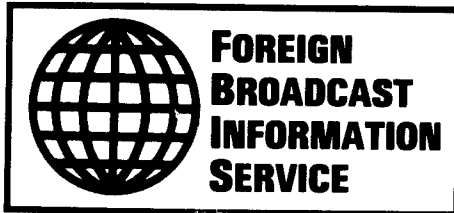


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28 JANUARY 1988



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Near East & South Asia

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EGYPT

Attorney General Discusses Publication Ban
45040028b London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic
28 Nov 87 p 11

[Interview With Egyptian Attorney General Muhammad al-Jundi, by Siham 'Abd-al-'Al; in Cairo, date not specified]

[Text] In the wake of the recent terrorist incidents in Egypt, the Egyptian attorney general has issued several decrees banning the publication of news on several important cases being investigated by the attorney general's office. These decrees have raised questions as to just how dangerous these organizations and their members are. Since the emergency law expires this month, there have been many questions about the cases which have been investigated under this law, the extent to which it has been put to use, and the matter of judicial control vis-a-vis the emergency law. Siham 'Abd-al-'Al, at AL-MAJALLAH's Cairo bureau, asked several questions of Counsellor Muhammad 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Jundi, Egypt's attorney general.

[Question] Egyptian security agencies have recently arrested several members of terrorist organizations. Why did you issue decrees banning publication of news about those particular organizations?

[Answer] The attorney general issues such decrees whenever the best interests of the investigations require that no details be published until the full aspects and dimensions of the criminal facts under investigation are disclosed, and whenever the publication of any facts would impair the results of the investigations or affect the course of the case.

[Question] But isn't the public entitled to some information on such incidents, even if it is just a brief statement summarizing what is going on, without affecting the investigations, as has been done with important cases before?

[Answer] The attorney general's office is carrying out investigations right now. As soon as the reasons for the publication ban cease to exist, we will announce the results of the investigations. Public opinion should be concerned, first and last, with the well-being of the investigation, through which we are ultimately striving for the general good.

[Question] It has been said recently that the Supreme Directorate of State Security has completed its investigations into several important cases, but has neither referred the cases to the courts nor made any announcements about them.

[Answer] This is not true. The investigations into the cases submitted to the State Security Directorate still need to be completed. There are no cases with State

Security, or with any other office, which are ready for disposition but which have not been acted on, either by referring them to the courts or by dismissing them, since there is no call to make a case if the incident was justifiable. It is up to the attorney general's office to decide whether to send the case to the court or reserve judgement. In this matter, the attorney general's decision must be based on a determination of what best serves the general good.

[Question] What political cases is the attorney general's office investigating right now?

[Answer] At present it is investigating several cases involving political organizations, and various other cases with domestic and foreign connections.

[Question] How many suspects have been arrested in these cases, and how far-reaching are those organizations?

[Answer] I don't have the number of suspects now. As for the scope of those organizations, there is no call to mention it, in order to protect the investigations. The investigations are just about finished, and the positions which the suspects held in those organizations are being clarified right now, preparatory to referring them to the courts.

[Question] Does the attorney general feel that the regular laws are not enough to counter terrorism?

[Answer] At present, terrorism can be confronted through clauses which actually exist in the penal code. However, it is better to pass special legislation to deal with crimes of terrorism and international violence, such as hijacking planes and ships, and all violent crimes of international scope committed by the citizens of a foreign country against the territory of another country—provided that the severity of the penalty corresponds to the seriousness of the crime. As for crimes of internal violence, such as attempted murder, willful murder, and possession of weapons, the law has penalties for this which I feel are adequate.

[Question] Is there any judicial control over the use of the emergency law?

[Answer] Yes, there is judicial control. The law allows anyone arrested under the emergency law to submit a complaint about this arrest as soon as he has been detained for 30 days. This complaint is submitted to the detainees' complaint department at the attorney general's office, and is referred to the (emergency) supreme state security court so that the reasons for the arrest, provided by the Interior Ministry as justification for the arrest, can be investigated. This court then decides whether to release the detainee or reject the complaint and uphold the detention in accordance with the reasons for the arrest. If the Interior Ministry does not object to the release decision within 15 days, the detainee is

released. If the Interior Ministry does object, the court will decide on this complaint within 15 days of its presentation, and if it upholds the release decision then the detainee must be released from the detention center immediately. This represents the judicial control which exists over the application of the emergency law.

[Question] What cases has the attorney general's office investigated during the past judicial year in accordance with the emergency law?

[Answer] These cases have included crimes against state security, from overseas and within the country, involving attempts to overthrow the regime, as well as cases involving political organizations, correspondence, public assembly, and weapons cases. They were all referred to the supreme state security (emergency) courts, which handed down verdicts which cannot be appealed by ordinary or extraordinary measures (reversing the decision or petitioning), but which must be ratified by the president.

[Question] Has the emergency law been applied in any other cases?

[Answer] There are crimes against state security which are ordinarily subject to Law No. 105, such as crimes against public funds, bribery, leases, and evictions, which are referred to the ordinary, not emergency, state security courts and which can be appealed. However, these crimes are subject to the emergency law if such an emergency law exists.

[Question] Does the emergency law give any powers to the attorney general's office?

[Answer] Yes, the emergency law gives the attorney general the combined powers of attorney general and summary judge. That is, the deputy attorney has the power to issue a decision to detain someone for 60 days instead of 4 days under the other laws. He can also issue an order to record telephone conversations and seize writings and correspondence without going to the summary judge. Thus, aside from regular cases, the investigative powers of the attorney general have become broader. The emergency law gave those powers because of the seriousness of the cases submitted to the attorney general under those circumstances, and in order to expedite their settlement.

[Question] So why all the complaining about the emergency law?

[Answer] People are not complaining about the emergency law because of the investigative procedures followed by the attorney general's office, because these measures, which were passed by a judicial authority, contain guarantees that emergency measures such as

detention, confiscation and searches will be used properly. Rather, the complaints about the emergency law reveal a fear of the other measures permitted by the emergency law for security reasons, the chief one being the arrest procedures.

8559

People's Assembly Establishes Islamic Laws Committee

45040028a London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic
21 Nov 87 p 22

[Article: "Parliamentary Committee To Oversee Islamic Laws in Egypt"]

[Text] The Egyptian People's Assembly has established a new committee called the Coordination Committee to review and oversee all bills being discussed by the assembly, to make sure that they do not conflict with either the Islamic Shari'ah or the Constitution. It will also review all laws now in force in Egypt to make sure that they are constitutionally sound and compatible with the Shari'ah. The new committee is composed of the deputy chairman of the People's Assembly, the heads of parliamentary groups, and several legal experts. It has been decided that this committee will review all laws issued in Egypt since 1882, in order to clear out any mixed, redundant or contradictory laws and laws which do not conform to the Islamic Shari'ah. The committee will also review all new bills presented by specialized People's Assembly committees, as well as any bill which the government submits to the assembly.

8559

Plans To Renew Emergency Law

45040028c London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic
2 Dec 87 p 9

[Text] The Egyptian Interior Ministry is now preparing a bill to renew the emergency law for another year. This would be the seventh year for the emergency law, which went into effect following the podium incident and the assassination of President Anwar al-Sadat in October 1981.

The memorandum which the ministry prepared to justify the extension of the emergency law referred to continuing "foreign plots against Egypt," particularly in light of a recent announcement that an organization had been exposed and 15 of its members charged with conspiracy with Libya, sabotage, plotting to assassinate the Israeli ambassador in Egypt, and blowing up the bus which runs between Cairo and Tel Aviv.

The memorandum also contained a reference to the organization accused of attempting to assassinate Former Interior Ministers Maj Gens Hasan Abu-Basha and Nabawi Ismail and Journalist Mukarram Muhammad Ahmad.

8559

Water Shortage in Nile Valley Discussed
45040029b London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic
5 Dec 87 p 42

[Article by 'Abd-al-Qadir Shuhayb]

[Text] Just as Egypt was heaving a sigh of relief over the easement of the acute shortage in foreign currency resources, it was gripped by the problem of a shortage of the Nile's resources. This year oil prices improved slightly, thus increasing revenues over last year's. Remittances by Egyptians working abroad also increased, and so did the Suez Canal revenues. The Egyptian Government has been able to accumulate \$1.5 billion through the official banking market, money which previously was squandered abroad by currency dealers and brokers.

But the same year saw a major decline in the quantity of waters from the Nile flood in Egypt. This was the second year in succession in which the flood was meager, after an improvement in the river's yield lasted only one year. The flood in 1985 was only slightly above average, following four lean years experienced by Egypt and the rest of the African countries of the Nile basin, during which the flood dropped to its lowest level.

This year the river's yield in Egypt fell to about 11 billion cubic meters, which was 20 percent below the yield of typical years. Thus the projected flood yield will be no more than 44.5 billion cubic meters of water.

As a consequence, the level of Lake Nasir, which Egypt preserves as a strategic reservoir, has fallen to its lowest point, reaching 154.7 meters as opposed to 159.6 meters last year and approximately 162.5 meters in 1985.

For three successive years Egypt suffered a continued decline in the flood waters, from 1982 through 1984, until it was almost on the verge of the same drought that hit several African countries. During those years Egypt was forced to consume about 25 billion cubic meters of water from the Lake Nasir reservoir.

In 1985 Egypt was hopeful in that the flood yield was above average which, as a consequence, raised the level of Lake Nasir to 162.5 meters, thus increasing the water stored in it by about 3 billion cubic meters. The officials expected the wave of drought, which hit Africa and resulted in the fall of many victims, to recede. But the winds of the Nile failed to blow in the direction desired by Egypt and the rest of the African countries. In 1986 the flood level declined once again, and the flood yield in Egypt was no more than 49 billion cubic meters, thus resulting in a water shortage of 6.5 billion cubic meters.

Irrigation officials in Egypt expected the situation to improve and the flood to be higher once again this year. Egyptian Minister of Irrigation Dr 'Isam Radi had in fact announced that the flood this year would be above

average. But the flood went against expectations. Instead matters were made worse by the fact that the shortage of water—which Egypt needs for drinking, irrigation, and industrial purposes—increased by about 5.5 billion cubic meters, after the deficit increased to 11 billion cubic meters. Some irrigation experts in Egypt regarded this a prelude to a serious drought disaster.

For this reason the ministry of irrigation in Egypt is preparing to take a number of urgent measures to deal with this danger. These measures include reducing the amount of water lost to the sea by about 1 billion cubic meters, so as to limit the loss to only 3 billion cubic meters with a further reduction in the future; developing irrigation operations and controlling sluiceways to ensure water economizing; and reducing the planting of certain crops that need large quantities of water. There will be a major reduction in certain crops such as rice; the area planted with rice will be reduced by 200,000 feddans. This is in addition to the establishment of several projects to benefit from subterranean waters in the Egyptian desert, especially in the Sinai and the western desert.

But some irrigation experts in Egypt believe that all these measures are inadequate to deal with the danger of drought which is now creeping upon Egypt; they believe that the danger is great, very great indeed. It is so great that Dr Ibrahim Zaki Qinawi recently wrote twice in AL-AHRAM warning of this danger and calling on the Egyptians to pray for rain "so that God will bestow upon Egypt enough water for the coming year."

The experts call for stepping up efforts in order to revive the Jonglei Canal project, on which work has been halted since 1983 because of the deterioration of the security situation in southern Sudan. Some 70 million cubic meters of the canal have been dug. The experts also call for the need to strengthen ties with the countries of the Nile basin, something to which the Egyptian administration is currently responding. Perhaps Egypt's attempts to maintain good relations with Ethiopia are a manifestation of this.

13305

ISRAEL

Radio Official Views Effect of New PLO Station
TA041534 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 4 Jan 88 p 2

[Interview with Edmond Sehayek, director of Voice of Israel's Arabic section, by Orit Galili; date and place not given]

[Text] [Galili] Has the PLO taken advantage of the events in the territories to start broadcasting from a new station?

[Sehayek] Right now, no programs are being broadcast from the new station. It airs its signal several times a day, announces its intention to broadcast to the territories, and plays martial music. The marches are characteristic of revolutionary stations continuously reporting dramatic events, such as battles and skirmishes, which are all figments of the imagination.

[Galili] How credible are the PLO stations?

[Sehayek] These stations are not known for their high credibility. Even if the people in the territories are drawn to their transmissions, they are not dumb. The stations broadcast imaginary events, and if a Khan Yunus resident listens to an item such as the recently trumped-up report of a PLO force wiping out an entire IDF unit in the vicinity of Khan Yunus, of course it does not do much for the station's credibility. They make extensive use of the weapon of rumors, which can be a problem from Israel's point of view, since rumors often cause an escalation in rioting. This kind of incitement has a cumulative effect.

[Galili] It is believed that the new station will focus chiefly on provocation. Is this in any way significant from the Voice of Israel's point of view?

[Sehayek] Most of the population of the territories support the PLO, and there is no doubt that when the station begins transmitting, it will be listened to. It is a station that is close to their hearts, that speaks a language they treasure. This will lay additional responsibility and a new task on us. We will have to make sure that we listen to the information and filter the true from the false. If they start spreading lies and large numbers tune in to listen, we will be obliged to cope with this by providing the listeners with the accurate and complete picture.

[Galili] How popular is the Voice of Israel in Arabic in the territories?

[Sehayek] We are the most popular station. Radio Monte Carlo cannot provide vital information on policies in the territories, or the weather forecast. For example, we provide the laborer who works within the Green Line with information regarding sites of riots and curfews imposed by the Army. From this point of view, we are the dominant local station. They can hear 60 to 70 stations from Arab states, and yet they prefer to listen to foreign stations such as the BBC, Radio Monte Carlo and the Voice of America. All the stations in the Arab countries, without exception, are propaganda organs of those regimes.

[Galili] Are the political levels aware of the danger inherent in the new Palestinian radio station?

[Sehayek] The PLO has vast cash reserves and it is no problem for it to set up a radio station in one day. The priorities of the politicians who decide on these matters are very odd in this case. For instance, during the Israel

Broadcasting Authority's long strike, knowing that the absence of Arabic broadcasts causes severe damage in terms of security, they did nothing at all to change this dangerous situation.

LEBANON

Expatriate Magazine Blasts U.S. 'Patronage' of Zionism

44040065c London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic
18 Dec 87 pp 6-7

[Editorial: "What Gorbachev Heard From Reagan Was What the Arabs Have Repeatedly Heard From the Americans: 'The Jews' Peace of Mind With Regard to Their Destiny Is an Inseparable Part of World Peace!"]

[Excerpt] American diplomacy has for years been working energetically to put the Soviet Union into a position similar to the Arab position as regards World Jewry and Israel. Washington has been working the impossible in order to say to Moscow that the Jews' peace of mind with regard to their destiny is an inseparable part of world peace; that every complaint issuing from them or their state obstructs progress toward peace; and that if we want peace, we have only to give World Jewry the guarantees it demands.

What Gorbachev heard at the summit of the two giants has been heard previously by all the Arab leaders from all the American emissaries in the course of days. It is as if peace were in first instance the peace of Jewry, then the peace of the rest of the peoples.

One must acknowledge that American diplomacy has to a great extent succeeded in putting the Soviets, the Arabs, and many countries into a narrow defensive position. Zeal for world peace is everyone's cause: it is the ideological cause of the Soviets, as well as the cause of the Arabs and the Third World countries. This being the case, on the subject of Jewry and Israel it is difficult for them to take a position that would in any way damage their image as sincere advocates of the peace of all humanity.

Although Gorbachev was too strong to withdraw in the face of American diplomacy supported by Washington's political, military, and industrial strength, raising the Jewish question in the way Washington raises it led the leader of the largest Arab country, Egypt, to sign the Camp David treaty under the one anxiety of not appearing to look like the enemy of world peace.

Al-Sadat was in reality only the victim of this American success in portraying the peace of Israel and World Jewry as the only key to a happy world in which peaceful relations hold sway between countries large and small.

The late Egyptian president got the idea that if he were able to make the United States and the Western countries think that he, not Israel, was the hero of striving for peace in the Middle East, that would make him and make Egypt the country that had taken the first step in the world of the wealthy and powerful. Consequently, it would open that world's mind and heart, resources and powers, to Egypt and the other Arab and Islamic countries.

Time, however, proved that American insistence that Israel's peace and world peace were synonymous was not in the interest of the peace of mankind, but in the interest of Israel's peace in first instance. Having guaranteed the Jewish state the separate peace it wanted with Egypt, the United States paid no attention to anything else, especially anything Egyptian or Arab.

There are those who have such a low opinion of the United States as to believe that the death of President al-Sadat himself, far from disturbing Washington, may have released it from a pang of conscience toward an Arab leader who believed in world peace to the point of mysticism and who fell into the delusion of unbounded confidence that his concession to American and Israeli pressures might lead to real peace in which the Egyptians and the Arabs would receive their usurped rights—if not in the land Israel had occupied, then in the other countries of the Arabs and Muslims.

Of course, in their granting of the Jewish issue, the Soviets did not reach the point that al-Sadat did, since the Soviet Union stands on an equal footing with the United States in military strength, technology, and international influence. However, the Americans were able to plant in the Soviet Union and the countries of the Eastern Camp seeds of the mental presence of the Jewish question, seeds that in the future will be neither in the interest of the Soviets nor in the interest of human rights in the entire world.

Former Czechoslovak leader Dubcek once thought that in flirting with the Jews lay benefit for communism, socialism, and his development-thirsty country. It afterwards became clear that World Jewry was the cause of the ruin of relations between him and Moscow. World Jewry weakened Czechoslovakia and did not serve her. Instead, it led to the reversal of the political line Dubcek had devised and to the Czechoslovak people's unanimous condemnation of this experiment in which idealism and naivete had become confused.

As time passes, the need for good relations between the Arabs and the Soviet Union has become ever more certain, since both of them are a common target of the American-Israeli alliance. Washington treats the Soviets and the Arabs as if they were the only barriers in front of the growth of Zionism. It deals with them on this basis either through economic pressures or through peace formulas that give Zionism and World Jewry most of the role or rights they have.

The Americans try to profit from any passing circumstance. After they persuaded President al-Sadat to sign the Camp David agreement, they displayed the Egyptian decision as a renunciation of Moscow's friendship. Today they are suggesting to the Arabs that the Soviet position on "Jewish human rights" is a Soviet renunciation of the Arab liberation movement and the Palestinian issue.

During these days, Palestinians on the ground of the real world are experiencing the opposite of this suggestion. The Soviets are those who most deserve credit for saving the head of the legitimate Palestinian leadership represented by the PLO under the leadership of 'Arafat. It is they who were with [this leadership] in the hour of tribulation, when armed Palestinian forces left Lebanon in 1982 and the Arab capitals directed their harsh charges at the Palestinians.

12937

Deeper Russian Involvement in Lebanon Predicted
44040075 Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 15 Dec 87 p 1

[Article by 'Arif al-'Abd: "Reading Between the Lines Regarding Soviet Interest in Lebanon"]

[Editorial Report] 'Arif al-'Abd, prominent columnist for AL-SAFIR, points out that the U.S.S.R. has in recent years exerted a great deal of effort to strengthen its position in Lebanon. The current young Soviet ambassador to Lebanon, Vasily Kolotusha, is fluent in the Arabic language; besides, he is well-versed in the Lebanese culture, a friend of the news media, and a frequent guest at the presidential palace. His predecessor, Aleksandr Soldatov, was not only an active participant in Lebanese politics, but also a man who felt a strong attachment to the country and its people.

On 15 April 1986, the Lebanese government faced a serious crisis which the Lebanese depict as a conspiracy woven by the West in general and the U.S. Congress in particular. The U.S. refused to pay its share in supporting UNIFIL, and France threatened to withdraw its contingents, thus attempting to force Lebanon to choose between accepting a treaty with Israel and surrendering the south to Israeli occupation. At that critical moment, Ambassador Soldatov visited his friend the late Prime Minister Rashid Karami without taking the trouble to make an appointment. The late Prime Minister announced after the meeting that the Soviet Union would help cover the expenses which the U.S. withheld. Shortly afterwards, Poland, Romania, and the German Democratic Republic pledged to replace any international forces that the West wished to withdraw.

This incident is highlighted by the columnist as a significant indication of increasing Soviet interest in Lebanon, especially in that the U.S.S.R. had always adhered to a policy of opposing the deployment of international forces.

The article communicates a tone of sympathy towards the U.S.S.R. and a distinct animosity towards the West. Though not explicitly stated, it emerges that the growing Soviet involvement in Lebanon is viewed as a welcome relief.

Secretary General Discusses Role, Structure of Phalange Party

44040065b Beirut AL-'AMAL in Arabic
29 Nov 87 pp 15-16

[Article: "Phalange Secretary General Defines His Concept of the Phalange: Discipline, Sacrifice, and Clean Hands"]

[Text] Lawyer Munir al-Hajj, secretary general of the Phalange Party, stated that Lebanon was never as isolated, coerced, and cut off as today. Consequently, it was never as in need of the Phalange as it is today, intellectually and practically.

He announced that there is no Phalange outside the legitimate party framework: "It alone is the guarantor of continued existence, the protector from stumbling, the safeguard of the values and virtues upon which the renaissance of the thirties was based: discipline, sacrifice, clean hands, and vigor." He indicated that "the Lebanon of mutual coexistence is still my basic choice, despite what has happened; for it represents the Lebanese, with his natural openness to others and his inclination toward cooperation and cultural enrichment."

He said: "Lebanon's problem is that it began from where it ought to have ended. It began as a legal entity, before it began as a homeland. It began with unifying the land, before it began with unifying hearts. Therefore it was easy for the conspiracy to target it."

He added: "Today, after the land has been divided, hearts have begun to unite in longing for Lebanon as it once was: united."

This was said in the following interview conducted by AL-'AMAL with Secretary General al-Hajj.

[Question] Who is Munir al-Hajj, and what party responsibilities has he assumed in the past?

[Answer] I don't suppose you are asking in your question for a copy of my identity card. Rather, I think that in your question you are aiming to satisfy people's curiosity about the traits and trifles that surround any man's identity.

I think you want to cast light on the principles that guided me in marking my path in public life, so as to give people an opportunity to discover the extent of my ability to assume the burdens of the new trust that has devolved upon me and my method of dealing with these burdens.

Before answering, a comment must be made, not for the sake of humility, but for the sake of objectivity: Man is too weak to reach the ideal. It is enough for him to strive toward it. Consequently, what I shall say does not exactly represent Munir al-Hajj as he is, but rather as he strove to be.

My public life is a single thing with two inseparable parts: the practice of law, and politics. Both are a commitment: the first to defending the right, the second to public service. The two demand qualities and qualifications that come about for a man only by precise and neat shaping of the personality and by persistence and effort.

I began this shaping process from my early youth. I have not stopped. I have accomplished some things; other things have eluded me.

Defending the right and public service are goals that can be reached only by knowledge. No; say, rather, only by special competence. If this is granted in relation to the practice of law, it is ignored in politics. Political activity in Lebanon is the job of the jobless, the domain of people with no special competence. In my view, this is what has brought sorrow to the homeland and thrown it into tribulation. An effort I lived through with Maurice al-Jumayyil: he it was who established me in this conviction. So I started to absorb as much as I was able, observe what I could, and meditate as far as my imagination extended—without becoming the encyclopedic mind that he became, or the visionary that he was.

Realizing also that the two professions required practice with the word, I concerned myself with it in writing and orally. The rostrums of the Phalange aided me: sometimes I occupied them, at other times I listened to their commanding presences.

In expression, whether in articles, speeches, talks, or lectures, I committed myself to sincerity and objectivity, supported by proof and by whatever brilliance was possible.

Party Activity

[Question] These were [your commitments] in the practice of law and in politics. In your life in the party, what was your most important commitment?

[Answer] In my life in the party, I committed myself to discipline as a duty from the time I became affiliated. I realized that it was a precondition of party life: only by means of it do you stay in the game; without it you wind up outside of it. I put forth my convictions clearly and defended them boldly. Boldly and unemotionally I accepted decisions, and I carried them out with sincerity, however harsh they were toward me or my convictions. Often they were harsh, sometimes merciless.

[Question] What about personal ambition?

[Answer] One of our greatest mistakes in the party was that we followed a path of being ashamed of ambition. This was a sterile path that had reflected itself upon our effectiveness and dynamism. Naturally, the path of diffidence had its goals, which were noble; these included its being one of the safety valves of discipline. What we lose by killing ambition is less than what we gain in discipline, if the two are in conflict. But what if—and this is my conviction—the two could be reconciled with each other?

Therefore, I am not ashamed of my ambition, although I engaged in it with discipline. I never made it an issue; I never in my life pursued it by flattery or intrigue, but rather by qualification, steadiness, and correct behavior.

[Question] They say about Munir al-Hajj the lawyer that material possessions play a small role in his professional life, while a sense of mission is predominant. What is your comment?

[Answer] The truth is that in my public life I made a balance between riches and money. I sought the former avidly, but the latter to the extent necessary. For as Antoine Qazan says, the former is "wealth that cannot be scattered," and unlike the latter it does not enter into "the accounting of the Last Judgment."

Resignations

[Question] You said that you never in your life sought to arrive by means of intrigue or flattery, but rather by qualification. Do you think this is your answer to what some say about how you ought to have gone slowly in accepting your new post after your predecessor's resignation?

[Answer] I did not intend to answer this question before it was raised. But now that you have asked, this is the answer.

[Question] They say that you in the party operate according to the custom of not accepting resignations quickly, out of respect for the feelings of people who resign.

[Answer] First, it was not I who accepted my predecessor's resignation, but rather the Political Bureau, which is the decision-making authority in the party.

Secondly, respect for feelings was in fact practiced. Although Comrade Dahdah's resignation was resolute, decisive, and relentless and was endowed with the term "irrevocable," the chairman of the party contacted him, seeking clarification, and trying to convince him to reconsider, although to no avail.

Thirdly, there is a hierarchy of values in the party. The welfare of the party comes before respect for feelings. The previous secretary general's inability to come to an understanding with the party chairman had paralyzed party activity. The matter could therefore not continue for long.

[Question] You said, "when I was informed of my appointment." Does this mean you were surprised by your appointment? Why?

[Answer] Yes, I was surprised. I asked the same question of the party chairman after thanking him for his confidence. He replied to me, saying, "I was afraid you would have declined, had I proposed the matter to you prematurely. I know your nature and how indifferent to worldly things you are, especially after the repeated shocks that have shaken the party." When I said to him, "But you are throwing me into a new shock," he said: "On the contrary, I am aiming at avoiding a shock. You are acceptable to all, as shown by the fact that your appointment was unanimous."

Shock

[Question] Nevertheless, the party did not escape a shock.

[Answer] But my appointment contributed to its alleviation.

[Question] People are asking why Munir al-Hajj was not appointed secretary general as soon as Dr Sa'adah assumed leadership of the party.

[Answer] This is a question about which one cannot be specific. There are many qualified people among the comrades, but the choice is normally governed by time and circumstance.

[Question] After the departure of Shaykh Pierre al-Jumayyil, the party was subjected to many shocks, beginning with the 12 March uprising, then the expulsion of a number of party deputies, and finally the resignation of a number of officials. Where is the breakdown? How can such blows be met in the future?

[Answer] The question of expelling two deputies from the party without hearing them or trying them was not a shock, but rather a rash action. I opposed the decision at the time. Those who today are demanding that feelings be respected by rejecting resignations are those who were behind the dismissals in which the feelings of two great and distinguished comrades were not respected.

As for the other shocks, they can be classified under two causes, in the absence of a single control:

The first reason was the process of defining the legal nature of the Lebanese Forces organization. Because the forces had emanated from the Phalange in idea and

practice, in personnel and leadership, the Phalange continued to consider the forces part of itself—one of its wings, or one of its departments. In actuality and in law, however, the forces were an independent corporate body, despite the link of blood and spirit joining them to the Phalange. The Phalange thought the exercise of this independence was vagrancy and a departure from the household to which obedience was owed. After the martyrdom of Bashir, the Phalange went to work on absorbing the forces. The forces rose up demanding the right to make independent decisions. When it was not conceded to them, they tried to absorb the Phalange. Thus the uprising consisted of attempts at absorption and attempts at counterabsorption.

Resolution of this cause of conflict, in my opinion, will occur only by recognition that the Phalange and the forces are two independent corporate bodies that divide up roles and cooperate in the service of the one cause.

The second cause of the shocks was the struggle for authority within the party and over the party. Two factors encouraged these struggles. First, the party leadership for more than 20 years allowed party members to jump into positions of highest authority without a base or respect for orderly succession. Second was the absence of the traditional control: I mean the founder's prestige and ethical weight, which used to keep any struggle from assuming the nature of a collision.

In the absence of the ethical control, there was no choice but to accept the legal control: I mean the rules that order the question of ambition and consequently the question of the emanation of authority. These rules must deal with two things: conditions that must be present in nominees for party positions (one can summarize them as educational suitability, experience, seniority, and a clean ethical slate), and secondly, the democratic nature of the selection process.

Failure to allow the legal control to hold sway arouses appetites, increases conflicts, endows them with the nature of a shock, and leads to a critical situation. Generally it leads to schism.

In this regard, a significant historical curiosity comes to my mind. The French republican leader Thiers was able to impose the republic on a monarchist parliamentary majority by saying:

"There being but one throne for three claimants, the republic divides least." [Arabic followed by original French in source]

Solutions

[Question] But you have not answered the second half of the question: How will you deal with such shocks in the future?

[Answer] As we dealt with the most recent shock: by resolving it through dialogue within the principles and rules of the system. This is what I call "organizational problemsolving."

[Question] Do you consider that a victory for the leadership?

[Answer] I consider it a victory for the party from which even opponents will benefit. I would rather lose a personal fight in a party standing on its feet than win it in a party prostrate.

[Question] The former secretary general has submitted a memorandum contesting the legality of the recent appointments. Is opposition in this area permissible?

[Answer] The permissibility of opposition is one of the fundamentals, a basic precondition in the democratic game. Permissibility turns into duty when matters proceed otherwise than along the path of the official's convictions.

What Comrade Dahdah finally did was one of his rights—indeed, one of his duties. Our criticism of him was that he did not begin from where he ended.

[Question] There has been much talk about the subject of turning the party into an institution, but the matter is still obscure to the people. Can you sum up the subject for us, so as to clarify and inform?

[Answer] The party has been an institution since it came into existence. Consequently, talk about a "transformation process" is pointless. The question that has been raised deals only with the ability of this institution to continue after the departure of the founder.

The institution used to operate by means of two impulses: one goal-related, the other loyalty-related.

The first was the impulse of goals and principles.

The second was the impulse derived from the halo of the historical leadership, with its moral stature, credibility, and ethical authority.

With the departure of the founder, the balance became disturbed, making it necessary for us to firmly fix our goal-related commitment and derive an autonomous dynamism emanating from this commitment, controlled by a system that would safeguard two things: the democratic nature of the process of emanation of authority, and the democratic nature of the decision-making process.

But the system, with its provisions and rules, remains impotent if it is not accompanied by outstanding achievement in practice. This makes it necessary that we not lose sight of "the Phalange as school."

We shall try to open the doors of this school again, not just by preaching, but by the example given by leaders at all levels.

Power Centers

[Question] Don't you think the power centers will try to resist the practice of institutionalism?

[Answer] But the practice of institutionalism cancels the power centers. I have already explained to you that the power centers are a by-product of the lack of institutionalism.

[Question] Professor al-Hajj, what is the purpose of the establishment of secretariats, and what is its effect on the level of power distribution in the party?

[Answer] The system in the party is quasi-presidential. While the Political Office assumes the decision-making authority, the party chairman takes upon himself political matters, and the secretary general administrative matters, cooperating with each other in the executive authority.

The old system accorded the general secretariat in its administrative role assistants and an apparatus. It did not accord the presidency in its political role either an apparatus or assistants. The explanation is that the party was established as an organization.

The organization turned into a party, but the system did not change. We set out to lead a party by the system of an organization.

The party's political role grew greater. Tasks and subjects ramified, and questions became more detailed; it was no longer possible for the chairman to encompass all of this. The idea of secretariats appeared more than a quarter century ago, but it found its way to realization only 2 years ago, when the newly reformed system granted the appointment of secretaries to the president, to assist him in his political duties. The president himself was entrusted with responsibility for their appointment.

Thus, the intention in creating the secretariats was not to parcel out the president's authority, but rather to strengthen it by enabling him to exercise it in an effective and enlightened manner. The job of the secretaries is limited to presenting facts and crystallizing options; it does not have to do with making decisions, which remain the prerogative of the president.

Entanglement of Powers

[Question] There are those who say that the establishment of secretariats created a problem of entanglement of powers between them and the departments.

[Answer] There are subjects that fall under the powers of the secretariats and not under the powers of any department. There is no entanglement inasmuch as there is no similarity.

As for subjects that fall under the powers of the both the secretariats and the departments, the departments are considered as the technical consultant to the secretariats, although without their being subject to them from the administrative point of view.

In any case, there is no sacred text. The text is a means to an end. If the means conflict with or impede the end, suffice it to say that the means will be adjusted to make them harmonize with the end, not the reverse.

The Phalange's Option

[Question] You are one of the party's thinkers who have worked to formulate its basic options. Where are we today in relation to the Phalange's national historical option?

[Answer] Despite what has happened, the Lebanon of mutual coexistence still is my basic option for an essential and fundamental reason: namely, that it represents the Lebanese, with his natural openness to others and his inclination toward cooperation and cultural enrichment.

The problem of this Lebanon is that it began from where it ought to have ended. It began as a legal entity, before it began as a homeland. It began with unifying the land, before it began with unifying hearts. Therefore it was easy for the conspiracy to target it.

Today, after the land has been divided, hearts have begun to unite in longing for Lebanon as it once was: united.

Yes, as Michel Shayha says: The building of homelands begins with a yearning before willingness. But the journey of yearning is long, and only the will can shorten it.

When I ponder the obstacles that prevent the formation of a Lebanese national will, I almost lose my hope in Lebanon.

For it [national will] to exist in Lebanon therefore is difficult to the point of impossibility. Nevertheless, it remains the soundest and best wager.

I like something that Alain B. said about the plan of unifying Europe, because it applies to some extent to the plan of unifying Lebanon: "It is impossible for you not to be a European. But Europe seems impossible. Nevertheless, why do we not act according to Pascal's wager for the existence of God in our wager upon it? We will work for it as much as we can: if it is realized, we shall have guaranteed our salvation; if it is not realized, we shall

have lost nothing by the attempt. But we should keep in mind the question: Can we, in the face of Europe's eclipse, avoid becoming ashamed?"

[Question] Professor Munir, what message do you address to Phalangists on the occasion of the 51st anniversary of the Phalange?

[Answer] Comrades, the Phalange that gave to Lebanon generously for more than half a century is a cherished trust in our consciences. We must continue to care for it and preserve it, united in word, stand, and goal.

There is no Phalange outside the legitimate party framework. It alone is the guarantor of continued existence, the protector from stumbling, the safeguard of the values and virtues upon which the renaissance of the thirties was based: discipline, sacrifice, clean hands, and vigor.

There is no Phalange without these virtues.

Revolt against these virtues is trafficking with the Phalange; and the Phalange is not our property, but the property of Lebanon. It emanated from the historical compact and the great promise: that the Phalange is for Lebanon, and for Lebanon alone does it exist.

Lebanon was never as isolated, coerced, and cut off as today. Consequently, it was never as in need of the Phalange as it is today, intellectually and practically.

On the final day of settling accounts, do not cause the sacrifices and martyrdoms of half a century of dedication to miscarry.

History pauses at the last line of the journey. It writes it in capital letters and builds its judgment upon it. And the rigor is according to the extent of the trust.

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Phalangist Paper Criticizes Solution to Gas Crisis

44040065a Beirut AL-'AMAL in Arabic
3 Dec 87 pp 1, 7

[Article: "Fuel Crisis Solved at Expense of Citizens"]

[Text] From the point of view of Oil Ministry officials, Bank of Lebanon governors, and gas station owners, the fuel crisis is on its way to being solved. But from the point of view of the citizens, at whose expense and at the expense of whose daily livelihoods, nerves, and humiliation the partial and improvised solutions come, it has not been solved at all.

A [20-liter] can of gasoline, as [Oil] Minister Victor Qasir announced yesterday, will cost 1,400 Lebanese pounds starting 3 December 1987 throughout Lebanon: its current price, that is, has become twice what it was before

the fabrication of the crisis, the "pitcher story" of the opening of credits, the closing of gas stations, and the paralysis of the country for two days in succession.

This scenario appears to have been integrated throughout and programmed so that it recurs seasonally to "suck the blood of the people," further impoverish them, and contribute with the political boycott to striking at the country's assets and shaking the foundations of the steadiness of the Lebanese economy.

Among the details of the scenario: The Central Board of the Bank of Lebanon met yesterday morning and agreed, after long study and examination, to open special credits for petroleum derivatives in the amount of \$50 million for the importation of all petroleum derivatives without exception, on the basis that this deal should suffice the need of the local market until next March. One should note, however, that the Bank of Lebanon emphasized that no credit would be opened as long as petroleum derivatives were not sold at a real-cost price and on the basis of the dollar exchange rate current in the discount market. This means that the price of a can of gasoline is liable to change according to the rise or fall of the price of the dollar.

As soon as the Bank of Lebanon agreed to open credits, Bank of Lebanon Governor Dr Edmund Na'im informed Deputy Finance Minister Joseph al-Hashim of the decision. Al-Hashim telephoned [Oil] Minister Victor Qasir and told him the news, asking him to begin taking the routine measures for carrying on the import operation.

In the course of the telephone call, Qasir told al-Hashim about the gas station owners' position calling for suspension of their strike as soon as there was agreement on opening of credits. He also told him of the decision to adjust the selling price of gasoline and of his insistence on broadcasting it subsequently. The finance minister requested that the oil minister postpone announcing the increase until this afternoon, waiting for gas stations to sell the supplies they had on hand at the old price, so that citizens would not pay double the price for this state-supported commodity, and so that gas station owners would not reap profits at the expense of the citizens. He said to him, "It is unreasonable for existing supplies to be sold at the new price, because this price (1,400 Lebanese pounds) is the cost of the supplies that will be imported in coming days."

However, [Oil] Minister Qasir insisted on issuing the decision, which was numbered 182, by virtue of which the selling price of 20 liters of gasoline was fixed at 1,400 Lebanese pounds. Among considerations mentioned in the decision was the following: "The price of gasoline was adjusted on the basis of the evolving exchange rate of the dollar in relation to the Lebanese pound and fluctuations in the selling price of gasoline in the markets."

He thought this increase—it was the same argument when prices were adjusted the last time—would avert smuggling and hoarding and prevent the spread of the black market. He believed this step would solve the crisis and expressed his readiness gradually to flood the market with gasoline. He predicted that this increase would affect the daily life of the citizen, especially food, shipping, and transportation costs, but he hoped the other ministries would deal fairly with citizens, reimburse the injured, and help them socially.

As for gas station owners, they received the news of the increase with joy and announced a retreat from their strike, promising that the crisis would be solved within the next 36 hours.

The announcement of the opening of credits coincided with a 1-week postponement by workers and employees of the Lebanon Electric Company of their strike that had been scheduled for today, in order to make room for ongoing contacts to realize their demands, especially since Minister al-Hashim yesterday signed a decision granting a loan of 375 million Lebanese pounds to the workers of the company.

Political Positions

In view of this critical situation, the Presidential Palace today is witnessing political and economic movement to treat the results of this deterioration. President Amin al-Jumayyil will receive a delegation from the Association of Banks and a number of deputies.

Most of the political positions are based upon the need to create the necessary and rapid political solutions to get the citizen out of his daily suffering. The Lebanese Front discussed Minister Joseph Sakaf's discontinuance of the management of operations. It supported his position, "which translates strong popular resentment against the government and contributes to moving outworn political conditions and to the demise of the government of starvation and boycotting." It demanded an end to the repeated crises and the suffering and humiliation of the citizens. It called on the remaining ministers to take responsible positions leading to ending the situation of this irresponsible government and the creation of a new government that would meet together and not boycott and that would treat citizens' vital problems, alleviating their pains, "because the situation has become intolerable."

The Council of Maronite Bishops, which met under the chairmanship of the patriarch, His Beatitude Mar Nasrallah Butrus Safir, said: "The living crisis, which is worsening due to the government's paralysis, the gas station strike, the closure of some schools, the queuing up of people in front of bakeries to obtain bread, their obvious inability to keep up with the rising dollar, the appearance of the phenomenon of people in various cities searching garbage cans to turn up something to eat in order to ward off the specter of creeping hunger—all

this is greatly disquieting. It ought to inspire officials to forget every demand, postpone every settling of accounts, and put aside every concern save that of feeding the hungry and returning the course of life in Lebanon to normal, whatever sacrifices that may require of them."

The Islamic Coalition deliberated about the general deterioration "that dominates all sides of life and plunges citizens into black days charged with a dangerous emotional atmosphere that threatens all social institutions—electricity, telephone, hospitals, transportation, etc.—with closure, threatens to plunge the country and people into the shadows of unemployment and great confusion, and threatens the economic cycle with complete paralysis. All this is in addition to the comedy of the mutual contact lines, the remaining of the passage gates as they were, and the subjection of traffic and goods to permits that increasingly complicate the interests of citizens and place them in greater pain and inconvenience by the insane jumps they bring about in the prices of vital food commodities, medicines, and hospital costs, and by the atmosphere of fear and terror they impose upon them."

Officials at all levels mentioned that "the only real door to salvation from these disasters lies in ending the war and ending the period of militias, starting with implementation of the resolutions of the Qasr Mansur ministerial meeting with Syria's generous cooperation, in the hope that this will, as has been said previously, lead to a minimum of national reconciliation and a necessary amount of good intention, whereby bygone days may return and the course of rescue begin without obstacles or barriers, in a country ruled by equality and justice, sheltered by freedom, and enjoying sovereignty and stability."

In a related development, (former) Prime Minister Salim al-Huss sent letters to President Ronald Reagan of the United States and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev containing a request for their intervention to make Israel withdraw from the south of Lebanon in accordance with Security Council resolutions, especially Resolutions 425, 508, and 509.

12937

Phalange Head Expounds Dimensions of Crisis, Proposes Solution

44040067a Beirut AL-'AMAL in Arabic
29 Nov 87 pp 3, 5, 12

[Interview with Phalange Party Head Dr George Sa'adah: "Sa'adah: The Lebanese Cannot Do without One Another; They Must Return to the Spirit of the Charter"]

[Text] The chairman of the Lebanese Phalange Party, Dr George Sa'adah, declared that the crisis is not connected to persons, that when the conspiracy reaches its objective

the crisis in Lebanon will come to a halt, and that it has shifted from a military to a political then socioeconomic conspiracy — stating that the objective of the conspiracy is to take Lebanon over.

He pointed out that the conspiracy would not have been able to get out of hand had it not had its internal repercussions.

Dr Sa'adah defined the way of getting out of the conspiracy as agreement among the Christians, matched by agreement among the Moslems, with a national conference to follow these two agreements where the Christians and Moslems would meet after they had unified their positions and ideological premises. He considered that the cause for the delay in agreement among Lebanese could be attributed to foreign elements which were adhering to one group or another and preventing them from meeting.

He stated that solutions for deliverance might be brought into being by the economic pressure which is afflicting everyone and stressed that the unification of the Christians' positions had been sought for some time and not because major events were falling due. He declared "The elections to the presidency have constitutional roots, but as for our adopting a negative or positive position on them, both possibilities are pertinent as far as the Lebanese Front and a large number of deputies are concerned." He stressed that what concerns the Phalange is not getting individuals in so much as they are concerned that the principles continue to be preserved and protected. He was amazed that some people should define the problem in Lebanon as one of the constitution and political and constitutional reforms. He said, "What can we reform, now that everything is being destroyed?" He underlined the Phalange's readiness to discuss any theoretical plan for arriving at what is acceptable to the intelligence and logic.

Ruling out all contacts with the Syrians following the abrogation of this agreement, he asserted that Syria had determined what it wanted from Lebanon through the tripartite agreement.

He stressed his adherence to the Lebanese charter, because it was not in the interests of any of the factions to remove part of the nation for itself and live in it. He called on everyone to reaffirm their convictions, which are that the Lebanese cannot do without one another "and we must go back to the spirit of the 1943 charter."

He reiterated, "The economic situation is to a large extent connected to the political situation. Therefore, we demand a change in the present cabinet, because the new cabinet will in effect deal with the vital and economic affairs." He stressed that the party problems had been solved, pointing out that the party had a heritage and principles which did not change with a change in its heads. He stated that the political committee which was

formed recently was dealing with the aftereffects of the most recent problems and was trying to set out the bases which would prevent subjection to problems and new imbroglios.

The chairman of the Phalange began his talk with an evaluation of the general political situation in confronting the coming stage, and the Phalange's position vis-à-vis the events coming due which have been raised. He said, "I am not amazed that the issue of evaluating the general political situation should be raised at this stage specifically, as we are on the brink of things that are coming due, at the forefront of which are the presidential elections. This sort of question is raised once every 6 years, the same question is repeated, and the same hopes are attached. Then they evaporate after the elections, because the issue is not one of persons who are changed and replaced.

"Toward the end of President Sulayman Franjiyah's term, the question was raised, for the first time, because we were at the beginning of the crisis. Even some senior officials believed that the crisis was to a large extent connected to the term and the person whose term it was and that conditions would certainly change and be altered with the change in the president. Therefore the Lebanese petition, which a number of deputies signed out of the belief on their part that with the resignation of the president conditions would change, came about. However, the late Shaykh Pierre al-Jumayyil was more farsighted than all, since he stood up to this petition, realizing, through his youth [sic] and farsightedness, that the crisis was a crisis against Lebanon and not against persons, and President Sulayman Frajiyah completed his term.

"Toward the end of the same term, we read a new refrain, which was the necessity to amend the constitution so that a shift would be made, to elect a president before the specified constitutional period. That happened and President Ilyas Sarkis was elected 6 months before the end of President Franjiyah's term. The conditions did not change and were not altered. The term shifted from one president to another and the conspiracy continued to follow its course without changing. Rather, it increased in severity and the people interfering in this crisis grew in number."

"This development was not just connected to the presidents but went beyond them sometimes to the army command. Everyone mentions the demand for a change in the commander of the army, on the belief that with the change in the commander of the army perhaps conditions would change. They included people who demanded the amendment of the army law, out of the belief, as well, that that could save Lebanon from the crisis through which it was passing. The commander of the army, Gen Iskandar Ghanim, was changed, then more than one commander followed in succession in the command, the army law was changed, nothing changed, and the crisis continued to follow its rising course."

"Toward the end of President Sarkis' term, we read the same refrain on the change of the constitution or the resignation of the president, and nothing changed. Today, the same refrain is being repeated. If the crisis had begun with President Amin al-Jumayyil's term, perhaps it would have been possible to believe that if the president to whom the crisis was linked were changed, the crisis would change, but the crisis is an old one. It began in 1969, when the Palestinian camps were converted into military camps and the Palestinians took up arms not for the sake of regaining Palestine but for the sake of intervention in domestic Lebanese political affairs."

"In comparison with the past, I believe that the crisis is not connected to persons. There is a crisis and when it ends and reaches its objectives the crisis in Lebanon will come to a halt."

The Phalange's View

[Question] How does the Phalange view this conspiracy? What is its objective?

[Answer] In every period the conspiracy assumes a specific character. A military crisis began with the Palestinians, then evolved into a political-military crisis. Today it is a political-military-economic crisis. The objective in the crisis and the events which have occurred is multifaceted. If we want to combine it under a single rubric, it is the takeover of Lebanon.

[Question] How can this conspiracy be confronted?

[Answer] First of all, the crisis would not have been able to get out of hand had it not had its internal repercussions. Perhaps we left some windows open, and the winds came in through them and the objects in the household were turned head over heel. If it is possible to confront the conspiracy the way in which it came in, when the conspiracy entered upon us while we were fragmented or inundated, we can confront this conspiracy if we become united and face it. After these long years and after the destruction, ruin and sacrifices which have occurred, I believe that every faction, if it is legitimate to talk about factions, has paid a high price and lost many persons from its leadership. The Druze faction has lost Kamal Jumblatt, the Shiites Imam Musa al-Sadr, the Maronites Bashir al-Jumayyil and Tony Franjiyah and the Sunnites Rashid Karami. Likewise the press has lost a number of its key figures, and the men of religion have lost many.

All these things, and the results which have overtaken the people they have, prompt us to pause for thought regarding the horror of what has happened and make a recalculation. I believe that a conviction has been formed among everyone that no one will be able to dominate the other group through arms.

Therefore this conviction must be engendered, we must all meet and we must rise to the level of responsibility in order to stand up to this conspiracy which has been hatched against us.

Management of the Conspiracy

[Question] The takeover of Lebanon by whom? Who is managing the conspiracy? Let us call things by their names.

[Answer] We have called and are calling things by their names, because there is no room for accommodation as far as critical affairs go. The conspiracy started with the Palestinians. We knew the purpose of it. Then things became intertwined until the Syrians came in under the cover of the Arab deterrent forces. Everyone knows how those entered and were formed, then how all the Arab countries proceeded to withdraw their armies, until the deterrent forces were confined to the Syrian forces present in Lebanon. Syria can stop the conspiracy and can set up a deterrent barrier before the currents which are raging inside Lebanon and are blowing from abroad, in order to reach Lebanon. Could the Libyans or Iranians have entered Lebanon if the Lebanese-Syrian borders had not been open to them?

Therefore the conspiracy is one of far-ranging aspects, more than one group has taken part in it, and the goal is the same, to eliminate Lebanon in the form we have seen.

Introduction of the "Deterrence"

[Question] There are people who find fault with the Phalange for being, along with other Christian leaders, behind the formulation of the resolution that called for the introduction of the deterrence into Lebanon and having Syria play a basic role in the resolution of this crisis since 1976.

[Answer] While it is permissible for some people to pose this question, it is not permissible for people who are knowledgeable about the inner workings of things and facts to do so. The history of the Arab deterrent forces is not a long one, although memory betrays some people. The Syrian army entered Lebanon without permission from anyone, came to Bhamdun and stopped as a result of foreign acts of intervention. Then after that it settled down here. The Arab League resolution on the entry of the deterrent forces into Lebanon and the formation of the deterrent forces of 30,000 troops occurred. At that time adequate guarantees were given that the deterrent forces would be at the disposal of the legitimate authorities, and the best proof of this is that the Arab League resolution which permitted the entry of the deterrent forces put these forces at the disposal of the president, although, constitutionally, they were supposed to have been put at the disposal of the government. Likewise, it was left to the president himself to choose the deterrent forces' commander from among the Lebanese senior

officers and for the latter to be directly connected to him. That is how it was at the time of the first and second deterrent commanders, but after that it was apparent that he was connected to the president in a pro forma way.

It also was resolved that the formation of the deterrent forces would be composed of 30,000 troops and that all the Arab countries with whose participation in the deterrent forces Lebanon was in agreement would take part in them. These included Egyptians, Sudanese, Yemenis, Saudis and others. One should bear in mind that the Arab League resolution stipulated a period of 90 days for the restoration of security and stability to Lebanon. These countries' forces withdrew one after the other until the deterrence was confined to the Syrian forces. Today the deterrent forces have no commander and they are not connected by any stretch of the imagination to the president. Therefore it is not the Phalange or the Christian groups which demanded that, and we must remember the delapidated conditions we were in the day we agreed to the League of Arab States resolution, out of a belief on our part that these were real deterrent forces which had come to deter those who were trespassing against Lebanon, that is, the illegitimate forces that were present on our territory. It was something natural and familiar that the Arab deterrent forces should stand up to the Palestinians who had trespassed against Lebanese dignity and sovereignty.

The Changes in Facts

[Question] But everyone mentions that the entry of the Arab deterrent forces took place in the context of the presence of relaxation and amicable relations between the Christian leaders and President Hafiz al-Asad, while a large group of Lebanese, especially Kamal Jumblatt, [former] Premier Sa'ib Salam and Raymond Iddih were against this entry.

[Answer] A negative position is a very easy one, but when I take a negative position here in circumstances like those that dominated the country, I have to seek alternatives, and people who are accused today of having been behind the entry of the Arab deterrent forces into Lebanon I believe at that time were searching for solutions and their positions were not restricted to theorizing and theories — rather, they paid the blood of their youth and acted heroically in defense of Lebanese causes, and when they saw the first signs of a solution on the horizon, and believed that it would in effect save Lebanon, they ventured upon this step. We must not forget that the international facts have changed and been altered. The relationship between the Phalange in general and the Syrians was excellent, and I personally was part of the basis of it. However, a new factor came onto the map when the Egyptian president, Anwar al-Sadat, visited Israel; all the facts changed and were altered. We might point out that Syrians stood up to Palestinians in many struggles, but after that historic event the alliances were overturned as a result of this visit. When we go to excess

in leveling charges, we must take all these facts into consideration, and must form convictions, charges and judgments in the light of them.

The Israeli Role

[Question] How could you today describe the Israeli role? Do you not believe that Israel is also responsible, as is Syria, for the deterioration of conditions in Lebanon? There are people who say that the Lebanese Front, including the Phalange, did not move and was silent over the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982.

[Answer] I intend to defend only the Lebanese cause and the destiny of Lebanon, and I am against everyone who trespasses against national dignity and Lebanese sovereignty. When we speak of the necessity of ending the occupations in Lebanon, many people tell us "You are treating friends and enemies on an equal basis. Why, in the treatment, is a difference not made between the Lebanese people's brothers and enemies?" Here we must right the presentation of the cause in isolation. We are the clan of the Phalangists and Shaykh Pierre al-Jumayyil used to give numerous statements and letters in this context, in addition to his warnings to the Arab countries, that the Palestinians' provocations of the Israelis would lead to Israel's invasion of Lebanon and the loss of a large part of Lebanon. The Phalangists did not content themselves with a warning — indeed, we tried, through joint committees between ourselves and the Palestinians, to reach agreement together on ways of dealing domestically and abroad. The best proof of that is the Cairo agreement Lebanon was forced to sign to save itself from domestic entanglements. It happened that these entanglements continued and this agreement caused us to succumb to foreign entanglements with Israel, which occupied a beloved part of Lebanon. We demand the Israeli withdrawal from Lebanese territory, and we have sought it through negotiations in the past. The chamber of deputies gave its agreement to an accord to bring Israel out of Lebanon and some people considered that it entailed an agreement of coercion, although in time of occupation it is necessary to expel the occupier by negotiation or by war. If the termination of occupation by negotiation is not permissible, then let the confrontation countries, as they call themselves, be so kind as to help us expel the Israeli occupation from Lebanon, and we will be in the forefront.

But for it to be said that we supported the Israeli occupation is a statement that is to be rejected. When someone wants to make an accusation he must produce data and evidence.

The Authorities

[Question] The crisis began when there were two authorities in the country, a Christian authority and an Islamic one, politically. Now that 13 years of this crisis-conspiracy have elapsed there have come to be a number of

political, party and leadership authorities in the country. If the conspiracy succeeded when there were two authorities in the country, how can one expel this conspiracy when the authorities in the country are numerous?

[Answer] In reality, in the unofficial context there were two authorities, a Christian one and a Palestinian one, not an Islamic one. We must make a correction and say that we stood up to the Palestinian authorities, not the Islamic ones, especially since the Christians and Moslems had lived together for a long period of time. The Phalange based itself on the 1943 charter, and Pierre al-Jumayyil departed, defending this formula. Therefore the problem was between the Christians and the Palestinians, but after that the authorities proliferated even within a given faction. There are many factions which did not enter into the struggle in 1975 and saw themselves automatically drawn toward an entry into the struggle through many ideological positions. The Palestinians tried to impart various characters to the war. At times it was called a civil war and a factional war, and at other times it was called the war of the deprived and numerous other labels.

In reality, the nature of the events of 1975 involved a group of Lebanese, which was preserving the sovereignty and dignity of its nation and the Lebanese people, and the Palestinians, who for a period of time could dominate a large number of Lebanese parties domestically.

Ways To Extricate Oneself

[Question] How then do you consider that one can extricate oneself from this conspiracy?

[Answer] The problem was between two groups. Today, each group now has more than one problem. Therefore there is a new thesis, which is that there should be a Christian-Christian agreement matched by an Islamic-Islamic agreement, then a national conference where the Christians on the one hand will meet, after their positions have become unified on specific ideological premises, and the Moslems as well, after they have unified their positions. At the first instance, it seems that such an activity appears out of the question, but if we take the many working papers which we have read here and there and set out a table of comparison, it will be apparent to us that the same approaches exist although in different phrasing. If we set out this table, we will make the comparison, and three essential points over which a dispute exists will remain. These can be remedied in one way or another.

The Reality of Occupation

[Question] However, there is the fact of the occupation in the country, which is depriving the Lebanese of any agreement among themselves, and this makes their meeting out of the question in the light of this fact. What is the Phalange's view of this fact, and how do you view the solution?

[Answer] Through our contacts with officials in the decisionmaking capitals, it is apparent to us that everyone recognizes the fact which you referred to, but they are standing in bewilderment before a solution. Perhaps they stood in bewilderment in the past, and it made no difference to them in a country like Lebanon if its problem worsened or progressed, because there are international problems in their view which they are concerned with. However, once the Lebanese situation started to disturb everyone, especially the major decisionmaking countries, it was then in the interests of these countries, combined or individually, to seek to find a solution with us. The Lebanese people have been in agreement on what they hold in common, and on more than one occasion. We saw when the labor union called for an open strike how everyone met in front of the chamber of deputies, coming from the Western section and the Eastern section, and how everyone was embracing. Premier Sa'ib Salam has a famous saying, which is that when the Lebanese are allowed to meet they embrace one another passionately. That is a truthful saying. There is the chamber of deputies, which is still performing its role although it represents various currents, and there are a number of reform or other plans which have been made unanimously, since the matter of the element of agreement and reconciliation among Lebanese is guaranteed in the framework of the people and in the framework of the representatives of Lebanon, and if agreement is held up the reason can be attributed to alien elements which are holding onto one group or another and preventing the two of them from meeting.

When the issue becomes disturbing, especially as far as terrorism goes, and when the ball of fire which has been shot into Lebanon moves over to the other nearby and distant courts, the players must act. We might point out that many countries which viewed Lebanon hostilely have changed their positions today, as a result of these new facts, and the international facts may change in Lebanon's interests in the near future.

The problem today is that the crisis in Lebanon has gone on a long time. Had it been in its beginnings, we would have awaited the evolution of these facts, especially since we are passing through a stifling economic crisis and perhaps "as the crisis becomes severe, it explodes," because the military and political crisis afflicted one group but not the other, but economic crisis afflicts everyone, and solutions for salvation might come into being from this economic and social pressure.

Egypt's Role

[Question] The international and regional facts which affect the Lebanese stage include Egypt's status in the region and its departure from the League of Arab States, as Syria is allowed to be the sole actor on the Arab stage and in Lebanon in particular.

[Answer] Again, the opposite is the case, since when Egypt insinuated itself in Arab issues it disturbed Lebanon, and the best proof of that is the Nasirist legacy which was basically the upsetting of the Lebanese formula in 1958.

In reality, we no longer knew what benefitted Lebanon in the Arab context and what harmed it. Some people considered that the Black September between the Palestinians and the Jordanians had the effect of relaxing Lebanon, and the results were the opposite. Some people believed that when al-Sadat went to Jerusalem there might have been a sort of Arab agreement over this issue, and things would be moved along. The results of it entailed disasters as far as Lebanon was concerned. I referred to that in my answer to one of the questions which were raised, why the relations with the Syrians were good, then shifted and were changed, and the Phalange was accused of being behind the entry of the Syrians into Lebanon. I said that they changed because of the incident of al-Sadat's going to Jerusalem. While the Syrians stood against the Palestinians in Lebanon, they found themselves compelled to ally themselves with the Palestinians after these things changed.

Today, now that Egypt is coming back, with the exchange of diplomatic representation between itself and a number of Arab countries in the wake of the Amman conference, we do not know whether this is in our interests or not. What will Lebanon's situation be? Will it venture to restore diplomatic representation with Egypt or not? If it does, what will the Syrian position be? It is Syria which is dominating the situation in Lebanon. Will Egypt appreciate Lebanon's position if it does not? More than one question arises on this subject, but what there is no doubt about is that the balance of power will shift, change and be altered. Lebanon, if this balance changes, will in effect benefit, but we do not know how great its benefit will be.

The Restoration of Relations

[Question] Will Lebanon benefit from the restoration of diplomatic relations with Egypt? Will the Phalange support this step?

[Answer] Lebanon, as long as it has existed, has been the factor for rapprochement among the members of the League of Arab States. Lebanon was the Arab country which most fulfilled its Arab commitments in spite of the charges levelled against it. As far as Egypt's return to the League of Arab States goes, I believe that benefit must be derived from the presence of an effective element like Egypt in this league, and if the issue is the Palestinian cause in itself, one must remember that Yasir 'Arafat applauded al-Sadat when he declared that he was going to Jerusalem, and visited Egypt a number of times, and he is directly concerned with the Palestine cause and the person who is in charge of it by virtue of his position. Why are we being asked to be more royalist than the king?

The Amman Summit

[Question] In the light of the conclusions of the Amman summit, will the latent struggle between the Iraqi-Palestinian-Egyptian allies and a Gulf and Middle East party be reflected negatively on the Lebanese stage?

[Answer] The Lebanese situation is a very sensitive, delicate one and any Arab ally or position will be reflected negatively or positively on Lebanon, certainly, especially since we are not protected and there are currents in being in Lebanon which respond to one or the other of the warring groups on the Arab stage.

[Question] The closer the major events that are falling due get, the more the appeals escalate for the need to unify the Christian position. So far, we find that talk is still talk and that the unification of positions is an ad hoc, verbal unification of appearances. Deep down, though, isn't there any early sign of Christian reconciliation in actual conditions? Could we learn the possibilities for the unification of a Christian position before the major events that are falling due?

[Answer] The unification of the Christians' positions has been desirable for some time, and not because there are major events falling due. The events that are due are everyday ones. When we arrive at the basic, seminal causes, it is not permissible that fragmentation should exist. We, in our framework as a party, have been cognizant of this fact. Everyone remembers the role we played for the sake of expanding and activating the Lebanese Front. In the past some people did not work and the people who did were accused of dominance, monopolization and the arrogation of decisionmaking. That is a vengeful attitude which we faced following my election as chairman of the Phalange Party. I refused to attend any Lebanese Front meeting unless it was expanded along lines in which all politically influential persons would be permitted to join in its ranks. I made contacts with all politicians without exception; most unfortunately some refrained from responding to this appeal, and still are refraining, to this present day. Whenever we advocate a particular idea, they say that we are monopolizing or arrogating decisionmaking or dominating it. Recently, when we set out the new bylaws for the Lebanese Front, we took the possibility of the inclusion of influential persons into consideration.

The important thing is that the Christians gather among themselves, under any front or body, and that the Moslems meet among themselves, and we arrive at a general, comprehensive national conference.

You all remember the Christian peace initiative which we presented to everyone, discussed and submitted to the foreign minister of the Vatican, Monsignor Achille Silvestrini. The papal nuncio stated that Monsignor Silvestrini's mission had two aspects, first, to unify the

Christians' positions, and second, to study the possibility of carrying out an initiative. We told him that we would save him 50 percent of his task as far as its former aspect went.

You all remember, also how the Christians' positions were unified in the election of the president Shaykh Pierre al-Jumayyil, then in the election of the president Shaykh Amin al-Jumayyil, how the Christians' positions were unified, and then those of the Lebanese. What is desired is not unification; rather, what is desired is what comes after the unification.

Al-Husayni's Elections

[Question] But circumstances have changed between yesterday and today. There is a phenomenon which causes anxiety, since the influential Christians have not been able to reach agreement on a single position concerning the chamber of deputies elections.

[Answer] The difference between what will become due with respect to the elections to the chairmanship of the chamber and the presidential elections is great. The chairmanship of the chamber comes up every year, although it has a special character this year since the presidential elections will take place in their framework. This is not the criterion. You might disagree over a ministry and over the chairmanship of the chamber, but it is not allowable for the Christians to disagree among themselves over the presidential elections. The role of the chairman of the chamber is one thing and the role of the president is something else. The latter is elected for 6 years, and these are 6 decisive years in the history of Lebanon.

The Syrian Presence

[Question] Will the Syrian presence have a great effect on these elections, especially since there are many problems to which the Syrians are subject in the places where they are present?

[Answer] Things depend on their times. As to the Syrians' being subject to problems in the places where they are present, we all remember the events of Tripoli and what is happening in West Beirut at the present time. These events did not depend on the president's election falling due.

[Question] In the event the Syrian presence remains as it is, what is the Lebanese Front's plan to cope with this state of affairs?

[Answer] The elections have constitutional principles, whether you take a negative or a positive position on them. The two possibilities are pertinent as far as the Lebanese Front and large groups of Lebanese deputies go.

[Question] Will we reach a crisis?

[Answer] Everything depends on its time.

Repeating the Experience of the Presidency

[Question] Are the Phalange thinking of repeating the experience of having any of their members reach the position of the presidency?

[Answer] What interests the Phalange is not having persons get in; rather, it is concerned that the principles it believes in are preserved. If the Phalange's adversary on the local level will guarantee the preservation of these principles, the Phalange will not hesitate for 1 minute in its choice.

[Question] Do you find that a regional-international climate has started to take form to guarantee an atmosphere where the country will reach a stage which will permit the election of a president who does not constitute a challenge to anyone, and whom one stage of a rational solution can begin with?

[Answer] That is something that will be apparent from the positions and statements of major international officials.

[Question] What are the real reasons which have so far prevented the Lebanese from rallying together?

[Answer] In the context of the people, whenever they are offered the circumstances to come together, they do. The best proof is what happened during the general labor strike. Thus unity exists as far as the crucial things go, which explains that there are foreign elements preventing the Lebanese from rallying together.

[Question] It is well known that there are three major electors in the presidency from the Eastern section; they are the president, the Phalange Party and the Lebanese Forces. Do understanding and coordination exist among these electors?

[Answer] The president is the president of all the Lebanese. As far as the elections go, when we get to them the president will then be freed from his commitments as a president and will look to the future of Lebanon, like other Lebanese groups which are not adequate for this future. Nothing will prevent everyone, at that point, from turning into a single major elector and that will include more than those you mentioned.

The Foreign Solution

[Question] If we go back into history, we will see that there were foreign acts of intervention which took place to solve Lebanese internal problems. Do you believe that the solution today is possible, in the Lebanese context, in isolation from any foreign help?

[Answer] Countries are not brotherhoods or philanthropic societies. Countries have interests, and when these countries' interests concur with yours, at that point it is possible to benefit from the concurrence of interests and use them as a force helping to accelerate solutions.

In the past, not like "sand in the eye," some Lebanese went to some countries to solve the Lebanese crisis, but there was a sharing of powers and influence in Lebanon. Today, however, the facts have changed. If today it were in the interests of any country to resolve this crisis, it would not hold back for a minute. If it were in its interests for the situation in Lebanon to be exacerbated, it would not hold back in exacerbating the situation for a minute either.

[Question] Do you believe that the regional and international atmosphere which prevailed in 1982 can be restored?

[Answer] That is extremely difficult.

[Question] Do you believe that there is international consensus or agreement on the presidential paper concerning the reforms?

[Answer] Do you yourself believe that the Lebanese problem is one of the constitution and political and constitutional reforms, as some people claim today? And if this is true, we must go back to the beginning of the events in 1969 and 1975 which occurred in Tall al-Za'tar or other Lebanese areas among the Lebanese groups neighboring the Palestinian camps, which had turned into military camps. Was the son of al-Dikwanah fighting in order to preserve a given article of the constitution? Was the Palestinian bearing arms against the Christians in particular in these sections in order to amend the constitution or increase the powers of the government, or something else?

Therefore the problem was not one of political or constitutional reforms, but it was a problem which everyone knows. Then the acts of intervention proceeded to develop until they assumed the form they did. Is it reasonable that Lebanon should be destroyed so that the prime minister should head the session of the council of ministers in the absence of the president sometimes, then things should be submitted to a subsequent session headed by the president? Is this the Lebanese problem? And if that is the case as well, I believe that many people are capable of solving this problem.

The things are more than a problem of reforms. There is a conspiracy against Lebanon in which many elements have become interconnected. I remember a statement the late Premier Rashid Karami made to me, "We must make our calculations and compare what our situation was before the war and what it is during these events, and in the light of that take the right decision."

What then can we reform, now that everything has been destroyed? Some people considered themselves persecuted before the war, and all Lebanese are now persecuted after this war. Everyone remembers that there are things that we would not have agreed to but that we then saw that if one accepts them as given, the problems will be solved, and we are prepared to accept them as given and indeed have accepted them, but the other party has not given its agreement. I believe that the presidential working paper has been drawn from the working papers which were set out by more than one group. The best proof of that is that in Geneva we gave agreement to the section which appeared in the Islamic meeting in 'Ar-mun and was signed by the Mufti Hasan Khalid, Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams al-Din and Shaykh Muhammad Abu Shaqra concerning the Arabhood of Lebanon. However, the other party did not accept what we ourselves had agreed to, which was drawn from the sections of the Islamic meeting. My statement at that time was, are you asking Camille Chamoun, Pierre al-Jumayyil and George Sa'adah to go farther than the paramount sheikhs of Islam?

Therefore we are prepared and ready for a discussion, to arrive at what reason and logic will accept. The president's paper does not deviate from this framework, especially since the negotiations among the delegates of the president to Damascus had come up with a final formula, then things suddenly changed when it was apparent that agreement on our part to what had been presented was possible and it became apparent that a solution would be easy; so the cards changed and we went back to zero.

There is a conspiracy against Lebanon, and its results have not yet assumed full form.

The Tripartite Agreement

[Question] The Phalange Party previously more than once defined its relationship with Syria, but Syria has never defined what it wants from Lebanon.

[Answer] Syria defined what it wants from Lebanon through the tripartite agreement.

[Question] In 1943 the Lebanese agreed to a specific formula for government on the basis of a Maronite-Sunni settlement, but today things have been altered and the Druzes and Shiites are now demanding their share of this settlement.

[Answer] The formula is changing and being altered and it is possible to seek new formulas to administer the Lebanese coexistence. There is a vast difference between the formula and the charter. We must adhere to the charter because it is not in the interests of any faction to remove a portion for itself and live in it. Does any faction have the wherewithal to establish a state? These are dreams which will be distressing if they are realized. All Lebanese must have a conviction that the Lebanese

cannot do without one another and that we must return to the spirit of the 1943 charter, when one group of Lebanese viewed the mandate as a guarantee of its existence and another group turned toward the Arab countries and considered that a guarantee for itself, and it became apparent that there was no guarantee for the Christians in the mandate and no guarantee for the Moslems in turning toward the Arabs, and it was confirmed to them all that the Christians were the Moslems' guarantee and the Moslems were the Christians' guarantee within the Lebanese borders. If this conviction takes form anew today among the Lebanese, they can rapidly agree to the formula which will manage and organize their relationships with one another.

The Social Party

[Question] Getting back to party issues, it is well known that the Phalange party since it was established has committed itself to the cause of defense of the poor. What is the Phalange doing today to confront the economic crisis the country is going through?

[Answer] The Phalange is actually a social party and it has committed itself to social causes. The strikes the Phalange has held were for the sake of electricity, bread and ice. It has struggled for the sake of the attainment of laws which look after the circumstances of workers in the form of the labor law, the establishment of the Ministry of Labor and the insurance law. However, things have been altered and changed. In the past we struck against the existing authorities, but where are these authorities today?

We recently held remedial sessions in which we dealt with a number of problems, from inflation in school fees, medicines and treatment to the issues of housing and food, and we read recommendations and provisions which if they had been taken at the time would have in effect resolved the economic crisis. In addition, the party conference in Brumana was focussed on study of the socioeconomic situation, and we produced recommendations which are still appropriate to this day. But to whom will you blow your trumpets, David? This year, specifically, we resumed contacts and held more than one session to deal with the social issues, issued a number of recommendations and held open meetings sometimes and meetings behind the wings with the mainstays of the General Labor Federation and employers to bring their views closer together. However, it became apparent to us that none of these remedies had any value as long as the cabinet did not change, because the economic situation is linked to a large extent to the political situation. We all remember that the economic deterioration began when the boycott began. Had the cabinet dealt with all these things, rather than have the ministers divert themselves in bickering and controversies of no benefit, we therefore concentrated politically on the need to change the cabinet, out of the belief on our part that the new cabinet would in effect remedy the vital things.

The Ports

[Question] Don't you believe that stripping the government of some of its rights, such as some groups' controlling the ports and utilities, participated to a great extent in exacerbating the economic situation?

[Answer] A declaration was made some time ago of the readiness of the group in the Eastern section to hand over the ports and utilities if there was a corresponding commitment in the other areas. Some people considered that that was a ploy, but in comparison with the past, the Eastern section had previously handed the ports over to the government more than once although the other sections did not venture on a similar step. I do not believe that this is the basic problem. When the government is established and the cabinet assumes the responsibility for the country, at that point each group will be responsible for obstructing the economic solution, by adhering to gains derived from its assumption of some ports or public utilities.

[Question] Do you believe that the formation of a new cabinet is possible?

[Answer] There is no doubt that difficulties stand in the way of the formation of a new cabinet, but in spite of that my view is that it is necessary to form such a cabinet and make everyone face their responsibilities.

[Question] More than one meeting was previously held with the Syrians, when you were vice chairman of the party. Why are these contacts in abeyance now?

[Answer] Three meetings were held. The first was within a delegation under the chairmanship of Dr Karamah, the second in the context of a delegation under my chairmanship, and the third meeting was when I took part in a parliamentary delegation at the conference of Arab parliamentarians. At the present time, however, with the abrogation of the tripartite agreement, the contacts with the Syrians have been suspended.

[Question] The Eastern section received the news of the meeting between Dr Samir Ja'ja' and you and President al-Jumayyil with total satisfaction. Do you believe that this meeting gave permanent legitimacy to a new stage in the relationship, and to rising above any events which might occur in the Eastern section or any specific disruptions?

[Answer] The Phalange rank and file are clearly informed of all developments. I have relied upon a clear policy since my assumption of the chairmanship of the party, which is to inform the Phalange officials most frankly and clearly of everything. I recently held a meeting of the heads of regions, areas and departments and the heads of sections and informed them of the relaxed atmosphere, and the political bureau is informed of everything.

The party has a heritage which does not change and is not altered with the change of party heads, and this heritage and these constants include support of the presidency. In the course of its long struggle, the Phalange was on the side of all the presidents, even those who declared the Phalange to be enemies, how much so, more specifically, with President al-Jumayyil, who broke away from the ranks of the Phalange, especially since he has in no way ignored the national interest.

[Question] In the summer of 1986, an agreement or protocol was made regulating the relationship between the Phalange and the Lebanese Forces and defining the limits of the relationship between them, because there are many things which are interconnected politically and otherwise. Could we learn to what extent this protocol is being applied?

[Answer] We took the initiative of applying the sections of this protocol, formed a committee of a number of Phalangists present in the forces and Phalangists present in the party and took important steps in the context of defining the frameworks of the relationship. In the wake of the presentation of the counsel system, which called for the change of heads of regions, and the problems which occurred in the party, a committee was formed from eight persons which abrogated all the committees which had been formed in the past, and a series of meetings was held, then suspended for reasons which have become well known and there is no room to enter into their details.

Today we are returning once again to the resumption of contacts, and there is the six-party committee which was recently formed and has been devoted to dealing with the aftereffects of all the problems which recently occurred and setting out the bases which will prevent entrapment in new problems and imbroglios.

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LIBYA

Book Published on People's Congresses
Tripoli JANA in English 0848 GMT 7 Jan 88 LD

[Excerpts] —Tripoli, Ay al-Nar [January] 7, JAMAHI-RIYAH NEWS AGENCY—The International Centre for the Study and Research of the Green Book issued "The People's Authority" book. The book is in two volumes. The first is a guide on people's authority and the second is "The Revolutionary Programme". The introduction of the book explained that the book material aims at every citizen being fully aware and realise the reality of freedom that is embodied by the Jamahiri society which requires that every citizen necessarily attends the sessions of the People's Congresses and his participation in decision-making inside the Congress so that everything is done by the masses—i.e. Jamahir.

MOROCCO

New Tunisian Ambassador
08080325 Rabat Domestic Service in Arabic
2300 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Text] In Rabat, Mr Abdellatif Filali, minister of foreign affairs and cooperation, received Mr Zouhayr Chelly who handed the minister a copy of his credentials as Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Tunisian Republic to Morocco.

Medical Agreement Signed With Poland
08150318 Rabat Domestic Service in Arabic
1300 GMT 14 Jan 88 LD

[Excerpt] Morocco and Poland today signed a cooperation agreement in the medical field. This agreement aims at strengthening cooperation between Morocco and Poland in various medical fields.

SUDAN

Prime Minister Addresses Al-Damazin Rally
EA021934 Omdurman Domestic Service in Arabic
0450 GMT 2 Jan 88

[Speech by Sudanese Prime Minister Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi to a mass rally in Al-Damazin; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] O great God, whose greatness has been proven to his creatures: Succour Sudan and its people in every distress and (?joy) and after every fit of rage; help Sudan gain the upper hand over every conspiracy. There can be no victory without sacrifice. [passage omitted]

Today Sudan leads the continent in terms of human dignity and fundamental rights. It is one of few countries in Africa which believes that development has social and legal dimensions. It believes that religious and racial diversity must not be dealt with by repression but rather by understanding and coexistence. Religious, social, racial, and tribal problems exist in most African countries, but Sudan is one of the few which recognizes these problems and seriously tries to solve them in the framework of a constitutional national conference to which it invites all without restrictions or conditions. Being a country of such a nature, from what do the armed aggressors want to liberate it?

[passage omitted: Sudanese generals supervised elections and handed power over to civilians; sectarianism exists but does not govern Sudan as a form of tribalism] The racist, clannish movement which warms itself on foreign news has cost its homeland a fortune, but the decisiveness with which our people and armed forces faced up to the disaster destroyed the movement's designs in southern Sudan. It cannot achieve its objectives of controlling the south or of isolating the south from the north. On the contrary, the end result of its random attacks was to

rouse the fury of the assaulted tribal groups, which rose to defend themselves, to (?spread) violence all over the south and, to mobilize the northern tribes and settled people to the highest level of confrontation.

Sons of my homeland, after harvesting thorns, the movement began to concentrate its attack on Sudan's border towns where it would not require long supply lines and could seek help, to a greater extent, through foreign participation. The enemy's purpose behind the attack on al-Kurmuk was to show the movement's capabilities in northern Sudan, to raise its external alliance to a higher level, and to attempt to disperse our defense capabilities. These attacks against al-Kurmuk and Qaysan were confronted by our armed forces and their supporters in a lion's leap and with the anger of the meek in order to thwart the aggressor's objectives and continue (?the rehabilitation). [passage omitted on the history of al-Kurmuk]

Bless the national committee which you have formed. The government, together with a number of qualified government ministers, has come here to begin planning this rehabilitation. Let your committee be a committee for rehabilitation and development. Through this ministerial committee, the government will draw up various plans not only for the simple rehabilitation of these areas, some parts of which were damaged by the aggressors, but also for developing them. No material, planning, or moral barrier will ever prevent us from achieving those objectives. [applause] Therefore, sons of my homeland, I ask our relatives, the residents of al-Kurmuk and Qaysan, and the neighboring areas to return enthusiastically to their homes. They will find that their people will support them in rehabilitating what the aggressors have damaged in all aspects of private and public life and the services.

[passage omitted: more about rehabilitation of al-Kurmuk] It is true that some elements tried to distort the magnificent consensus at times through malice, at times by responding to the enemy's slogans. However, these are individuals or leaders whose abnormal position has isolated them from their grassroots. They have been condemned by the general public and they will be judged by the law if there is anything in their position that amounts to criminality. [passage omitted: those who fought in al-Kurmuk will be awarded medals for their role; a plan has been set up for rehabilitating the Armed Forces]

The enemy's radio has spread rumors that non-Sudanese forces participated in the recapture of al-Kurmuk, but I tell you emphatically that Sudan recaptured al-Kurmuk through the efforts of the sons of Sudan. The commander in chief and his colleagues in the general command; Maj Gen Zayn al-'Abidin Qasmallah, commander of the 2d Division, and his staff and the commander of the force; Brig Muhammad al-Amin 'Abbas, and the commander

of the 14th Brigade and his officers—these are the ones who implemented the plan for confronting this situation and ridding Sudan of the ordeal imposed on it by the aggressors.

They were all Sudanese, and they achieved all that they did achieve through their own ability, which constitutes Sudan's resource. Brothers stood generously by us, morally and materially, which played an important role by underlining that Sudan has strong support which will play a role in the cited rehabilitation plan. But Sudan will remain its own defender through its sons' blood, although it welcomes the moral and material solidarity of its brothers and friends.

We thank our brothers for positively standing by us. Most of the world also stood with Sudan against the aggression, and we thank our friends and express appreciation for their moral and material support.

What has happened since the Al-Kurmuk aggression emphasizes yet again the correctness and soundness of our country's foreign policy. Despite their differences, Islamic, Arab, and African countries supported us and understood our position, to which the entire international family responded. [passage omitted: Sudanese people will solve their problems through their own resources]

Wife Of NIF Leader al-Turabi Interviewed
45040025 London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic
5 Dec 87 pp 25-26

[Interview with Wisal al-Mahdi, wife of NIF leader Hasan al-Turabi, by Eva Dadarian; Khartoum, date not given]

[Text] Mrs Wisal al-Mahdi [al-Turabi], wife of NIF leader Dr Hasan al-Turabi, and sister of Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, leader of the Ummah Party and head of the Sudanese government, is one of the women in Sudanese society who have political and social presence. AL-TADAMUN met with her in Khartoum and conducted the following interview with her:

[Question] You are the sister of Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, the prime minister of the Sudan and leader of the Ummah Party, and you are at the same time the wife of Dr Hasan al-Turabi, the general secretary of the NIF, the principal opposition party. How do you reconcile your being wife of the leader of the opposition party and sister of the prime minister?

[Answer] My position toward the family differs from my political position, and I can reconcile the two. But the important thing is that the principles I hold and believe are based on the principles of the NIF taken from Islam. I believe that what Hasan al-Turabi is doing today for the party, for the Sudan, and for Islam is no different from what the Mahdi did a century ago: unifying the Sudanese people under the banner of Islam. True, I belong to the

Mahdi's family and believe in the principles of the Mahdiyyah; but inasmuch as these principles agree with the principles of Hasan al-Turabi, I find no contradiction between my being the Mahdi's granddaughter and Hasan al-Turabi's wife. However, if we look at the matter from the family angle, I sometimes find myself in a difficult position, because I always try not to hurt anyone's feelings and prefer to avoid talking about some subjects when I am among members of my family.

[Question] Because of the distance between the policies of the NIF and the positions of the Ummah Party, your support for the decisions and policies of Dr Hasan al-Turabi puts you in a position of confrontation with the political principles and positions your brother, Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, represents. What is your position toward the political confrontation between Hasan al-Turabi and al-Sadiq al-Mahdi?

[Answer] Yes, there is no doubt that I find myself in that position. But I decided long ago not to introduce politics or political questions into family relations. My husband's political life and my brother's political life are not the subject of a family quarrel. The issue is not a personal quarrel between Hasan al-Turabi and al-Sadiq al-Mahdi; the difference between them rests on a political basis, not on a familial or personal basis. The NIF opposes the Ummah Party on its domestic and foreign policy; it opposes it on the manner in which the Ummah Party has administered the government, on economic, social, and national policies at home and abroad, and on the manner in which decisions are made.

[Question] You say you can separate politics and family. But what about others—your husband or your family, for example, or Dr al-Hasan al-Turabi's supporters and society in general: Can they separate the two things? Do you encounter any opposition to your position?

[Answer] Yes, they also know the difference. The fact is that I am the only person in the Mahdi's family who does not belong to the Ummah Party. All my brothers and uncles and all the members of the Mahdi's family belong to the Ummah Party. My family considers me one of its members, but one who belongs to a different political persuasion from theirs. As for the supporters of the NIF, they accept me as a party member like any other. A political party is a collection of many people coming from different regions, families, backgrounds, and lifestyles who form a political party because they hold the same political principles and political program.

[Question] But politics in the Sudan today has come to look more like a personal matter than a party matter. The man in the street talks about al-Sadiq's policies, al-Turabi's policies, or Garang's policies, as if political principles and political parties had become embodied in a one person. Do any pressures confront you because of your being from the Mahdi's family?

[Answer] True, matters appear complicated, but my political position has been constant and clear for a long time. I am the Mahdi's granddaughter and an Ansari, but I am a member of the NIF. Also, my membership in the NIF does not necessarily follow from my being the wife of Hasan al-Turabi: I was a "Muslim sister" even during my student days. My loyalty to the party therefore has no connection with my family membership.

[Question] Your brother al-Sadiq and your uncle Ahmad al-Mahdi are competing with each other for the position of imam of the Ansar. There is talk that Ahmad al-Mahdi has been elected imam by the Ansar in Kordofan, while others assert that al-Sadiq al-Mahdi wants to combine the position of imam of the Ansar with the leadership of the Ummah Party and the prime ministry. What is your position on the issue of the contest for the position of imam of the Ansar?

[Answer] My uncle Ahmad al-Mahdi has the right to be a candidate for recognition [as imam], just as my brother al-Sadiq al-Mahdi has the right to do the same thing. However, there is nothing that makes the imamate automatically the right of any individual.

The Council of Ansar is the body entrusted with electing the imam. This council is composed of men known for wisdom: I am confident that they will elect the right man for the job, but this must be accomplished democratically from within the council itself. Both Ahmad and al-Sadiq have the right to be imam: each is a descendant of the Mahdi, and each is qualified for leadership. Nevertheless, I hope for the sake of preserving family unity that each of them will accept the decision the council reaches. The matter is not one of personal ambition; it is one of principles and heritage. The Ansar have the ability to distinguish between principles and personal ambition.

[Question] Will you support one of them against the other?

[Answer] The choice is difficult: one of them is my brother, and the other is my uncle. In any case, as I mentioned before, the choice is up to the Ansar.

[Question] Through the NIF, through political life in the Sudan, and through the Mahdi's family, you find yourself surrounded by women who have reached high offices and important positions and jobs. Do you have any personal ambition to attain a leadership position in the NIF or in the government?

[Answer] No, never. I have a great deal of work as the mother of a large family and wife of a political leader. Life in the Sudan is very different from life in Europe or in the West in general, especially at this time. Life in the Sudan now is a constant struggle to preserve the family, to raise and care for the children, and to care for the other members of the family. We in the Sudan believe in the large extended family: there are the uncles, aunts,

cousins, etc. All of them live under one roof, and it is the wife's duty to look after them all. However, these responsibilities do not mean that I do not participate in political and social life in the NIF. I am always ready to take part in any activity if there is a need to do so, and I participate in the work of all the recreational and charitable institutions connected with the NIF.

[Question] The economic situation in the Sudan is becoming worse every day. Essential food is unavailable, [cooking] gas is unavailable, the high level of prices is crushing, public transportation is in a state of anarchy. These are a few examples of the economic problems from which the country is suffering. As a mother and a woman, how can you live with these problems, when you have children who want clothes, food, and education?

[Answer] Without doubt, we are living through difficult economic circumstances. The stores are empty of goods, and the markets are the same. Fuel is unavailable, matches are unavailable, books and school supplies are unavailable, medicines are lacking. We could continue enumerating these problems until tomorrow morning. The electricity is cut off from time to time, and the water supplies are also affected. What makes the situation even worse is that the little we can obtain is tremendously expensive. The inflation rate has reached a level that cannot be measured; indeed, the statistics department of the Ministry of Economy has been unable to arrive at any definite figure for inflation. Sometimes, when I hear the powerful and wealthy complain about the high cost of living, I am dismayed about the poor and those of limited income who because of their meager incomes are unable to face the costs of living. Can you believe that some people, although very seriously ill, have been unable to enter hospitals because basic medicines for treating them are unavailable or because the implements necessary for surgical operations are too expensive? Only those who can travel abroad to receive treatment are treated. Malaria, for example, has become a constant disease in the country, and the medicines to eradicate it are unavailable.

If we talk about education, we shall find that schools have been closed for lack of books for the children. Some newspapers stopped publishing for a month because of lack of newsprint. People can reach the work place only after 3 or 4 hours because there are no means of public transportation or because fuel for vehicles is unavailable. When they reach their offices, their strength is exhausted and they have begun to think about the problems of returning home.

The doctors are complaining, the teachers are complaining, and the farmers are complaining about the situation. This state is unbearable. I therefore emphatically believe conditions must change. There must be reform of the market, medical services, educational services, and social services. The people of this country cannot be tormented forever. To extricate them from their problems, there must be a real government in the country, a

government that is interested in the problems of the people, in the problems of the majority that is struggling to live, and that does not take an interest only in the !! enlightened majority [as published] that is able to obtain everything.

[Question] To what extent can women put pressure on the government to change the economic situation and confront the social and security problems in the country?

[Answer] Without a doubt, women have many opportunities for doing so, since it is they who carry out the duty of caring for the family and children, and raising the new generations. Therefore, it is their right and duty to ask from the government the adjustments and changes needed to improve the economy and provide necessary commodities. Women can put pressure on the government by means of demonstrations and the presentation of meetings. But I doubt that the present government will respond to these pressures, because this government is not in the least interested in the problems of citizens.

[Question] What in your opinion is the true responsibility of the state?

[Answer] The basic responsibility of the state that takes an interest in its citizens is to realize the provision of the citizen's required food at prices within the means of the majority of citizens, and to work seriously to reform economic conditions and realize security and prosperity for the citizen. The Sudanese people have lived for many years neglected by the politicians. Now this situation can be reformed and this neglect corrected. This is what I want. I am always optimistic: I believe tomorrow will be better than today. But when I look at the reality and compare it with the promises the politicians made to the people during the elections, this optimism changes to pessimism.

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Interview With NIF Leadership Member

45040026 London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic
25 Nov 87 p 11

[Interview with Dr 'Ali al-Hajj, member of the NIF leadership, by Nura Fakhuri: "We Demand a Government With One Head, al-Mahdi's Economic Decisions Are Merely Ink on Paper"; Khartoum, date not given]

[Text] Dr 'Ali al-Hajj, one of the members of the leadership of the NIF in the Sudan, or of what the government calls "the rightist opposition," is considered to be among the severest and harshest opponents of the government of al-Sadiq al-Mahdi. NIF leader Dr Hasan al-Turabi describes him as sharp and resolute, traits characteristic of men from the west of the Sudan, of whom Dr 'Ali al-Hajj is one, while some observers of the

political situation in Khartoum assert that he is the NIF's most powerful man and the one most qualified to play a political role in the future of the NIF and the opposition in the Sudan.

Nura Fakhuri met Dr 'Ali al-Hajj in Khartoum and engaged him in a conversation about the NIF's position on the agreement with the IMF and the opposition's alternatives.

[Question] As opposition and National Islamic Front, you have carried on an intensive attack in past weeks against the agreement al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's government has concluded with the IMF. It has been observed that you opposed it without offering alternatives to this agreement. Why didn't you offer alternatives, and what are they?

[Answer] True, we opposed the agreement with the IMF and set demonstrations in motion. But we are not really against the IMF; we merely believe this agreement is unfair in comparison with other agreements of the IMF with such countries as Egypt and Zaire. We believe our government could have offered better solutions. It did not do so for several reasons, among them the belief of al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's government that the solution proposed by the IMF is the best one.

[Question] What is the difference between the IMF's agreement with the Sudan and the agreement it concluded with Egypt?

[Answer] There are many concessions in the agreement with Egypt. Despite the fact that Egypt has a special position, the subject of scheduling debts and the support given to her led to the resignation of one of the senior advisers in this organization after lengthy debates.

[Question] But Egypt has its own particular foreign policy and its own particular relations. Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi is trying to follow a different policy that is appropriate to the situation of the Sudan.

[Answer] Definitely, Egypt has its own policy and position, but that has no connection with its agreement with the IMF. I think our government's stand in the negotiation was a weak position.

[Question] When the opposition raises slogans of rejection, doesn't it need to have alternative solutions? Otherwise, its opposition will be mere noise.

[Answer] Our path in the opposition is an Islamic path. The alternative we propose is a comprehensive and Islamic alternative: it applies to the economy, society, Islamic law, and education. We cannot separate the Islamic political alternative from the Islamic economic alternative. Were we to propose this alternative before any government, it would be out of place.

[Question] But the IMF does not understand about Islamic economics. The IMF has debts owed by the Sudan and is demanding their payment.

[Answer] Therefore I have to prove to the IMF that its policy is wrong from my perspective and that it must be reviewed.

[Question] But isn't the Sudan in a position of weakness, not one of strength?

[Answer] I do not think we are in a position of weakness. True, by the standards of the Western countries and by the standards of the IMF, we are weak. But if we admit this, it will impose anything upon us. Therefore, we in the NIF do not admit it. We believe that if we hold to our cultural principles, we shall be strong.

[Question] Culture is one thing, and the problem of Sudanese debts is another. The question at issue is how the NIF would behave if it were in power today and had all these problems facing it. Would it deal with the IMF or not?

[Answer] We would deal with the IMF in the short term, but we would refuse to devalue the Sudanese pound, because such devaluation has been tried since 1978 without any significant positive result. Every devaluation leads to more devaluation and an increase in inflation. We would raise the slogan of production in a practical and effective way. The current government cannot really set the productive sectors in motion. We in the NIF believe that with our arguments and resources we would be able to support and raise national production if we were in power.

[Question] "Production" is a broad term tied to industrial, natural, and temporal factors. What production is it that will pay the Sudan's debts, restore water, electricity, and inoperative telephone lines, and guarantee food—especially since many Sudanese factories are in a state of paralysis because of lack of spare parts, and spare parts are not arriving because the government needs hard currency, and hard currency is not available?

[Answer] Agricultural production, good marketing, and stopping importing are the solution. Last year, agricultural production was ample, but we had a problem in marketing because the government monopolized agricultural crops and took on the role of the merchant. If there is marketing, the Sudan will have income in hard currency; it will be able to purchase spare parts for factories and consequently will satisfy its domestic needs from local industry. Another very important point for saving the Sudanese economy is lowering government expenditure.

[Question] Some observers and Sudanese, as well as the government, lay responsibility for the corruption, economic deterioration, and inflation that have taken place

in the Sudan during recent years on the organizations of the NIF and on the merchants, speculators, and monopolists who are members of them.

[Answer] The prime minister is the one espousing this charge against the NIF and the Islamic economic organizations. The source of this charge comes from abroad. The system we seek is one without usury. A system without usury is the antithesis of the Western system of usury and threatens it. This charge began during Numayri's administration and has continued to the present. None of the investigating committees that have investigated the subject have arrived at any proof to condemn this system without usury. Had the least bit of these charges against any of the organizations been proven, we would have been severely punished.

[Question] You have accused al-Sadiq al-Mahdi of giving in to Western pressures and have said that the IMF agreement indicates a particular way of solving the Southern problem. What is your information on this subject?

[Answer] The time has not yet come for revealing the information we have. We believe that through his agreement with the IMF, al-Sadiq al-Mahdi launched a trial balloon related to repeal of the September Laws. In the beginning, the emergency laws were approved: their aim was to silence the opposition, not to stop acts of armed looting, as claimed. The government believes that if its agreement with the IMF goes through without significant opposition, it will be a positive indicator for repeal of the September Laws and a return to the laws of 1974.

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Public Opinion Poll on Political Situation

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2 Dec 87 pp 12-15

[Article by Nura Fakhuri and Muhammad Ahmad His-
ham: "AL-MAJALLAH's Exclusive Poll: Where Is the
Sudan Heading?"]

[Text] After a year and a half of democratic rule and a succession of three governments headed by al-Sadiq al-Mahdi to power in the Sudan, and after the economic, political, security-related, social, and diplomatic developments through which the Sudan has passed during this period, there is a need to take stock and ask the following question: Where is the democratic experiment in the Sudan heading?

As Dr al-Jazuli Daf'allah has said, the question is large and multifaceted; it cannot be answered briefly. Furthermore, the question cannot be answered one-sidedly: the men in the government have an opinion, the opposition has an opinion, and the many-layered Sudanese public has opinions. AL-MAJALLAH therefore went to the Sudanese scene and recorded the views of hundreds of Sudanese in an exclusive poll it prepared in order to

answer this question. AL-MAJALLAH also talked to many politicians, who belong to a number of organizations and form what can be called the cream or elite in the Sudan. Then it talked with al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, the prime minister and head of the Ummah Party, and he answered the questions in precise detail.

Where is the Sudan heading?—a question AL-MAJALLAH will try to answer through this investigation and through other inquiries following it.

The Opinion Poll

—Males: 77 percent —Females: 23 percent

Question 1. Are you satisfied with the accomplishments of the past period in the following areas:

a. Economy —Yes: 13 percent —No: 85.7 percent —No reply: 1.3 percent

b. Problem of the South —Yes: 26 percent —No: 74 percent

c. Elimination of Vestiges of the May Regime —Yes: 16 percent —No: 83.7 percent —No reply: 0.3 percent

d. Combatting Corruption —Yes: 16 percent —No: 82.7 percent —No reply: 1.3 percent

e. Foreign Policy —Yes: 19.7 percent —No: 80.3 percent

f. Security and the State of Emergency —Yes: 13.7 percent —No: 85.3 percent —No reply: 1 percent

Question 2. What is your evaluation of the policy of the opposition?

—Negative opposition: 45.3 percent —Positive opposition: 52.7 percent —No answer: 2 percent

Question 3. Did the democratic elections lead to realization of the aspirations you desired?

—Yes: 10.3 percent —No: 85.7 percent —No answer: 4 percent

Question 4. In your opinion, what is the ideal form of government for the Sudan? —Government by coalition of political parties: 13.3 percent —National government by a political party: 13.7 percent —An all-inclusive national government: 66.7 percent —No answer: 6.3 percent

Question 5. How do you envision the Sudan's constitutional future? —National unity: 58 percent —Federal union: 28.7 percent —Separation of the North from the South: 10 percent —No answer: 3.3 percent

Question 6. In your opinion, what are the reasons why the problem of the South has not been settled? —Garang's influence: 12 percent —Intransigence of the northern parties: 5.8 percent —Weakness of the government: 23.8 percent —Interference of outside factors: 42.2 percent —Non-repeal of the September Laws: 16.2 percent

Question 7. Do you think the economic situation could have been treated without recourse to an agreement with the IMF? —Yes: 80.3 percent —No: 18.3 percent —No answer: 1.4 percent

How would that take place? —International aid: 7.2 percent —General austerity policy: 16.9 percent —Aid from overseas Sudanese: 8.9 percent —Control of current commercial movement: 25 percent —Reviving national agriculture and industry: 42 percent

Question 8. Where is the Sudan heading politically? —A one-party policy: 27.7 percent —An opposition victory: 11.7 percent —Partition: 11.3 percent —More democracy: 8 percent —A military change: 41.3 percent

Comments on the Poll

A large number of the random samples chosen by AL-MAJALLAH commented on this poll. Also, many samples refused to have their names mentioned for various reasons, while some found that the questions asked were insufficient and would have preferred going into very local details.

In addition, some samples blamed us for not specifying the character of the opposition—whether it was the NIF, or the Communist Party and the unions—since each opposition has a specific political identity. Some samples refused to answer the eighth question about the future political direction of the Sudan, rejecting all the proposed choices on the ground that the present coalition should continue.

—The most novel comment was made by a taxi driver who refused to have his name mentioned. Answering the entire group of questions without discussing details, he said that the future is dark and that the solution must begin with austerity on the part of the government: it must stop buying big cars. (The government has assigned each minister and Supreme Council member two Mercedes automobiles.)

—Former Minister Muhammad Ziyadah Hammur commented that the problem of the South should be solved on the basis of a round-table conference and the Committee of Twelve. He went on to say that the opposition in the Sudan is positive, but needs popular support. Hammur's opinion is that the Sudan's constitutional future lies in regional popular rule.

—A woman in the market said, "Tell the prime minister we want to eat meat."

—One Sudanese thought the poll should have been conducted by the Sudanese government. Visibly upset and angry, he said, "You have no job but to talk!" After he understood the reasons for the investigation, he apologized and explained that he was one of 20,000 university graduates. He suggested that the cabinet ministers use public transportation in order to feel the people's troubles.

—Another novel comment was provided by a woman who stated that an opposition does not exist in the Sudan: the government is implementing the opposition's program, and the so-called opposition is just trying to outbid.

—A merchant in the market refused to answer the questions of the poll. He summarized his opinion by saying, "The government is a failure, and it is unthinkable for us to be hanging out our wash [to be seen] overseas."

—One of the respondents suggested that the "Where-Did-You-Get-It Law" needed to be applied. He also suggested putting an end to the black market.

—Some were of the opinion that Sudanese foreign policy had been successful in cancelling the joint defense agreement between Egypt and the Sudan and had been successful in the good-neighbor policy, but had failed in the remaining areas. Also, some think the most important achievement of the preceding period was realized in the ability to express freedom of opinion.

—A student said that recourse to the Arab and Islamic countries was the best solution to remedy the economic situation in the Sudan.

Comment by Former Prime Minister

Al-Jazuli Daf'allah to AL-MAJALLAH: "Military Rule Is a Dead-End"

In his reply to the question of where the Sudan is heading politically and what its future is, Dr al-Jazuli Daf'allah, prime minister of the transitional-period government, said: "I am still optimistic, despite the feeling of frustration from which the Sudanese people are suffering. I believe that whoever has tried military government more than once and sees the results of such government around him will never seek it again, no matter how strong the feeling of distress becomes. The Sudanese people are mature; it is impossible that they should desire a new military government, because that road is a dead-end. The armed forces, which are a part of this Sudanese people, have lived through the same experience. This is what leads them to shy away from a military solution, even in the present circumstances of the Sudan. As for the subject of civilian totalitarianism or one-party rule, that is a question on which the Sudanese people has spoken in rejection; otherwise, there would not be democracy. There are indeed signs that surround

the future of the Sudan with much trouble and danger. However, I have a conviction that the Sudanese people, with its special nature and its psychological and historical formation, has the ability to put out the fires and live together in peace. I do not minimize the size and difficulty of the dangers, but I believe that until now the balance has been leaning toward democracy. There is a danger, however, that the equilibrium may be overturned."

Concerning a reported international conspiracy to partition the Sudan in the future, with the North to be ruled by Islamic forces, and the South to be ruled by John Garang's movement, al-Jazuli Daf'allah said: "I have no information about any particular plan to partition the Sudan in the future. However, a country as important as the Sudan in terms of its size, location, and position linking countries and cultures will inevitably be the focus of many people's attention and the meeting place of many interests. I do not rule out the existence of schemes to partition the Sudan, but I see no objective circumstances that might lead to partition. Even during our discussion with the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Sudan, which is headed by John Garang, we inferred no desire on Garang's part for partition; rather, he wants to rule the whole Sudan, which is his right as a Sudanese. The point at issue is that he wants to rule the Sudan at gunpoint. This we refuse. We invite him to rule the Sudan through the democratic system—unless his slogans are one thing and his actions another. As for the NIF, it seeks to rule and have power; I do not think it wants to rule a little Sudan. On the contrary, it is interested that the Sudan be large and open to Africa, so that this movement will not defeat its ideas. For all these reasons, I am optimistic and do not see the Sudan as being partitioned in the future. Another thing: if the Sudan can preserve democracy until the time for the next elections, it may witness real changes in the Sudanese democratic process."

Comment by Sudanese Lawyers' Union Head

Head of Sudanese Lawyers' Union to AL-MAJALLAH: "Only Democratic Government Will Be Stable in the Sudan"

'Abdallah al-Hasan, head of the Sudanese Lawyers' Union and an active participant in the April uprising, said in answer to the question of where the Sudan is heading: "In my opinion and according to the actual situation of the Sudan, only democratic government is suitable in the Sudan and only democratic government will be stable. Those who want one-man rule should become aware of this. The reason for the shakiness of al-Sadiq al-Mahdi during this period has been his inclination toward one-man rule. One of his flaws is that the idea of totalitarianism is deeply embedded in his mind and consciousness. In the manifesto he presented, there is a call for a presidential republic that would enable him to practice this totalitarianism. One indication is that he

has begun to issue decrees in the manner of Numayri: 'The prime minister issues,' rather than 'The leading minister issues.' This is a mistake.

"Al-Mahdi must fully understand that if this tendency continues, he will not remain in power. The weapon the Sudanese people raised in two different forms against 'Abbud and against Numayri still exists. At the present time we in no way desire to end this government; if there are any desires on the part of some people, they are individual. The danger would be great if there were ideological military men cooperating with the NIF. According to my information, there are some of them, but they are low-ranking and cannot influence the strike-forces.

"One of al-Sadiq's flaws that has influenced government in the Sudan is the fact that he is emotional and has made several mistakes that have affected our foreign relations, especially with some of our Arab brothers. I find no sense in any of the provocation that is constantly taking place with Egypt. This is unsound conduct of foreign policy. And I find no sense in standing like a hero and criticizing the entire world, as if we did not need the world. It is untrue; we need the world and positive neutrality, so as not to be isolated from the world."

Comment by Human Rights Committee Member

Member of the General Secretariat of the Committee on Human Rights in the Sudan to AL-MAJALLAH: "Dangers Surround Democracy, the Solution Is Through More Peaceful Dialogue"

Dr Mahjub al-Tijani, director of Kubar Prison and member of the General Secretariat of the Committee on Human Rights in the Sudan, said in answer to the question of where the Sudan is heading: "In my personal belief, Sudanese democracy is making its way through dangers, and many problems surround it. These problems will not by themselves be able to uproot the democratic system, but certain important measures should be taken to safeguard democracy. Otherwise, throwing democracy into the middle of this jungle beset with dangers will become a matter of naivety. I think some people believe, on this basis, that the many dangers will overwhelm the newborn democratic system, and some people expect its end. I believe that democracy's most important means of defense is for it to increase general freedoms and increase peaceful dialogue with all the organizations that appear not to want democracy. Dialogue is what reveals the true dimensions of every political party. I believe that the unionist and leftist orientation in the country is now acting much more in the interest of democracy than are the forces of the Sudanese right represented in the NIF and some other parties. I think this right ought to become well aware of the fact that the center that rules the Sudan today might diverge toward the extreme right in order to deter it. Therefore, it is not in the interest of this right to fabricate an atmosphere of antagonism, or give scope to attacks

against the government by the media and by stirring up and using the student movement, or spread a hostile atmosphere counter to the general democratic orientation in the Sudan."

Comment by Newspaper Editor

Editor-in Chief of the Sudanese Newspaper AL-ADWA' to AL-MAJALLAH: "Stability Is Coming, IMF Agreement With Government Is an Indicator"

Muhammad al-Hasan Ahmad, editor-in-chief of the newspaper AL-ADWA', said in answer to the question of where the Sudan is heading: "In all the periods through which the Sudan has passed, the greatest threat to democracy has been the conduct of the Ummah and Democratic Unionist parties, either through their failure to take the pulse of the Sudanese political scene and realize its demands, or through their preoccupation with matters very remote from the interests of the people—for example, their recent struggle over who would be a member in the Supreme Council. This struggle went on for 3 months, while the Sudan was suffering from innumerable problems such as an abnormal rise in prices, the war in the South, and the security problem in the North. There are also other charges being leveled at these two parties—particularly against the Ummah Party, which handed over power to the military in 1958. But if the people are patient until the elections in 2 years, I think the picture will change. People who waited patiently through 16 years of rule by Numayri can wait patiently for 2 years. I think the replacement will be more responsible people. A large number of those who are now in authority will have acquired experience and will have straightened out or retired—the problem of the rulers of the Sudan now is that they spent 16 years in the deep freeze. Nevertheless, I disagree with some of those who look on the Sudan today and in the future as having failed. Many things have happened in the Sudan during 20 months. First, a real appreciation of the political parties has appeared on the Sudanese scene, and the parties have sat down with each other. Four months ago there was almost agreement on a national government representing all key figures. This is a step forward. All this is a serious attempt to bring democracy to maturity. The Westminster democracy took 300 years to reach its present state. I say to the pessimists, 'Give us 10 years, so that we can see what will happen.' A while ago, I met some of our brothers, soldiers, at the War College in a joint symposium. I said to them, 'Don't be in a hurry with us.' I left with the impression that they were not eager to cause a change, unlike the civilians. Personally, I expect the problem of the South to end soon. The agreement with the IMF is also a propitious sign. Even though the Sudan's situation is economically backward, the IMF disregarded all the preconditions and concluded an agreement with the Sudan. On this basis, stability must inevitably come, at least so that we can return the IMF's money to it."

Comment by NIF Leadership Member

NIF Leadership Member to AL-MAJALLAH: "The Prime Minister Is the One Who Wants Change, Not We!"

We asked Dr 'Ali al-Hajj the question of where the Sudan is heading, starting with al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's charge that the NIF wants a coup against the government. He said, "This is a wild charge. A military coup has occurred twice in the modern history of the Sudan, and in both instances the prime minister was from the Ummah Party. 'Abdallah Khalil was prime minister and handed power over to 'Abbud. The late al-Mahjub handed it over in one way or another to al-Numayri. The most plausible notion is that the prime minister is the one who is able to arrange a military coup, not the opposition. Evidence for that is the existence of armed militias within the Ummah Party. If the prime minister has any proof of his charge, the courts exist. If the government thinks the NIF has militias, let it deign to take us to court. We believe in the role of the regular armed forces and are against the militias. Under this democratic system, we are practicing our democracy. We are not buying arms; we are arming minds. We believe that under this democracy, if any militia touches us, the regular forces will deter it. We are against all the militias, from the militias of Garang and the tribes and the Anya Nya 2, to the militias of the Ummah Party. We stand beside the regular army. The government cannot give us democracy with an eyedropper; democracy is a legitimate right, and we will exercise this right."

Continuing his answer to the question of where the Sudan is heading, Dr 'Ali al-Hajj said, "On the other hand, I think that if the problem of the South is not solved in an acceptable manner, this will be a serious sign that might destroy democracy. We also think that if the government continues to rely on its mechanical majority and on taking measures of a civilian dictatorship—meaning the silencing of voices and restraining of citizens, whether students or others—the possibility for democracy to continue in the Sudan will weaken. But if the government follows policies in which there is more openness, democracy will live. As for the NIF, we are satisfied with what we have gained under democracy, and it is therefore impossible for us to want to bury it alive. On the other hand, we think the government is not satisfied with what it has gained and that it may therefore engage in behavior that would force the country to fall under the power of the military."

"Everything in the end comes down to the fact that this government, described as a democracy, has started to follow the path of a civilian dictatorship, and civilian dictatorship inevitably leads to military dictatorship."

Comment by an SSPA Member

A Member of the South Sudanese Political Association [SSPA]: "If the Northern Political Parties Cling to the Religious Laws, the Sudan Will Be Partitioned!"

Former Minister Peter Gatkuoth, a member of the SSPA, responded to the question of where the Sudan is heading by saying: "If the Sudanese sectarian political parties cling to the laws that were approved under the Numayri regime and do not respect the rights of the other religious minorities, the Sudan will disappear, since the South cannot accept these laws. The South will therefore separate and turn toward those in the vicinity, as well as the West and the East, while Egypt will dominate the North. If we go back to history, we find that the Sudan was formed from a collection of tribes, some of whom are still governed by tribal laws."

As for whether Gatkuoth actually sees partition as taking place, he said: "Up to now, I do not see it as taking place. But no one knows how matters will develop in the Sudan. When politicians fail to manage their country, changes take place in systems of government." Concerning his idea of the failure or success of al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's attempt at governing, Gatkuoth said: "I think al-Sadiq al-Mahdi has failed and that people blame him. I do not know where he will lead the country, to which corruption has returned, and where the economy remains in ruins."

12937

INDIA

Sarkaria Report on Center-State Relations Completed

46001098a Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English
28 Oct 87 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, October 27—Mr Justice R.S. Sarkaria presented the report of the commission on Centre-state relations headed by him to the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, this evening.

The sizable document, the product of four years labour, contains recommendations of changes in the existing arrangements between the Centre and the states necessary, in its view, to remedy the problems arising from the present relationship.

The commission was appointed on June 9, 1983, by the late Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, in the wake of the Telugu Desam movement in Andhra Pradesh which swept Mr N.T. Rama Rao to power and reduced the Congress in the state to shambles.

Later, however, the Anandpur Sahib Resolution of the Akali Dal demanding more powers for Punjab came to acquire importance in the commission's investigations. The Centre agreed to refer the document to the commission in terms of the Punjab accord between Mr Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, though during the 1984 election campaign, the Prime Minister had dubbed it a secessionist document.

Terms of Reference

The terms of reference of the commission came under severe criticism of opposition parties because of the limits that were sought to be imposed in the commission's framework of investigation. The terms laid down that in making its recommendations, the commission "will keep in view the social and economic developments that have taken place over the years and have due regard to the scheme and framework of the constitution which the founding fathers have so sedulously designed to protect the independence and ensure the unity and integrity of the country which is of paramount importance for promoting the welfare of the people."

The commission, whose appointment initially appeared to be an act of expediency under pressure of regional demands from the states, gradually gained importance as one doing work of permanent value. In view of the wide dimensions of its investigation, the commission's term had to be extended five times.

The commission took the views of a wide cross-section of people. It prepared a detailed questionnaire, 5,000 copies of which were distributed and received 360 replies to and memoranda on the questionnaire. Among them were those from all state governments.

The commission waited for his views nevertheless, because they were of crucial importance in the present circumstances.

/06091

Commentary Charges Congress (I) Uses Socialism as Expedient

46000036 Calcutta *SUNDAY* in English 5 Dec 87 p 57

[Text] Even if one is not a socialist, a socialist stance can be an immense political expedient. This has been the Congress party's line of thinking, especially since Indira Gandhi came to power in the late Sixties. While the tussle between the socialist and the right lobbies has been a consistent feature of Congress politics, it is the demands of political expediency which has mostly led to left-oriented swings in economic policies. By inclination, Mrs Gandhi was a non-socialist, if not an anti-socialist. But she had developed the firm conviction that a socialist stance could make for political expediency. Sometimes she took certain socialist measures like the nationalisation of banks in 1969.

Indira Gandhi, to her credit, never wavered from her socialist stance. In fact to reinforce her socialist stand, Mrs Gandhi even swallowed her pride and publicly requested, first Leonid Brezhnev and, later, Yuri Andropov, the Soviet leaders, to secure the support of the communists.

Her son, Rajiv Gandhi, is cast in a different mould, mainly as a result of his education in Doon School and in later life, because of the company he kept during his professional career as an airline pilot. His outlook is more right oriented than his mother's was. Yet, when Rajiv Gandhi faced serious political crisis, he allowed a section of his self-appointed well-wishers to goad him to turn to his mother's experience, that is, to adopt a socialist stance for the sake of political expediency.

In his heart of hearts, Rajiv Gandhi is known to be disapproving of his mother's politics. But the offensive launched by the Opposition put him so much on the defensive, that he surrendered his personal inclinations to the judgment of his well-wishers. He began to mouth socialist rhetoric. He began to meet certain "intellectuals" who would tell him "how to become a socialist". One such intellectual was Mohit Sen who was earlier expelled from the CPI as he had become too soft toward Rajiv Gandhi. Sen even submitted a note containing hackneyed suggestions like nationalisation of industries such as jute and sugar. Obviously such suggestions could not quite enthuse a devotee of computers.

In the phase when Rajiv Gandhi had surrendered his judgment to his self-appointed well-wishers, he blessed the move to revive the Congress Socialist Forum. It was the only socialist stance on his part. And the only thing of socialist substance that he agreed to, albeit reluctantly,

was the acceptance of the Kamlapati Tripathi Committee report which recommended a tax surcharge for drought relief. The truth is that increasing taxes go against Rajiv Gandhi's line of thinking. Rajiv Gandhi is known to have been most enthusiastic about the two budgets presented by former finance minister V.P. Singh. Those budgets saw wide-ranging tax cuts and the socialistic estate duty tax was abolished.

However, as soon as the political offensive of the Opposition eased somewhat, Rajiv Gandhi began to retreat even from a socialist stance, much to the discomfiture of his circle of self-appointed well-wishers. In fact, it was with Rajiv Gandhi's approval that World Bank president Barber Conable announced that he had been assured by the Prime Minister that there would be no going back from the liberalisation policy of the government. There was even talk of stepping up the pace of liberalisation. This is because the special drought assistance given by the World Bank and Japan had strengthened the anti-socialist elements in the Rajiv Gandhi government.

The only factor which might weaken the "liberalisation lobby" in the government is an economic recession in the advanced capitalist countries which might follow the crash in the international stock markets and the collapse of the once almighty American dollar.

However, the "socialist lobby" has not accepted defeat. It is now trying to convince Rajiv Gandhi that he has not been able to seize back the initiative on any political issue. At this rate, the Congress(I) may not have any credible political issue to fight the 1989 general elections. In this situation, the Congress(I) can regain an upper hand only on the basis of economic issues. Hence, the next two budgets, of 1988 and 1989, should be so framed as to project a socialistic stance which alone would go well with the electorate, they argue.

Rajiv Gandhi has apparently not yet been converted to this point of view and the current signals from him seem to say "go ahead with liberalisation". But the weakness of Rajiv Gandhi is that he does not yet have a strategy of his own for the 1989 elections. His continued failure to seize political initiative, combined with a policy of economic liberalisation and a pro-rich stance, is resulting in a gradual erosion of the Congress(I)'s support base without any credible political force emerging to fill the vacuum.

/09599

Bahuguna Says Hardari Lal Resignation 'Plea for Morality'

46000043 New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi
11 Dec 87 p 3

[Article by JANSATTA correspondent]

[Excerpt] New Delhi—Congress (I) is behind the resignation of Hardari Lal, submitted today to party chairman Hemavanti Nandan Bahuguna.

Mr. Bahuguna spoke today at a press conference. He said that Mr. Lal's resignation has created a scene. Mr. Bahuguna said that Mr. Lal's resignation from both the Lokdal Party and his Loksabha seat is a plea for morality in politics.

Mr. Bahuguna's theme was that they [Congress (I)] do not have the right to interfere in the states' administrations. Mr. Bahuguna said, in answer to a question, that under constraint of the law he would have to leave the open Loksabha seat caused by Lal's defection empty.

Communalism Weakens Congress (I) in Kashmir

46000041 New Delhi INDIA TODAY in English
15 Dec 87 pp 70-72

[Article by Inderjit Badhwar, features editor: "End of the Honeymoon"; first paragraph is INDIA TODAY introduction]

[Text] The recent state-wide strikes over the durbar move paralysed and polarised the state of Jammu and Kashmir as never before. The question now being asked is what has been the lasting effect of these disturbances on the politics of the state. A report and an analysis by Features Editor Inderjit Badhwar.

Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah's badly bungled—and now aborted—durbar move has once again plunged the politics of the state of Jammu & Kashmir into a chaotic point of no return. It has boomeranged on Farooq, who now faces what could be the most serious challenge to his leadership. It has also eroded the Congress(I)'s already shaky base in Jammu and weakened whatever remained of the Congress(I)-National Conference (NC) ruling alliance. And most importantly, it has created an atmosphere of severe distrust between the Centre and the NC.

While politicians are pointing fingers at one another and screaming betrayal and duplicity, the people of the state are recovering from the two bandhs—one in Jammu and the other in the valley—that paralysed all activity in the first three weeks of November. So complete and devastating were the bandhs, that banks, transportation and business activities ground to a complete halt. Said Bashir Ahmad Khan, the state's additional advocate general: "I've never seen such a popular, emotionally-charged and spontaneous upsurge on both sides." Added Altaf Naik, an attorney supporting the bandh in the valley: "This time the politicians are caught in a tight squeeze. The people have simply lost all faith in them."

Though the Jammu and Kashmir bandhs were not quite simultaneous and each division was protesting in its own interests, their targets were the same—Farooq, the ruling alliance Government, and the Centre. But due to its direct intervention to stem the crisis in mid-November, the Centre has temporarily been able to extricate itself from blame for the developments in the state. The brunt of popular resentment is therefore being borne by

Farooq in Kashmir and the Congress(I) in Jammu. The net gainers, so far, are the BJP in Jammu, and the Muslim United Front (MUF) and other opposition forces in the valley. Not surprisingly, a war of recrimination has broken out within the ruling alliance, with each partner blaming the other for the deteriorating situation. Said Agriculture Minister Mohammed Shafi, NC: "The Government was on the verge of coming to an amicable solution of the Jammu bandh in talks with the Jammu Bar Association, but certain Congress(I) legislators pressurised them to walk off the table." Retorted Rangil Singh, Congress(I) MLA from Jammu's R.S. Pura constituency: "They (the NC) have only themselves to blame. But they don't admit that."

This patchwork quilt of menacing political colours appears to have been woven by both design and impulsiveness. The durbar move—a feudal tradition whereby the state capital along with government departments shifts every six months from Srinagar to Jammu and back—has been the subject of heated debate in the state for several years. As the state Government has expanded enormously into about 37 different departments, some 5,000 employees are involved in the migration at a cost of Rs 4 crore to the exchequer as well as a few thousand wasted manhours. The idea of rationalising the stationing of departments or a move towards a permanent capital has been discussed in the past, but no government has dared to push it because of the emotional backlash such a step would produce.

The two divisions, Jammu with a population of 29 lakh (37 per cent Muslims) and Kashmir with a population of 32 lakh (90 per cent Muslims), are as different as day from night, culturally and linguistically. And both complain of unequal treatment from the Government, with good reason. Kashmiris have historically resented their subjugation by Dogra rulers and the fact that they are cut off from the rest of the state—and country—for six months after the onset of winter. With 60 per cent of the population engaged in horticulture, they complain they have lagged behind in industrialisation and that their government deserts them and moves to Jammu in the winters when they face the worst hardships. They also feel that while the Centre reacts to crises in Jammu, Srinagar is ignored.

The people of Jammu also have their complaints. They maintain that Kashmir has more than its share of legislative seats, as a result of which it hogs up a greater portion of development funds, universities, and allocations for power projects. The shifting of the capital, no matter how logistically trying, provides not only some emotional integration between the two people but also jobs, more business, access to patronage and speedier decision-making. And shifting the capital permanently to Srinagar, Jammu residents feel, would be the first step in achieving Sheikh Abdullah's dream of a "greater Kashmir"—by annexing the Muslim majority areas of Jammu—Doda and Poonch—to the valley, thereby dividing the state along dangerously communal lines.

It is patently obvious that any precipitous move towards shifting the capital permanently to either region, without public acceptance, would be a certain invitation to disaster. On October 7, Farooq's Government suddenly announced that despite the winter shift of the capital to Jammu, some 20 departments would remain at Srinagar. What enraged the people of Jammu was that the Industries Department, most crucial to Jammu because the region is preeminently industrial, and the Financial Commissionerate which is a court of appeal, were being left behind in Srinagar. This raised the suspicion that it was the first step towards gradually establishing Srinagar as the permanent capital. "This cabinet decision," says Rangil Singh, "hit us like a bolt from the blue and it was contrary to all the assurances given to us by the Government." The decision, nonetheless, smacked of an element of planning, a political gamble, that the Farooq Government was willing to take, even at the risk of jeopardising the coalition with the Congress(I). The majority of the Congress(I)'s seats are from the Jammu region, whose interests party legislators have sworn to protect.

What had emboldened the NC to take this decision at this juncture, was an offhand statement by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, during his visit to Srinagar in January. He remarked that it was strange that while the people of the valley were suffering the hardships of winter, the capital was in Jammu. Using Rajiv's statement as his excuse, Farooq made a statement on television later that month, that his government would take steps to discontinue the durbar move. Following stiff opposition from his Congress(I) allies and the people of Jammu, Farooq denied making that statement. But later, he insisted that the governor's address to the Assembly in March, must contain a paragraph supporting changes in the durbar move. Again, because of renewed opposition in the Assembly, Farooq issued a categorical assurance that no modification in the durbar move would be undertaken without prior consultation with the legislators of the Jammu region.

There is little doubt that the October 7 decision was taken without consultation. Not even a cabinet note was issued on the subject. According to sources within and outside the Government, it was a political ploy by Farooq to regain some of his lost popularity at the expense of his Congress(I) partners. After the political demise of Maulana Iftiqar Anasari and his Congress(I)-voting Shia base, and the downfall of Mufti Mohammad Sayeed, the stalwart Congress(I) leader—both engineered by Farooq during his accord with Rajiv—the Congress(I) has been virtually wiped out from the valley. In the durbar move, NC hardliners who have never really accepted the alliance, saw an opportunity to wipe out the Congress(I)'s base in Jammu. This, they thought, would also be a way of refurbishing Farooq's image as a hero in Kashmir and wooing MUF supporters who are against the alliance with the "Dilli Durbar".

That the BJP may gain strength in Jammu as a result of the agitation, has been overlooked by the NC, with good

reason. Unlike the Congress(I), the BJP, notwithstanding its communal tinge, has never been a political threat to the NC in the valley. In fact, in 1980 the BJP and NC had allied to form the city council in Jammu at the expense of the Congress(I). But Farooq's Government probably failed to foresee the strength of the popular reaction in Jammu. For nearly 10 consecutive days, starting November 3, the city and surrounding districts were paralysed. People formed human chains of hunger strikers and hundreds of BJP workers courted arrest. On October 20 after several Congress(I) MLAs including Singh, Mangat Ram Sharma and Girdhari Lal Dogra, issued mildly worded public statements opposing the truncated move, the state Government formed a cabinet subcommittee to negotiate with the bandh leaders.

But the damage to the Congress(I) had already been done. While lawyers, students, transporters and shopkeepers protested in the streets, Congress(I) legislators, being a part of the Government, were forced to sit back. As a result, they were condemned as *gaddars*. In some places, Congress(I) MLAs were stoned and gheraoed in their houses, while others refused to show their faces in public. As BJP leader Chaman Lal Gupta, put it: "The people are convinced that the Congress(I), elected on the promise to serve Jammu's interests, has deserted them." Senior Congress(I) leaders admit that they have suffered a total loss of credibility, that they may never be able to recapture.

On the 10th day of the Jammu bandh, Sharma, the leader of the Congress(I) Legislature Party, flew to Delhi for discussions with the high command during which he pointed out that the party had been damaged badly. Rajiv Gandhi had also received intelligence reports that NC legislators were spreading the word that the bifurcated durbar move was being carried out at the behest of the prime minister, in an effort to cast him in the role of a villain in Jammu. On November 13, Rajiv despatched Home Minister Buta Singh to Srinagar with a statement, to be signed by Farooq, rescinding the October 7 decision. Farooq agreed, but his government failed to make the announcement that day. The next day Buta Singh called Farooq from Delhi and told him in no uncertain terms that he should comply. That evening Farooq went on television and announced that the order was rescinded. So ended the Jammu bandh.

NC leaders, among them Revenue Minister P.L. Handoo, are of the opinion that the Congress(I) deliberately betrayed the coalition by asking the Centre to act just when the cabinet subcommittee was about to arrive at a solution through negotiations. "They did this to appease communal sentiments in Jammu," one NC minister said. But Congress(I) leaders say that the subcommittee continued to delay issuing recommendations in order to let the Congress(I) stew longer in its own juice.

A different game was being played out in the valley. Here, a few days after the Jammu bandh started, prominent lawyers from the bar association began to organise

a protest committee in order to call for an agitation. "We felt that if the Government was in the process of entering an agreement with the Jammu organisations, then surely public opinion here should also be taken into consideration," said bar association President, Mian Abdul Qayoom. The lawyers' call for a concurrent Jammu agitation was also backed by NC leaders, who believed that a counter-protest movement in the valley would give Farooq a bargaining chip as well as rally renewed Kashmiri support behind him and boost his sagging public image. The Srinagar bar had also passed a resolution that the city should ultimately be made the permanent capital of the state. Initially, opposition parties in the valley kept away from the bar's and the NC's call for a simultaneous protest movement. As Peoples Conference chief Abdul Ghani Lone put it: "The durbar move was no real issue for us. It was anyway a half-way measure and we did not want to participate in a NC-backed movement to rally Kashmiri Muslims around Farooq and replay him as a hero."

But on November 14, hell broke loose in the valley. Farooq's rescission of the October 7 order was seen as a total surrender to Delhi and to Jammu's interests, without any consultation with the valley. The bar association went on an indefinite strike and the valley was plunged into a complete bandh. Soon, the opposition parties, including the MUF, seeing the width and depth of public emotion, issued calls for separate bandhs and demanded Farooq's resignation. "Interference by the Centre," said additional advocate general Khan, "certainly galvanised the people into action."

But the protest in Kashmir had taken a new twist. What had started out as a movement to support Farooq, has turned into a virulently anti-Farooq agitation. Just as the chief minister's October 7 order had proved to be a virtual oxygen supply to the BJP in Jammu, his reversal of it was an adrenalin booster for the Opposition in the valley. Even Maulvi Farooq, leader of the Awami Action Committee, an ally of Farooq, remarked: "The whole thing smacks of total immaturity. Farooq should have resigned rather than accept Central interference in the affairs of the state."

While the Kashmir bandh is now over, there are bitter feelings all over. The state Government has appointed a second negotiating committee to talk to the striking Srinagar lawyers who insist that their agitation will go into a second phase unless the status quo ante (pre November 14) is restored and the Government agrees in principle to make Srinagar the permanent capital. Says Bilal Nazki, bar association vice-president: "They are negotiating with us now. Why not before November 14?"

Last fortnight, the Government departments that had been retained in Srinagar were moving into Jammu in a politically charged atmosphere. And with the tensions between the alliance partners stretching to breaking-point, the Rajiv-Farooq honeymoon came to an abrupt

end. In this political climate there is little chance that the Government will govern efficiently and fulfil the alliance promise of speedy development and fighting communalism.

In order to regain its lost ground in Jammu, the Congress(I) will insist that there be changes in Farooq's Ministry. The Centre will want stronger Congress(I) men to be taken into the Cabinet, to replace those who were railroaded into accepting the October 7 order. It will also want the anti-coalition NC ministers to be removed. But one of Farooq's closest advisers noted that he "will no longer be pushed to the wall and if the Centre messes with him any further, they may as well write off the state".

But the reality is that if Farooq proves recalcitrant again, the Centre, as it has done before, will probably consider writing off Farooq and looking for an alternative leader.

/06091

Press Reports Speeches at Biannual Governors Meet

Venkataraman Speech

*46001102 New Delhi PATRIOT in English
30 Oct 87 p 1*

[Text] President R. Venkataraman on Thursday expressed his grave concern at the growing fundamentalism and rabid communalism, and called for people's education and an active role of Governors in routing out the twin menace.

The President also called for greater mutual cooperation and coordination between the States and the Centre in maintaining law and order, intelligent anticipation of events, and prompt handling of discontent before "the embers grow into a conflagration".

Though law and order was a State subject, the Centre had an overall responsibility in providing necessary and appropriate help to the States. This called for a "greater mutuality" on the part of the Centre and the States, he said.

Inaugurating the two-day biannual conference of Governors at Rashtrapati Bhavan on Thursday morning, Mr Venkataraman also spoke at length of the major problems facing the country, including terrorism in Punjab, communal riots, economic development of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and the worst-in-a-century drought.

He felt that the Governors, with their perspectives and experience, could play a useful role by giving their respective State Governments the steady support.

Dwelling upon the law and order situation and the measures being taken by the States, the President said the Governors should ensure that anticipatory steps taken in their States did not have repercussions in other States.

"It is seen that sometimes the measures adopted in one State to promote the interests, particularly linguistic, of their own people exacerbate the feelings of the people in the adjoining States, giving rise to tensions and disturbances", Mr Venkataraman observed and called upon the Governors to be vigilant about such measures.

While stressing the need for strengthening the intelligence set-up to enable the State Governments detect the beginnings of discontent or dispute before embers grew into conflagration, the President said the Government machinery alone could not bring about peace and order. The support of citizens from all walks of life and of all political parties and shades was essential.

"In this, again, the Governors, by their impartial and non-partisan approach, could play a crucial role enlisting the cooperation of the general public", he said. Confrontation, he added, was totally contrary to the spirit of democracy.

Expressing concern at the spurt in the communal riots in various parts of the country, the President said this had caused considerable distress among the people. Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat had witnessed ugly clashes.

Punjab, the granary of India, had become the main theatre of brutal subversive and anti-national activities. Assam, the tea garden of the country, which had been relatively free from scourge of communal violence till 1983, had gone through a ferocious outbreak of communal carnage.

While the specific origins of the incidents could be different in each situation, the President said these could not be traced to certain broad causative patterns, in the main religious fundamentalism and communalism.

Though the governments, both at the Centre and in the States, take and would continue to take strong and effective measures to curb this growing twin menace, the virus could be routed only through education of the people, in which the Governors could play a role.

Referring to Punjab, the President said unfortunately there were elements which did not permit the country and the Government to proceed unimpeded along towards economic progress. "They thwart progress by raising issues that confuse and befog the public mind and divert their energies", the President observed.

He said a situation had been created in Punjab in which the administration could not be carried on in accordance with the Constitution, and a Presidential proclamation had therefore to be issued, taking over the State administration from May this year.

Uncertain political atmosphere in Jammu and Kashmir, earlier, too had necessitated the imposition of the Governor's rule in the State, followed by the President's rule, he added.

Touching upon the drought situation, considered to be worst in a century, Mr Venkataraman said neither long-term nor short-term implications of "a very difficult phase" should be underestimated.

He expressed satisfaction at the steps taken by the Government in tackling the drought and floods, and suggested that long-term solution should be evolved to mitigate the vagaries of the monsoon.

In a sense, Mr Venkataraman observed, the present drought had served one useful purpose: it had brought into sharp focus the in-built resilience of the Indian economy and its ability to absorb shocks. "The country's innate stamina has withstood nature's attack".

The availability of sizable buffer stocks built up in the past had to a significant extent moderated the adverse effects of the drought on the economy. The public distribution system also had enabled the Government reach essential supplies at reasonable prices to the remotest areas.

The President referred to the poverty alleviation programmes as an area where the Governors enjoyed a unique opportunity to play a more direct role.

The implementation of schemes for the benefit of the underprivileged sections, like the Harijans and the Adivasis, population growth control and the employment generation programmes were items of work in which the Governors could actively engage themselves.

On the plight of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, the President regretted that the annual report on administration of the Scheduled Areas were not submitted in time. He also underlined the need for reactivation of the tribal advisory councils, constituted under para four of the fifth schedule of the Constitution.

Mr Venkataraman called upon the Governors to observe austerity, and said they should exercise certain restraint in undertaking tours outside their States. However, within their States, they should tour extensively and guide the State Governments.

Gandhi Speech

46001102 Madras THE HINDU in English
31 Oct 87 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 30—The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, in a *tour de horizon* of the national and international scene, today emphasised that adjustments in relations between the Centre and the States would have to take place within the overall perspective of strengthening the nation. The recommendations made recently by the Sarkaria Commission in this respect would be studied by the Centre with the utmost care, he added.

Addressing the annual conference of State Governors at Rashtrapati Bhavan, which ended late this evening, the Prime Minister said it was necessary to evolve an appropriate mechanism to make the continuance of Central assistance contingent on the proper utilisation of funds for the purpose for which they were made available.

Problem of Regionalism

Condemning violence on religious grounds, Mr. Gandhi said there was an imperative need to intervene appropriately at the institutional level to curb misuse of the religious platform and religious organisations. The problem of growing assertiveness of regionalism, he said, was another complex issue in which the Governors could play a role.

The two-day conference of Governors, which began yesterday, was inaugurated by the President, Mr. R. Venkataraman, with an impassioned plea that the Governors play their rightful role in safeguarding and promoting national interests.

Among those who spoke during today's deliberations were the Governors of Punjab, West Bengal, Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh, Goa, Maharashtra and Rajasthan, and the Lt. Governors of Pondicherry, Delhi and the Andaman and Nicobar islands. They gave a resume of the law and order situation in their respective States, and stressed the need to put down religious fundamentalism. It was stressed at the conference that those families which had left Punjab because of disturbed conditions in the State must be assisted to return to their homes.

Satisfaction Over Assistance

Some of the Governors invited attention to the precarious condition of cattle because of the lack of fodder as a result of drought, but there was general satisfaction that Central assistance to the States affected by drought and floods was adequate and essential commodities were available through the public distribution system.

Dealing with the international economic scenario, the Prime Minister said the long term consequences for the world economy in the context of the recent drop in stock

prices abroad looked disturbing, but India had been largely insulated from the short term shock primarily because of its sound self-reliant economy.

The resilience of the economy, and its sterling performance, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi said, had vindicated the basic policies followed by the country since the time of Jawaharlal Nehru. But he emphasised that there was no room for complacency. "Without being dogmatic we have adjusted policies to changing circumstances and requirements", he added.

While reviewing foreign policy, the Prime Minister gave an account of his tours to attend the Commonwealth Heads of Government conference in Canada and his visit to the U.S. He also gave a detailed account of the current situation in Sri Lanka.

In rounding up the deliberations, the President, Mr. R. Venkataraman, expressed the view that Governors should play an active role in the matter of Centre-State relations and that, with this objective in view, the Centre should keep Governors acquainted with details of all relevant proceedings. The President reiterated his request to the governors that they curtail their tours outside the territory under their jurisdiction but at the same time intensively tour the States where they were placed to guide the State Governments.

The Union Home Minister, Mr. Buta Singh, told the Governors of the various accords reached by the Centre over the last couple of years. The Union Agriculture Minister, Mr. G.S. Dhillon, stressed the need to pay adequate attention to the drought. The Food and Civil Supplies Minister, Mr. H.K.L. Bhagat, said it was necessary to build up a progressive consumer movement and asked for co-ordinated efforts by the Government, traders and consumers to control the prices of essential commodities.

Tougher Bill on Sati

UNI, PTI report:

Mr. Gandhi announced that his Government would introduce a "tougher bill" in the Parliament session beginning on November 6 to deal with sati. He said the Government had succeeded in finding constructive solutions to a large number of problems. However, it was still struggling to find one for Punjab.

Mr. Gandhi paid tributes to the Punjab Governor, Mr. S.S. Ray, and the Home Ministry for what had been achieved in recent times, especially in strengthening the intelligence network. "If this trend continues, we can have circumstances which will enable us to find a solution to the Punjab tangle," he added.

The Prime Minister also appeared confident that the Indian Peace Keeping Force in northern Sri Lanka would soon be able to end the remaining resistance of the Tamil militants, thus ushering in peace in Sri Lanka.

Mr. Gandhi was all praise for the sense of dedication, duty and discipline shown by the IPKF and said the Indo-Sri Lankan Peace Agreement fully met the reasonable demands of Sri Lankan Tamils.

/06091

Commentary on Tribal Demands To Divide Assam Discussed

46240004 New Delhi DINMAN in Hindi 25 Oct 87 p 39

[Article by Ghanshyam Pradeshi: "Divide in Half"]

[Text] It appears that all tribal factions became very active as soon as the new government in Assam was established. Of the 22 million people living in Assam, 6.5 million or about 40 [sic] percent belong to various tribes. Many of these tribes are demanding separate states. Bodo tribe is demanding division of Assam into half. The Bodo campaign has given rise to the fears that this state might be divided into two parts. The greater Assam included Nagaland, Mizoram, and Meghalaya. These areas were known as Assam's mountain districts.

No Assamese wants his state divided any further. Assam Gan Prishad [Assam People's Federation] which formed the new government on the basis of "Assamese nationality" is strongly opposed to this demand for division of the state. Dividing this state on the demands made by Bodo Students Union would be equivalent to opening a can of worms. Chronic economic problems and the efforts of all factions to increase their influences have already made the situation in this state very volatile. Two of Assam's districts — Karbiyang Lang (the largest district in Assam) and Northern Kachhar — are campaigning under Section 244 (A) and demanding a separate state. Two separate district governments are administering these two districts under Section 6. The state government has started talks with the representatives of Karbi Students Union (KSU) and the groups demanding Swayat state. The government is aware that it is almost impossible to curb the movement in these districts. Very few people showed up to attend the government-sponsored meeting to celebrate India's independence on 15 August. Meanwhile more than 7,000 people attended a flag raising ceremony sponsored by KSU and the proponents of Swayat kingdom. This shows which way the wind is blowing.

It is amazing how Assam Gan Parishad has alienated the tribals in its 20 months' rule. This alienation has become so bad that I fear of another massacre in Dhampur area. Dhampur is in the wilds of Sonitpur district. Its district headquarters is in Tejpur. Meeshings and Assamese also live here along with 16,000 Bodo tribesmen. There was a big massacre here in 1983 when local people boycotted

the elections held by the supporters of Assam Andolan [Campaign for One Assam]. Both Bodo and Assamese were killed in these riots, however, most of the dead were Assamese. Now that they have formed their own government, Assamese can attack Bodo tribals any time. Bodo tribesmen started protests in tribal areas. They held strikes from Shri Rampur on Assam-West Bengal border to Sadia in the Northeast and on the Bhutan border, and Arunachal Pradesh. Supporters of Assam Gan Parishad do not agree on these strikes. The government has decided to take strict action. The government arrested a large number of strikers in order to suppress the Bodo campaign. Leaders of the campaign were physically beaten and tortured. This only made the Bodo movement stronger. Over 7,000 students participated in a huge rally held in June in Gauhati. The number of students would have been much larger if the government had not succeeded in keeping most of the students from coming to Gauhati. The government had stopped 57 buses full of students coming from Darang district to Gauhati.

A Bodo student returning in a truck after this rally was stoned to death in Tihu city of Nalbari area. There was no mention of this tragic incident in newspapers. Local newspapers did not even try to investigate the report. The whole incident was hushed up. Bodo students were greatly shocked and the tribesmen were stopped with great difficulty from taking revenge.

Two Bodo students were killed by the police recently in Dalgang in Daurang district. A large number of Bodo tribals live in this area. Bodo Students Union organized a strike on 9 September here. The police arrested a large number of people in Ghubri, Kukrajhar and Daurang districts. The police attacked strikers with batons when a simple order would have dispersed them. Tribal students had blocked the main street at various points. The students only raised some slogans when the police approached them. The police easily moved the students with light use of batons. All Assam Students Union also organizes strikes, however, the police never tries to stop their strikes. Sometimes, the police seems to be helping them! The government takes a different view of tribal students' efforts at organizing strikes. These students are demanding a separate state and no Assamese wants even to hear about it. Assamese cannot even imagine that tribals can rebel and demand half of the state that they always thought belonged to them.

The police claimed that the tribal students attacked them with arrows, large knives, and bricks. We learned that a demonstrating student group of about 150 (most of whom were girls) in Lailonpara near Dalgaon did not carry knives or arrows. The students, however, did throw bricks at the police after they were attacked by batons. The students also stopped a truck and a bus, but let them go without harming anyone. Still, the police opened fire on them killing two students and wounding one. Tension was greatly increased after this firing.

Bodo students movement may become violent after these incidents. Many students now want to fight the police. There are almost one million students involved in this movement. Even if only 7,000 students decide to become violent, the situation will become uncontrollable for Assam Gan Parishad. Bodo movement is the only movement in Karbiayang Lang area. Violence might make this movement become dangerous.

07997

Secretariat Advocates Economic Policy Reversal

46001113 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
10 Nov 87 p 1

[Article by K.K. Sharma: "Economic Policy Reversal Mooted"]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 9—A total reversal of the economic policies of the present government is envisaged in a note prepared by officials of the Prime Minister's secretariat recently, but there is no indication yet that the socialistic policies advocated in it have been accepted.

A decision on the proposals included in the six page note—which is strongly influenced by some officials in the Prime Minister's secretariat with leftist views—can only be taken at the political level and will, therefore, depend on the assessment by the leadership of the current political situation in the country.

Among the proposals made in the note is nationalisation of the cotton textiles and jute industries. Since then, another note has been prepared recommending nationalisation of the textiles and sugar industries, so it seems that the jute industry has got a reprieve.

The overhaul of the policies of the government has been recommended on the ground that the thrust of the present policies has been to secure technology from the West and to placate the World Bank as well as satisfy affluent middle-class consumerism in the country. This, it is argued, has harmed the popularity of the Prime Minister and the Congress(I) and so an immediate new economic programme is required.

The ingredients of the new package include amendment of the long-term fiscal policy which promised tax stability for five years, withdrawal of the note on a new industrial policy prepared by the planning commission, since this suggests further liberalisation and incentives for large industry, and withdrawal of the labour legislation before parliament, since this is opposed by the trade unions.

The proposals also include changes in the appointment of officials responsible for the present policies as well as the reconstitution of the planning commission so that there is commitment to the new policies.

Apart from amendment of the long-term fiscal policy, the note also suggests reintroduction of estate duty, introduction of the wealth and expenditure tax (as proposed by the late Professor Kaldor), a sharp reduction in excise duties on goods figuring in the consumer price index and a sharp rise in excise duties on luxury goods has been recommended.

It also says the new programme cannot be a substitute nor supersede ongoing programmes but will have to be given priority. (Economic News Service)

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Bofors Panel Term Extended Until February 1988

46001108 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
7 Nov 87 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 6—The Lok Sabha today adopted a motion granting an extension of more than three months for presenting the report of the joint parliamentary committee which is probing the Bofors deal.

The Bofors panel, which was to have submitted its report on the last day of the first week of the current winter session, will now present its report on the last day of the first week of the Budget session. The Budget session normally begins in mid-February.

The motion for the extension, moved by the joint Parliamentary committee chairman, Mr B. Shankaranand, and the former law minister, Mr Jagannath Kaushal, met with stiff resistance from the Opposition, which decried the functioning of the committee. After voice vote, the Opposition pressed for a division and the motion was adopted by 177 votes to 44.

Earlier, Opposition members launched a strong attack on the functioning of the Bofors committee and pointed out several improprieties on the part of the committee chairman and the Prime Minister. Every Opposition member who spoke denounced the committee as "useless" and at least one member wanted Mr Shankaranand to resign as chairman of the committee.

Opposing the motion, Mr K.P. Unnikrishnan (Congress-S) said it was "shameful" that the chairman of the panel found it fit to be photographed with the president and vice-president of the Bofors company who were here as mere witnesses. He also regretted that the Bofors executives were given VIP treatment during their visit to New Delhi.

Mr Unnikrishnan, and later Mr Inderjit Gupta (CPI) pointed out that the Prime Minister had gone on record as saying that the Bofors delegation had given the

government the names of the companies which have received the kickbacks. They questioned the propriety of the Prime Minister, who was not a part of the committee, to make such a statement.

Professor Madhu Dandavate (Janata) and Mr Madhav Reddy (Telugu Desam) opposed the motion saying the committee had failed in its functioning so far and without any powers they would never succeed in tracing the people or companies which took the bribes.

Ridiculing the House committee, Opposition members pointed out that the government had not bothered to communicate the name of the companies which took the bribe (which it had ascertained from the Bofors delegation) to the committee.

In a brief reply, Mr Shankaranand refuted the charge that the panel was functioning sloppily. He said the committee was functioning "quite efficiently".

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State Trading Corporation Makes Deal With Bofors

46001111a Calcutta *THE SUNDAY STATESMAN* in English 8 Nov 87 p 1

[Article by D.P. Kumar: "STC To Sell Goods Worth 50 Percent of Field-Gun Deal to Bofors"]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 7—The State Trading Corporation of India has signed a memorandum of understanding with the Swedish armament-manufacturing firm, Bofors, whereby the latter has agreed to purchase a range of commodities, including agricultural products, ores, metals and minerals, and manufactured and finished goods from India.

The imports from India will be made over a period of 10 years, and will not be less than 50 per cent of the value of the purchase made from Bofors.

This information, which adds a new dimension to the well-known Bofors howitzer gun deal, was revealed in the Lok Sabha yesterday. But it went virtually unnoticed because it came in the course of a reply to a question by Mr K.P. Unnikrishnan of the Congress (S) which was marked "unstarred", hence the reply given by the Government was merely a written one.

The reply, as it came, was in the affirmative to Mr Unnikrishnan's question that the gun deal had been followed by an agreement on counter-purchase of Indian commodities by Sweden. But Opposition circles in Parliament lobbies feel that the whole truth has not yet come out, since Sweden is not agreeable to making the purchases in the near future, and thus further controversies are likely to arise on this and related issues.

It looks likely that the subject will be intensively debated in the current session of Parliament.

If Sweden is to buy commodities and manufactured goods from India to the extent of 50 per cent of the value of the purchases made from Bofors, as the reply stated, it would more than wipe out India's adverse balance of trade so far with Sweden. Fifty per cent of the value of the gun purchases by India would work out to Rs 600 crores, whereas the total adverse balance of trade with Sweden so far is Rs 472.45 crores.

According to the reply given in the Lok Sabha, India's bilateral trade with Sweden during the past three years has been (in crores of rupees):

Exports to Sweden		Imports from Sweden		Balance of Trade
1984-85	39.75	125.23		-85.48
1985-86	38.87	138.17		-99.30
1986-87	55.59	353.26		-297.67

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ONGC Announces Plans To Increase Crude Oil Output

46001098b Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English
28 Oct 87 p 3

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 27 (PTI)—The Oil and Natural Gas Commission (ONGC) has planned to increase crude output by four million tonnes in the next two years in a major effort to cut down on imports and save valuable foreign exchange.

This additional production to be achieved from some of the new wells in fields in the western coast and southern coast will help save foreign exchange to the tune of Rs 730 crore, the ONGC sources said.

Increased production from oil fields in Assam and Bombay high will also be part of this strategy outlined in the Seventh plan, the sources added.

Crude oil production in the country in 1986-87 was of the order of 30.48 million tonnes, well over the target of 27.8 million tonnes. Production target for 1987-88 is fixed at 27.62 million tonnes and in the first six months of the current financial year, more than 50 per cent of it has been achieved. Production has been nearly 14 million tonnes.

The ONGC has a short term and long term strategy to achieve this production increase in the next two years. Under a short term strategy, it proposes to maximise recovery from the ex-cle speeds and workover index.

It is estimated that even a one per cent increase in recovery from the existing reservoir can give an additional 30.5 million tonnes of recoverable reserves.

Special thrust is also being given to workover operations, consequently enhancing output from the wells. This is all the more significant as the number of producing wells have multiplied several times from a level of 1,700 in 1980 to over 3,000 as of now.

The ONGC sources pointed out that as many as 66 discoveries of oil and gas had been made since the beginning of the Sixth plan and 20 of these discoveries had already been put on the early production system (EPS).

The EPS is a new concept in forward planning in international oil exploration, where wells with potential are put on early production, to cut short long gestation periods.

Offshore exploratory development wells have been drilled in the east and west coast. Sixteen wells have yielded significant oil discoveries. Oil and gas has been found in 31 offshore structures since April 1980, excluding Bombay high, the sources said.

Some of the new discoveries in the west coast, especially those lying in the south Bassein field, are to be put on production through the floating production system.

Besides, a long term 20 year perspective plan has also been drawn up to increase production substantially, the sources said.

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Oil Output To Increase

03110928 Delhi *Domestic Service* in English
0830 GMT 11 Jan 88 BK

[Text] The Oil and Natural Gas Commission [ONGC] plans to increase its crude output by 4 million tons over the next 2 years. According to ONGC sources efforts are being made to enhance production from the existing fields while newly discovered fields are put into production using the latest technology. Till now ONGC has drilled 615 off-shore exploratory and development wells on the east and west coasts. Besides Bombay High oil and gas have been found in 31 structures. The commission has also made 66 discoveries of oil and gas since the beginning of the Sixth Plan from which 20 have been put on production.

Midterm Plan Appraisal Shows Shortcomings

46001099 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
28 Oct 87 p 6

[Article by K.K. Sharma]

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 27—Shortfalls in investments in many key sectors, like infrastructure and energy as well as costly time and cost overruns in scores of projects, have come to light in the mid-term appraisal of the Seventh Plan, which is almost ready.

At the same time, non-Plan expenditure of the government is rising at a much faster rate than envisaged in the Plan document. This was projected at 11.5 per cent of the gross domestic product (GDP) and in the first year of the Plan, it had already reached 13.9 per cent.

Non-Plan expenditure has risen from Rs 29,705 crores in 1985-86 to Rs 37,396 crores in 1986-87 and is estimated at Rs 39,266 crores in 1987-88, an increase of 32 per cent.

As far as time and cost overruns are concerned, it has been found that Rs 69,319 crores has been locked up in 290 projects. Of these, 35 major power projects, costing Rs 15,814 crores, suffered time overruns of 93 months and cost overruns of 42.2 per cent.

Similarly, 70 coal projects, costing Rs 8,356 crores, suffered time overruns totalling 204 months and cost overruns of 49.9 per cent. Moreover, 73 railway projects, costing Rs 6,012 crores, faced time overruns of a total of 144 months and cost overruns of 67.2 per cent.

The enormous cost overruns seriously affected the financial viability of the projects concerned. More importantly, shortfalls in such sensitive sectors will have a chain reaction in all sectors of the economy.

Another cause for concern is the level of deficit financing which, in the first three years, has overshot the Seventh Plan target by Rs 4,910 crores. The Plan provides for deficit financing in the entire period of just Rs 14,000 crores and already in the first three years, this is estimated at Rs 18,910 crores, showing a high potential for inflation.

There has also been a marked shortfall in the contribution to be made to Plan funds by public sector enterprises. They are meant to provide Rs 58,937 crores at the 1984-85 price level. In the first three years, they have contributed only Rs 25,399 crores, leaving the impossible task of providing Rs 33,538 crores in the remaining two years.

Serious investment shortfalls have also come to light. The Seventh Plan envisages an investment of approximately Rs 64,000 crores at 1984-85 prices in the registered manufacturing sector. Assuming a five per cent build-up in the investment over the Seventh Plan period, actual investment in this sector should amount to Rs 11,100 crores in 1985-86.

However, investment in the registered manufacturing sector is estimated at Rs 10,785 crores at current prices and Rs 9,990 crores at 1984-85 prices. This means a shortfall of Rs 1,100 crores in real terms.

Further, Plan expenditure in the public sector large and medium industries was Rs 4,321 crores, while the estimated expenditure in 1985-86 was Rs 4,440 crores and in 1986-87, it was roughly Rs 4,850 crores. This shows only a 12 per cent growth in financial terms over the two-year which is considerably below the target. (Economic News Service).

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Six-Month Increase in Textile Exports Noted

46001104 New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English
2 Nov 87 p 10

[Text] Total textile exports in the first six months of the current financial year have increased to Rs 1769.59 crore from Rs 1097.61 crore, reports UNI.

This covers exports of cotton yarn, cotton fabrics, made-ups and ready-made garments, wool and woollens, silk and man-made textiles.

Commodity-wise break-up indicated that exports of cotton fabrics, made-ups and cotton yarn increased by a record 86.2 per cent from Rs 321.76 crore in April-September, 1986 to Rs 599.15 crore in the same period this year. Exports of ready-made garments went up by 55 per cent in April-September this year compared to the corresponding period last year, while the increase in respect of silk and man-made textiles have been 27.5 per cent and 54.7 per cent respectively compared to exports in April-September last year.

Textiles have thus steadily emerged as an important commodity group in the country's total export basket and are estimated to account for about 23.6 per cent of India's total exports during the current year.

This was indicated by Textiles Minister Ram Niwas Mirdha, at the meeting of the consultative committee of his ministry in Delhi. Deputy Minister for Textiles S. Krishna Kumar attended the meeting.

The committee, which met to discuss mainly textile exports, was informed of the various steps initiated by the Government to boost textile exports while keeping in view the domestic availability situation, particularly in the context of cotton yarn.

Mr Mirdha said despite the impressive performance, there was considerable scope for improving it still further. Higher rates of cash compensatory support (CCS), placing of 113 machines for garment and hosiery manufacture under open general licence (OGL) with 97 of them enjoying concessional import duties and the Rs 750 crore textile modernisation fund are among the steps already taken.

The committee did not discuss about jute and cotton as the members wanted to deliberate on them separately.

The committee was informed that out of Rs 750 crore, Rs 375 crore had been sanctioned and disbursement so far was of the order of 15 to 20 per cent of the sanctioned amount.

In response to a member's question, Mr Mirdha said steps had been taken to fully safeguard the interests of weavers before allowing exports of further quantities of yarn. While exports of raw staple cotton had been completely stopped following rise in prices and availability constraints, yarn exports had been permitted on a gradual basis in view of the value-added and its positive impact on the viability of the spinning mills.

Further, yarn was being supplied to the National Handloom Development Corporation (NHDC) and the State apex and cooperative weavers' societies at 20 per cent below market price to ensure that yarn exports did not in any way affect its availability. Circulars had been sent to all State apex and cooperative societies to avail of this facility.

The Minister explained that the "real problem" at present was on account of "depressed sales following drought in many parts".

One member suggested that there should be a greater thrust on exports of cotton fabrics. It was indicated in this context that fabric exports were showing a rising trend this year, with exports of handloom fabrics and made-ups having reached Rs 95.63 crore during the first half of this year.

Mr Mirdha said the quota distribution policy had introduced several innovative features. Allocation for non-quota exporters has been increased to expand non-quota exports, a new direction had been given for manufacturer-exporters with increased allocation subject to stipulated number of machines and workers to upgrade technology and an open tender system introduced for superfine categories. He said this would provide opportunities for new exporters including small scale entrepreneurs to bid for quotas on a fair and equitable basis.

In response to a query about cotton, Mr Mirdha said the Government was keeping a close watch on the domestic situation and the Cotton Advisory Board would meet on 10 November to discuss the crop estimate for the current year.

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IRAN

Announcement Reportedly Makes Blood Donations Compulsory

46400018a Stockholm NAMEH-YE MARDOM in Persian 12 Sep 87 p 5

[Text] The Central War Support and Aid Staff of the Islamic Republic's Ministry of Education issued a memo to the support and aid staff at the Gilan office of education. After a deceptively friendly introduction of sorts asking 'esteemed cultured people' for blood donations, it announces a blood donation program that must be implemented as soon as possible. We reproduce this memo here for the information of the dear readers of NAMEH-YE MARDOM. What is noteworthy in this memo is the precise 'identification' and 'reporting' of the particulars, in a persistent and organized way, concerning all persons in the work force who have voluntarily given blood to date, in order to obtain blood. Of course this method has now become the norm in all areas of life in the Islamic Republic, and is not confined to the matter of blood donations. In view of this memo, persons in "the negative blood groups, especially 'O'" can expect to be awakened in their beds at night and taken to a mobile unit or the hospital. This plan, which really ought to be called the plan to pursue and pester blood givers, is an 'initiative' that could only be so called in the Islamic Republic. 9310

Nonoil Export Increase Noted

Volume Announced

46400036 Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 12 Oct 87 p 4

[Text] Economic service. Report on the situation of exports of the country in the first five months of the 1365-1366 [21 March 1986-20 March 1988] period.

According to this report, in the first five months of this year, 439,769 tons of goods valued at 30,624 million rials (about \$430 million) have been exported abroad, which, compared to a similar period last year (about 223,987 tons at a value of 22,137 million rials), indicates an increase of 96 percent in weight and 38 percent in value.

The large increase in the weight of exports was the result of the export of 121,000 tons of sulfur and nearly 104,000 tons of minerals and construction materials and the increase in the export of such items as fresh fruits, pistachio nuts, and raisins.

Among various merchandise groups, the share of industrial goods increased from 1.5 percent in the first five months of 1365 [21 March 1986-20 March 1987] to 4 percent in the first five months of this year (calculating copper ingots and sulfur). The share of carpets in the total exports during this period increased from 38 to 39 percent and the share of agricultural goods decreased from 48 to 47 percent.

Agricultural Goods

In the first five months of 1366 [1987-88], 166,616 tons of agricultural goods valued at 13,613 million rials were exported, an increase of 2 percent in weight and 34 percent in value compared to the exports of agricultural goods in the first 5 months of 1365 [21 March 1986-20 March 1987]. The highest growth figure for agricultural exports is for cotton linters, an increase of 367 percent in weight and 270 percent in value over export figures for cotton in a similar period in 1365 [1986-87]. Because of insufficient cotton production, in order to meet the needs of the textile industry, restrictions will be imposed on cotton exports, which will decline in future months.

Among various agricultural goods, exports of pharmaceutical and industrial plants, plant gums, marine products, wool and yarn have decreased. This decrease has been compensated by the great increase in the export of dried goods, caraway seeds, leather and other items.

The level of export of caraway seeds in the period in question was 2,412 tons at a value of 236 million rials, an increase of 53 percent in weight and 84 percent in value compared to a similar period in the previous year.

The export of various kinds of (salambur) in the first 5 months of this year amounted to 6,508 tons, valued at 2,897 million rials, an increase of 51 percent in value compared with the exports in a similar period in the previous year (8,024 tons, valued at 1,914 million rials), despite a 19 percent decrease in weight. This increase is mainly due to the improved quality of exported leather and the increase in price as well as the increased activity of exporters to greater infiltrate international markets.

Wool, yarn and hair exported in the first 5 months of this year totaled 727 tons in weight at a value of 195 million rials, which, despite a 2 percent increase in weight, represents a decrease of 56 percent in value compared to the exports in the first 5 months of last year (713 tons, valued at 443 million rials). This decrease is due to the change in the composition of the goods in this group. A major part of the exports last year consisted of yarn and a major part of the exports this year consisted of untreated wool, which is at a low level in terms of both quality and price.

The export of marine products in the period mentioned decreased by 65 percent and 30 percent in weight and value, respectively.

In the first 5 months of 1366 [21 March 1987-20 March 1988], the exports of different kinds of dried and fresh fruits amounted to 138,203 tons at a value of 8,364 million rials, whereas the export of dried goods and fresh fruits in the first 5 months of last year totaled 75,891 tons at a value of 5,825 million rials. Hence, the total exports of other items in this group increased by 82 percent in weight and 44 percent in value. The export of fresh fruits totaled 66,552 tons at a value of 1,185 million rials, an increase of 17 percent in weight and a decrease of 58 percent in value compared to the exports of fruit in a similar period last year (56,763 tons, valued at 2,847 million rials). This decrease is due to the severe decline in the price of various kinds of fruit this year.

Part of the decrease in the exports of fruit was compensated by the increase in the exports of perishable goods and green vegetables. The exports of perishable goods and green vegetables amounted to 27,751 tons at a value of 238 million rials, whereas during a similar period last year this figure was only 2,099 tons at a value of 86 million rials.

Among the dried goods items, the export of dates decreased slightly in value. The export of raisins, pistachio nuts, almonds and dried apricots increased significantly. The export of 23,137 tons of pistachio nuts at a value of 5,851 million rials is a major factor in the increase of exports this year. In the first 5 months of last year, the exports of pistachio nuts totaled 6,566 tons at a value of 2,193 million rials. The share of pistachio nuts in the value of the total exports of the country during the period in question amounted to 19 percent, compared to about 10 percent during a similar period the year before.

Industrial Goods

In the first 5 months of 1366 [1987-88], 134,716 tons of industrial goods (calculating copper ingots and sulfur extracted from petroleum) at a value of 2,690 million rials were exported. The export of 121,000 tons of sulfur at a value of 916 million rials significantly increased the weight of exported industrial goods. The industrial exports in the first 5 months of 1365 [1986-87] totaled only 1,256 tons at a value of 310 million rials. The share of industrial goods in the value of national exports increased six-fold, from 1.5 percent to 9 percent. The export of all industrial goods, except for thread, detergents and other chemicals, increased significantly.

Carpets and Handicrafts

In Mordad [23 July-22 August] of this year, the exports of handwoven carpets made an unprecedented increase. During that month, 1,625 tons of carpets at a value of 4,570 million rials were exported, whereas carpet exports during the same period last year totaled 457 tons at a value of 1,902 million rials. The growth in carpet exports during the period in question this year was 256 percent in weight and 140 percent in value. The slight increase in

the price of various kinds of exported handwoven carpets was expected to reduce the trend towards large amounts of exports in Ordibehesht [21 April-21 May], but this projection did not hold true. In the first 5 months of this year, 3,912 tons of carpets at a value of 11,383 million rials were exported, reflecting increases of 74 percent in the weight and 43 percent in the value of carpet exports over a similar period last year (2,254 tons at a value of 7,971 million rials).

Minerals and Construction Materials

The exports of minerals and construction materials in the first 5 months of this year amounted to 103,548 tons at a value of 995 million rials, which indicates an increase of 313 percent in weight and 350 percent in value compared to such exports in a similar period in 1365 [1986-87] (25,683 tons at a value of 221 million rials). More than 90 percent of the value of the export of the items in this group is made up of mineral ores. In the period in question, the exports of these ores (such as lead ore, zinc ore, chromite, and sulfate strontium) totaled about 67,145 tons at a value of 896 million rials, whereas in a similar period in the previous year only 9,000 tons of zinc and lead at a value of 130 million rials were exported.

The exports of various kinds of construction stones increased by 74 percent in weight and decreased by 24 percent in value. This decrease was compensated by the increase in the export of tiles, so that, on the whole, the export of construction materials increased by 2 percent.

Expansion Committee's Duties

46400036 Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 8 Oct 87 p 18

The bylaws of the non-petroleum export expansion committee were ratified in the committee's fourth meeting, chaired by the prime minister.

IRNA, quoting the public relations office of the center for the expansion of Iranian exports, announced: In the fourth meeting of the non-petroleum export expansion committee, chaired by Prime Minister Engineer Mir Hoseyn Musavi, the bylaws for the establishment of the non-petroleum export expansion committee subject to Article 14 of the export and import law ratified in 1366 [21 March 1987-20 March 1988] was ratified.

According to these bylaws, the duties of the above-mentioned committee are:

1. Study and analysis of the trend of non-petroleum exports.
2. Coordinating all government and public organizations whose activities involve exports.
3. Regulating the policies of national exports, ministries, organizations and institutions involved in exports.

4. Changing the conditions with regard to the export of goods produced with government foreign currency and which exceed domestic needs.

5. Examination and ratification of bills and proposals offered for the expansion of exports.

6. Allocation of foreign currency funds to government units and organizations.

7. Determining the level of exemptions and discounts allotted to exports, in accordance with the related laws.

8. Determining various kinds of aid for export facilities and incentive systems deemed necessary for use in the area of export expansion.

9. Investigating the problems of national exports.

Also, in the above-mentioned session, the requests of the "Tuli Pers" company to export 3,000 tons of powdered detergent and the Pars pump company to export 1,500 pumps were approved.

The public relations office of the center for the expansion of Iranian exports requests that all ministries, government organizations, and production and export units send to the administration office of this center their plans and proposals regarding export issues for discussion in the committee on export expansion.

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Customs Reports 260 Percent Rise in Nonoil Exports

46000038a Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 6 Oct 87 p 6

[Text] Kerman, Oct. 5 (IRNA)—Some 28,000 tons of pistachios valued at \$75 million were exported during the first half of the current Iranian year (started March 21), said an official at the Customs Office here Monday.

The official said that preliminaries for carpet export directly from Kerman have been completed for the first time, adding that some 1,200 pieces of carpet were ready to be exported after evaluation.

Meanwhile, some 1,093 tons of non-oil goods valued at \$647,900 were exported to 11 countries via Khorassan Province's Customs Office during the first half of the current Iranian year. The goods were exported following the government's policy to promote non-oil goods exports.

The exported goods showed an increase of 240 percent in terms of weight and 260 percent in value compared to the last year.

The goods were exported to Japan, the Netherlands, Italy, West Germany, France, the Soviet Union, Austria, Switzerland, Britain, Belgium and the Persian Gulf sheikhdoms.

Some 375 tons of non-oil goods were also exported to the Soviet Union, Dubai, Italy and India from Yazd Province during the same period, while over 500 tons of raisins were exported from East Azarbaijan Province, during the current Iranian year.

/9738

IRI Said Quietly Allowing Jews To Leave

46400016b London KEYHAN in Persian 22 Oct 87 p 15

[Text] The flood of Iranian Jews emigrating during the current year has risen steeply. This was revealed by the Austrian Foreign Minister. Speaking before the U.N. General Assembly he said that Iran has quietly given permission to Iranian Jews to leave Iran. According to the Austrian Foreign Minister, most Iranian Jews come to Austria by way of Pakistan before settling in the United States or Israel. He said that Iranian Jews who had reached Austria in this way since 1983 numbered more than 5,000, but he added that the flood of emigrating Iranian Jews had risen steeply during the current year, and that more than 1,400 had left Iran during recent months and had entered Austria. We note that a while ago German newspapers published a document indicating that an agreement had been reached between Israel and Iran according to which Iran would facilitate the emigration of Iranian Jews in exchange for Israeli delivery to Tehran of military equipment. Yasser Arafat during an interview referred to this Iranian deal with Israel.

13041/09599

Locally Made Tugboat Launched in Caspian

46000039c Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 8 Oct 87 p 6

[Text] Rasht, Gilan Prov., Oct. 6 (IRNA)—The first Iranian-made tugboat called 'Val-Asr' was launched in the Caspian Sea from Bandar Anzali Port Tuesday in the presence of the roads and Transport Minister Muhammad Saeedi-Kya.

Speaking at the ceremony, an official of the Ports and Shipping Organization said the tugboat manufactured in less than four months, had saved \$500,000 in foreign exchange for the country.

Val-Asr, which was manufactured according to the international standards, is able to tug ships with 5,000 tons of capacity.

He termed the manufacture of the boat as the first step towards self-sufficiency in northern Iran's shipbuilding yard.

/9738

Smelting Industry Said in Serious Need of Raw Materials

46400032 Tehran ABRAR in Persian 26 Sep 87 p 5

[Excerpts] The Tehran Smelting Cooperative which through hard-working, aware and trustworthy members helped advance the blossoming of industry in the Islamic Iran, in the path toward industrial self-sufficiency and creation of quality products and slowing or stopping the import of light and heavy machinery parts, has been able to present and put into action several programs. During the previous year this cooperative faced many obstructionists who, contrary to the general public's welfare, inflicted damaging blows through a certain form of cooperative establishment; thus the aforementioned smelting cooperative in addition to not being able to procure the necessary raw materials was also faced with various threats and complete annihilation. Now more than ever before there is the fear for further deterioration and decline of this cooperative and the mother industry of smelting in the country, if our responsible officials, particularly those from the Ministry of Commerce do not come to the help of this cooperative and resolve some of the many problems and difficulties faced by this smelting cooperative.

The Tehran Smelting Cooperative which was founded in 1351 [21 March 1972 - 20 March 1973] with 70 members and a capital investment of 70,000 rials for procuring and distributing of raw materials and other pertinent necessary tools, particularly smelting furnace, although at present with more than 1,600 workshops and plants throughout the country and a large number of members and billions of rials in investment ranks as one of the largest cooperative establishments of the country, yet as a result of certain limitations which were enumerated above, during the previous year it faced many problems. Now, whether for providing of raw materials or continuing its work and efforts and fighting off the obstructive acts of certain known individuals and hypocrites this cooperative is in a situation which has to rely on the support and backing of the responsible authorities of the popular government more than ever before for a constructive movement toward procuring the industrial needs of the Islamic Iran.

The Major Cooperative Axes and Middlemen Intervention:

In order to find the right answers and further investigate the pertinent issues and familiarize ourselves with the viewpoints of the Board of Directors of the Tehran Smelting Cooperative, we had an interview with the officials in charge which appears below:

The members of the board of directors of the Smelting Cooperative composed of brothers: Javadian, executive director of the cooperative; Qanbari, chairman of the board; Rikhtegaran, Karimpur, Emambakhsh and Ali-Dusti active members and investigators of the board in the interview stated: During the years 1365-66 [21 March 1986 - 20 March 1987] the problems of this cooperative revolve around three axes: The axis of operation and production, economic difficulties and execution of services, particularly with regard to the imposed war. The above-stated members further added: The year 1365 [21 March 1986 - 20 March 1987] was a year full of difficulties and problems for this cooperative since from the viewpoint of work axis and production, in order to insure a productive and fruitful year, with due consideration to the promises which has been given us before, we engaged ourselves in a series of favorable programs and since we knew that the government's foreign exchange situation was not quite salutary we prepared certain suggestions for particular orders necessary for the continuation of smelting operation. Unfortunately, at the proper time and condition for the delivery of the needed raw materials, contrary to our warning to the relevant officials, through underhanded operations of some self-seeking individuals, all our efforts were totally thwarted and the raw materials in question fell into the hands of some middlemen with prices up to 15 percent above the cost which this cooperative normally charges producers. This situation together with certain other import commodities which are needed by this guild, came under the control of the middlemen and thus the slump and impasse in the smelting industry was created in the country.

Furthermore, the participants added: The outcome of this situation in 1365 and even today has forced about 20 percent of the smelting plants which were members of this cooperative to resort to non-industrial work. Brother Javadian, executive director of the Smelting Cooperative in this part of interview while stressing the role of brother Abedi Jafari, minister of commerce and his recognition of the problem and his personal efforts for resolving the issues, stated: After frequent contacts Mr Jafari who has come to understand the root cause of the problem has issued prompt orders and we hope to be able to keep the operations of the smelting industry in a satisfactory condition.

He further added: The proposal of the members of the board of directors of this cooperative aims at setting in motion the great wheels of smelting industry which is the mother-industry in every country. In the first place, there is a need for securing the resources for providing the necessary raw materials so that our hard-working craftsmen could strive and exert more effort than ever before in utilizing the raw materials in the manufacture of parts for light and heavy machinery, and using the same for water and gas distribution purposes, communications, agriculture, health matters and produce the needed spare parts for the trucks and meet similar other needs of our Islamic society. In the meantime, we ask our government

to implement certain measures so that the import of pre-cast parts could be brought to a halt, and likewise provide the needed quality raw materials and put the same at the disposal of this cooperative and other pertinent smelting guilds so that, God willing, in a very near future we would be able to export spare parts produced by the hands of our workers.

Brother Qanbari further added: We ask the responsible officials to truly protect and support the products of this cooperative in furthering the cause and objectives of the Islamic Republic and deal more decisively with those individuals who created an atmosphere of hypocrisy in our industry and caused some of our brothers to resort to other fields of activity. Through this support of the government it would be possible to secure the presence of the loyal and faithful forces of the true followers of the Islamic revolution and insure their cooperation in setting the great wheels of smelting industry in motion.

In continuation, while expressing his displeasure with regard to the availability of smelting furnace in the black market, Mr Qanbari stated: The smelting cooperative with its 7-year experience after the advent of the revolution is well aware of the factors which have brought about such an artificial shortage and crisis for this cooperative and we expect that our responsible authorities take the necessary steps to remedy the situation, since if no prompt action is taken to resolve the prevailing conditions, we will witness further deterioration of the situation.

12719/09599

Paper Details Labor Problems in Various Factories

20 October Report

46400029a Stockholm NAMEH-YE MARDOM in Persian 20 Oct 87 p 7

[Text] Elections at the Tehran Tailors' Cooperative

On 9 Khordad [30 May 1987] of this year elections were held for inspectors at the Tehran Tailors' Guild, attended by 700 persons. Three inspectors were elected. Despite the efforts that were made, no votes were cast for the Islamic society's candidates.

On Election day the Islamic society, which was certain that its candidates would not win, announced that the qualifications of the candidates had not yet been confirmed by officials. Yet the candidates had declared themselves in the month of Esfand [20 February - 20 March 1987] of the previous year. An alert encounter with this plot brought a mass protest from the audience and forced the Islamic society to back down. Everyone was in agreement that this year the Islamic society would not repeat last year's plot. The election was held and inspectors were elected who had the confidence and support of the group.

After the elections, the Islamic society wrote a long letter calling for the nullification of the elections and sent it to the "Friday prayer," and Ministry of the Interior and other organizations and officials. However, since the persons elected had received a near unanimous vote, no one had the courage to nullify the elections, and after one month the qualifications of the inspectors was confirmed.

Arj Workers Do Not Succumb to Threats

The failure to properly implement the job classification plan at the Arj factory provoked strong protest from the workers at this unit. In hundreds of letters, the workers announced: 1. Wage increases are far below their expectations. 2. The five wage increases since 1362 [21 March 1983 - 20 March 1984] will solve none of their problems. It is said that more than 1,800 of the 2,800 Eraj workers oppose the method of implementing the job classification plan.

The factory's Islamic council met at the factory mosque on 16 Tir [10 June] to investigate worker complaints. First a council representative spoke concerning the war. The workers interrupted him and asked him to talk about factory and worker issues and problems. After him Mo'menzadeh, chief of the Islamic council, went to the microphone and followed the example of the previous speaker. This time the protest was unanimous, and the workers emphatically stated that they were not willing to hear anything discussed other than how to implement the job classification plan. The council chief became the object of their wrath when he reacted sharply to worker demands and called them "counterrevolutionaries." Addressing one of the workers, he said: Sit down and don't destroy yourself! Don't abuse the situation! To another worker he said: I'm not going to answer anyone. Sit down and don't make a fool of yourself! Hearing these insulting remarks, the workers left the meeting en masse. Council officials made a desperate and futile attempt to prevent the workers from leaving, but were unsuccessful. In the mosque shoe room a worker said loudly: These people tell anyone who speaks to shut up. Every time I go home my hands and feet shake and I'm ashamed before my wife and child. Has it come to this? They say counterrevolution, counterrevolution to every protest, but someone has created this situation.

In answer to the dissatisfied workers, factory officials announced that anyone wishing to do so could sell his interest in the plant, giving 8 Mordad [30 July] as the deadline for obtaining the form. However, only a small number agreed to this proposal. The majority of the workers continued to demand the proper implementation of the job classification plan and their rights.

Wave of Firings at 'Tehran Automated Brick'

The Tehran automated brick factory on Saveh Street, which is controlled by the private sector, has fired about 60 of its 200 employees in recent months. The factory's

owners claim that this unit is on the verge of closing and that they cannot pay their workers' wages. This is at a time when production continues. They also threaten to fire another group of workers.

Gifts from Iran Puya Worker Pockets

The management and the Islamic society at the Iran Puya factory (formerly General Steel), without seeking the agreement of the unit's workers, on the workers' behalf gave two Trail 250 motorcycles with zero mileage as outright gifts to the fronts. They also sent 90 persons of their choice—some of whom had been at the fronts three months—on a trip to Mashhad at factory expense in two buses, a truck and one cargo mini-van. Almost all of the workers and some of the Hezbollahis are unhappy about such acts and are protesting in various ways. The workers say, When the factory is squandering our salaries and refusing to pay our wages on various pretexts, such as the claim that the factory's bad financial situation is causing it to lag behind, why are they embezzling our wages? To make a favorable impression on their bosses, the management and the Islamic societies buy expensive vehicles, or send 100,000 tomans in imprest cash along with rice, dates, meat and other things to accompany their chosen favorites on a trip to Mashhad. Throughout the last two months conflict has continued between the workers on the one hand and the management and the Islamic societies on the other over issues such as this.

Masonry Work Stagnation

The slowdown in construction work has brought the masonry factories in Qom, Delijan and Mimeh of Esfahan to complete stagnation and has resulted in unemployment for a great many workers. From time to time several of these workers, most of whom live in the villages surrounding the factory, come to the factory with messages from labor managers, and after a few days of work they return to their homes, receiving no unemployment compensation during their period of unemployment.

Overtime without Pay

Workers at the Kalbaf and Karbaf factories on the Esfahan-Tehran road, most of whom are villagers, receive no extra pay for overtime. To appease the workers, every few months a one-time payment is made to workers as "indebtedness to workers. The workers have a consumer cooperative, but the goods they need are not available there. They even have to buy hand soap on the "free market." The existing situation has caused protests in these two units.

Why is Pars Rail Car Controlled by Revolutionary Guards?

After the bombing of the Pars Rail Car Factory of Arak, which resulted in the killing of 47 persons and the wounding of 112 persons, four of the factory's large bays

were ruined. These bays have recently been repaired and readied for work. During this period a great many workers have been fired on various pretexts, and the rest remain under difficult conditions. Every day there is the possibility that they will be out of a job. One of the important reasons for worker dissatisfaction is the militarization of the production line, and the fact that this unit is controlled by the revolutionary guards.

Atmosphere of Fear and Terror at Arak Machine Works

There is no sign of the productivity of former times at the Arak Machine Works, and in general the level of productivity has declined a great deal. At this unit, which chiefly produces cement trucks and trucks for hauling oil, gas and water, the workers are idle most of the time, and a great many of them have been dismissed. The bay allocated for the construction of agricultural tools and implements has been assigned for revolutionary guard work, and the factory is under contract to procure the "needs of the revolutionary guards" in the private sector. An atmosphere of terror and fear rules in the factory, and dissatisfied workers are threatened with arrest and dismissal.

27 October Report

46400029b Stockholm NAMEH-YE MARDOM in Persian 27 Oct 87 pp 4-5

[Text] Of 40,000 iron workers, in recent years close to 6,000 persons, mostly specialists, have been lost due to buy-outs, dismissals and retirement. After the iron strike in 1362 [21 March 1983 - 20 March 1984], the regime's agents have constantly tried to keep workers from protesting publicly against crude working conditions by creating an atmosphere of repression. The difficult circumstances of life and low wages have forced many workers to take second jobs. However, this "second job," which is usually black market work such as street vending, cannot alleviate their burden. Iron workers are faced with various difficulties. One of the factory's high-level groups has not worked for several months. Disorder and confusion in the factory and sabotage by regime agents in the work of specialists have brought this great industrial unit against great difficulty and disarray. Heavy responsibilities are chiefly assigned to mediocre and disreputable persons who carry out their counterrevolutionary responsibilities while adopting revolutionary postures. A significant number of dismissed workers have been driven out of the work place because of clashes with these elements. In recent years iron workers have tried to implement a plan for reducing the work force to 20,000 persons, but a major iron strike and vigorous worker protests have kept them from putting the plan into effect.

Aware and combative iron workers believe that these crooked and sick conditions cannot continue, and that, like it or not, workers must mount a protest to achieve their trade demands. They say that the regime wants to gradually dismiss thousands of workers, and so far it has

dismissed many of the most combative workers. At the same time there is never a day when there are not verbal and physical clashes between workers and regime agents at the various work places. Aware workers believe that the iron industry is a smouldering fire.

In the Industrial City of Rasht

The severe discontent among workers at the industrial city of Rasht has heightened, and it includes those who work in trade affairs and political matters. The industrial city of Rasht was founded ten years ago, and it occupies a broad site between the Tehran and Lakan roads, and is divided into one- to five-hectare lots. A number of factories have been built at this site, some of which have been operated or are to be operated with the capital of a group of industrialists. Most of these industrialists have been able to obtain agreements in principle regarding a series of industries by adopting efficient production, but they face much obstruction. Although the regime's propaganda says that the banks will help such investors, but the banks refuse to pay the promised amounts and a great many work places and factories have been abandoned in a half-finished and unusable state. Some of these factories, such as the Pars Spring Works, have completed construction and the installation of machinery, but have remained idle waiting for the government to do the remaining 20 percent of the work for which it is responsible. In this industrial city, apart from Pars-Toshiba and the like, which have not yet been built and still produce within the city of Rasht, there are active foundries, tanker and cement truck factories, radiator and heating equipment manufacturers, makers of nylon products, and makers of electrical tools and implements, and some factories also make war equipment as ordered by the revolutionary guards. Laborers who work in the various units of the industrial city of Rasht mostly live in the surrounding villages and live in crude conditions. Their trade demands are chiefly to recover unpaid wages, the implementation of the work classification project, and resistance to increased work hours and the elimination of the noon hour. All but a small minority are vigorously opposed to the Islamic societies. Politically most of the workers are pessimistic about the government, and they believe that instead of being in the service of the "oppressed" the government supports the "imperialists" and the big factory owners.

Letter from a Desert Truck Driver

For us truck drivers, one of the greatest necessities for daily life has become the possession of a card showing service at the fronts. If we serve at the fronts and have that card, by showing it we can obtain tires and spare parts at government prices. However, if we truck drivers have managed to obtain a truck by sweating our own blood, how can we take it to the fronts and lose our life's work to a mortar shell? Who would give us another truck then? There are tens of examples in this area where after waiting six months to a year truck owners have been given worn-out and useless trucks as replacements for

the ones lost. New trucks are generally given to favored individuals who are serving at the fronts, and there are so many abuses in this area that few truck drivers are unaware of it. I am overcharged everywhere. Wherever I go, on the road, in the city and at port, they want me to show the card showing service at the front. Because I do not have this card I must buy tires and spare parts at the free market price. For example, for a pair of tires I must pay 70,000 tomans. Because I do not have the card I am constantly insulted. When loading freight at Bandar 'Abbas I must promise to return to the port within a few days. To avoid paying this penalty I have to do an exorbitant amount of free hauling and can only obtain mercy from the hard-hearted laborers and keep them from exacting this fee through a thousand pleas and requests. Moreover, if the load is like sugar or other such goods which weighs more at the time of loading because of the humidity, and which dries out in the air by the time it reaches Tehran resulting in a reduction in the freight's load, they penalize me 70 tomans for every kilogram of lost weight. Although the officials themselves are aware of this problem, they make me miserable in every way possible. Once again I must make a thousand pleas and requests to prove to them that none of the freight has been stolen in order to recover the deducted amount. Again, it is not clear why a 70-toman penalty should be applied to sugar that has been purchased at a very low price. On the road, from beginning to end, we desert truck drivers have no facilities available other than the coffee houses along the road. When we come into port there are no facilities for us at the terminal. Surrounding us there is nothing but filth and the putrid odor of oil that has dripped out of the trucks. We have no place to bathe when we arrive. However, they require us to pay 400 tomans more or less every time we come into the terminal for the construction of a mosque. We drivers have decided a number of times to refuse to haul freight because of all this overcharging. We had positions in this area before New Year's [21 March 1987], and we are making efforts again so as to obtain our rights by refusing to haul freight.

Aluminum Workers Do Not Go to Fronts

On the 40th day [3 September] after 10 Moharram the more than 700 workers of the Tehran Aluminum plant were loaded onto buses and taken to a base in the Afsarieh district of Tehran. The workers were shown into a hall and Fakhreddin Hejazi began speaking. The workers ignored him and whispered to each other, laughing at his special pretenses and manners. After a great many subtle and crafty arguments, he asked the aluminum workers to go to the fronts "to save Islam." After that the regime's propagandists called upon the workers to serve in the war. However, neither Hejazi's talk nor the propaganda of the regime's other agents accomplished anything. Only a few persons hesitantly approached the registration site, and a few of them went back. In a private conversation one of the regime's agents said that whether in the factories or at the

mobilization sites, it has become a herculean task to recruit manpower for the war. The people have no desire to take part in the war.

Issues for Wood Industries' Workers

The workers at the Wood Industries Plant (nationalized), located in Pars in Tehran, are protesting mandatory shipment to the fronts, the failure to utilize security equipment, increased deductions from wages and other trade issues. About 1,200 persons work in this factory as carpenters, gate makers and veneer installers, and they suffer various physical hardships, especially in moving lumber, cutting tree trunks and other tasks. For example, a significant number of the workers at this unit have lost one or several fingers and toes. According to the workers, the management and the Islamic society expend the lives of this unit's workers in order to please the regime, and periodically they send a group to the fronts with threats and smooth talk. The protests of the workers in these areas have gone nowhere so far, and this has led to a widening of the protests.

"Malleable" Workers Obtain Profit-Sharing Payment

Workers at the Iran Iron Hammer Plant (formerly Malleable), who number more than 700 persons, through a mass protest were able to obtain part of their profit-sharing payment for the first six months of this year [21 March - 22 September 1987]. The protest and struggle to achieve trade demands continues.

The factory management was refusing to pay profit-sharing payments for the first six months of 1366 [21 March 1987-20 March 1988]. On Mordad 1 [23 July] the workers stopped working in protest. Engineer Shaygan, the factory's manager, was terrified by the worker's movement and called upon them to return to their jobs and give him 15 days to calculate and pay the profit-sharing payments. The workers obtained his promise that in the middle of Mordad [8 August] they would obtain their profit-sharing payment instead of an advance on wages, and on this condition they returned to work. Before the appointed day, management announced that according to the computer, each worker was entitled to six days in profit-sharing payments, and of this amount five days were owed to the factory, so that one day would be paid. The workers began to murmur that they had been ridiculed and deceived. The next Tuesday afternoon when the acting manager of the factory entered one of the sections, the workers stopped him and a dispute ensued. The manager, who was at a loss for words, said angrily: Whatever they want to do, that's the way it's going to be. Following this encounter with the acting manager the workers shut down the machines and gathered together. They marched angrily to the acting manager's office, chanting. Taherpur, an official from the Islamic society, ran headlong towards the group and shouted: What are you doing brothers? Don't you know that the primary issue is the war and that foreign agents are plotting to put the country in

turmoil? This remark was followed by a wave of wisecracks and ridiculing remarks from the workers. Finally the person mentioned asked the workers for one hour to solve the problem. The workers gave him the time, although most of them did not have a good opinion of him, considering him an agent of the regime. After the official from the Islamic society went to the acting manager's office, the supervisors of the various sections were also called there and their discussion continued until 2 p.m. The workers, who did not know what was going on behind the closed door and what decision was being made concerning their demands, kept shouting: What happened? How long does an hour last Mr Taherpur, and so forth. As this was happening the workers for the afternoon shift arrived and joined their colleagues. In order to disperse the workers, it was announced that the service workers were waiting and that they would be starting in a few minutes. A small number of the group left with the service workers, but almost all the workers remained. Finally the Islamic society official came out. He exhausted the workers' patience with irrelevant remarks concerning the "necessity" of combatting world infidelity and of helping the "victory of the combatants of Islam" and so forth. When he saw a negative reaction in the angry faces of the workers, he was forced to end his talk. The acting manager, seeing that things were not going well, was forced to go among the workers and announce that each person would be paid 900 tomans. The workers continued their protest, and finally succeeded in getting the 900 tomans increased to 1,600, although most of them thought the profit-sharing payment should be much more than 1,600 tomans. At the same time, the manager sought to make the workers feel guilty. He said: You work too little and consequently the factory cannot make the profit-sharing payments. What I agreed to do was my personal prerogative. He told the workers: Every day you work two hours less than you should. One worker answered him: Everything in the factory is ruined. There is no management capable of doing basic planning and organization, this is why there are problems with the work. Other workers also criticized management with reference to other points, including a vigorous protest of the removal of summer holidays from the factory program. The acting manager, who was caught in a helpless position, blamed the government, and...

Clash with Employers at Khorasan Electric

Clashes between workers and employers at the Khorasan Electric Plant (Sim), located five kilometers from Mashhad on Quchan road, led to increased protests at this unit. One of the most important points of contention is the amount of the annual bonus which is paid at New Year's. According to contract, every year workers are to receive the equivalent of three months' wages as a holiday bonus. This contract was honored until the end of 1363 [21 March 1985], but after 1364, using the authority of guidelines from the Ministry of Labor approved in 1359 [21 March 1980 - 20 March 1981], the amount was reduced to the equivalent of two months'

wages. In the month of Dey last year [22 December 1986 - 20 January 1987], as the result of a rising wave of worker protest, the company's acting manager came to Mashhad from Tehran and tried among other things to deceive them by stressing the low level of production caused by the shortage of raw materials. However, despite his efforts the acting manager was unable to accomplish anything. The situation reached the point that the workers prevented the acting manager and two factory managers from leaving the factory for 24 hours, or three shifts, while they, even if they turned on the machines, refrained from working. Finally the gendarmerie and the revolutionary guards on the one hand and on the other hand the general manager of the Mashhad Labor Office intervened and temporarily quieted the workers with threats, smooth talking and promises to resolve the situation. However, the workers were not distracted from their demands. Their opposition to employers initially went to the public prosecutor, and since the question was not within his jurisdiction it was transferred to the Labor Dispute Resolution Council at the Mashhad Labor Office. Following this, a representative from the Ministry of Labor came to Mashhad and after "studying" the issue returned to Tehran. The results of his work are not yet known.

Now that almost a month of the second half of 1366 has passed, there is talk once more of a fight over such things as the holiday bonus. Workers have said that if their unpaid wages are not paid and if this year's holiday bonus is not equal to three months' wages, they may strike.

Two Items from Pars Vehicle

At the Pars Vehicle plant, manufacturer of Patrol and Jeep automobiles, revolutionary guard officials suddenly swarmed in and searched worker tool cabinets. Moreover, they went to various parts of the factory and inspected areas of interest to them. It became apparent that the ignition switches for several Nissan Patrol Cars which were to have been delivered to the revolutionary guards had been lost. The more the guards looked the less they found, and they left the factory empty-handed.

Likewise a worker from this unit was taken to court on charges of stealing size 40, 50, 60, and 90 drills, among other things. During the trial the defendant said: If you had a bit of technical knowledge you would realize that each one of these drills weighs several kilograms and will not fit into someone's pocket or sock. Furthermore, with these inspectors standing in the doorways watching everything, one ought not to look for a thief among the workers, but among the managers and those who can leave the factory without being inspected. The court exonerated him, but the "administrative affairs" office, which could not tolerate such a worker in the factory, bought him out and expelled him from the work place.

Two Strikes

Recently in the month of Shahrivar [23 August - 22 September], bus drivers working the Mashhad - Tehran route went on strike to protest the failure to heed their demands, and the strike has continued through early Mehr [23 September - 1 October].

Likewise drivers for the transportation companies working the Tehran - Shiraz route have went on strike to protest the insulting behavior of the Komitehs stationed along the roadways and their interference in the personal affairs of drivers, and the strike has continued through early Mehr.

9310

Melli Bank To Assist in Building of Arak Petrochemical Complex

46400017a London KEYHAN in Persian 22 Oct 87 p 8

[Text] The National Petrochemical Co. plans to build a petrochemical complex in the city of Arak with the financial assistance of Iran's Melli Bank. The main portion of the expenditure for this plan—estimated at 1.5 billion dollars—will be furnished by Iran's Melli Bank. At this time four foreign companies are leading the list of candidates bidding for the management contracts on building the complex. Officials of the National Petrochemical Co. will soon select one of these companies to do the job. The four companies involved are: "Foster Wheeler Italiana" of Italy, the "Techni Petrol" company of Italy, the "Lurgi" company of the Federal Republic of Germany, and "Toyo [Engineering Co.]" of Japan.

Technical observers predict that among the above mentioned companies, the "Techni Petrol" company of Italy, more than any of the other candidates, stands the best chance of winning the contract. Earlier, the German company "Ode" was successful in winning three small contracts to carry out a portion of the engineering activities of the project. These contracts were valued at 134 million dollars.

Some other leading companies are candidates for providing various technical portions, electronic units and equipment, and machinery for the Arak petrochemical complex. Among these industrial companies the names "AEG" and "Deutsche Babcock" of West Germany are being mentioned.

In addition to the program for building a petrochemical complex in Arak, extensive studies have been begun to choose another site for the building of another petrochemical complex. In the preliminary studies, the city of Tabriz was mentioned as a location for such a complex. Some time ago, however, officials of the petrochemical company announced that they had changed their mind about building a petrochemical complex in Tabriz. Instead of Tabriz, it is possible that this industrial

complex will be built in Sarkhun located in the vicinity of Bandar Abas, or else Bandar Taheri (in the vicinity of 'Asalvieh), or in the vicinity of Isfahan.

The National Petrochemical Co. announced its change of mind about Tabriz as the site for the petrochemical project because of the limited water sources and that city's proximity to the war zone with Iraq.

13041/09599

Article Reports on Beginning of Civil War

46400030a London KEYHAN in Persian 12 Nov 87 p 2

[Text] According to a report in the Italian newspaper COURRIERE DELLA SERA, in addition to the armed struggles of Mujahedin-e Khalq who have leftist inclination and ideology and who with the support and assistance of Iraq continue their attacks on the Iranian border villages and security posts, in the south-eastern part of the country other armed groups of opponents of the Islamic Republic have also begun their struggles from sometime ago.

These groups who are collaborating with the Afghan Mujahedin, also believe that in order to overthrow Khomeyni there is no other way except an armed struggle. Parviz Shahnava, one of the leaders of these groups, who considers himself a rightist nationalist and freedom fighter and at the same time believes in the Islamic tenets—is a strongly-built man with piercing eyes who has learned the guerrilla combat tactics in various camps and who claims that he has no connection with any foreign country. He told COURRIERE DELLA SERA's correspondent: We've several thousand armed strugglers and for the first time in our group the Sunnis and Shiites fight side by side and we will soon enter our final struggle against Khomeyni, our common enemy.

I asked him, where do they get their arms from? He said: Purchasing and procuring arms in this region is as easy as buying meat and other foodstuffs from a supermarket. We buy all our munitions and weapons, even anti-airplane missiles and helicopters from two regions called Dara and Bara. Some time ago a few units from our forces staged a surprise assault on the Zahedan's airport which was reported by B.B.C. of London.

When we asked him about the final days of Khomeyni, he said: Khomeyni is being supported, directly and indirectly, by the United States of America and the Soviet Union, and somehow he manages to strike a balance skillfully. Inside the regime there are some individuals like Khamene'i, the president and Mir Hoseyn Musavi, prime minister who are pro-Soviets. As for Khomeyni himself is not so strong as he is being depicted. He acts in contradiction to the tenets of Koran. It is for this reason that all the Muslims ought to unite against him. In the crisis of the Persian Gulf, the Soviet government supports Khomeyni's regime and at no time Iran has been under the influence of the Soviets as it is

now. The Soviet government has many important agents inside the Islamic Republic. They've agents in every possible branch of the government including that of the oil industry—they've also penetrated in every and all provinces of Iran from Azarbaijan to Baluchestan.

In the war among the various ministries, the main player of the game is the Soviet Union. If it so happens that Khomeyni passes away now, all the pro-Soviet individuals will seek Soviet's intervention and there is a serious danger of occupation of Iran by that country. In that case Mujahedin-e Khalq will try to enter Iran through the western borders and likewise we will begin our activities from the southeastern and central region.

12719/09599

Literacy Movement Teaches 240,000

46000039b Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 11 Oct 87 p 6

[Text] Tehran, Oct 10 (Kayhan Int'l)—Engineer Ali Vatani, the director of the Literacy Movement told a press conference here on weekend that for the first half of the current Iranian year (beginning March 21), the movement conducted a total number of 17,000 classes for over 240,000 illiterates throughout Iran.

He stated that during the same period 34 percent of the illiterate villagers taught the three R's by the movement.

"Sixty percent of our classes in remote areas of the country are in villages and the tribal region," he added.

He said that for the current Iranian year, the movement has provided the illiterates with 2,680,000 books as well as 13,000,000 notebooks and pencils.

"In addition, the Islamic Republic government has allocated \$28m (Rls. 2b) for the literacy projects," he said.

Referring to the movement's last year activities, Vatani stated that during the last Iranian year (March 21, 1986-March 20, 1987), 70,000 classes were started by the movement, in which 1,082,000 illiterates registered themselves.

/9738

New Educational Facilities Constructed

46000039a Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 20 Sep 87 p 7

[Excerpts] Bakhtaran—In order to fulfill the basic needs of Bakhtaran Province people, through the efforts of the renovation, Development, and Equipment Association of Bakhtaran Province Schools, the government has constructed five schools in the cities of Islambad, Gilan-e Gharb, Poolmahi, and Bakhtaran.

The projects, comprising 2,100 square meters of floor space, cost a total of Rials 47,100,000 which was expended by the association.

The schools will admit students from the beginning of the new educational year, Mehr 1, 1366 (September 23, 1987).

Yazd University Under Construction

Yazd—Prime Minister Mir Hussein Musavi, who was accompanied by the minister of culture and higher education and the Yazd people's representative of the Majlis, attended the inauguration ceremony held for the initial work on the Yazd University, there.

Referring to the future water supply system of Yazd Province eng. Musavi, during an interview, said that there was a group of experts who were studying ways to bring water from karoon water reservoirs to the province. The premier also added that the budget for the plan has already been allocated by the government.

Mr. Musavi on his trip to the province met Ayatollah Khatami, the Imam's representative in the province, and discussed various issues of the region.

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PAKISTAN

Trade With Turkey Increased

03151235 Islamabad Domestic Service in English 1100 GMT 15 Jan 88 BK

[Text]—Trade between Pakistan and Turkey has increased to \$30 million in 1987 from \$20 million in 1986. This was stated by the federal minister of commerce and planning, Dr Mahbubul Haq, during a meeting in Islamabad today with the Pakistan-Turkey Business Council delegation. He said strenuous efforts will be made this year to further increase the level of trade between the two countries.

SRI LANKA

Wheat Imports From U.S.

41603c Colombo International Service in English 1045 GMT 2 Jan 87 BK

[Text] WHEAT IMPORTS—Sri Lanka will import 166,000 metric tons of wheat from the United States, Canada and Saudi Arabia [as heard] this year. The deputy food commissioner of imports, S.B.R. de Silva, told LANKA PUWATH that these stocks of wheat will arrive in mid-March this year. He also said that plans were underway to obtain a further consignment of 40,000 metric tons of wheat from the United States to meet the needs for drought and rehabilitation. Another 80,000 metric tons of rice will reach the island from Pakistan and China in March. Meanwhile, a spokesman of the Department of Food said that it had 85,000 metric tons of rice and 20,000 metric tons of flour as a buffer stock in the department's stores.

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