladesh (CPB), Saifuddin Manik on Monday called for forging a national consensus and understanding on the basis of definite programmes for accomplishing the unfinished task of national independence through development establishing democracy and social justice, reports BSS.

Addressing a Press conference at the party office in Dhaka on Monday morning, Mr. Manik gave a resume of the successful holding of the fifth congress of the party and said that there was no alternative to development efforts to remove backwardness, poverty alleviation and achieve self-reliance for survival with dignity being free from the clutches of imperialism.

To achieve these objectives, the CPB President reiterated the call of the party congress to be imbued with the spirit of bangalee nationalism for reawakening the nation for ushering in development, establishing democracy and social justice.

The CPB president pointed out that the indiscriminate lootings corruption, exploitation, deprivation and smuggling out of resources by the gang of looters during the autocratic regime under the blessings of imperialism had aggravated the problems in Bangladesh.

Mr. Manik identified poverty and underdevelopment as the basic problems of the country. In spite of the election of the democratic government after long anti-autocratic movement, the present government had failed to take any definite process or programme for resolving those.

CPB leaders including General Secretary Nurul Islam Nahid, Shamsuddoha, MP [member of Parliament], Shekhar Dutt, Nuhul Alam Lenin, Murshed Ali, Ajoy Roy and Mujahidul Islam Selim were present at the Press conference.

Replying to questions, Mr. Manik said the fifth congress of the party decided future policies of the organisation in the most democratic manner and added that practice of democracy within party is important for democratic parties.

He told another questioner that party discussed many ideological issues against the backdrop of current international scenario and the international communist movement. The organisation would go ahead with its avowed objective of socialism taking into realities obtaining in the country. [sentence as published]

Answering another question, Mr. Manik said his party was ready to forge greater national consensus on different issues for greater good of the people with other political parties excluding such organisations like the Jatiya Party, Jamat-e-Islami and the Freedom Party.

Urging the BNP [Bangladesh Nationalist Party] government to take effective measures for welfare of the people, the CPB President said failures of the elected government would come as setback to democratic forces. Decline in the popularity of Prime Minister Khaleda Zia would not go to the advantage of the democratic opposition parties but the fallen autocratic regime would be benefitted, he observed.

#### **Amnesty for Tribal Insurgents Declared, Rejected**

##### **Details of Announcement**

92AS0313A Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English  
22 Oct 91 p 1

[Text] Chittagong, Oct 21—The Government has announced a fresh general amnesty to the tribals who have indulged in anti-state activities.

The headquarters of 24 Division of Bangladesh Army at Chittagong Cantonment, on behalf of the Government of Bangladesh, in a press release said, the Government has again decided to show mercy to the leaders and members of "Shantibahini" urging them to come back to normal life and participate in the socio-political and economic development of Chittagong Hill Tracts. The general amnesty remains in force until the next announcement is made in this regard, the press release said.

The government, according to the press release, has declared some facilities for the Shantibahini members who will surrender. These include withdrawal of cases against those insurgents who will surrender along with arms and wireless sets and also supply of 21 kg of foodgrains a week free of cost for them for one year with effect from the date of their surrender.

The government has also announced cash payment at the following rates to the insurgents who will come back with arms: Taka [Tk] 30 thousand for one L.M.G. [light machine gun], Tk 30 thousand per mortar, Tk 25 thousand for one S.M.G. [submachine gun], Tk 22 thousand per rifle (semi automatic), Tk 20 thousand for one rocket launcher, Tk 12 thousand for one rifle (bolt action), Tk 10 thousand for one pistol/revolver, Tk seven thousand per shotgun, Tk 3,000 per small weapon and Tk 10 thousand to Tk 20 thousand for each wireless set according to quality. Besides, the Government will pay in cash for ammunition which include Taka one thousand for grenade/rocket shell, Taka 500 for one pound of explosives, Taka five per bullet and Taka three per cartridge. The Government further said that the insurgent leaders willing to surrender with arms or wireless sets would be provided with maximum of five acres of land for rehabilitation.

The Government has called upon the Shantibahinimen willing to return to contact the Chairmen, or upazila authorities or the Deputy Commissioner.

##### **Shanti Bahini Refusal**

92AS0313B Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English  
25 Oct 91 pp 1, 8

[Text] The India-based Shanti Bahini have refused to operating in the south eastern zone of the country accept the Amnesty proposals recently declared by the Bangladesh Government, according to BBC monitored here last night. [sentence as published]

A member of the illegal Shanti Bahini told newsmen on the Indian side of the border that it was a political problem, not an economic one. It had to be politically solved, he was quoted by BBC as saying.

It may be mentioned that Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia, with a view to putting an end to the 17-year-old armed conflicts, announced a general

amnesty for the Shanti Bahini rebels, ensuring her Government's magnanimity for rehabilitation of those who would surrender with arms and ammunition to the Bangladesh authorities.

In 1985, in response to the amnesty announced by the then Bangladesh Government, about 2,000 illegal Shanti Bahini people gave up their fight for autonomy of the zone, BBC reported.

But the rebels have refused to yield to the amnesty recently announced by the Bangladesh Government, BBC concluded.

### Export Target for 1992-93 Announced

92AS0312 Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English  
26 Oct 91 pp 1, 8

[Article by Enayet H. Khan]

[Text] The export target in 1992-93 is fixed at Taka 10,084 crore (US dollar 2,689 million) while it was Taka 7,744 crore (US dollar 2,151 million) in the current fiscal year, according to the Export Promotion Bureau (EPB). Item-wise target fixed for 1992-93 are: Readymade garments Taka 4,249 crore (US dollar 1,133), Jute goods Taka 1,350 crore (360 million US dollar), Leather Taka 956 crore (255 million US dollar), frozen food Taka 877 crore (324 million US dollar), Hosiery goods Taka 788 crore (US dollar 210 million), Raw jute Taka 585 crore (US dollar 156 million), Tea Taka 188 188 [as published] crore (US dollar 50 million), Chemical goods Taka 424 crore (US dollar 113 million), Nafta, furnace oil and bitumen Taka 206 crore (US dollar 55 million), engineering goods Taka 52 crore (US dollar 14 million), Agricultural goods Taka 45 crore (US dollar 129 million), Handicrafts Taka 34 crore (US dollar 9 million), Electronics Taka 34 crore (US dollar 9 million), crash programming goods Taka 49 crore (US dollar 13 million) and others Taka 247 crore (US dollar 66 million).

The sector-wise export target for 1992-93 are fixed as: Jute and jute goods Taka 1,935 crore (US dollar 516 million), other products except jute Taka 8,189 crore (US dollar 2,173 million), traditional items Taka 2,108 crore (US dollar 562 million), non-traditional items Taka 7,976 crore (US dollar 2,127 million), primary products Taka 1,814 crore (US dollar 484 million) and industrial products Taka 8,269 crore (US dollar 2,105 million).

## INDIA

### Commentary Views Indo-American Defense Pact

92AS0171A Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi  
4 Oct 91 p 4

[Commentary by Ranjit Kumar: "Indo-U.S. Defense Pact—Expectations Wrapped in Hope"]

[Text] The end of the cold war has had a major effect on Indian-U.S. relations. The officials responsible for defense in both countries have started in-depth discussions involving mutual interests. These discussions can help start defense cooperation between the two countries. During the Cold war, the United States considered India a Soviet bloc nation because of the close relationship between the two countries. After the Cold war was over and the Soviet Union collapsed, the United States appears to be more open with India. The fact is that there has never been any open confrontation over any issue between India and the United States. "A friend of the enemy is an enemy" was the principle the United States was following. If we follow this logic, the Soviet Union is no longer an enemy of the United States; therefore, India cannot be an enemy either. However, this does not mean that India is one of its friends.

The United States had given military aid to Pakistan because it considered India a Soviet bloc nation and wanted a balance of power between India and Pakistan. When the Soviet communist regime fell and the Soviets retreated from Afghanistan, the United States stopped its military aid to Pakistan. This does not mean that Pakistan is no longer a friend of the United States. Pakistan, which prospered with U.S. military aid, has been dropped from the "lap" of the United States and has also been admonished. However, it is not being ignored.

The U.S. mind has several concerns about India. Until these concerns are removed, the United States will not let Pakistan go so far that it is impossible for it to return. Even though the United States has stopped aid to Pakistan because of the Pressler Amendment, India should be on the alert, because there has been a mention of a Pakistani-U.S. defense pact in Pakistani newspapers. This pact is said to have a clause that promises that the United States will protect Pakistan from an "Indian attack" instead of a "communist attack." Perhaps this is an exaggeration; still, it is clear that Pakistani defense policymakers are trying to involve the United States in the Gulf defense arrangement so that their sensitive relations with the United States are not broken.

The prominent U.S. defense expert, Eric H. Arnett, says that Indian anger at the U.S. presence in the Indian Ocean is expressed by its increased military power, and that there is a possibility that India may attack the U.S. armed forces. This appears to be a strange statement. Mr. Arnett has advised American politicians "that U.S. naval forces stationed in the Indian Ocean should have enough air raid defense equipment to protect itself from an Indian naval or missile attack." It is not only illogical but also absurd when a U.S. expert expresses a fear of the Indian armed forces. When well-known American defense experts say such unbelievable things, the designs of the United States become suspect in our eyes. Are the American experts trying to keep India on the defensive by accusing it of such military ambitions?

If the defense talks between India and the United States continue, then such misunderstandings would be removed. India should be very encouraged by the talks between the defense experts of the two countries that started two years ago. The United States has held such talks with Pakistan, China, the Soviet Union, and many other countries. Will such talks be beneficial to India? While discussing this, Colonel Ravinderpal Singh, senior fellow of the Defense Study and Research Institute in New Delhi, warned that U.S.-India defense relations should not be like those of a protege and his mentor. Col. Singh also brought to our attention that in the Indo-United States discussion, the vice-chairman of the Indian Army will participate, while the United States will be represented by the chief commander of the Pacific command. He added, "These talks should be held between the head of the Pentagon and the chief of the Indian armed forces. Only then would we feel that we were talking with the United States as an equal."

What will India gain from these talks? A veteran Indian air force officer at the level of air commander made an interesting comment in answer to this question. He told the writer that "we could learn even from a donkey. This is the United States!" The air commander clearly indicated that there is nothing for us to lose in these discussions.

According to prominent defense analyst K. Subrahmanyam, "If there is a defense understanding between the United States and India, then India can benefit by receiving new military technology. This will help India to improve in the area of high-tech weapons. We will not lose anything by receiving high technology information from the United States. Close relations between India and the United States will increase mutual trust and India will be able to improve in the area of high-tech weapons. However, any defense pact between India and the United States will be a cause of concern for Pakistan."

According to Co. Ravinderpal Singh, "the India-United States defense relationship should not be achieved at the cost of defense relations with Pakistan. We cannot gain anything by ignoring Pakistan. We must use Pakistan to improve our relations with the United States. This will help us to be more self-confident. India-U.S. cooperation should be used for bridging our relations with Pakistan."

During a fortnight in August, General S. F. Rodericks, India's naval chief, visited the United States to explain India's position. The commander of the U.S. Pacific command is visiting India next month. In January, a high-level defense commission will visit India.

The main issue facing India is the proposal made by General Claude Kirkliter (?), commander of the Pacific command, presented to Indian military officials this April. The salient facts of Kirkliter's proposals are: the formation of a joint working committee for Indian-U.S.

naval forces, the scheduling of regular defense conferences, the exchange of visits by defense officials, participation in each others' military exercises, and cooperation in the training of military officers.

The current talks about defense cooperation between the United States and India can lay the foundation for future cooperation in this area. However, before that happens, India will have to meet specific U.S. expectations. The most important one among them is to give up its nuclear weapons program and sign the nuclear nonproliferation treaty. If India does this while Pakistan is developing its nuclear capability, it would not be in its best interests. Under the India-Soviet Union friendship agreement, India was enjoying protection from the Soviet Union. Even though this agreement has been renewed, its practical use is questionable.

Will the United States guarantee that it will provide nuclear protection to India if the latter signs the nuclear non-proliferation treaty? If this "defense umbrella" can cover Israel, Korea, Japan, and Taiwan, then why cannot it also cover India? It will take several years for an increased defense understanding between India and the United States, and it is necessary that the United States offer this "defense umbrella" to India.

In the 1959 pact that the United States made with Pakistan, the United States promised to protect Pakistan from any communist attack. In this changed world atmosphere, in which communism has fallen in the Soviet Union and East Europe, there is no communist danger left for Pakistan. Thus, this agreement has become meaningless. India does not have to be unfriendly toward Pakistan while it increases defense cooperation with the United States. However, India has to be assured that Pakistan will not use the United States as a threat against India. If the United States uses this defense pact just to sell weapons to keep its weapons industries alive, then there appear to be no long-term benefits for us from this pact. In such a situation, the United States will use India and Pakistan in exactly the same way it had been using Israel and Egypt. The United States is friendly with both countries; it sells modern weapons to both to reduce their defense worries. This way, the U.S. weapons industry gets plenty of sale orders. Why should India jump into this pit deliberately?

#### United Approach Urged To Solve Punjab Problem

##### Unity of Parties Recommended

92AS0117A Jalandhar PUNJAB KESARI in Hindi  
21 Sep 91 p 4

[Editorial by Vijay: "Let All National Parties Come Together in Helping Punjab"]

[Text] After the government announced that it would hold elections in Punjab by 15 February, the Parliament has extended presidential rule in this state for six months, starting on 11 November.

Mr. Shankar Rao Chavan, central home minister, said in the Lok Sabha that the central government is firmly committed to holding elections in Punjab, and that it will not retract from doing so. The elections will be held by 15 February, and if the situation improves, it may even be held earlier. The government wants to have a democratic government in Punjab as soon as possible so that it can have a dialogue with the elected government. The central government is not interested in who forms the government in Punjab; all it wants is to have an elected government installed there.

Mr. Chavan further said: We do not agree with the opposition that the elections in Punjab have no meaning without participation from various Akali Dal factions. In our opinion, all parties, including the Akali Dal, want to participate in the election. The question centers on how to have free and impartial elections.

The government will provide full protection to all candidates participating in the state's elections, and important instructions about it will be issued in the near future.

The terrorists might accelerate their activities to stop the elections. However, the government will not accept such pressure. It will implement the announcement made in the House.

This proposal was passed in the Lok Sabha by 148 with 23 opposing. In the Rajya Sabha, when the whole opposition except for the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] walked out, the proposal was passed by voice vote. We would like to explain to our readers the situation that led to the announcement of the elections in Punjab. When General Om Parkash Malhotra became the governor of Punjab, the state was passing through a very difficult period. The situation has become worse than it was under Mr. Siddhartha Shankar and Mr. J.F. Ribero's time. The terrorists had full control of the state. Mr. Virendra Verma was Punjab's governor when the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] took away its support of V.P. Singh's government on 23 October 1990, and when Mr. Singh lost his majority in the Lok Sabha on 7 November 1990. The situation was so bad at the time that school uniforms were changed by order of the terrorists, the national anthem was banned, Hindi instruction was stopped, dogs in villages were killed, and people had stopped leaving lights on outside their homes so that the terrorists could do whatever they wanted to.

Not only this, the words "terrorist" and "terrorism" were no longer used by the electronic media. They began to use the word "warrior" instead. The greeting "namaskar" also disappeared from the news media. Newspapers began to print full-page directives from the terrorists and published whatever they wanted. Not only Punjab's newspapers, but respected Chandigarh newspapers also began to publish whatever the terrorists demanded.

One could not even consider having elections in Punjab under these circumstances. For this reason, all political parties adamantly opposed holding elections in Punjab.

Anyhow, Mr. Chandra Shekhar became prime minister after V. P. Singh. Shekhar's government, however, had even less support than Singh's government, and was actually using the Congress party as a crutch for survival. Finally the time came when the Congress (I) withdrew its support of the Chandra Shekhar government, which then became a caretaker government. Mr. Shekhar's caretaker government proposed that presidential rule in Punjab be extended on the last day of the Lok Sabha session. The reason for this was that the situation was not appropriate for elections, and all political parties supported the government in getting this proposal passed. Holding elections in Punjab was very dangerous. However, after the Lok Sabha broke its session, Mr. Chandra Shekhar stubbornly demanded again that elections be held in Punjab.

Actually, Chandra Shekhar knew that the next Lok Sabha would also be a "hung" Lok Sabha. His reason for holding elections in Punjab and Assam was that he hoped that some people from these states would be elected that would support him in his attempt to become prime minister again. Alas, if only he had known at that time that his party would get only three seats in the Lok Sabha!

The four national political parties, Congress (I), BJP, CPI(M), and CPI(I) [Communist Party of India], all maintained that the situation in Punjab was not appropriate for elections. They said that either elections not be held in Punjab at all, or at least wait until elections in the rest of the country are finished, violence is reduced to a minimum, and security forces in large quantities can be deployed.

Anyhow, when Mr. Chandra Shekhar forced the elections on Punjab for his selfish reasons, the four major political parties—Congress(I), BJP, CPI(M), and CPI(I)—decided to run for the elections in Punjab cooperatively. However, the next day, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, Congress (I) president, announced that his party was going to boycott the Punjab elections. The state Congress leader met him and told him that he had decided to run for election in cooperation with other national parties; however, Rajiv Gandhi refused to grant him support.

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had boycotted the Punjab elections because, just like Chandra Shekhar, he knew that the next Lok Sabha could also be a hung one. He was using this boycott as an election goal for the rest of the country in order to benefit the congress. In summary, while Chandra Shekhar had declared elections in Punjab for his political interests, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had boycotted them.

As a result of Rajiv Gandhi's announcement to boycott these elections, the BJP, CPI(M), and CPI(I) candidates registered their candidacy, but the Congress(I) remained

noncommittal. Actually, all four parties should have participated in the elections or boycotted them together.

It is important to mention here that the CPI(M) and CPI(I) started preparing for the election after submitting their registration papers. However, when their candidates began to be murdered, they issued a joint communique and declared their decision to boycott the election. Two days later, however, the CPI(I) declared that it still planned to participate in the election. While the BJP and the CPI(I) were angry at the attitude of Congress, they also hoped that the congressional boycott would help them get more seats.

Later, when Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated, all political parties demanded that the elections in Punjab be postponed. Governor General Malhotra also advised in support of postponement and to have 300 companies of soldiers sent to Punjab immediately, in order to have independent and objective elections. However, Chandra Shekhar's government did not listen to anyone. As a result, the situation deteriorated rapidly. Finally, on 21 June, the election had to be canceled, just one day before the appointed date.

The people who are aware of the situation in Punjab know well that the terrorists are still controlling Punjab and other border areas. The people cannot wear the clothes of their choice; the press code and the dress code are still being implemented. Hindi cannot be taught in schools, people cannot sing the national anthem, they cannot read the news they want to in the newspapers, and after the troops were removed, the people in the rural areas could not sleep peacefully, because the murders and incidence of violence had increased again. The feeling of insecurity increased. The elections are important, but not as important as peoples' lives. Until the postponement of the elections, candidates were being killed daily. Threats were also being given that those who had a stamp on their fingers to indicate that they had voted had their fingers cut off. Neither they nor their families could be pardoned; thus, holding elections in such an environment was meaningless.

In addition, just as the participation of Akalis in the election is important, the elections are meaningless without the participation of the Congress(I) and the CPI(M). They have a very important vote bank there.

Anyhow, now the decision has been made to hold elections by 15 February. While the government should take precautions in creating the appropriate conditions for elections, at the same time, troops should be deployed for three months. The four national parties should start talks about the interests of the nation, just as they did before. There is a direct line between the forces that want to build the nation and those who want to break it up. It is time to totally vanquish the forces that want to break up this nation. For this, these four national parties must run in the election together. The Akalis, who want to form partnerships with them to protect the

nation, should also cooperate. Major rallies and meetings should be held in all 12 districts of the state and should make the people feel that the forces that believe in the unity of the nation are working together, and that they will not let anyone harm national unity.

### Unity Against Militants Needed

92AS0117B Jalandhar PUNJAB KESARI in Hindi  
23 Sep 91 p 4

[Commentary by Mangat Ram Pasala: Center Can Be Persuaded To Solve Punjab Problem Only by a United Force Against the Militants"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The tragic chapter that started in Punjab a decade ago does not seem to end. There appears to be no solution in sight to this problem, either. Murders of innocent people at the hands of the militant has not stopped. While some militants are killed, the number of policemen, national defense forces, and their families who are killed by the militants is also great. There is no political party or any family in Punjab that was spared from the actions of the militants. If someone has not been killed by them, then he or she must have a relative or friend who has become a victim of an assassin's bullets, or who was economically destroyed.

The problem with this situation, or its weakness, is that while everybody is feeling the heat of the militant's activities, the reactions to these have been varied. Some people approve of the militants' activities and support them openly or secretly. They have the delusion that the murders of a few people by militants will result in the establishment of a new nation based on religion where they will lead comfortable lives. To this end, they do not hesitate in seeking help from imperialist nations and their supporters. Sometimes they call it the freedom struggle of the Sikhs, and at other times they call it an action of Sikh pride. However, their "independence" has nothing to do with the hard work of the Sikhs, who work in the dirt of the fields, bearing cold and heat, never getting a full meal. Those hard-working Sikhs never rid themselves of the weight of debt. The people who work in mills, pull rickshaws, and other hardworking laborers, need also to be considered. They are people who are unable to lead respectable lives after all this hard work.

There are people in another category who do not support the idea of a country based on religion; who do not consider murders of the innocent to be appropriate. However, the opinions they express publicly line them up with the Khalistan-supporting militants. These people talk about the legitimate demands of Punjabis and raise voices against discrimination against Punjab. However, they cannot logically reply to questions that ask them if the answer to Punjab's problem is secession from the nation. Is it not true that a person who raises a slogan for a separate nation is a traitor? Murdering innocent people in their homes, forcing people out of trains and buses and shooting them with AK-47's to put



them to eternal sleep, kidnapping children and demanding ransom, and most of all, raping the young daughter of the house in the place where dinner is eaten—are these all part of some struggle? Have they ever openly condemned these actions? Perhaps, their answer to this question would be that since the police also commits atrocities, the militants act in response to them. Even if we grant this logic, then what could be the reason for their talking so much about police atrocities in their articles and speeches, while they never let out even one word from tongue or pen against the inhuman deeds of the militants? The murder of innocent people by militants and the killing of these murderers by the police is not the same thing. It is not logical to compare the two. This does not mean that the police is not brutal to the people, or that we should not protest against them. In a situation where looting is common, control by the police is necessary.

The third group is composed of cowards and greedy politicians and writers. This group, in order to protect themselves and their families, are filling their safes with money by looting other people. They do not raise voice against the militants even though they know everything. They act like Sikh leaders to hide their weaknesses. However, they do not practice any glorious Sikh traditions. We have the opportunity to listen to the very zealous and glorious speeches made by these people. Many naive Sikh youths are influenced by their speeches and follow the suicidal path suggested to them. However, these leaders, like any cowards, try to save their families and themselves while advising the people to walk on a thorny path. Their own feet, however, get hurt as they sit on a bed of flowers. What double standards these opportunists practice!

There is another group that wants peace in Punjab, and it is trying to get the legitimate demands made by Punjab as much as they can. We cannot make progress with these legitimate demands or establish the peace there that every Punjabi wants unless we counter the ugly conspiracies of Khalistan supporters. As for the excesses

of the police, we have to differentiate between the actions of the police against the militants and their supporters, and police brutality against innocent citizens. The actions of the militants are the major hurdle in getting the legitimate demands of Punjab accepted. If we unite against the militants, then there is no reason that the central government cannot be forced to find a political solution to Punjab's problems. At the same time, a democratic government can be established in Punjab as the people want it. This would be much better in contrast to governor's rule. The stronger this group becomes, the faster the Punjab problem will be resolved. It is not necessary to mention here that the political parties, especially the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist], have time and again expressed a resolution of this problem, both in their speeches and in writing. However, the various governments at the Center did not pay any attention to these suggestions. That is why the situation has become so dangerous now.

No one can sleep in peace when militant activities increase. Therefore, those who are fighting against it truthfully are satisfied with their efforts and are also happy. They have to make lots of sacrifices and suffer. Their motto is, "We do not love our life any more than we love our principles." The groups that have bowed down to the militants are encouraging, directly or indirectly, the antinational and separatist forces. They have betrayed many people with their fake slogans. They have also made a portion of the population their prey. Their situation is pitiful. A lot of these people become victims of militants' bullets, but those who are alive lead lives that are worse than death.

Every person should have hope, should learn from past mistakes, and move toward the future carefully. Even today we hope that politicians of various beliefs will unite to fight the militants and other people with brutal attitudes. At the same time, we hope that they will take action to help Punjabis attain their goals, for which they had been hoping for a long time. One thing that should be clear to all is that the desires of the Punjabis can be fulfilled while protecting the unity of the nation (and not by breaking our unity).



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