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EGYPT

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION CRITICIZED

Cairo AL-DA'WAH in Arabic 7 Sep 79 pp 3-4

[Editorial by 'Umar al-Talmasani: "We Have an Opinion on Amending the Constitution"]

[Text] Nothing can prevent a Moslem from touching upon a matter that is at the heart of the Islamic religion--the religion of this nation. Even if a world of restrictions were to prevent the Moslem from expressing his opinion from an Islamic point of view, it were better for him to take his Islam seriously and candidly at the expense of the world and all its worldliness. For it is the first and foremost duty of the Moslem to please God, even if he incurs the wrath of the entire world, from beginning to end, with its force, its weapons and its illicit business. Accordingly, when we touch upon the subject of amending the constitution, purely from an Islamic point of view, we must speak the truth that would please God without taking anything else into consideration.

Before I turn to those aspects [of the constitution] whose change is being sought, let me express my considerable and sorrowful regret that the constitution, the father of all laws, is being taken so lightly that it has reached this limit of undergoing amendments and changes. Hardly does a year go by without a desire for an amendment emerging or a proposal for change being submitted. It were as though the Egyptian constitution, in spite of the fact that it is described as permanent, were a piece of paper that was based on foundations of anxiety with no stability.

It may be said that the law of development requires that adjustments be made [that are consistent with] the events of the time. I am saying that this is our opinion about man-made constitutions; they are all subject to changes and to amendments. But what I am asking is this: Are there changes and amendments in the man-made constitutions of Britain, France or the United States that compare with the speed and frequency of the changes and the amendments that are taking place in our constitution?

Obvious and Well-Known Reasons

The secret behind occasional changes and amendments in constitutions is due to one reason, although it would appear that there was a group of reasons for these changes. The text of the Egyptian Constitution is derived originally from constitutions that are foreign to us. These constitutions belong to people whose manners, customs and beliefs are all quite different from ours. The wording of the constitution was also derived in a manner that has proved to be inadequate in protecting freedoms, rights, personal safety and group safety in Egypt. Had it been based originally on the law of God, which is the religion of this nation--"Falsehood cannot reach it from before or behind" [Revelations Well Expounded:42]--not one letter of the law would have been changed since it was revealed hundreds of years ago. Had the constitution been based originally on the religion of God, it would not have been affected by change, nor would it have been amended from the day of its execution. We would not have had to create this storm that has affected the feelings of Moslems regarding amending the Personal Status Law. I was truly impressed by and I did ponder at length the fact that the Coptic Personal Status Law had remained unchanged. The Copts are part of the homeland, but their personal status law was neither changed nor amended. Does this mean that it was more rigorous than Islamic legislation in adapting itself to development? But let us forget that lest it be said, and it does not intimidate us at all because we know who it is who is concerned about national unity and who it is who is bent on destroying it.

Socialism...Democracy

The amendments that were mentioned in the newspapers on Friday, 20 July 1979 state that a text was to be introduced into the permanent constitution stating that our regime was a socialist democratic regime. It is the strangest of all things that those who want to introduce this text into the constitution are Moslems. Is Islam lacking in rules for a system of government? Has the practical application of Islam failed to explain the principles of government? Have the theologians been incapable of explaining the rules of a system of government in Islam? If all of this is absolutely clear and does not disturb all the aspects and the different conditions of the balances of life, what is it that compels us to evaluate the conditions of life in our Islamic country on a socialist, democratic basis? Why isn't there a stipulation that our regime is Islamic and based on the Koran? Is it not possible that tomorrow something may happen that would require a change in this socialist democratic regime and that this change be brought about by those who are today calling for the socialist democratic regime?

These characteristics of a regime are devised by humans, and humans are ephemeral. Their notions, their views and their opinions on a single matter may change from time to time. Today, a person may be a socialist democrat; yesterday, a secular atheist; and tomorrow, a capitalist and so on ad infinitum with all such innovative ascriptions and names. It is thus that Moslem

people are living in a maelstrom of regimes that are removed from their Islamic system. They know no stability, no tranquillity and no safety.

What Are Those People Saying?

And now, what is the opinion of the religious scholars in Egypt? What is the opinion of the elders of al-Azhar? of the Ministry of Waqf? of the seat of formal legal opinions? of the Research Academy? of the Scholastic Academy? of the al-Azhar Colleges of Principles? What is the opinion of our Egyptian universities and of their faculty who are brilliant scholars and enthusiastic about the Islamic law? Is it right for the people to express their opinion in a referendum without hearing the opinion of illustrious Islamic scholars? I believe that a clear word of truth from any one of these organizations will have a profound effect on people, will awaken them from their slumber, and will caution them against these changes and these texts whose only result, I think, will be to separate the Moslem people from the beauty and the splendor of their religion day after day, month after month, and year after year. However, I am quite confident that this religion and its splendor will prevail, and that its victory is inevitable despite the danger of the attempts [made against it] and of the forces that back those attempts. This is because it is the religion of God. God is its protector, and God is omnipotent.

Don't people find an inconsistency in the fact that our regime is socialist and democratic and the fact that the principles of Islamic law are the principal source of legislation in Egypt? How can the two principles be put to practice if they conflict? It is inevitable that they do conflict because Islam does not recognize socialism, nor does it recognize democracy in the sense in which these two words are used or in the senses in which they have been established or applied here or there or in any country in the world.

If there are those who say that socialism is the lack of exploitation of one man by another, doesn't this sense and doesn't this principle exist in a more comprehensive, a more beautiful, and a more perfect way in the divine law? How then can we leave the foundation in the law and the divine foundations and details that are clear and evident and extremely significant and splendid and adopt human designations and terrestrial legislations?

Which is more stable, more useful and more feasible: the judgment of God or that of mankind?

The socialist democratic regime views grave offenses, abominations and forbidden actions with concern. If punishment is decreed for anything, the punishment is specific. If controls are placed on something, they are specific controls. We see some of these controls on television; we hear some of them on the radio; or we read about them in the newspapers or magazines. These newspapers and magazines print semi-nude pictures and invite people to frequent the abodes of obscenity and immorality within the hearing of the socialist, democratic regime. But the principles of Islamic law which are

are being proposed as the basic source of legislation, do punish and prohibit all these abominations. They do not allow them. I know of no other expression to use [in this instance] than that of amazement, but amazement is not enough for me.

The Socialist Union and the Parties

It is of no concern to me that the Socialist Union is abolished or that it survive. This is because those who set it up in the past are those who are attacking it today, and they may restore it tomorrow. Human systems and legislation do not endure. The system of multiple parties [that was in existence] before 1952 was attacked by today's press and by the People's Assembly in a large scale battle that they launched. Some of the claims that were made against the press were true, and some were exaggerated. The parties of yesterday are the same parties of today. The word, parties, and particularly in the plural form, was mentioned in the Koran about 14 times. [Translator's note: The Koran Concordance lists 11 occurrences of the word, al-ahzab, in plural form. It is translated variously in these 11 instances as factions, sects, confederate tribes and confederates.] In all these instances parties were described as evil and foul. We should have been warned, cautioned, enlightened and reminded by this context of the Holy Koran, but when have we taken advantage of warnings? I strongly renounce the single party system on the basis of my conviction, and I also do not approve of the multiple party system in particular, nor do I approve of the system upon which it was based in the past. This is the system upon which the multiple party system is based at present: one opinion and another. Islam does not recognize wrangling and feuding in an effort to achieve the power to implement a specific course. This is the only notion upon which the multiple party theory is established. What would happen if we were to make our [divine] law our system [of government] and if we were to let elections be freely based and fully guaranteed on erudition, on religious suitability, on moral characteristics and on practical conduct? Government would thus avoid what is being said about the pressures of administration, about the falsification of elections, about filling the voting boxes, and about removing those whose removal is being sought?

The Presidency and the Presidential Term

I have a view of the presidency. I prefer a parliamentary republican regime that is based on the application of the law of God. I look upon the presidential term from the point of view of the religious law. In an Islamic state, a person was acknowledged a leader for life after meeting specific conditions. If he lost these conditions during his term of office, the Moslems deposed him. My view of the presidential term then is the Islamic view. Those who submitted the proposal about a life-term presidency beat about the bush in formulating the expressions [that would enable them] to make this statement. Had they faced the situation openly and candidly, they would not have had to do this. But this is what they wanted, and this is what they received, even though we neither approve of it nor do we accept it.

What is strange--and there is much that is strange in these proposals and amendments--is what has been said to justify a life-term presidency. It has been said that popular demand was emphatic that the president have the full responsibility for completing the construction of the peace and for achieving socialist democracy and prosperity. How can the full responsibility be given to the president of the republic regardless of his qualifications and his capabilities? Messengers and prophets used to seek advice. What is it that makes our people want to give the full responsibility to the president of the republic? Those who have self-esteem and who value their opinions do not accept abdicating the full responsibility to one man who is the president of the republic. How do those who made this suggestion think? What kind of respect do they have for the mentality of the people? Will the president of the republic accept the full responsibility alone without advice or supervision? Where is the responsibility of the Moslem scholars? Where is the responsibility of the People's Assembly? Where is the responsibility of the Council of Ministers, and where is the responsibility of this nation?

Is it not time that we stop taking such positions and acting in this way?

Those who are opposed to this strange proposal have more pity on the president and show more genuine mercy [for him] than those who want to promote his image as a unique ruler. Do those who made this proposal want to give up their responsibility as representatives of the people? Do they have forebodings about things to come and do not, therefore, want to have a full responsibility for them? There is much that is hidden behind this proposal; it raises many questions.

The Consultative Council

Then we come to the proposal about organizing a consultative council. Those who proposed the establishment of a consultative council are justifying their proposal by saying that the establishment of a political system which is based on party democracy, the fact that the constitution and the law regulate the People's Assembly, and the fact that members of the People's Assembly are elected purely on a party and political basis require the creation of a second council that would be tantamount to an Egyptian family council. Let us refer to the spheres of authority of this council, to the election of its members, to its formation and to the right of the president of the republic to dissolve it when necessary--and when was it that such councils were not dissolved except when it was necessary? Let us refer to that, and we will find ourselves at a loss for a description. Is it a council of elders or a senate? The spheres of authority are not those of either; the characteristics are not those of either. If it is an Egyptian family council, as they say, is there anyone who is not aware of the fact that the Egyptians are Moslems and Christians? Does a Christian have the right to enact laws for a Moslem? Does not this undermine God's religion? What is the *raison d'etre* for this council, and why should the people bear its expenses and its costs? How can the multiplicity of consultative or advisory councils be reconciled with the statement of making the president of the republic the only one responsible?

And the Press

What remains is the press! For the first time in history we hear of a constitution in the world which stipulates that the press is a fourth authority and that it has the powers of the legislative, the judicial and the executive branches of government and that, accordingly, it has those duties.

Are not the three authorities [determined by] appointments, elections, positions and salaries? Is this what is being sought for the press? Will the journalist be elected to his position, or will he be appointed?

If the journalists are to be appointed, who will appoint them? Will it be the government or a press council? And who will appoint the Supreme Press Council in the first place?

The press achieved a high standard in Egypt before 1952 in criticizing [matters] and expressing opinions on them. An article was published [at that time] by a member of the senate stating that he was willing to cut off the head of the most important man in Egypt if he were to oppose the constitution. The punishment for this statement was 6 months imprisonment; it was a case of [one person's] opinion.

Journalists who do not speak up about this law and those who support it will become the first ones to be scorched by its fires. The law is capable of punishing anyone who transgresses its precepts, and it is capable of making every journalist not exceed the boundaries of propriety, of [the public] interest and of security. Those who willingly accept restrictions on the press will not find these restrictions useful to them, to their religion or to their nation.

The press constitutes a fourth authority with the power of its influence. It is a fourth authority because of the fact that it seeks the guiding principle of the truth; because it upholds its banner; because it protects those who have been wronged; and finally because it seeks the divine principle alone in everything that it reads or writes.

I may have been brief, but I do not know if my brief statement will come to light or [remain in the dark] with former statements that I had made. All that we know is that I have believed in the truth and I proclaimed it amidst the hustle of the applause. I hope that my proclamation will not go unheeded. As a Moslem I have believed in what is right and it was my duty to proclaim it. "Allah declares the truth and guides to the right path" [The Confederate Tribes: 4].

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EGYPT

PEACE BETWEEN EGYPT, ISRAEL DEEMED AN IMPOSSIBILITY

Cairo AL-DA'WAH in Arabic Sep79 pp 55-57

[Article by Muhammad 'Abd-al-Quddus: "Warning: the Jews Are Coming: the Impossible Peace Between Egypt and Israel; Advice to Every Egyptian Before the Arrival of the People of Israel; Egyptian Industry First; Invest Your Funds in Egyptian Banks Only; Do Not Work for a Jew; Read the Koran Thoroughly So You Would Know the People With Whom You Will Be Dealing"]

[Text] In the next few months and before the end of this year a new chapter in Egyptian-Israeli relations is to begin. This chapter is different from all those that preceded it. It is the chapter that deals with the effort to normalize relations between Egypt and Israel, that is, the attempt to achieve comprehensive peace between them.

True peace is that which has three principal components.

It is peace between people and not between governments.

It is a comprehensive peace that is natural and unaffected.

It is a balanced peace wherein no party takes advantage of the other or attempts to steer the other into a direction it has in view. When peace loses one of its three conditions, it becomes affected and not real. That is, it becomes fragile peace that will not last.

On the basis of these three components we can say that the achievement of genuine peace is impossible under these circumstances which must undergo a radical change.

There are several reasons that move me to make this statement.

1. The Effects of Four Wars

Mumtaz Nassar member of the People's Assembly wonders, and he is right to do so, "Is it possible to achieve immediate peace between the Egyptians and the Jews in spite of the effects of the four wars? These wars were so repugnant! The wars of 1948, 1956, 1967 and 1973 left deep wounds in the heart of

every Egyptian, and the blood of Egypt's sons who were killed in action and who are estimated to be about 80,000 is crying out about the brutality of Israel, whose nature was clearly treacherous. In the 1948 War Israel imposed a truce on the Arabs so it can prepare itself and fight them again. In the 1956 War it made a secret agreement with England and France to launch a surprise attack against Egypt in a treacherous manner. In 1967 while making preparations for its pre-emptive strike, Israel suggested to the president of Egypt via the Soviet Union that he refrain from launching an attack and that he send his representative to the United States.

The destruction that Israel wrought upon the cities of the canal bears witness to its treachery in killing civilians.

The first condition for peace is that there be peace between the peoples and not between the governments. This is not available at the present time. A long time must elapse before the wounds are healed, that is, if circumstances did allow them to heal and if Israel did not conduct itself in a manner that would widen the gap between the two parties.

2. The Fanaticism of Israel

What makes peace between the Egyptian and the Israeli peoples more difficult in addition to the destructive effects of the four wars is the fanaticism of Israel.

Al-Hamzah Di'bis assistant secretary general of the Liberal Party says that Israel is a racist, fanatic state whose citizens believe that they are God's chosen people and that they have historical rights to the land of the Arabs. Peace cannot be achieved with the Jews as long as they are so fanatic and so haughty.

If we want genuine peace, we must tear down many of the false beliefs upon which the state of Israel is built. Genuine peace precludes haughtiness and pride; it is inconsistent with the usurpation of others' land.

3. The Continued Occupation of Arab Land

Israel's continued occupation of Arab land is inconsistent with the notion of genuine peace as a comprehensive and not a partial peace and as a balanced peace that is not effected at the expense of one of its parties. Israel's occupation of Arab land assumes four forms. These are mentioned by Dr 'Abd-al-Hamid Hashish professor of constitutional law at Cairo University.

There is the military occupation of Syrian territory and of the Western Bank of the Jordan River.

There is a civilian occupation that is evident in the establishment of settlements in different occupied areas; in the growing density of existing settlements; and in the attempt to alter Arab landmarks in the occupied areas.

There is no recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and no recognition of the liberation organization, the only legitimate representative of those people.

Arab residents are persecuted, and this is evident in the brutal treatment of Arab detainees.

Is the achievement of peace between Egypt and Israel possible after all this?

4. Poor Relations Between Egypt and the Arab Countries

There is no doubt that poor relations between Egypt and the majority of Arab countries makes peace between Egypt and Israel [difficult].

Dr 'Abd-al-Hamid Hashish says, "Anyone who thinks that the Arab nation can continue to survive as a nation without Egypt is making a mistake, and anyone who thinks that Egypt can continue to survive as a power that can influence the balances of international politics is also making a grievous error. [Egypt cannot survive as an influential force unless it is] incorporated into the Arab structure.

"There is no place in the world today but for major blocs, and there is no clearer indication for this than the fact that Europe is taking serious steps to form a single cohesive entity in different areas so it can find a place for itself on the map between the two superpowers."

Al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il warns those who "try to fish in troubled waters" and who are trying by different means to create division between the Egyptian people and the Arab peoples.

They are going beyond the objective conflict to an exchange of insults, slander and different charges, and they are discrediting all Arab values.

They are exaggerating and talking about the poor treatment of Egyptians in Arab countries to incite the Egyptian people to hate these countries.

They are talking excessively about what is called the scandals of wealthy Arabs and their extreme wastefulness of the immense wealth which came to them in spite of their ignorance, their lack of education and their lack of civilization.

We must not allow anyone to fish in troubled waters because this would delay the peace that we are all hoping for. This is the peace with the Arab nations first and the return of harmony with them because Arabs forming one rank constitute the road to genuine peace.

5. The Military Situation

I mentioned at the beginning of this article that genuine peace must be natural and not affected. This means that there should be no room in such a peace for exceptional conditions. Genuine peace must also be a balanced peace. None of these conditions is available in the peace that is to take place between Egypt and Israel. This makes it an impossible peace for the following reasons that are mentioned by Mumtaz Nassar, member of the People's Assembly.

Normalization of relations between Egypt and Israel is to begin while Israel is still occupying one fourth of Sinai. This is an abnormal situation. Normal relations cannot exist between one country that is occupying the other.

The vast majority of our forces, in accordance with the peace treaty, are not allowed to be in Sinai and this is an abnormal situation. There is no room for exceptional conditions in genuine peace, and this is an exceptional situation that is not normal and indicates that the coming peace is not genuine.

Israel's refusal to become affiliated with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty indicates that it is not serious about peace and that the coming Egyptian-Israeli peace may come under the mercy of Israel's nuclear power.

The constant threats on the part of Israeli officials to force Egypt to pursue the course of the Israeli peace cannot possibly lead to the achievement of genuine peace. The threat made by Weizman the Israeli minister of defense is an example of this. Weizman threatened that Israel would occupy the Sinai again if Israeli ships were prevented from crossing the canal or if the treaty were violated. He made this threat in spite of the fact that the treaty itself stipulates that any dispute that may arise was to be solved by peaceful means only.

6. The Cultural and Media Threat

In defining genuine peace we said that it was a balanced peace in which no party controlled the other or steered it into a direction it was seeking.

Early signs of the cultural threat which contradicts the real peace have begun to appear. The purpose of the cultural threat is to alter the personality of the Egyptian, and it can take place either through the Jews, through their friends, or through the Egyptians themselves who have contacts with the Jews: they can be writers, intellectuals, officials or others.

The cultural threat can assume various forms.

Mumtaz Nassar member of the People's Assembly warns that Israel may resort to an attempt to obliterate recorded religious facts about the Jews in the Holy Koran. He says that this matter is not at all unlikely. Israel did

make quite an uproar to force the Vatican to absolve the Jews of Christ's death. [Israel maintained that uproar] until it accomplished what it wanted. It is therefore not unlikely for the Jews to try to blot out what is mentioned about them in the Holy Koran. The first step in this regard is to try to prohibit the teaching of those verses in the Holy Koran that talk about the Jews or to prohibit broadcasting them over the media. In brief, they will attempt to relegate them to oblivion.

Al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il says, "References to the Jews in the Holy Koran can be divided into three groups.

One group clarifies the nature of the relationship they have with God Almighty and their misconduct with the lord of the universe. The Jews, for example, describe God in terms that are inappropriate as when they said, "God is poor and we are rich," and their statement, "God's hands are tied."

Another group describes the Jews' betrayal of their prophets. The Koran says, for example, "To Moses we gave the Scriptures and after him we sent other apostles. We gave Jesus the son of Mary veritable signs and strengthened him with the Holy Spirit. Will you then scorn each apostle whose message does not suit your fancies, charging some with imposture and slaying others? They say: 'Our hearts are sealed.' But Allah has cursed them for their unbelief. They have but little faith" [The Cow: 87-88].

The third section describes the morals of the Jews and their crude habits and the fact that they take possession of others, such as their statement, "We are not bound to keep faith with the Gentiles" [The Imrans: 75]. They revoke promises, as the Holy Koran states in the chapter, The Cow, "What! Whenever they make a covenant, must some of them cast it aside? Most of them are unbelievers" [100].

Al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il says, "It is natural that the attack on the verses of the Holy Koran will go beyond that and turn to an attack on Islamic groups, such as the attempt to picture those who adhere to religion as reactionaries, and the effort to give concrete form to individual incidents that can occur as a result of the pressure that is exerted on them. The Jews will make up fictional incidents and ascribe them to those religious people, and they will ridicule the adherence of religious people to customary practices. They will also ridicule the congregations of religious people which embraces Islam as a way of life.

Note: Compare everything that is happening in Egypt with the great prestige that religious groups in Israel are enjoying.

There is an effort to express admiration for the state of Israel and for its accomplishments, and the reason for this is, naturally, obvious. It is to win the Egyptians over to cooperate with Israel in all areas. (See what some Egyptian writers wrote after their visit to Beersheba about their extreme admiration for the fact that the Jews had cultivated the Negev.)

The personality of the Egyptian is to be weakened by means of three ways that are interconnected and interrelated. These are:

The Egyptian is to be isolated from his religion.

An effort is to be made to make him renounce everything that is Arab and to admire everything that is western and Jewish.

The Egyptian is to be deluged with consumer goods. Confronting this cultural attack we find that our good people are trying to hang on to their natural dispositions and to their origins in spite of the broad cultural and media attack on them. Al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il speaks of the result of all this: "There will either be a generation rebelling against the generation that made the Israeli peace or there will be despair and surrender. The worst thing that a people can lose is the enthusiasm of their youth and the solicitude on their sons."

Is it reasonable that this could be the harvest of the genuine peace for which we are aspiring?

7. The Economic Threat

When one country controls another economically, this control destroys all the possibilities for genuine peace between them because such a control generates a deep-rooted bitterness.

We are actually fearful of the Jewish economic threat to our country. Several reasons move us to be apprehensive.

The Jews are well-known for utilizing their wealth in trade and usury. They take advantage of all opportunities and of legitimate and illegitimate methods, such as monopolizing [goods and services] and exploiting [people's] needs, circumstances and crises to obtain the highest possible profits.

There is a special relationship that binds Israel to the United States of America, the strongest country in the world. There is no doubt that this special relationship will be an effective factor in the attempt that the two countries will make--the United States and Israel--to control the Egyptian economy.

Jews are scattered throughout the world. An Israeli in Tel Aviv may have a brother who manages a major corporation in the United States, and one of his relatives, may hold a senior position in one of the European countries. In brief, Jews have a clear impact on the world's economy, and especially on U.S. and European economy.

All this naturally contrasts with Egypt whose economy is locally based.

The Jews have a materialistic view of peace. They think that the withdrawal from Sinai must be countered by opening the Egyptian markets to Israeli goods.

Al-Hamzah Di'bis, assistant secretary general of the liberal party warns of the subtle methods that the Jews will resort to. [The following] are among them:

They will create a class of Egyptian hangers-on who will be committed to them.

An example of this is the establishment of an Israeli plant in Egypt and the employment of Egyptian workers who will be paid the highest wages. Naturally, the primary loyalty of those workers will be to Israel.

They will bring the best consumer goods to the markets to make Egyptians fall all over themselves to purchase them. By doing so they realize three gains for Israel: they gain profit; they win admiration for Israel; and they deal Egyptian industry a severe blow.

They will control the Egyptian economy in a subtle way. Their method will be beautiful on the outside, but its objectives and long-term goals are wicked. They will, for example, lend Egyptians money on easy terms; they will try to open Israeli banks in Egypt and offer the best service to their customers, especially the Egyptian customers, to attract their savings and their funds; and they will try to take part in all the major projects.

How Do We Confront Israel?

If matters proceeded on a normal course, the beginning of the 15th Hegira century, or in 1980, will witness the advent of the Jews to Egypt in accordance with the stipulations of the peace treaty. They will come by various means: tourism, trade, media, etc.

If we want to confront the Jews, there are four measures that we would be required to observe.

1. We must adhere to religion. It is religion that will prevent the obliteration of the Arab, Moslem, Egyptian character, and that is the Jews' primary target.
2. We must achieve more democracy. Murtaz Nassar says that one of the basic reasons for the victory of the Jews over the Arabs in the different wars is the fact that Israel was the only democratic country in the area facing military dictatorships that were based on oppressing and terrorizing their peoples.

Democracy has magnificent characteristics.

Democracy gives free rein to all movements, thoughts and minds; this is contrary to a dictatorial regime from which no thoughts are uttered unless they are allowed by the ruler, provided that they do not contradict what he believes in.

Democracy is capable of revealing every error that is made because no one in a democracy is above criticism or questioning. In a dictatorship the ruler's decisions are not discussed, and he is above all questioning or criticism.

Briefly, in a democracy all minds think, but in a dictatorship no one thinks but the ruler and whoever the ruler wishes [to allow] to think.

3. This is a plea made to all Egyptians by al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il and by al-Hamzah Di'bis: Exercise extreme caution in dealing with the Jews.

Turn to your Egyptian merchandise even if it were worse than the Jewish merchandise.

Deposit your money in Egyptian banks only, even though dealing with them may be more difficult than with foreign banks.

Don't ever work for Jews even if they pay you double the wages.

Turn to your national industry even if [its products] are high priced.

Read the Koran thoroughly so that you would become familiar with the people you are dealing with.

4. Finally, al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il says a word to Egyptian officials: "Study all the projects that are submitted by the Jews very carefully and do not rush into approving them. Try to determine their long-range goals in attempting to control our country."

The principle that if Israel were to take one step forward, we will advance two is objectionable. It is an affected principle, and it is inconsistent with the genuine peace whose nature we said showed no affectation and was normal. It is not possible for us to become the friends of Israel all of a sudden after 30 years of wars, destruction and bloodshed; nor is it possible for us to take two steps towards Israel if it takes one step towards us, that is, if it does take a step at all!

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IRAN

SIEGE OF MAHABAD BLOCKS PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 21 Oct 79 p 2-W

[Text] Kermanshah--KEYHAN reporter: Since Tuesday afternoon last week until today (Sunday morning), the city of Mahabad has been besieged by the armed forces, and no traveler has entered or left this city during that period.

This morning Colonel Najafzadeh, commander of the Mahabad Brigade, while confirming the report of the siege, said: The order to surround Mahabad and continue it was issued by the high authorities, according to which all entry and exit roads are to be strictly controlled.

He added: Of course, I believe this order will put the people in distress and create a lot of trouble for them, but I do not have any information about how the high authorities made this decision.

Also, "Atri," the new commander of Mahabad, said: My repeated contacts to raise the siege of Mahabad have not succeeded, and for several days now, the city has been idle in every respect. He also added: In my opinion, the siege of the city of Mahabad is a kind of obstacle blocking negotiations and a political settlement in the area, and I am convinced that it will hurt the prospects of negotiations.

At the same time, the commander said: Innocent people caught in the middle are under pressure, and every effort should be made as soon as possible to make their course clear. The commander of Mahabad also said: Every day large groups of the people of Mahabad come to [our] headquarters and follow the latest negotiations in the region and fervently look forward to a general peace settlement on the regional level. And the majority of the people asked the commander for a march to promote this view of revolutionary leadership. In conclusion, the commander said: Yesterday I could not talk with the minister of interior and the governor of West Azerbaijan and have now become dizzy with the confused situation that has developed because I do not know why negotiations are stalled at this favorable time.

Regarding continuation of these talks in the western area the KEYHAN reporter writes: Concerning the heavy bombing of the last several days in the city of Sanandaj and the statements of the governor of Kordestan about breaking off the negotiations, Mr Foruhar held talks with a group of the public about the siege of Mahabad, the protest of the commander and other Kurdish dignitaries of the area to this decision and the explanation yesterday of the representative of the prime minister in Baneh and Sardasht about the continuation of negotiations and the plan for them in the cabinet as well as statements of the commanders of Baneh and Marivan about holding the talks. The point is that the line of Foruhar's talks has caused worry in the second round, and it is apparent that the parties do not want the negotiations to achieve any results.

In a contact with KEYHAN today, Baba Taheri, former commander of Mahabad, said: The meeting of the people of Mahabad with representatives of the army and local commanders of Mahabad have had no results so far, and in response to the question of why the city is under siege they say only: Orders from above.

He added: Although the talks of Mr Foruhar on the regional level and finding a political solution to relieve the turmoil and confrontation have come close to achieving success, nevertheless, it is not known what elements are at work to spoil the negotiations.

The former commander of Mahabad also said: Mr Foruhar spread a lot of rumors in Mahabad about the negotiations which have not been substantiated yet, but what is clear is that, with the presentation of the reciprocal proposals, the parties have gone forward on the road to a political settlement, on condition that the appropriate persons permit a reasonable line to be followed in the negotiations.

Report of the PARS NEWS AGENCY About the Siege of Mahabad

Urumieh--According to the latest reports, after clashes yesterday afternoon, Mahabad has now been besieged by the military forces. As for the situation last night, conflicting and contradictory reports have reached the PARS NEWS AGENCY. The chief of staff of the Urumieh Division and the commander of Mahabad Garrison describe the situation last night in Mahabad as relatively quiet. A spokesman at Mahabad Headquarters reported scattered firing which is still continuing at present (0745 hours). In any case, there is no clear picture available of the present situation in Mahabad.

CSO: 4906

IRAN

COMMUNIST PARTY ISSUES STATEMENT ON INTERNAL SITUATION

Tehran BAMDAD in Persian 25 Sep 79 p 12

/Article: "The Central Committee of the Tudeh Party's Statement on the Current Situation in the Country Has Been Published!"

/Text/ The Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran has analyzed and closely examined personal freedoms, the events in Kurdistan, the draft of the constitution, and the reconstruction of the army in publishing a statement on the current situation in Iran. In the course of reaffirming that the move to the right is causing class struggles, it considered that the basic, dangerous enemy of the Iranian revolution is American imperialism and international Zionism and demanded the unification and advancement of forces in order to combat imperialism and Zionism.

In its statement, with reference to the revolution of the Iranian people, the absolute leadership of Emam Khomeyni in bringing this revolution to its consummation, the role of the Tudeh Party in defending the interests of the struggling classes, and the severe blow which has been dealt to the interests of Zionism and imperialism in Iran, the Tudeh Party of Iran, through its understanding of imperialism and Zionism, has clearly seen through the counterrevolutionary plots and schemes and time and time again has expressed warnings on the threats to the revolution from its enemies. It has subjected the serious change in the country's domestic politics to study and dealt with the subject of individual and social freedoms in the course of an investigation. The groups which are being supplied by right-wing extremists throughout Iran are attacking the forces opposed to them and preventing these forces from being able to benefit from the freedoms which have been declared by the revolutionary leadership in order to explain their views to the people. In this portion of the statement, in criticizing the act of executing two Tudeh Party of Iran members in Kermanshah, episodes of attacks against the party offices in various towns were also subjected to criticism and it was pointed out that "One must clearly state that these measures are clearly at variance with all the promises the leader of the revolution, Emam Khomeyni, made concerning the guarantee of individual and social freedoms."

The Events of Kurdistan

The Tudeh Party of Iran considers the recent events of Kurdistan to be the result of measures taken by the basic enemies of the revolution of the Iranian people, declares that the current peace in the region of Kurdistan is temporary and expresses the opinion that the problem of the Kurdish people and similar problems throughout the country will not be solved with this kind of peace because a painful new wound has been added to existing ones. In an examination into the future of the draft constitution, the declaration stated that the departed spirit of Ayatollah Taleqani also expressed his dissatisfaction in this matter by refraining from effective participation in examining the draft of the constitution; the Tudeh Party of Iran has declared, "In our opinion the departed combatant Ayatollah Taleqani's concern is the concern of all Iranian patriots and lovers of freedom."

Regarding the process of reconstructing the army, the Tudeh Party of Iran asked, in its statement, "In spite of Iran's officially joining the Council of nonaligned nations, why hasn't the bilateral Iranian-American military agreement been abrogated?"

Regarding the move toward the right in Iran's domestic politics, this party also expressed the opinion that the expulsion of workers and engineers on the charge of being "leftist" which has been taking place in many Iranian factories at the hands of rightists in recent days and weeks is fraught with great danger.

The Tudeh Party also requested that the government take a convincing position on behalf of a comprehensive policy of support for the interests of the peasants and the provision of schools and doctors for peasants.

What Will Happen Tomorrow?

In answer to this question, the Tudeh Party of Iran replied that one cannot yet give a single answer to this question because while it is true that the people are behind the Islamic revolution under the leadership of Imam Khomeyni, the framework of this Iranian revolution and its precise, clearly identified impact have not yet become clear.

In the statement, it was pointed out that what are threatening the gains of the Iranian revolution today and in the future are the plots of imperialism under the leadership of America, Zionism and imperial reaction connected to them. Only through the unification of all national and freedom-loving forces and partisans of the people can one repel this danger and erect an unbridgeable bulwark against the "counterrevolution."

11887
CSO: 4906

IRAN

RELATIONS WITH PERSIAN GULF STATES SUMMARIZED

Paris NAMEH-E RUZ in Persian 6 Oct 79 p 7

/Article: "Iran's Relations with the Arab Persian Gulf States"/

/Text/ Regarding fears which statements by some Iranian religious persons have stirred up among Persian Gulf states, BBC's commentator says "The Iranian revolution has caused much distress among rulers of Persian Gulf area states. Substantial Shiite majorities exist in these countries; Shiites are actually in the majority in Bahrain. Sunnite emirs of the countries of Kuwait, Iraq, Bahrain and Dubai have taken measures against Shiite religious figures, who consider themselves to be representatives of Ayatollah Khomeyni, in their countries believing that the sermons of these religious figures are provocative. The government of Iraq recently claimed that Iran intends to carry on the previous regime's policy of seeking dominance in the Persian Gulf area. This doubt about Iran's goals derives its sustenance from the belief of some religious persons in Iran who claim that an Iranian revolution could be launched in all Moslem countries. Ayatollah Khomeyni has stated numerous times that Islam is not restricted to the boundaries of countries and that all oppressed Moslems must rise up against their governments and form Islamic republics, in the hope that a united Islamic society will soon come into being. Some religious persons close to the Ayatollah also hold this belief. Tehran's Eman Jom'eh, Ayatollah Montazeri, has stated that the Iranian revolution can and must be exported, Dr Mohammad Beheshti, head of the Islamic Republican Party, has pointed out that some Arab sultanates are against God and God's people and consider the appearance of the Iranian revolution to be unacceptable.

It is almost certain that these two people, who are the chairman and vice chairman of the Council to Investigate the Iranian Constitution are members of the Iranian Revolutionary Council. Ayatollah Sadeq Ruhani, another religious leader in Iran, has given warning that his country will revive its old claim concerning Bahrain and that this island will be annexed to Iran following the overthrow of its emir. It was in 1971 that Iran renounced its claim to possession of Bahrain. Iran's ambassador to the state of Kuwait has stated that Ayatollah Ruhani is not a responsible person in this matter. Dr Ebrahim Yazdi, minister of foreign affairs, has

also stated numerous times that Ayatollah Ruhani's opinions are personal views and that he does not represent the general policy of the Iranian government. Ayatollah Khomeyni has neither confirmed nor denied Ayatollah Ruhani's views on Bahrain. Dr Yazdi, as well as the official government spokesman, Sadeq Tabataba'i, have confirmed that unofficial statements concerning the export of the Iranian revolution have no connection with the general policy of the government, which is based on nonintervention in the internal affairs of other countries. These statements, as well as today's declarations by Eng Bazargan, make it clear that the government of Iran intends to show that its policy is separate from the conduct of certain religious persons.

11387
CSO: 4906

IRAN

POWER STRUGGLE BETWEEN TWO MILITARY FIGURES REVIEWED

Paris NAMEH-E RUZ in Persian 10 Oct 79 p 1

/Article: "Madani and Chamran Confront One Another"

/Text/ As had been expected, two persons on the Iranian political scene are gradually dividing up military power among themselves: Adm Madani and Mostafa Chamran.

Adm Madani is the commander of the southern fleet and the governor of Khuzestan. Because of his past history of struggle against the former regime and closeness to liberal and freedomloving people, he is the object of acceptance both by intellectuals and non-fanatic Moslems. The navy, which is to be considered the only intact, organized force in Iran today, is entirely in his hands. His governorship of Khuzestan, which at the beginning faced opposition on the part of the Arabic minority, is now considered the most successful post-revolutionary provincial government. He is opposed to blind fanaticism and empty slogans and yesterday announced that Iran is faced with a recession, unemployment and apathy and that the nation is discouraged. He added, "This is dangerous, Islamic government does not mean that the economy must regress, since if it does go backward we will be annihilated." Regarding the "purge" which is being talked about by the mollahs today, he said "This is not purification, it is the liquidation of personal accounts."

Mostafa Chamran is the minister of War and the previous commander of the guards. Because of his past and present relations with the Palestinians, and his long struggle against imperialism, he is supported by religious elements and some leftist groups. The factory in Kurdistan has been credited to him. At the outset he tried to convert the force of revolutionary guards into the basic element executing the power of the Islamic republic and he criticized the army. When it was observed that these strange, odd disorganized persons who had received no training were not capable of being transformed into a factor of strength, he tried to reorganize the army and "purge" it. On the latter subject, he said yesterday that the three criteria for purge in the army consist of receptivity to national

independence, belief in the Islamic revolution under the leadership of
Emam Khomeyni, and absolute obedience to the government. The leftovers
of the army do not follow him and consider him to be a foreign body in
their midst.

Madani and Chamran view the Iranian revolution from two completely differ-
ent perspectives and are drawing up directions for the future of Iran in
different directions. Undoubtedly before either of them sets out in his
direction they will go after one another hammer and tong.

11387
CSO: 4906

TRAN

NEW CHANGES ANNOUNCED IN MILITARY, POLICE INTELLIGENCE

Tehran BAMDAD in Persian 25 Sep 79 pp 1, 9

/Article: "The Army and Policy Intelligence and Counter-intelligence System Is Being Changed"/

/Text/ At the conclusion of the consultative session of the Council of the Joint Staff of yesterday evening, Dr Sadeq Tabataba'i, the government spokesman, declared and confirmed the decisions made at this session and matters under discussion in a telephone conversation with BAMDAD. The structure of the police and the army intelligence and counterintelligence systems, which in the past were deliberately opposed to the people and the interests of the nation, will be changed and made compatible with the conditions of the revolution.

The government spokesman participated on behalf of the prime minister at this session, which was held in the presence of representatives of the three armed forces services, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of the Interior. In regard to decisions regarding measures under discussion in the session, he said:

"This session was held in staff headquarters to determine the course of the domestic and foreign policy of the army and the three service branches of the military and security."

The government spokesman added, "Since possessing a strong army based on the people and oriented toward the interests of the people and the guarantee of the goals of the revolution--which is compatible with the libertarian and unificationist spirit of Islam--is the basic condition for the stability, triumph and endurance of the Islamic revolution of Iran; since the leader of the revolution, especially in the past weeks, has repeatedly emphasized that strengthening the army and security forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran must be the subject of concern, that the weakening of these forces must be considered treason against Islam, and that people who harbor ill will by pen or deed against the army and its commanders must be handed over to the courts of the Islamic revolution; and since strengthening the existing bonds of sympathy with the army, which is the protector

and guarantor of the preservation of national sovereignty, territorial integrity and freedom of the land of Iran, has been established, the political course of the military and security forces are to be codified and organized in harmony with the other agencies of the country and with the participation and surveillance of nonmilitary persons."

Change in the Intelligence System

He added, "At today's session discussion, conversation and a search for solutions with regard to problems arising from the economy measures carried out in the military personnel budget took place."

The government spokesman went on, "At this meeting the problem of putting Phantom pilots to work was also subjected to examination, since most Air Force pilots are facing the problem of employment and each experienced Phantom pilot involves expenditures of about \$7 million in education and training." Dr Tabataba'i said: "At today's session, consolidation of the army and police intelligence system was also discussed, since the substance of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the freedom-loving objectives of the revolution must possess a different form and substance consonant with the condition of the revolution; in the past the fruits of intelligence and counterintelligence were intentionally used against the people and the interests of the nation."

Sadeq Tabataba'i expressed the hope that in the next meeting of this commission, which is to be held next week in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, decisions will be reached on the above-mentioned points under review following appropriate discussion and exchanges of views. The government spokesman added, "Continuation of this discussion for codification of the form and substance of the military and security forces, as well as limits and constraints on the action of each of these forces in connection with matters inside and outside the country and neighboring countries, will also continue in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs next week."

Sadeq Tabataba'i added, "The basic objective in holding such meetings is, in fact, to have representatives of the government and the people participating in codifying the political program for the military activity of the nation's security forces, since it is thereby possible to make the army and the security forces conform as effectively and properly as possible to the content and course of the Islamic Republic of Iran, guarantee and vouchsafe the country's freedom and independence, and preserve national sovereignty."

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CSO: 4906

IRAN

SHARI'ATMADARI CONTRASTS IRANIAN, SOVIET COUNCILS

Tehran BAMDAD in Persian 24 Sep 79 p 12

/Article: "The Great Ayatollah Shari'atmadari Stated in an Interview with Swiss Television: The System of Councils in Iran Is Different from the Communist and Socialist System"

/Text/ The great Ayatollah Shari'atmadari took part in an interview with a correspondent from Swiss Television. In this conversation, responding to the question whether implementation of the principle of the sovereignty of religious jurists in the constitution would cause the creation of a religious dictatorship in Iran, the great Ayatollah Shari'atmadari said "We have stated our opinion regarding this principle and some domestic newspapers may print it. In this regard, we have stated that the sovereignty of religious jurists, which has been ratified, is moot and ambivalent. It has not been made clear to what extent it has legal force. Of course there is sovereignty of religious jurists, but this sovereignty has limits and meanwhile one must not forget the power of the nation and the sovereignty of the people, since the referendum which voted for the Islamic republic in Iran means that power belongs to the nation, that elections to the Council of Experts and that its representatives were also for the people. Therefore one must not interpret the principle of the sovereignty of religious jurists in another way; the sovereignty of religious jurists must never be interpreted as dictatorship. As I have said, the sovereignty of the jurists exists but mostly in areas where no one has jurisdiction. For example, previously there was no council, no government; therefore, the current temporary government was appointed, under the surveillance of the sovereignty of jurists. However, the sovereignty of jurists does not mean a dictatorship where we negate national government and the sovereignty of the people, placing all powers at the disposal of the jurists. The issue which nowadays is being presented to the law on councils and is one of the principles of the constitution holds that the people must make decisions themselves for the sake of their own destinies, and this is not compatible with the notion which has implanted itself in your mind concerning the sovereignty of the jurists. In any event we have recommended that the principle which has been ratified under the rubric of sovereignty of the jurists be explained and interpreted in a clear fashion, since it is ambiguous."

He was asked whether the principle of unification in Islam, holding that there is one God and one truth, means that different opinions are prohibited in Islam.

Ayatollah Shari'atmadari said, "The question of unification and the existence of one principle does not require that there not be different opinions regarding social matters in society. The unification of almighty God has no relationship to this subject, as the meaning of necessary differences of opinion on social questions is not connected to the trinity in Christianity, because the matter of determining a principle and the creator of the world cannot have any kind of connection with the manner of management of the affairs of society from the standpoint of unity or difference. Differences of viewpoint and various views are for the purpose of finding a proper, logical path.

"In natural laws, the proper way and the straight path are the same and people's differences in views and opinions are for arriving at this true, straight path. Firm recommendations, and orders, have been given in Islam regarding the examination of views and opinions and making use of different ideas. For example, in the Koran we have two clear, straightforward verses on this subject. In one place God commands "And order them: consult among yourselves" and in another place "And consult with them in the matter." This means that attaining the true way and straight path in the performance of activities must take place through consultation, discussion and the exchange of ideas. In another place the Koran says "Spread the good word to the servants who listen to minds and follow the best." In this verse, the almighty creator considers the best people to be those who listen to people's views, opinions and statements and select the best words and most proper statements from among them. It is the belief of all philosophers that the world is one unit and that all its parts are joined together and linked. You see, even when the wind blows and the leaf of a tree or a piece of straw falls to the side, this is connected to all parts of the world. The world is one unit and it has one creator, and one must not say that unification is dictatorial or that the trinity is something which is not dictatorial. Again I repeat that in order to recognize the truth and arrive at the best path and the best road, there is no other way than for there to be consultation on the matter and for different views to be expressed so that the truth may be obtained from among them." The question was asked: Since it is the system of councils which is to constitute the foundation and basis of government in Iran, will this not have a similarity to the socialist or communist system? He replied, "The system of councils in Iran is different from the communist and socialist system. Their consultation and joint discussion is within the context of communist and socialist ideologies whereas those of Iran are in the context of Islam and the commandments of the Koran. Now there are also councils in America, but their councils are based on the foundation of capitalist ideas. However, our councils are founded on the system of Islam."

The Swiss Television correspondent asked, "Ayatollah, do the measures being taken by the government in Kurdistan, in connection with the events in that ostan, resemble the measures and actions previous governments in Iran carried out?"

The great Ayatollah Shari'atmadari said "So far as we have been informed, the government is keeping the issue of the Kurds separate from the issue of the Kurdistan Democratic Party. It states that it is not making war with the Kurds or Kurdistan but that it is making war with a party which says it has a link with foreigners and whose aim is secession. Of course the government is not opposed to a kind of autonomy within the context of remaining Iranian, but the issue of the secession or separation of Kurdistan is never to be accepted or tolerated. Yesterday evening Mr Moftizadeh was in our presence in the company of a number of religious scholars and Islamic personalities from Kurdistan, and they emphasized the same things. Of course in such conditions and states it is possible that certain contrary, disturbing acts on the part of irresponsible individuals could take place."

11887
CSO: 4906

IRAN

SHARI'ATMADARI DEFENDS NATIONAL COUNCILS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 23 Sep 79 p 3

/Article: "The Great Ayatollah Shari'atmadari: Iran's Councils Conform to Framework of Islam and the Commands of the Koran"/

/Text/ His eminence Ayatollah Shari'atmadari talked about the various issues of the country, the councils and the sovereignty of religious jurists in an interview with Swiss Television. At the start, the television correspondent asked,

"Ayatollah, won't implementation of the principle of the sovereignty of religious jurists in the constitution cause the establishment of a religious dictatorship in Iran?"

The great Ayatollah Seyyed Kazem Shari'atmadari replied, "We have stated our opinion regarding this principle and some domestic newspapers may print it. In this regard, we have stated that the sovereignty of religious jurists, which has been ratified, is moot and ambivalent. It has not been made clear to what extent it has legal force. Of course, there is sovereignty of religious jurists, but this sovereignty has limits, and meanwhile one must not forget the power of the nation and the sovereignty of the people, since the referendum which voted for the Islamic republic in Iran means that power belongs to the nation, that elections to the Council of Experts and its representatives were also for the people, and that representatives who are now present in the Council of Experts are talking from the standpoint of representatives of the people. Thus the genuine power lies with the people and even the fact that the National Consultative Council and presidency are to be elected with the supervision of the people is further proof of national government. Therefore one must not interpret the principle of the sovereignty of religious jurists in another way; the sovereignty of religious jurists must never be interpreted as dictatorship. As I have said, the sovereignty of the jurists exists but mostly in areas where no one has jurisdiction. For example, previously there was no council, no government. therefore, the current temporary government was appointed, under the surveillance of the sovereignty of jurists. However, the sovereignty of jurists does not mean a dictatorship

where we negate national government and the sovereignty of the people, placing all powers at the disposal of the jurists. The issue which nowadays is being presented to the law on councils and is one of the principles of the constitution holds that the people must make decisions themselves for the sake of their own destinies, and this is not compatible with the notion which has implanted itself in your mind concerning the sovereignty of the jurists. In any event we have recommended that the principle which has been ratified under the rubric of sovereignty of the jurists be explained and interpreted in a clear fashion, since it is ambiguous."

Question: The principle of unification in Islam holds that there is one God and one truth; doesn't this mean that different opinions are prohibited in Islam?

Answer: The question of unification and the existence of one principle does not require that there not be different opinions regarding social matters in society. The unification of almighty God has no relationship to this subject, as the meaning of necessary differences of opinion on social questions is not connected to the trinity in Christianity, because the matter of determining a principle and the creator of the world cannot have any kind of connection with the manner of management of the affairs of society from the standpoint of unity or difference. Differences of viewpoint and various views are for the purpose of finding a proper, logical path. In natural laws, the proper way and the straight path are the same and people's differences in views and opinions are for arriving at this true, straight path. Firm recommendations, and even orders, have been given in Islam regarding the examination of views and opinions and making use of different ideas. For example, in the Koran we have two clear, straightforward verses on this subject. In one place God commands "And order them: consult among yourselves" and in another place "And consult with them in the matter." This means that obtaining the true way and straight path in the performance of activities must take place through consultation, discussion and the exchange of ideas. In another place the Koran says "Spread the good word to the servants who listen to minds and follow the best of them." In this verse, the almighty creator considers the best people to be those who listen to people's views, opinions and statements and select the best words and most proper statements from among them. It is the belief of all philosophers that the world is one unit and that all its parts are joined together and linked. You see, even when the wind blows and the leaf of a tree or a piece of straw falls to the side, this is connected to all parts of the world. The world is one unit and it has one creator, and one must not say that unification is dictatorial or that the trinity is something which is not dictatorial. Again I repeat that in order to recognize the truth and arrive at the best path and the best road, there is no way other than for there to be consultation on the matter and for different views to be expressed so that the truth may be obtained from among them.

Question: Since it is the system of councils which is to constitute the foundation and basis of government in Iran, will this not have a similarity to the socialist or communist system?

Answer: The system of councils in Iran is different from the communist and socialist system. Their consultation and joint discussion is within the context of communist and socialist ideologies whereas those of Iran are in the context of Islam and the commandments of the Koran.

Now there are also councils in America but their councils are based on the foundation of capitalist ideas. However, our councils are founded on the system of Islam.

11887

CSO: 4906

IRAN

RELIGIOUS LEADER ACCUSES SHAH'S SISTER OF FOMENTING SECESSION

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 6 Oct 79 p 11

/Article: "In an Interview with KEYHAN, Hojjatoleslam Hasani Revealed Hatching of Plot To Create Republic of Kurdistan with Financial Help of Ashraf Pahlavi"/

/Text/ Hojjatollah Gholamreza Hasani, the well known spiritual figure of Orumieh and the western area of the country, described the situation in West Azarbayjan and Kurdistan, stating, "At the present time Democratic Party members are scattered over a border strip from Maku to Sardasht and are active along with a number of local feudalists such as Mohammad Amin Hatami and Mohyioddin Seyyedi, who are heads of tribes in Iraq. Some days ago these two people held an important meeting in the village of Zireh, attended as well, on part of the Democratic Party, by Ezzoddin Hoseyni, Dr Abdorrahman Qasemlu, Ghani Ballurian and Palizban. After some talk, it was decided at this meeting that a large independent republic by name of the Republic of Kurdistan would be established. Of course, one must realize that his republic was to be formed out of the nations of Turkey, Iraq, Syria and Iran, which each have two million Kurds on the borders, totalling 8 million, and that Palizban undertook to provide the preliminaries for the job from the financial standpoint with the help of Ashraf Pahlavi, who is currently in Iraq."

In answer to a question on the rumor that the Democrats were making preparations for a winter attack, Hojjatoleslam Hasani said "Winter in Kurdistan, especially the border strip, is extremely difficult. There is a heavy snow cover, which is to our benefit since they have no place to hide."

In this interview, Hojjatoleslam described Tabriz as the second hero of Iran and said "Leaving Qom aside, Tabriz played a special part in the Islamic revolution of Iran. It was the heroic people of Tabriz who gave Islamic greetings to the voice of the traditional sources. Tabriz rose up at a time when no one had the strength to speak or the strength to protest. It is true that it gave up a lot of people killed but the people were not killed without result."

Regarding the unification of the two Azarbayjans, Hasani said "From the standpoint of strength, federation and agreement this would be a very good thing but it would not be good from the standpoint of development or construction because the towns have become very big and it would be difficult for one governor to suffice."

In answer to the question why some political groups did not have good relations with him, Hojjatoleslam Hasani said "This is extremely natural, and there is a long story behind it. In September of last year, when the people were called upon to arm themselves, we also issued weapons. Since I was familiar with the mentality of Democratic Party members, and knew that they were intending to secede, I was watching for the regime to fall and for us to be faced with another parasite. I warned my people from this angle and they also became suspicious, until the regime attacked the great mosque of Orumieh on 14 December and I with my men proceeded to resist them with the weapons we had issued. A number of them were killed and some of our men were wounded also. After this episode I wrote letters to Tabriz, Maku, Shapur and Khoy so that young people could arm themselves but unfortunately a positive answer was not given. On 23 January the regime attacked us with six tanks and shut down the great mosque with cannon. I gave the order to counterattack and as a result 70 or 80 of them, and the thugs who were cooperating with them were killed; six of our people were also killed and some were wounded. After that, we regularly procured weapons with money the people gave in aid via the Turkish and Iraqi borders through a retired warrant officer name of Hajj Hamid Fasuniechi. Our weapons were generally of the Klashenkov type."

Hojjatoleslam Hasani added, "We repeatedly attacked the regime's men, even taking 18 prisoners one day and sending them to Tehran. During that period I repeatedly preached that the Kurds were our religious brothers and our brothers in belief, but word reached me that they were withdrawing themselves and that on the surface they had autonomy in mind but really intended to secede. When I heard this I became very upset. On top of the great mosque, where I gave lessons in the use of weapons, I declared that they should also know that we were informed of their intentions. The following day they could not continue to hide themselves and declared their intent; thus our dispute was laid bare and the Naqadeh incident occurred."

Regarding the conflagrations of Naqadeh, he said "Two days after the incident I went to Naqadeh with my men. Members of the Democratic Party had chopped up pregnant women in that town, not even showing mercy on suckling infants. When we got to Naqadeh we had no choice but to confront them and expel them from the town." Regarding the tribunals, he announced he was not active in the Orumieh revolutionary court because of his participation in the fighting and because the purge was not yet complete.

Regarding the situation on the borders, Hojjatollah Hasani said "Even if we had 100,000 border guards, it would not be possible to close the border."

A number of Democrats are in Margvar at the present time; that is a small sector. The rest are scattered along the border strip from Bazargan to Maku and Sardasht. What is certain is that we will continue the struggle and that their interest lies in surrendering. Ultimately they will be compelled to obey the imam's orders and come under the banner of Islam."

On the visit to Tabriz, which took place by invitation of the air force personnel of Tabriz, he visited and talked with Ayatollah Qazi Tabataba'i, the imam's representative in Tabriz.

11387
CSO: 4906

IRAN

RELIGIOUS LEADERS DEMAND CUTOFF OF RELATIONS WITH LIBYA

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 4 Oct 79 p 3

/Article: "In Meeting with Prime Minister Religious Men of Tehran Request That Iran Not Have Political Relations with Libya"/

/Text/ Yesterday morning 25 religious leaders of society and clerics from Tehran and Shemran went to the office of Eng Mehdi Bazargan the prime minister, and had a visit and conversation with the prime minister. The prime minister's political aide and government spokesman, who was also present at this meeting, stated, with regard to the meeting, "While giving absolute support to the government and its humanitarian Islamic measures, the spiritual leaders requested Eng Bazargan to take more decisive steps regarding the issue of the disappearance of Emam Musa Sadr and follow up on previous worthwhile measures.

"The spiritual men also requested that the government, pursuant to the requests and commands of Emam Khomeyni, leader of the Islamic revolution of Iran, refrain from establishing any kind of diplomatic relations with the government of Libya until the fate of Emam Musa Sadr becomes known. At the beginning of this meeting, one of the spiritual men, Hojjatoleslam Mahdavi, addressing the prime minister, said: 'I, representing the religious scholars and clerics attending the meeting, declare that we consider you to be a revolutionary and that we have seen Islamic decisiveness on your part. We consider that the most conspicuous example of this decisiveness is the fact that you undertook the responsibility of political leadership in the most sensitive moments in the history of this nation and the most severely facillating days of the struggle of this nation. We expect that you, as a brother, as a Moslem, as a freedomloving human being, and as the chief of an Islamic state who has been elected by the nation and the emam, first will increase your investigations and measures regarding the disappearance of Emam Musa Sadr; what has taken place so far has been very essential and valuable but it in no way has been sufficient. Our people expect that more decisive measures will be taken in this matter and that previous measures will be pursued. The Moslem nation of Iran requests that you strictly refrain from establishing and founding diplomatic relations with Libya until the condition and fate of Emam Musa Sadr become clear. We support

the policies of your minister of foreign affairs and also request that he follow up on the incident more insistently. May God preserve you. Our hearts are with you, we support you and may God protect you.'

"In the course of statements, Eng Bazargan declared in response,

"To me it is a matter of the utmost joy and pride that I have come to perceive the attention of the grace and affection of you, my masters, in spite of extreme problems and proximity to a multitude of unpleasant aspects. For my own part and that of my brothers in the government council, my tongue fails me in responding to all this goodwill, support, call for good fortune and expression of grace. God willing, our prayers will be accepted and we will be more successful in realizing the requests and prayers of this Islamic people with each successive day. What I can state, all in all, is that both of your requests have been the hope, decision, and program of the government, and will continue to be so. I can state that even if I had no function in the government I would consider myself committed to taking measures in this field. Fortunately some of my ministers and aides are also giving effective assistance toward the adoption of better steps in this direction. What has been done and what has taken place is within the limits of possibilities, although measures in these fields have not failed to produce reactions on the part of special groups. I can categorically state that I will pursue this policy which has been adopted with regard to Libya. When the prime minister of Libya was in Iran he brought a great deal of pressure on me and on us to impose the establishment of diplomatic relations, but he went away emptyhanded. On various occasions, among them the conferences in Morocco and Havana, in addition to all the visits and discussions with ambassadors from Islamic countries and ministers from Islamic countries who have been in Iran, the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran /made/ the subject of Emam Musa Sadr a matter of discussion. Remember that on Jerusalem Day the late Ayatollah Taleqani, Mr Abd-al-Halim Khaddam, Syrian minister of foreign affairs, and I mentioned the missing spirit of Emam Musa Sadr at this historic moment and in this place and area. In addition to this, the government of Iran tried to issue invitations to a meeting in Paris, in which ambassadors of Islamic countries who could be effective in this area would participate, but we saw that the government of Libya ruled itself out of participating in this conference. I will state this: in spite of the Libyan government's extreme desire and need to establish relations with us, their refusal to agree in this matter is very important from the international perspective. During his trip to Iran, Mr Jallud made a request, accompanied by a threat, regarding the establishment of relations with Libya and stated that Zionist and American agents were preventing the establishment of relations. I stated frankly, 'No, sir, that is not the way it is. It is a very clear issue, the matter of Emam Musa Sadr.' This frankness vexed him and of course he complained to various people in various places. I will order Mr Minachi, the minister of national guidance, to benefit from the opportunity of the pilgrimage this year and to take appropriate measures in

associating with Moslem brothers and sisters from other Islamic countries. I emphasize that my prayer, my hope and my wishes are for the safety and the life of Emam Musa Sadr.

"What must happen is for the cries that he is missing and that he be present where he belongs to continue.' After conclusion of Eng Bazargan's statements, some of the religious scholars gave him their thanks and prayed for the triumph of the Islamic revolution of Iran."

11887
CSO: 4906

IRAN

PROFESSOR CRITICISES BEHAVIOR OF MINORITIES

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 29 Sep 79 p 10

/Article by Dr Shapur Bastan: "Religious Minorities And Their Role in the Iran of Today"/

/Text/ History considers the point that our forefathers, by virtue of their quality of hospitality, long ago acknowledged a special respect for the Jews and other religious minorities to be very well known and takes it for granted. Right when the Ottoman Turks were engaged in repressing and extirpating the Armenians and putting hundreds of Christians to their unstinting sword every day, Iran was the only safe haven for the Armenians in the Middle East. We all know that the opportunity for all types of economic and social activity was always open to all classes of the society of religious minorities in Iran and, if we exclude insignificant acts of contempt which were sometimes committed in past eras by certain fanatics against the Armenians and Jews, one must acknowledge that the people's conduct toward minorities in any of the countries bordering Iran, or even in most European countries, was not as good as that of the Iranians. However, one must unfortunately state that some minorities in our country, especially the beloved Jews, did not always respond to the inviobility of our hospitality in the appropriate manner and, if we give some attention to these minorities' mode of social conduct, we will see that after the long years in which they benefited from all Iran's bounties they looked like newly-arrived immigrants upon Iranians and refrained from mixing and mingling with the majority of our nation. It is usually to be observed that these minorities have been unmindful of our customs and traditions and apparently consider themselves apart from the Iranian nation. Some people in these minorities sometimes engaged in activities which it is very painful to mention: in World War II, when the Russian troops violated Iran's neutrality and attacked Iran, some Armenians rained flowers on Russian tanks and by this act caused vexation to the majority of the Iranian people. (It is clear that such persons as Yeprem Khan and others like him within this religious minority in Iran performed national services, and Iranian history will always remember their good qualities.)

By taking over the economic arteries of the country by different kinds of deceit, the fabrication of fraudulent medicines, deceptive transactions, /and/ land speculation, they created artificial high prices in the consumer market and showed themselves to be richer with each day, while the underprivileged people of Iran became poorer. This minority group even proceeded to spread corruption in cultural affairs and smoothed the way for the influence of world Zionism in the cultural environment by creating international symposiums at the University of Tehran--with the oil company budget and the government of Israel, furthermore. These minorities even opened special accounts for regular assistance to the government of Israel and it was sometimes heard that some of their number considered Israel to be their homeland and mentioned it as "their own country," stating, for instance, in times of sickness, "We are thinking of going to our country, that is, Israel, for treatment." It is amazing for us, in these days when the Islamic Republic has taken the place of the detested previous regime and the light of Islamic justice is casting a shadow in our country, to see that the Jews have bit by bit left for Israel, selling their property and furniture and transferring the wealth of the nation of Iran to another country. It is a source of great amazement that the government in the meantime is playing the part of an impartial observer and taking no serious measures, although one can see millions of dollars being sent out of the country at the hands of these Jews every day. If it is assumed that the wealthy Jews will leave Iran and the poor ones will stay behind, it is not clear what the lot of this nation's economic situation will become. Therefore it is appropriate for the government to make a complete investigation into the finances of people of this type, to look into their areas of acquisition and to prevent the unrestricted flight of millions of dollars from Iran, in order to preserve the nation's wealth. There is no doubt that this is intolerable to the majority of the Iranian people.

Now even though the emam, through the inspiration of the Koran and the conduct and manner of the righteous prophet of Islam, has consigned the dark past of the Jews to oblivion and has placed them in the shelter of the protection of Islam, the Jews have not come to their senses and are not effectively participating in the holy war for the construction of Iran, under the guardianship of the emam's mercy. I, as a devout individual who believes in the Islamic Republic, recommend that these minorities take note before they become the object of the wrath of the majority of the Iranian people, and give attention to the following points for the construction of a better Iran:

Look upon the national religious traditions and customs of the majority of the people of Iran with greater respect and not refrain from participating in the performance of national celebrations on the pretext that they are not Moslems.

Truly consider themselves to be Iranian and show pride in being Iranian, not considering themselves to be binational and not holding themselves separate from the people in participating in the joys and the griefs and sorrows of the nation.

Bring tidings of Iranian culture and civilization to foreign countries by their admirable acts and conduct, not presenting themselves as adherents of the world society of Jews or Armenians when they perform a good deed or acquire an honor, while spending this country's foreign currency, or-- God forbid--immediately flashing their Iranian passports in the faces of officials when committing an unpleasant act.

Seriously refrain from isolating themselves from the Moslem majority and make the rich culture and civilization of Iran richer by allowing it to benefit from their customs and traditions, and not try to show obvious blemishes in the greater national society by creating limited, closed societies and making this cleavage deeper with each passing day by establishing special schools and refraining from learning the Persian language.

Accept with open arms the limitations which the Islamic Republic considers essential for preserving the security of the society and not consider them proof of repression or the advent of tyranny.

Refrain from profiteering and obtaining revenues by unlawful means, give help and aid to stability in the Islamic Republic by offering sincere services, and always bear in mind the command of the emam, the leader of the revolution, to the effect that all groups will attain their desires and live in a prosperous society if the creator wills the Islamic revolution to bear fruit and the Islamic Republic to become stable.

11887
CSO: 4906

IRAN

AYATOLLAH DENIES MINORITIES, UPHOLDS EXECUTIONS

Algiers AL-SHA'B in Arabic 9 Sep 79 p 11

[(Haburayu') Tablit interview with Hadi Khosrow' Shahi, director of the Islamic Studies Center in Qom, conducted during Shahi's presence in Tamanrasset for the 13th Symposium on Islamic Thought: "The Arabs, Turks and Baluchis are not Minorities; The Executions will Continue as Long as There are Criminals"]

[Text] [Question] Mr Hadi, may we first welcome you and wish you a pleasant stay in Tamanrasset in particular and the Algerian Republic in general. Tell us about Iran.

[Answer] To talk about present-day Iran and the achievements of the Iranian revolution, one has first to talk knowingly about the pre-revolutionary situation. Any such talk in detail would be too long. Suffice it to say that before the Islamic revolution, Iran was a base for the Americans and the Zionists and a free market for the entire West, including the United States, while the people were in a lamentable condition of misery and did not have the right benefit from their resources, in addition to being persecuted. In short, the Iranian people's situation before the Islamic revolution was the worst possible, economically, politically and socially.

The Islamic revolution took place to achieve the Islamic goals set forth by Islam. After putting an end to the shah's rule and following the collapse of the dark internal tyranny which lasted for 54 years and which stood in the way of the Moslem Iranian people's spiritual and material progress, the revolution freed Iran of all internal and foreign fetters. We ousted 100,000 foreign experts and advisers, nationalized the large firms and the banks and introduced radical reforms in all cultural, economic, political and even religious fields.

Economically speaking, our economy has become Islamic. Iran is no longer a market for America, giving it oil and taking from it tanks and aircraft. We no longer pay the salaries of 100,000 American and Western experts and advisers at the expense of the unfortunate people. We have also nationalized all the properties of the shah and his family, which are in the millions of dollars.

Culturally, we have done away with the Western colonialist curricula and will seek to replace them with Islamic curricula in the institutes and universities. On the social level, the Islamic revolution has granted all the people public freedoms and liberties.

Politically, the revolution has done its duty toward the helpless peoples of the world. We have severed relations with Egypt, Israel and South Africa, and recognized Cuba, Angola and other liberation movements. We will continue to do our duty toward the helpless peoples, God willing, because Imam Khomeyni has recently affirmed the need to establish a united front for the helpless and weak in the world, which would embrace Moslems and non-Moslems. We have also abolished military treaties with America, Italy, England and other European states.

As for internal achievements, there are many. I would like to cite the nationalization of 90,000 buildings and vacant houses which belonged to the shah and the capitalists who have fled Iran. The buildings were nationalized for the benefit of the homeless.

Status of Minorities and Their Contribution to the Revolution

[Question] Let us turn from this general view of the situation in Iran today to other matters. First, the status of the minorities in Iran.

[Answer] With regard to the Arabs, Turks, Kurds and Baluchis (the Moslems of western Afghanistan and Pakistan), we do not call them minorities. They and the Persians--that is to say those who speak Persian--constitute the Iranian people. The minorities are the Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians, and they are citizens with rights equal to those of all Moslems in Iran. They have a special (code) in the National Assembly and they enjoy their own religious and personal freedoms.

Executions and Differences

[Question] A loud uproar has been raised in many circles over the executions in Iran, especially in the circles of the Western press which eulogized and lamented the victims. We would like here to know the truth about those executions, because we believe that "Nobody knows the labyrinth of Mecca better than its residents," as the Arabic saying goes.

[Answer] The question of the executions is a simple one, because the traitors who were executed had ruled the country for 35 years and were responsible for the death of 50,000 persons in prison and 70,000 martyrs last year. They were also responsible for the loss of the country, the corruption of the people and the theft of their wealth as well as for turning Iran into a military base for Israel and America. How can't they be executed? And if they were not executed who would be responsible for such crimes and treason? Should we have allowed them to live so as to hatch more plots? And can we forget God's

ruling in such matters, where he says: "Those who fight God and His Prophet and spread corruption on earth shall be punished by death..." to the rest of the verse. We have carried out the provisions of this verse, for the first time in Iran, against those corrupters. Strangely enough, the Western press is crying over the persons who are executed in Iran, but has ignored the tens of thousands of martyrs killed by those murderers. Following the execution of 3 women who were running houses of prostitution in Iran for 20 years, I read in the London papers that 3 strugglers for the freedom of women were executed. If this is the meaning of freedom, then we leave this kind of freedom to Britain and America. There was also an Israeli spy called Habib Alghanian, who was a big capitalist in Iran with 30 plants and factories, all of which have been nationalized. After his execution, Israel wept over him because he was a good man, in its view, and a believer in Zionism. Executions will continue in Iran as long as corrupters remain, or until they repent. Murderers cannot be forgiven, but those who have not committed murders will be forgiven if they repent.

Another example is that of a man called 'Ali (Khorom), a big capitalist and an associate of the shah. He owned a large park in which we discovered 500 rooms used for prostitution. He used to import women from abroad. The last time he had brought 280 women from Thailand to be prostitutes. When he was about to be executed, he said that he opened the park to entertain the young men. He said that this was not a crime, but an act that deserves a reward. The revolution rewarded him with death by execution.

[Question] Some people are trying to contrive stories about differences between Sunnis and Shi'ites in Iran. How do you respond to that?

[Answer] There is no difference in Iran between a Sunni and a Shi'ite. There are 7 million Sunni brethren in Iran. They have the same rights and freedom as the Shi'ites. There is no discrimination against them--the only discrimination there is is the one we hear about outside Iran. Some colonialists have tried to create such differences in Kurdistan, and Imam Khomeyni has issued a statement branding such efforts as colonialist and Zionist intrigues, for there is no difference in Islam between Sunnis and Shi'ites, or among Kurds, Turks, Arabs and Persians.

[Question] It has also been said that a disagreement has developed between Imam Khomeyni and Ayatollah Shari'ah Madari. Is there a basis for such contention?

[Answer] There is absolutely no disagreement between Imam Khomeyni and Ayatollah Shari'ah Madari, because it is inconceivable that a disagreement would occur between two great religious authorities on the establishment of Islamic rule in a country.

[Question] What will the status of women be in the new Islamic society?

[Answer] The status of women is like that of men. We do not distinguish between the two. Freedom, money and rights are for all, but within the bounds of what God has decreed. As to the question of women wearing veils or unveiling, this is up to them and we do not force them to wear a veil. We should not talk only about women wearing veils, but men too have to be decently and properly dressed.

[Question] What about the question of swimming pools and beaches and segregation of men and women in public places?

[Answer] This is a clear-cut case in Islam. It is a question of jurisprudence. A woman and a man who is lawfully associated with her cannot bathe together in the same place because this is an invitation to obscenity, lewdness and forbidden actions. Islam prohibits this. The government, therefore, segregated swimming places between men and women to prevent the occurrence of unlawful acts. Otherwise, everybody is allowed to swim in the area assigned to them. With respect to families, members of the same family can swim together in the same place provided that there are no foreign men or foreign women. This is an easy problem for us, because the Moslem Iranian people observe such rules out of belief in their religion and creed. We prohibit mixing because mixing is inconsistent with our status as a revolutionary Islamic country, although such practices were permitted under the previous regime.

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CSO: 4902

IRAN

PHYSICIANS' PROTEST RALLY FOR EXECUTION OF COLLEAGUE IN KORDESTAN

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 25 Aug 79 p 2

[Text] Ayatollah Sheykh Sadeg Khalkhali, in a telephone interview with the Voice of the Islamic Republic, described his responsibilities as well as the execution of a captured rebel. He said that he went to the western region on the Eman's orders following reports of the terrible occurrences there, in order to investigate. However, by the time he reached the town of Paveh, the battle was nearly over.

The Ayatollah said that one of the more noteworthy rebels captured was a doctor named Abdolqassem Rashvand Sarday (a resident of Qolhak), who did not know a word of Kurdish but was wearing Kurdish attire. After being captured near the Paveh hospital, the doctor confessed that he was a Communist and a supporter of the Democratic Party and a separate Kordestan. He had fought in the battle for Paveh, and had stolen drugs needed by the Kords from the hospital.

The doctor was imprisoned in the Quri Qal'e. Dr. Rashvand had bloodied his hands with the blood of Revolutionary Guards, many of whose heads he had ordered cut off. He had even taken away serum from wounded Revolutionary Guards to whom it was being administered.

The Ayatollah said that he had no choice but to order this man executed. A number of Democratic Party leaders were also arrested and punished. A group fled toward Iraq, but the army and border guards closed the border and thus were able to catch the party leaders from Paveh, Sanandaj and Marivan.

Physicians Demonstrate

Doctors and nurses from the Loqmanoldoleh Adham Hospital went on strike three days ago to protest Rashvand's execution. They vowed to continue their strike until their demands are met. Their conditions include broadcasting the facts of the case over radio and television and exonerating the doctor's name.

According to the strikers' statement, Dr Rashvand went to aid the supporters of Ayatollah Taleqhani during the struggle against the shah and, this past New Year's Day, then, hurried to Sanadaj to help the hurt and wounded there. Dr. Rashvand left Tehran for Paveh Friday evening at 8 o'clock, and was executed Monday morning. In conclusion, the strikers' statement said that "the doctor did not die from battle wounds. His blood was shed on account of his political views, on the accusation of opposition to a political organization which had no relevance for him."

Gathering of Physicians in Tehran

This morning a group of Dr. Rashvand's fellow-physicians gathered in front of the Ministry of Health and demanded a meeting with the Minister. Fereshteh Nurafshar, a final-year medical student and the fiancée of the executed doctor, was present with the group. She said that Dr. Rashvand reached Paveh last Saturday, two or three days after the killing and beheading of the Revolutionary Guards.

Doctors and nurses of Tehran Medical School presented their demands in a six-part proposal.

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CSO: 4906

IRAN

KHALKHALI INTERVIEWED ON RECENT EVENT IN KORDESTAN

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 28 Aug 79 p 12

[Text] ETTELA'AT'S reporter in Kordestan, Khalil Bahrami, arranged a short conversation with Ayatollah Sadegh Khalkhali, following a session of the Islamic Revolutionary Court of Sanandaj, of which the Ayatollah is the head. Twenty-three individuals had stood trial, of whom 11 had been convicted and 12 released. Our reporter asked why Dr. Rashvand had been condemned to death, notwithstanding the protests of a group of Rashvand's colleagues, who contended that the doctor had not taken part in the fighting at Paveh. The Ayatollah answered:

"Dr. Rashvand, after he had been captured carrying weapons and wearing Kurdish clothes, tried under the pretext of going to the restroom to burn documents showing his identity. The guards who arrested him know the facts, and will relate the detailed circumstances to anyone who wishes to know them. I am obliged to say that Dr Rashvand unfortunately violated the physician's oath by the instructions he gave--I am ashamed to mention them--concerning the wounded, innocent guards who should have been under his care and protection.

"What kind of doctor would order the mutilation of wounded Iranian youths?" The reporter asked, "What exactly were these instructions which you are ashamed to mention? Did he only give orders, as you said, to 'mutilate' them, or was it something else?"

Khalkhali said, "I am ashamed to say that he gave the order to cut off the genitals of some of the guards and stuff them into their mouths!"

Khalkhali, in describing the events at Paveh and Saqez, said, "They want to turn Kordestan into a kind of Palestine. It may interest you to know that all of the former SAVAK agents in Tehran who have not yet been captured have gone to Kordestan to fight. One of them was captured at Marivan and executed."

Talebani's Men Taking Part

Our reporter asked, "How true are the rumors about Jallal Talebani's men taking part, since Talebani cannot possibly share any interests with the armed insurgents in Kordestan?"

Khalkhali answered that Talebani and his men have been active in the region around Panjvin. He continued to say that "if God pleases, these executions will rid the revolution of its enemies. We are receiving declarations of allegiance from all parts of Kordestan, and our enemies are becoming discouraged."

Guards and Army

Speaking of the day before yesterday's execution's at Sanandaj, Khalkhali said that "fortunately the persons who wanted to close down the Sanandaj airport with mortar-fire were apprehended by Revolutionary Guards and condemned to death by a revolutionary court.

"On all fronts, the Revolutionary Guards are playing a vital role. While their actics may not be perfect, faith is the source of their revolutionary movement."

Khalkhali added that "the army also fights well, foiling our enemies' evil plots in Saqez and elsewhere. Many of the enemy have been killed, and the ordinary people who make up 90 percent of the population of Kordestan want the godless rebels destroyed.

Rubbish Heap of History

Khalkhali said that "I hope that the situation at Mahabad is resolved as soon as possible, and the Democrats, Qassemllu and Ezzaeldin Hoseyni thrown onto the rubbish-heap of history for good. Before the revolution, Ezzaeldin Hoseyni accepted money from the shah and sang the latter's praises. Now, however, he is a so-called partisan of the Kurdish people."

Bluffing and Lies

Khalkhali responded to the Democratic Party's announcement that it would kill one Revolutionary Guard for each one of its members executed by the government: "They have attempted this kind of bluff before, but the heroic Iranian people will never submit. As a responsible person and as a Moslem, I cannot show the slightest mercy to the separatists." Our reporter said that "they say that it is not partition that they are seeking, but rather self-determination within a free and independent Iran." Khalkhali answered that "both the revolutionary leadership and the government accept the principle of self-determination, but an individual like Qassemllu is an advocate of Zionism and the partition of Kordestan."

Journey to Mahabad

Asked where he would go next after Sanandaj, Khalkhali said that "as long as there is a drop of blood in my body, I will go to every part of Kordestan, including--God willing--Mahabad, to combat counterrevolutionaries, SAVAK agents, supporters of the shah and those who advocate the partition of Kordestan."

8921

CSO: 4906

IRAN

ISOLATION, CONFUSION IN COUNTRY REVIEWED

Paris LE MONDE in French 10 Oct 79 p 1

[Excerpt] The Iranian minister of foreign affairs, Mr Ibrahim Yazdi, has outlined a rather optimistic picture of his country's position on the international scene. During a press conference, while passing through Paris, he maintained that Tehran relations with Paris were "satisfactory"; that those with the USSR and the United States respectively were "very good" and "lukewarm but improving." Also, in his opinion, relations between Iran and the Arab states--with the exception of Egypt--are "excellent."

Mr Yazdi's remarks will not fail to surprise a number of foreign governments. Despite his repeatedly stating that "Iran has no intention of extending the revolution abroad," the majority of the Persian Gulf countries' leaders are deeply troubled by the continual statements by Iranian religious dignitaries that describe them as "despots," and "imperialistic henchmen," while threatening them with the lot which befell the ex-shah. Bahrain and Kuwait have gone so far as to expel, or arrest, Shi'ite agitators who claim kinship with the Imam Khomeyni. By way of reprisal, Iraq forcibly supports the Arab-speaking activists of southern Iran. Even Colonel Qadhdhafi, whose Moslem integrality is not inferior to that of the Qom patriarch, is publicly criticizing the direction which the Tehran politics has taken. In short, from one end of the Arab world to the other, the Iranian revolution is causing disturbance, annoyance and anxiety.

In both the East and the West, the new regime is, to say the least, inspiring no enthusiasm. It is true that the multinationals, who prospered under the Pahlavi monarchy, have from one day to another suffered losses amounting to \$80 billion.

The new Tehran leaders make no distinction between "enemies" and "friends." The interests of France--which although it provided hospitality and support to the Imam Khomeyni--have been more seriously affected, comparatively speaking, than those of Federal Germany or the United States. The Soviet Union and the Americans are each just as "imperialist" as the other, with this difference that the open attacks against the USSR--particularly

because of the fate meted out to Moslem citizens and to Afghanistan--were more numerous and more virulent. In actual fact, the Imam Khomeyni chose to fight on all fronts at one and the same time, both in the international field and in the domestic field. He intends to destroy the old regime at its very roots, a feat which does not promise to be easy. Despite the recent nationalizations, the economic power is still largely in the hands of the old propertied classes. The state bureaucracy, no sooner weeded out, is hankering after the past. Repression, which seems ruthless toward the foreigner, has not reached even an infinitesimal minority of the 98,000 recorded SAVAK agents, the shah's greatly feared secret police. Many among the latter have succeeded in finding another job, when they are not stirring up trouble in the various provinces. However, and contrary to all reason, the Imam Khomeyni is attacking with no less ardor the most determined enemies of the old regime for the simple reason that they do not share his "Islamic" convictions: the nationalist center, the laity, the left whether Marxist or not.

To tell the truth, the Iranian regime is still torn between two trends, neither of which can utilize the monopoly of power. Some, numerous in the traditional clergy, are trying to maintain a liberal economic system, to "normalize" their relations with the United States. The others still hope if not to set up a radical system, at least to reduce the influence of the right, both religious and lay, and enter Iran on the road to a positive nonalignment which will put an end to their isolation.

8870
CSO: 4900

IRAN

CULTURAL EXPERT WARNS AGAINST ARABIZATION, BUREAUCRATIZATION

Tehran BAMDAD in Persian 2 Oct 79 p 9

/Article by Abbas Mirkhani: "Why Are Our Culture and Arts Facing Stagnation and Depression? 'Arabism' Must Not Dominate Iranian Culture in the Islamic Revolution"

/Text On 8 September of last year, the Iranian nation fully recognized the true nature of the detested Pahlavi regime and decided to do away with the regime at any price. The street demonstrations and general fighting penetrated into the government, and government employees entered a new road. This new road was crystallized in the framework of general strikes, starting first with the Bank Melli and the Communications Company. At the same time, some Ministry of Culture and Art employees took the lead in testing the Bank Melli and Communications Company experiment in the context of the ministry. However, it was clear from the start that a welfare strike in the context of a ministry which has no place for expressing itself in society could not meet with success. Therefore the strike plan was changed and the issue of a strike in the overall context of the government and the employees of the ministries in Tehran and the provinces was raised; it was decided that an invitation would be extended by proclamation to all government employees throughout the country to a general strike. This proclamation was drawn up under the signature of the "Society of Government Employees," which had no external identity, and was mimeographed with great difficulty in one of the rooms of the Ministry of Culture and Art. Then a 20-man team with a feeling of responsibility took charge of distributing it. With the distribution of these proclamations and their announcement via foreign news agencies under the title "Invitation by Federation of Government Employees to a General Strike in Iran," as well as preparatory work by government employees, general strikes took place in the ministries beginning 9 October. While the government dragged its feet vis-a-vis the welfare requests of ministry employees--including employees of the Ministry of Culture and Art--a 24 article proclamation by the employees of the Ministry of Culture and Art was signed in the original by the minister at the time, and the welfare, which was the first step in the political struggle, ended. Several days later, the political strikes began, by invitation of the Ministry of Culture Employees' Club; these continued until the end of the general strikes and the fall of the regime.

Throughout all the period of strikes and political struggles which were accompanied by general workers' meetings and speeches, ridiculing the bayonets of Gen Azhari which faced them, the employees in this ministry proved that the organization's faulty administration had laid its inevitable fate before them and that if this administration were to be changed they would be able to take steps to participate in service of the construction of society. In those days, all progressive clubs held this radical change among Ministry of Culture and Art employees in esteem, and many employees in this ministry who had faced an atrophy of their personality and as a result of disillusionment had made group requests for transfer to other ministries during the previous decadent regime renounced their decisions and said "We will remain and serve our organization." Thus it was that with the advent to power of the temporary government of the Islamic Republic and Emam Khomeyni's order concerning obedience to the temporary government, the employees of the ministry, with the representation of the Employees' Club, began to cooperate with the minister and the ministry supervisor and opened the road for ministry officials and their appointed representatives to engage in their revolutionary duties with full powers and without problems or complications.

In order to evince their full good will, and in spite of their total opposition to the incorporation or dissolution of this ministry in the period of Sharif Emami, Azhari and Bakhtiar, they did not oppose its merger into the Ministry of Science and Higher Education. Now that more than 7 months have elapsed since this episode, in spite of all these expressions of good will, the employees of the Ministry of Culture and Art have the national and legal duty of conducting an investigation into the list of this ministry's achievements in the past few months and of reiterating its weak points and deviations.

At the outset of the strike, the minister of culture and higher education apparently merged this ministry of almost 6,000 employees with the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, whose employees were less than one tenth those of the Culture and Art Ministry in number, without reference to the philosophy of merging the Ministry of Culture and Art with that of Science and Higher Education. As a university professor, the minister had greater educational interest in higher education, the universities and education, and therefore ascribed greater importance to the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, placing this ministry in second place in terms of importance--moreover, in the most critical stages of cultural life. Mr Minister, your place of employment was in this ministry, but you did not visit the Ministry of Culture and Art more than once a week. Fortunately your delegated authority, that is, Dr Varjavand, compensated for this lack of interest for a while and started a series of radical measures but alas--a hundred alases--his administration, soon ripe, quickly rotted. After him Dr Barkeshli, as your sole deputy in the Ministry of Culture and Art, engaged in handling matters without your personal attendance, while you

took on a number of deputies in the Ministry of Science but were not even prepared to give your sole deputy in the Ministry of Culture and Art the position of delegated authority or supervisor. This in itself is proof of the little value you and the temporary government have given to culture and art.

In spite of all this expression of goodwill on the part of Ministry of Culture and Art employees, you and your deputy consigned the employees in this ministry to oblivion and, except for one time--when you were /first/ appointed to this position--you did not meet with the employees of this ministry. (One or two speeches in the meeting hall on the occasion of the commemoration of Dr Shari'ati and the like are separate from this point.)

As well as you, Dr Barkeshli also hid himself from general view and not once did he invite ministry employees to a general meeting so that he could confront their ideas, beliefs and ideals from close at hand. This ailment does not only exist in our ministry but is to be found in all ministries and throughout the government--an ailment where people use the old discarded methods of the past, that is, only implementing power and relying on a series of administrative ranks, series of ranks, and the system which was the heritage of the detested regime of the past, where no change has occurred in its identity or fabric, instead of relying on government employees and attracting their general participation and cooperation in order to advance objectives. At the outset, persistent efforts were made to have artistic and cultural activity emerge from the context of the bureaucracy of general departments and general bureaus and to have groups organized into various cultural and artistic fields proceed with the work of cultural and artistic production, but no one heeded these efforts. It was not even known what Art and Culture wanted to do with its general manager and general chief. Through this intellectual evaluation of the administrative system and the lack of familiarity on your part and that of your deputy with cultural organization, cultural production and the evil effects of running a bureaucracy, the Ministry of Culture and Art unfortunately retained the organizational form it had possessed under the previous regime. The impotent management of this organization, instead of thinking of a radical change in the fabric of the organization, engaged in a series of unsuccessful, unstudied mergers and with the collapse of the previous organization, in the practical sense confronted the Ministry of Culture and Art with chaos. It could not work out many of the mergers either but left them to God's safekeeping. The result of all this was that after more than 7 months had passed since this incident, all the employees of this ministry were suspended in a state of indolence, waiting to see what the management of this organization finally wanted to do. During this period, we never observed that this ministry, with all its installations and resources, managed to establish an impression in the revolution through its administration. No determination of cultural and artistic responsibility has yet been made and no criteria have been released to distinguish committed from uncommitted art, or art which was at the service of the satanic regime of the past. No kind of cultural or artistic activity, even in its Islamic

sense, has occurred in accordance with the Islamic desire and need of the society. Inevitably you and your deputy will place blame for this around the necks of the ministry employees on grounds that they are not capable of artistic and cultural production. If this is your belief, then one has no choice but to point out that these employees have taken their examinations in the past like all the Iranian nation and have proved that they can establish a full influence on society. What is preventing the flourishing and activity of these employees are a mistaken administrative system and its improper management.

If you want to preserve the organization in this bureaucratic form, you must at least endow it with a management which is 100 percent aware, acquainted, thoughtful and creative so that it will be superior to the entire organization and guide the organization and its members. How can one both retain a mistaken organization and put a weak, unaware administration in control of it, and then place all powers at the disposal of this administration and ask subordinates to be brilliant? When all organizations collapse and are left idle, when the organization's management is not capable of attracting the participation of the intelligent members of the public, when the organization's management cannot determine the status and place of its organization in society, even in its Islamic sense, then what expectations can one have of a person? Apparently you and your deputy, like your predecessors, are not strangers to the belief that if you keep several thousand employees inside a space of four walls and poison them with monthly salaries, they will never cry out and this poisoned state will mold their work till the end of their lives. Neither you nor any member of the group in government have been able, nor are you able, to benefit from the real revolution in government organizations which emerged after the revolution of the Iranian people, or, by attracting people, to reduce the torpor in government organizations over the society for once and for all.

In these few months the Iranian nation has been thirsty for information and learning. Our ministry is not the Ministry of Agriculture or the Ministry of Industry and Mines that it should have need of a long-range plan. You could have made the maximum use of this general spirit for information, an opportunity which rarely is obtained, and if this hunger had been made into something different than a complex of despair, pessimism and blind hopelessness, things would have been different from the past. You were not able to rely on the great strength of the employees of this ministry and to rely on the creative strength of society in order to draw up thousands of lecture, discussion and consultation programs in this sphere, to put dozens of seminars and congresses into action, to summon all people of ideas and thought to participate and ask them to show you the way, to compose dozens of films, plays, songs and revolutionary anthems, and place your resources in these fields at the disposal of people who are involved in this kind of activity and who were pursuing these media out of love in order to serve the Iranian revolution. You have dozens of lecture halls and movie theaters at your disposal; put them at the service of society.

Try to have the important films of the world shown in Iranian movie theaters. You could have made use of the resources of the fully-equipped Ministry of Culture and Art press to print and publish books and publications useful to the revolution. The holy war for construction has taken form by orders of the emam. The Ministry of Culture and Art, as one of the responsible organs of the government, with its thousands of resources, could have undertaken the cultural holy war and the intellectual mobilization of the masses. It could have mobilized all the intellectual and cultural clubs throughout the country, organized cultural societies and discussion and conversation sessions, mobilized and reconstructed the mosques, that most important of cultural strongholds, which are close to 75,000 in number and are implanted throughout the country and in the body of the society, and seized the opportunity to renew the life of Iran's mosques. You could have assigned your employees, by their own choice and interest, to attract public participation in these fields. By making use of the aware members of society and men of ideas and knowledge in the field of culture, art, history and the culture and literature of Iran, you could have made the status and position of Iran's culture vis-a-vis the bourgeois and socialist known, reintroduced the special qualities of Iranian culture, illuminated the relationship between Iran, Islam and Arabism, presented the reasons for the acceptance by Iranian culture of Islam as a world view and also determined the reasons why Arabism was not accepted but was rejected as a non-Iranian dominant culture at odds with Iranian nationalism. You would have viewed these forms of nomenclature throughout the country as a cultural statement and would not have allowed impolitic nomenclature which was at odds with Iranian culture to become widespread under the Islamic revolution. You would not have allowed Arabism to attain dominance over Iranian culture in the Islamic revolution--something which Iranian culture would never tolerate. You would have made it known what consequences the renunciation of nationalism and the refusal to keep Iran in mind, while making Islam universal, have for Iran. You would have made the evil effects of censorship in all fields under the previous regime known. You would have as a responsible governmental organization defended the freedom of thought, of writing and of ideas. You would have stood up to bookburners, would have issued proclamations, would have had laws passed and would have punished those who violated them. You would have been the forerunner in giving importance to people of ideas, thoughts, the pen, knowledge, and specialization in the creation of the society of the era of the revolution.

During this period, your administration has proved that it is incapable of expressing any form of cultural solution, and you have not extended your hand to the masses of employees and the masses of the people from a position of strength so that they would at least come and give some thought to the condition of the cultural future of the society and this responsible organization. This great organization, with all its installations and resources and all its equipment, should have been a free organ for the activities of all cultural and artistic groups. All the persons who are involved in culture and art in all fields should have considered this ministry as their home, should have come to make use of the resources of this

organization, which was created with the money of this nation, and should have paid their national and Islamic debt to this society. Now this has not been done; now the management of this organization does not have any issues by the name of culture and art; now idleness, lethargy and silence have taken over this ministry from top to bottom and are reminding people of the era of Pahlbod. If you do not get to work as the minister of this organization, it is a religious obligation on all the employees of this ministry to become a vanguard in setting out a new plan with full goodwill and brotherhood, as in the period of strikes and struggles, and give some thought to the state of this organization through their own participation, refusing to allow the seal of worthlessness and futility to be stamped on their foreheads once again as it was in the Pahlbod era. It is clear that since I have become the forerunner in presenting this matter, I am, as in the past, ready to pay with my life for accusations and injustices from those who are accustomed to and are content with the existing situation and, instead of hearing the response of truth, to see myself confronted with such file clerks.

None of this is important. What is important is that we should be able to preserve the reputation of the employees present in this ministry and not allow them to vanish from under the weight of incompetent management. This ministry must serve the revolution of Iran, its Islamic and national revolution. We must not allow this ministry to be nourished by the nation's money but offer no yield. We must not allow such a great force to remain unused and helpless.

11337
CSC: 4906

IRAN

COUNCILS ARE TO BE FORMED IN EDUCATIONAL UNITS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 23 Sep 79 p 9

/Article: "The Temporary Secretary of the Ministry of Education: Councils Will Soon Be Formed in the Educational Units"

/Text/ At a press conference yesterday, Mohammad Ali Raja'i, the temporary secretary general of the Ministry of Education, discussed matters concerning the formation of councils in the schools and the purification of the ministry and then answered newsmen's questions on various educational fields.

He said, "We accept the principle of councils in all levels of the Ministry of Education, especially in the schools, but first we must understand the meaning of councils, because there is a difference between a council and consultation on the one hand and decisionmaking on the other. We not only accept councils in the sense of consultation and the offering of recommendations but also insist that the schools must certainly operate with councils.

"Councils, in the meaning of determining where the public interest lies, we do not accept, though we not only completely accept them in the sense of cooperating with officials in carrying out the public interest, we consider them necessary. Decisionmaking and giving orders cannot be one of the functions of a council because the decisionmaker must have a minimal connection with the benefits of that decision. Therefore recommendations for improvement, not decisionmaking, can be declared to be among the functions of councils."

He added, "From the standpoint of Islamic ideology, decisionmaking always lies with God or with persons who are more familiar with divine guidance; in a unificationist society, responsibility is assigned to these individuals."

Raja'i stated that the functions and activities of the councils will soon be conveyed to the educational units in the form of a circular, and these units will have to prepare the preliminaries for the formation of such councils.

In regard to purification, the temporary secretary general of the Ministry of Education stated, "In the summer of this year we changed 763 school principals in Tehran. We changed all the director generals in Tehran and the provinces and most heads of districts, but not all these changes were for the purification commonly meant by society. A number of people were dismissed because they reached retirement age, and a number because of their own request; we have no accusations against any of these responsible persons in this connection. Of course there also were persons who had been accused, and the revolutionary court has made a decision in their regard." He added, "The issue of purification, in its particular meaning, is in the hands of a five-man commission which is to be formed in each ministry, and we will form such a commission in this ministry as well starting next week. We wish anyone who has any kind of information regarding people or recommendations concerning means for purification to give their information to officials of the district, shahrestan or ostan in confidence. Since this is a human matter, we must strive to keep any kind of revelation or rumor from spreading before decisions are made by the five-man commission."

Reversion of National Schools to the Government

Regarding the letter from Dr Sahabi to the Minister of Education on reversion of national schools to the government, Raja'i said "He did not protest against this but stipulated in his 10-point letter that an effort should be made to standardize the education level in all schools."

He added, "The purpose in having national schools revert to the government is not so that the people should not cooperate with education; rather, we accept all kinds of cooperation except in terms of providing luxuries for the schools, such as teaching languages in the elementary stages or series of special programs in the secondary schools." Raja'i stressed, "We accept cooperation from the students' guardians in improving the quality of education in all the schools of Iran with open arms." In regard to the problem that some minority schools or schools related to religious missions are faced with a shortage of students in the first year, in spite of the presence of ample resources, while other schools are faced with an excessive number of students in terms of the resources they possess, he said "We will be making an investigation into schools adjacent to this kind of school in the last week of September. In the event we observe that students in adjacent schools are in excess, we will make use of the resources of all schools to which Education has given licenses, with attention to the proximity of the student's home."

Regarding textbooks, Raja'i also said "The primary stage books are ready and available. In the guidance and intermediary stages, we are faced with a shortage of one or two titles of books in class but these two will be given the students by the third week in November at the latest, since many of these books are in the process of being bound."

11887
CSO: 4906

IRAN

ECONOMIC CONFERENCE DISCUSSES AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS

Tehran ENQELAB-E ESLAMI in Persian 20 Sep 79 p 10

/Article: "Text of the Conference on The Nation's Economic Problems, Agricultural Section"/

/Text/ /line missing/ "law we wish to advance agriculture. This is a pure mistake. The second point is that it is true that we want to increase production, and this will happen, but we must take care that this increase in production not lead to intensifying differences in incomes in rural areas. We must take a long-range view in every plan, even short-term plans, and think about problems which other countries have experienced. We must advance in a direction where we will both increase output and also modify the production difference which exists firstly between rural and urban areas and secondly within rural society itself. Today, the world's economists have reached the conclusion that the basic issue is to have balanced growth in all sectors of the country--agriculture, industry and so forth. That is, we must strengthen agricultural resources, proceed toward self-sufficiency, and expand industry. Finally, one point is of importance in the expansion of agriculture--the type of industry we adopt for the sake of progress. We must pursue those industries which have two characteristics: one, we must possess the raw materials for them, and their production therefore must take a form which is capable of being supplied and of competing in the world, and two, we must turn toward agricultural processing, that is, we must encourage industries and give priority to industries which in some way have an effect on agriculture. That is, we must produce artificial fertilizers and we must produce agricultural machinery industries so that we can have an additional workforce in the agricultural sector. We must give thought to the past system, where they concentrated industries in the city; we must concentrate industries in centers where the workforce exists. That is, it is for this reason that peripheral areas of some big cities established industries; we should create a population on the outskirts of cities, create disguised unemployment /sic/ and go to the centers in the rural areas where the workforce is and expand and advance industries in those areas." Following Dr Najmi's statements, Eng Taj, in his talk, said "One gentleman stated a very correct sentence 2 days ago--'some people work, some people talk about work and there is a

great difference between those two groups.' One must truly see what the complaint of those who work is, since the general complaint of the country now, as we are witnessing it, is that work has been completely suspended and if we compare the current situation, work and work procedures of the present with a year ago one must admit that the work being done now is many times less. One must remedy this ailment. To sit here and draw up ideal plans will not work.

"First the complaints of people who are at work must be eliminated and then plans must be put into action" Then Dr Keshavarz Sadr, undersecretary of agriculture, stood behind the podium and said,

"If we want to take a step, we will be faced with problems unless that step is accompanied by a proper understanding of what has happened to agriculture in Iran. The result of what the minister of agriculture stated has been a strengthening of authority and an intensification of dependence. Therefore we are returning to this dependence, and we see that one cannot separate the previous objectives of the Ministry of Agriculture and Iranian agriculture from questions of authority and dependence. From this standpoint we can discern two distinct periods in Iran's agriculture. The land reforms were the point of departure, and these continued to 1972. The land reforms were propounded with special objectives in mind not only in Iran but also in a belt through Asia and Latin America. The land reforms were not something which were advanced in accordance with domestic needs or arose from inside society; they were something which was dictated to the political systems of these countries from outside. The basic objective of the land reforms was to change the social structures in society. In the light of these characteristics more than 70 percent of our society could not be tied in to the world market; the effort was made to tie it in.

Finally the political structure and system which existed within the country were twisted and deformed and suspended, and rendered unfunctional. This was the first period. During this first period we can also state that the problems of the Ministry of Agriculture were that following the land reforms bureaucracy became a political instrument. Following these reforms, these organizations arose: the cooperative companies, with 4,500 people; the joint stock agricultural companies, 1,500 people; the houses of rural culture, 4,000 people; the development areas, houses of justice, the marketing corps, the literacy and health corps, and so on. First the Ministry of Agriculture took form with these organizations and became a very large system. By 1972 this had become a movement but it did not perform a necessary function within society, until the flow of oil money into the market took place. With the flow of oil money into the market, society ceased to benefit from it and people's eyes were closed to the realities of rural society."

11887
CSO: 4906

IRAN

BRIEFS

TALEQANI'S COUNCIL ABSTENTION--Mohammad Aqa Shanechi and Nosratollah Esma'ilzadeh, among the members of Ayatollah Taleqani's office and close friends of his, have stated that Ayatollah Taleqani in essence retired from the Revolutionary Council about three and a half months before his death because of several considerations. In another portion of their reminiscences concerning the late Ayatollah Taleqani, they pointed out that in spite of the great national reputation and popularity which he held among the people he demonstrated no desire to participate in the elections to the Council of Experts and in effect did not offer himself as a candidate for representation in this council. Finally, however, after consultations he made with the 10-man council in his office, he became persuaded to take part in the Council of Experts, on grounds that it was necessary to observe unity under the leadership of Imam Khomeyni and neutralize the intentions of opportunistic elements which were prepared to use this opportunity to spread hypocrisy through the ranks of the nation. In another portion of their conversation, concerning the meeting with the Soviet ambassador, Shanechi and Esma'ilzadeh stated: "He by previous agreement was present at about 2100 hours on the evening the late ayatollah died at his home, in our presence and that of Messrs Chaffari and Shabestari, who were to have gone to Moscow as part of a delegation investigating some matters of Soviet Moslems. He engaged in conversation with Ayatollah Taleqani. The translator from the Soviet Embassy translated this conversation. In summary of the subjects covered in the discussions, the Soviet ambassador, concerning the ayatollah's speech on the northern neighbor's intervention in Iran's affairs, emphasized that the Soviet Union in no way interfered in the domestic affairs of Iran, especially the issue of Kurdistan." /Text/ /Paris NAMEH-E RUZ in Persian 11 Oct 79 p 8/ 11887

CSO: 4906

ISRAEL

FIFTY PERCENT OF PUBLIC FAVORS EARLY ELECTIONS

TA260917 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 26 Oct 79 p 1 TA

[Text] Half of the public (50 percent) now favors early elections and most want the elections to be held within the next 6 months. These are the conclusions of the latest public opinion poll conducted for YEDI'OT AHARONOT by the Institute for Applied Social Research and Hebrew University's Institute of Communications.

The poll was conducted in mid-October (after the "stronghold campaign" of Gush Emunim and before Dayan's resignation). The poll also indicates that the Alinement has a considerable edge over the Likud.

Question: Who would you like to form the next government?

	<u>Likud</u>	<u>Alinement</u>	<u>No preference</u>
August 1979	20 percent	38 percent	42 percent
September 1979	23 percent	36 percent	41 percent
October 1979	23 percent	36 percent	41 percent

The poll (conducted after the establishment of the "Revival" [Hatehiya] Movement) further indicates that 38 percent of the public is not aware of the establishment of the new party and more than half (53 percent) does not exactly know its policy. Only 1 percent of the public is inclined to vote for this party.

Regarding the expropriation of land from Arabs in the territories, 30 percent definitely objects to expropriation, 55 percent favors expropriation but only for security reasons, 7 percent justifies expropriation for settlement purposes and 8 percent justifies unconditional expropriation. These conclusions are very similar to those of a poll conducted in July 1979.

CSO: 4805

ISRAEL

MIDDLE EAST BALANCE OF FORCES ANALYZED

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 5 Sep 79 p 13

[Article by Ghazi al-Sa'di: "The Balance of Arab-Israeli Military Forces After Exit of Egypt"]

[Text] What is the extent of the military option open to the Arab states against Israel according to the current balance of forces in the wake of the Egyptian-Israeli peace accords? And what is the nature of this military option?

The Institute for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University has conducted a study under the supervision of Col Yehoshua Rafif which, according to its premises, contains answers to these two questions. The study was published by the Israeli newspaper AL HAMISHMAR in its latest weekly supplement. Following is a translation.

Reserve Col Yehoshua Rafif says that the element of boastfulness or pretentiousness in this study was not great. Rather, we wanted to describe what will happen in the Middle East theater during the next 3 years when Egypt leaves the arena of war. If in the past, before the 1973 War, we used to say that without Egypt the states of the Arab world were incapable of going to war, I would like to say now--indeed, to demonstrate--to the public through this study that Syria and Iraq are the main centers of military forces. When we read the information contained in the study, we can see that Syria and Iraq equal Egypt in strength. In fact, Iraq surpasses Egypt in the area of armored and mechanized divisions. However, I believe that the Arab states are incapable of conducting a total war against Israel with the aim of eliminating it as a political presence. But they are capable of carrying out a series of military operations in an attempt to impose the solution they want on Israel.

Colonel Rafif, who is a member of the Institute for Strategic Studies, says: "As far as I am concerned, the data are a tool to explain what I regard as a

phenomenon. This study enables one to see the background from which phenomena have sprung, and this is one of the lessons of the 1973 war."

It took many long months to conduct this study, which was begun before the signing of the peace accords with Egypt. It is the first study of its kind that attempts to answer the questions that have been raised.

A reporter for AL-HAMISHMAR interviewed Colonel Rafif at his home in Givatayim in an effort to find out about many of the lessons and warnings which are intended to be had from the information contained in the study. Colonel Rafif is considered one of the experts in the field of strategic research in Israel. He is now 53 years old and has a past rich in military activities, from battalion commander in a Golan brigade in 1950, to graduate of a command and staff training course in the United States in 1959 to a long chain of positions within various sections of the staff department (operations) in the office of the chief of general staff. He also worked as military secretary for Moshe Dayan for 6 1/2 years. In 1974 he moved to the Foreign Ministry, and through the influence of recommendations given by the "(agranat)" committee, he was appointed chief of the ministry's Office of Political Research. Since July 1977, he has been conducting research at the Institute for Strategic Studies. He is a graduate of Tel Aviv University and holds a political science degree.

The interview went as follows:

Three-to-One Ratio

[Question] The study contains a quantity of statistical information pertaining to military importance. What results did you reach with regard to the arms race in the Middle East region based on this information?

[Answer] The study reveals that despite arms competition in the Middle East, the balance of forces between Israel and the Arab states has not changed. In spite of the large increase which has occurred in the area of military importance, it appears that the balance that prevailed between Israel and the Arabs in 1973 still stands. Thus in the area of military forces, the balance has remained at a 3:1 ratio. In aircraft there has been somewhat of a change, namely to 3.5:1. These ratios are true when we put all the Arab states up against Israel.

The study contains another kind of data which is more realistic. This collection of data shows which part of these hidden forces in the Arab states would appear in the region. The study gives a number of probabilities along these lines. It is clear that if Egypt leaves the arena of war, the balance between Israel and the Arabs will be more favorable than it was in the 1973 war.

The balance of forces would be 1.5:1 for military forces, 1.76:1 for tanks and 1.8:1 for combat aircraft. In the area of quality, it is also clear that whenever a change occurs in one side there will be a response from the other side, thus the situation is good.

We must be very cautious in our conclusion not to forget that what is meant here is balance in ratios. I do not believe that a 3:1 ratio is a happy one for Israel. The Israeli Army was successful in opposing this ratio in the 1973 War, but this does not mean that today's balance of forces is a happy one for Israel, even if we have gotten used to thinking that the Israeli Army is able to stand up against this 3:1 ratio.

The Technological Difference

[Question] It was said in the study that Israel is approaching exhaustion of its manpower in contrast to the situation which prevails in the Arab states. Can it be assumed that as a result of this the gap between Israel and the confrontation states will grow wider?

[Answer] The truth of the comment that Israel is utilizing all its manpower does not indicate that a stumbling block exists. We can conclude from this fact that all the military equipment in the Israeli Army is being put to use. On the other hand, the assumption you mentioned in your question could be reasonable, but I disagree with this. The Arab states presently have between 1,500 and 2,000 unutilized tanks. It is no coincidence that the Arab states are incapable of making use of all the equipment they have in their possession. Thus even these states face limitations. We can perceive these limitations in the qualitative areas and technological development in every state, and so on.

The Target: The Rear Lines

[Question] One of the main issues to which the study refers is the enemy's ability to strike Israel's rear lines. What change has occurred in the policy of the confrontation states with regard to this issue in view of the fact that Israel's rear lines were not exposed to such a strike in previous wars?

[Answer] As a matter of fact, we did not attack Egypt's rear lines in the 1973 War, but there was one Egyptian attempt to attack our rear lines. This is attributable to the Egyptians' lack of readiness to expand the war beyond the Sinai area, and to the deterrence capability enjoyed by the Israeli Air Force. With regard to the Syrian front, we actually did attack it, and there were also Syrian attempts to strike our front. However, you will understand presently that they do not possess the capability to strike our rear front effectively. In order for a military force in any state to be capable of attacking the enemy's rear lines, there must be two things: an attack capability and a defense capability. One of these alone is not enough.

The study points out a series of facts concerning the development of the size of the enemy's forces, and these facts show that the enemy at least possesses the capability to strike Israel's internal front. The enemy air force has grown in importance in terms of both quantity and quality. Let's take the Syrian Air Force as an example. While it is true that only 100 combat aircraft have been added to the Syrian Air Force since the 1973 War,

its weapons carrying capacity has increased by 100 percent since 1973. The second element is SKAD-type ground-to-ground missiles. Despite the fact that Syria, Iraq and Libya have not had ground-to-ground missiles in the past, Syria now owns 12 launching bases for SKAD-type ground-to-ground missiles, Iraq has 9 such bases and Libya 27.

There is another element in the field of attack capability which relates to the increasing development of special forces in the confrontation states, such as air transport capability in helicopters, commando infiltration operations, etc. On the other hand, long-range development is occurring in the area of defense and antiaircraft weapons. Thus, in the Arab states, excluding Egypt the ground defense system has tripled in size, i.e. from between 50 and 60 ground-to-air missile batteries in 1973 to between 175 and 180 batteries at present. This aspect must turn on a warning light for us.

Moreover, Jordan is today no longer undefended in large measure against Israeli air raids, and the Syrians are capable of setting up antiaircraft missiles in Lebanon. The quantities are not fixed; antiaircraft missiles continuously pour into the Arab states. Every few months a new deal is made by Syrian, and Jordan has not yet completed installation of 14 Hawk batteries which it purchased from the United States. Accordingly, the figure which appears in the study may be inexact.

Taking all the likely elements in the development of an attack capability and a defense capability, we arrive at the clear conclusion that an attack on the internal front is one of the problems which will be created in the next round, and that the problem of protecting the rear lines from air raids, missiles, special forces and other threats is one which compels us to make greater preparations.

Effect of Egypt's Departure

[Question] One of the hypotheses of this study is that Egypt has left the arena of confrontation with Israel. Nevertheless, there are cases in which the study treats Egypt as a confrontation state, if only acting defensively. Therefore, how would you characterize Egypt's behaviour during the years covered by the study, which are 1978 through 1982?

[Answer] The hypothesis you mention in the study is that Egypt will not participate actively in a war. This means that even if the Arab states were to take actions like those appearing in the study, Egypt would not participate in these actions. In spite of the fact that I make a basic assumption out of this statement, in the context of the study I set aside two groups plus 400 tanks from the bulk of the Israeli forces for protection of the western front in case of war. I believe that this force is sufficient to impose an obstruction, only. This is, as is recognized, a contradiction of the basic hypothesis. However, no chief of staff would allow himself under present conditions to leave the Egyptian front without any protection.

Jordanian Participation

[Question] What is the position of Jordan within the political framework on which this study is based?

[Answer] I believe that Jordan belongs to that group of states termed the moderate states despite the fact that it has not joined the peace agreement between Israel and Egypt. My assumption is that the United States considers Jordan a moderate state. Also mentioned in the report is the desire of the United States to create a liaison with the PLO and Syria. Furthermore, Jordan defends its territory, and thus forms a part of the eastern front by protecting the Syrian flank and tying down Israeli forces on its border.

Increasing the Days of the War

[Question] You gave an important place in the study to "weapons depository states" which would guarantee the supply of weapons to the confrontation states. How would weapons from the depository states reach the front?

[Answer] These states include Libya only. As far as Saudi Arabia is concerned, its growth in importance in the areas of equipment and force size does not match what has occurred in Libya, which alone is capable of sending 200 tanks. In addition, there are hundreds of tanks which could be utilized for one of two purposes:

- a) reinforcing the combat forces
- b) transport to emergency depositories for use in rearmament.

Israel and the Arab states learned in the 1973 War that the days of duration of the war must be increased without reliance on foreign elements, i.e. the Big Powers. As for the second part of the question, I do not see any difficulty in transporting equipment. The transport operation need not occur during the time of the war.

[Question] Don't you expect a Libyan airlift?

[Answer] There is no need for an airlift. The equipment could be transported several months prior to the outbreak of the war.

Iraq Is a Confrontation State

[Question] Wasn't the study correct in diminishing the role which Iraq would play in the eastern front in light of the developments in Iran and Khuzestan and the Kurdish problem?

[Answer] I believe that Iraq would not be a supporting state in the next war but rather a direct confrontation state. Iraq would send five divisions

into the war, which is less than half the military divisions it possesses. In any case, there is nothing that would prevent Iraq from participating in the next war with more forces than in the past.

Balance of Forces Based on
Israeli Strategic Study

a) Divisions in the ground forces:

State	1973	1979	Amount of increase	% Increase
Egypt	14	16	2	14%
Syria	6	7	1	17%
Jordan	5	4	-1	-20%
Iraq	7	12	5	71%
Libya	1	2	1	100%
Saudi Arabia	1	2	1	100%
Total for Arab states	34	43	9	26%
Israel	11	14	3	27%

Ratio,

Arabs:Israel 3:1 3:1

b) Growth in number of tanks

States	1973	1979	Amount of Change	% Change
Total in Arab States	6,000	10,000	4,000	66%
Total in Israel	2,000	3,300	1,300	65%

Ratio,

Arabs:Israel 3:1 3:1

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ISRAEL

CHARACTER OF PROSPECTIVE PRIME MINISTER EXAMINED

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 21 Sep 79 pp 16-17

[Article by Dan Margalit: "Yitzhaq Shamir: From the Underground to the Peak"]

[Text] About every 3 months when rumors are spread that Menahem Begin is liable to resign from his position, the Likud activists know that in their rows there are only two potential candidates to contend for the position of the next prime minister. Both are Herut members. They are completely different from each other, more so than any team that ever competed in Israeli politics for a high position. One of the candidates is Minister of Defense Ezer Weizman, and the other is Knesset Chairman Yitzhaq Shamir.

The rumors of Begin's resignation were renewed after the "nudist meeting" of the government, during which Ariel Sharon "stripped" Professor Yigal Yadin "on the table." In the meantime they have been denied. It was reported that Begin's strength to function has returned, however, when the ministers left the meeting, they appeared to be in shock. Slowly, private secret exploratory discussions began. Of course, not all of them focused on Weizman and Shamir. In discussions in which the heads of Herut did not participate, a public interview of Minister of Education and Culture Zevulun Hammer was mentioned, in which he expressed that if the Alignment agrees to join a national government, the National Religious Party would demand this as a pre-condition to its continuing its participation in the coalition. When in various contacts the explanation was given that the Alignment rejects Hammer's suggestion because it does not want to be a minor partner of the Likud, another possibility was mentioned, that the main opposition would change its stand on this matter if the Likud would agree to place the prime ministership in the hands of a minister of the NRP. (Theoretically, it seems, also one of the Democrats.)

In the Herut movement and the Liberals there was no willingness at this time to give up the prime ministership to a minister of the NRP. Therefore, as much as the possibility of Begin's resignation was discussed, only two candidates to replace him were mentioned, Weizman and Shamir.

The Job Obligates

Everything that is in Weizman is not in Shamir, and the opposite. Weizman very much believes in the chances for peace and Shamir very much doubts them. Ezer is very open, quick of speech and temper, brilliant, very charming and in need of constant attention. Shamir is suspicious, carefully formulates his words, heavily. He is not brilliant and almost is not interested in calling attention to himself. Ezer makes friends within a few minutes and is quick to gain people's trust, whereas "Micha'el" (Shamir's underground name) keeps the political experience hidden within him. "I am not a Rabbi," he commented last week, "and I am not a Hasid." Weizman is tall and Shamir short, the defense minister is light and the Knesset chairman is well-built. Ezer is liable to curse loudly in public with great frequency, whereas "Micha'el" does this very little. During the 3 weeks that I accompanied a parliamentary delegation that he headed, I heard him use explosive language only once, when in a moment of anger when he thought no one was listening he sputtered in whispered Yiddish under his moustache, "old dog."

"Tension with the minister of defense?" he repeated my question when we sat last week in his Jerusalem official apartment. "There is no tension. There is also no argument." But not because Shamir wanted to hide differences of opinion. "There was no clarification in which it was necessary to determine a position on this or any other topic." This is true, except for one discussion the day after the Likud victory in the elections, which already foretold expected differences of opinion. The Likud had not yet put together the government. Weizman had not yet seated himself in his armchair at the Defense Ministry. Despite this, he said at one of the sessions, with striking straight-forwardness: "The execution of settlements must be careful and weighed with consideration to the general status of Israel in the world." On this Shamir hurried to answer: "Settlement is Zionism," and the future minister of defense accepted the formulation.

Shamir denied that he is a candidate for the prime ministership. "I am not responsible for these declarations," he commented, and certainly not "for the unfounded item" as though Begin had promised him his position in 1980. They have never discussed this. He does not deal with this. And despite this he is different than his predecessors. In the 31 years of existence of a Hebrew parliament the position of Knesset chairman was a last stop in the political career of all those who held the position. Not thus Shamir. The position does not necessarily have to be the last in his political life. "Why should I disqualify myself? When I am asked if my present position is the last in my political life--I answer, that nothing forbids my thinking differently."

From the tactical point, the position of chairman of the Knesset is the ideal waiting position for a candidate for the prime ministership. This is because with the protection of a high government position, Shamir is excused or prevented from expressing opinions on political topics. I presented him with a set of questions of the formulation "What would you do if you were appointed prime minister?" --a technique used once by the

the poet Haim Guri when interviewing Moshe Sneh--but Shamir felt excused from answering them. "It was easy for Moshe Sneh, because he was far from the government and his chances of being included in it were small. He was able to give freedom to his opinions. I can not do that. My position and my membership in the Likud prevent me from doing this."

Does not the public have the right to know what the opinion of the candidate for the prime ministership is?

"Whoever wants to be a candidate--must present his opinions. If not for my position I would express my opinions."

It appears to me that it is comfortable for him to lean on the responsibilities of his job in the Knesset and that in fact he is not such a vegetarian in his political activities. [He is not as pure as he acts]. He continues to visit Mezudat-Ze'ev. In Herut there is a large group that supports him. They are Moshe Arens, Micha'el Dekel, and Roni Milo. It is claimed that indirectly the candidacy of Dekel for a high position in the Herut movement is a challenge of the hawks, and among them Shamir, to the status of the "doves," if it is possible to call "doves" those who are supported by Begin and Weizman. They and many others support Yoram Aridor. Recently--so they tell--the hawks won an important achievement, when the head of the coalition, Haim Korfu, changed his support and sympathy from Weizman to Shamir. He did this with the "forecast" system. According to his estimation--it is said--the chances of the Knesset chairman are better than those of the defense minister.

The book of Shamir's political-public life divides into three volumes. Two chapters in the first volume deal with security matters. He was one of the three leaders of Le"Hi and afterwards, until the '60's, held a high position in the Israeli security network. One volume, which is the striking one from the point of public and political activities, is related to his political and Zionist activities in the struggle for free immigration of Jews of the USSR. The last subject is related to his evaluation and conception of the strength of Israeli democracy and his activities to change some of its bases.

Three months ago Shamir said that the frameworks of the state are crumbling; and what now?

"People who belong to government frameworks do not observe the rules that their participation obligates them to. The situation has not improved and I have nothing to add to what I have already said. We must educate ourselves to carry out the demands of government frameworks, this is no less important than adhering to principles. Recently I read in the memoirs of Lord MacMillan about the argument in the British government between two ministers on the matter of Rhodesia, and how he acted to prevent the leaking of this matter until the solution would be found. I was terribly jealous of him, this is what we need. Many of us see in a government position given

to us something coincidental, secondary, marginal, as though there were something more important than this, as though everyone has something more important than this, and the government position is the last consideration. This can not be. It is not so in other countries."

Does Shamir relate this to the weakness of the prime minister?

"No. This is a general weakness. Why just the weakness of the prime minister? And are the members of the government little children who must be educated and trained? They are grown-ups. Why does everything have to be placed on the prime minister? These phenomena are being seen everywhere, this is a breaking out of frameworks that is most destructive and damaging." When he recently read the memoirs of Moshe Sharet he learned that the situation in that government was no better, but then they knew how to keep secrets. Just because Israel has no government tradition of the country's existence--Shamir has come to believe--it would be nice to try hard to honor the government frameworks.

The breaking up that he speaks of is occurring in the Knesset as well. What about the corrections that he suggested?

"One correction was accepted: to strengthen the authority of the chairman. Only Rakah objected. Other corrections: It is difficult, but there is a tendency to accept most of my suggestions."

Don't the public reactions that he receives prove that democracy is beginning to bore part of the population?

"I fear the repercussions that could come of failure of the democratic institutions to keep a viable government going. If the Knesset does not function properly, if you present the public with visions of riots and loud obscene wrestling, and you do not accept laws--the public is liable to come to the conclusion that the democratic regime does not suit the state. I already hear once in a while in private discussions, although not yet in the media, that perhaps our public is not mature enough for this kind of democracy. There is always this danger that democracy will become inefficient, and from too much permissiveness it begins to turn to anarchy. Then there is danger that the demands to limit democracy and to change to a government closer to totalitarian concepts will increase. This has already happened in various countries in the world." Shamir is comforted by the feeling that democracy is so deeply buried in the Jewish people's, to such an extent since the days of the Bible, that this can not happen in Israel.

After the Love and After the Hatred

Shamir was born 65 years ago in Poland. In 1935, with a Zionist Hebrew education and a matriculation certificate, he immigrated to the country as a student and joined Etsel, and after the split, along with Avraham Stern joined Lehi. He is one of the few former underground people who does not

look with exaggerated sentimentality at the past. Many times I saw, when one of the Etsel or Lehi people began to raise memories, Shamir interfered with "Why do you do this?" Despite this, in his inaugural address he mentioned his comrades in Lehi and explained this by saying he wanted the parliament to be a memorial to them. Principally, he was shocked at the time by the death of 11 of his comrades during the Lehi attack on the train factories in Haifa, an activity for which he was responsible. As one of the veterans he was involved in all the important decisions--except for the period during which he was jailed (twice), deported to Africa, escaped and hid in Jabouti. When Eliahu Gil'adi was done in--a Lehi man who had become so extreme as to intend to hurt Yishuv leaders--Shamir had a key position in the decision-making. From the distance of a generation's years--"After the love and after the hate, as Abba Ahimeir once wrote"--he still is unable to speak about the end of Gil'adi. "This was a tragic incident, very tragic, which it is hard to talk about. In those conditions we saw no other way."

Recently another "internal" incident was raised: a thin book which appeared to be a novel which came to light, told of the incident of the taking out to kill of one of the underground members suspected of treason. Now it seems to several Lehi members that he was wrongly accused. "I was outside of the country then and I did not participate in that decision," explained Shamir. It was possible to understand from a hint that he also feels a mistake was made, "but do not judge your comrade until you have stood in his place." That same book surrounded in mystery spoke of disappearing and hidden treasures of underground writings and of great amounts of material that have not seen light, and even accused one of the underground leaders of international connections whose quality was differences of opinion. "This has no basis," Shamir dismissed the importance of the matter, that is to say,--this is a story, but it has no historical witness.

It is surprising that in the early days of the state Shamir was the political colleague of Natan Yellin-Mor and not of Dr Israel Eldad (Shiv). This was already after the founding of the State. Shamir and Eldad claimed, and still claim, that it then was the Lehi center which decided upon the assassination of Count Folk Bernadotte of Switzerland, and that due to the denial of Yellin-Mor a disagreement that never was settled began. But in those days Lehi created a party, and Shamir supported Yellin-Mor, and not his rival Eldad. "True, I went with Yellin-Mor, but that belongs to the past. Left and right were not the issue. Yellin-Mor's opinions then were different than they are now. I am not accusing him, but a man can change his opinions; then there was a general tendency either to accept or reject the state as a fact. Let me tell you, there are problems in leaving the underground. It is hard for people to leave it. It sometimes appears that they are looking for reasons to continue to exist and not to break up. I am not saying that others thought it ought to continue to exist--but for me it was clear that this underground had completely finished serving its function."

Eldad thought that Lehi ought to continue to exist, and to carry out illegal activities?

"No, he did not think that, but he thought there was still room for Lehi to fight for the same principles within the state. Actually these were just differences of mood that did not really come to anything."

Now Shamir refuses to sink into the past, or to glorify it. The problems of now are important, and must be dealt with. However, recently he tried writing. He wrote several chapters of memoirs. "But memoirs should be written by one who has resigned."

Therefore Shamir does not intend to resign? And if so--only for political reasons, for something like Camp David?

"It is possible that in certain situations I would resign; but right now I am not weighing such thoughts."

Are his hawkish friends angry at him for traveling to the ceremony of signing the Camp David agreement?

"No one said anything to me about it. I am carrying out my job and in this capacity I went. My trip did not add or subtract a thing."

Is he satisfied with the execution of the Camp David agreement?

"I was not a great supporter of the agreement. I do not agree with some of its points. I am not excited by it to this day. I also did not vote in support of it. But to be objective--and that is difficult--it must be said that it is being carried out properly. I did not have great expectations of it, therefore I am not disappointed by what is happening."

Should it not be understood from the agreement's contents that there is room for limiting settlement?

"Certainly not. There is nothing in it which negates settlement. I understand that the government has a settlement program which it is trying to execute. I would place the emphasis on its execution."

How would he define the necessary policy toward settlement of the Land of Israel?

"I do not like definitions created to order. There is an ideological platform, there is a platform for the elections. There is no need to change anything in it. But sometimes in a certain situation at a certain moment it becomes necessary to accept a decision which does not exactly fit with the formulation in the platform. In general, the policy should fit the principles."

With such an approach does he not think it is possible and necessary to form a wide government?

Shamir feels that "the whole world is against us," since there is national consensus against giving up Jerusalem and returning to the 1967 borders-- "From the point of the dangers to Israel that can be foreseen, there is room for a wide Likud government. Perhaps, if there were willingness on the part of the various camps to come forward to meet each other--they could find a common formulation. Begin suggested this to the Alignment despite his knowing there were differences of opinion. I would welcome such a step."

The Expectations Are Low

After he left the security network in the '60's Shamir primarily dealt with Zionist matters. A few years ago he suggested changing Israel's name to "The Jewish State." He wanted to increase the feeling between all the Jews. Not to create an artificial barrier between Israel and the Jews. Anyway in the world Israel is called--"The State of the Jews." But he received no response. I now found Shamir in a gray mood. Has Zionism failed?

"It does not appear to have failed. First of all it succeeded in creating a Jewish state. This is a great Zionist achievement. So then what? The problem is if Israel is the end of Zionism, or just a stage along the way. All of our crises come from our not having dealt with this question. My answer is that Zionism has not yet completed serving its function. The goal is concentration of all or the majority of the Jewish nation in Israel."

This is the "secure shelter" it promised to the Jews of the world?

"Secure shelter" is a question of formulation. That is the Basle-formula. It is not necessary to stick with the exact word formulation made at a certain time at a certain place. A safe or un-safe shelter--at any rate it is the safest shelter for Jews from a historical standpoint."

Shamir dealt with Russian Jewry; is their attrition seen by him as a failure:

"It is not a failure of Zionism. The attrition also did not surprise me. What percentage of Jews who left Russia before World War I and after it-- that went to the Land of Israel? A tiny percentage. The majority even then went to the United States. The fact that the majority today does not go to the Land of Israel proves that Zionism has not yet completed its task. Then and also today, there is need for convincing means."

But when they began to deal with this subject, did they see in it a messianic awakening?

"That is how it was. There is a great difference between the situation of today and that of 15 years ago. In 12 years 150,000 Jews arrived here from Russia. Anyone who would have said that such an aliyah was expected would have been though to be a dreamer, in 1967."

That is to say, the attrition is a historical fact and no one is to blame for it?

"I am close to these matters. It is impossible to blame anyone. I know what the defects are. I wish I could say that the government, or the Jewish Agency, or the Zionist movement are guilty. We can not reach the Jews of the USSR, due to the conditions of the regime there--it is impossible to carry out any propaganda there, to come to the youth and educate it, to argue with, or to bring it Zionist literature. When I see the conflict between the government and the Jewish Agency, the heart winces, they are just wasting energy and not dealing with the principal problem of Zionism which is: how to reach the Jews uprooted from their place who despite this do not reach the Land of Israel."

I wondered if there is not a certain paradox here. Despite this, from a totalitarian state, that representatives of the Jewish Agency cannot be active in and explain their mission, more Jewish people immigrate to Israel than from the West, in which offices of the Zionist movement are plentiful. Can it be that in fact due to the totalitarian nature of the regime in the USSR there is some immigration from there? Can it be that in fact the complaint on the difficulties that the Soviet regime places before Zionist propagandists is not relevant?

"The situation is very bad." But Shamir is not angry at those who drop out. "I am angry at us and I cry at our fate. We do not succeed in reaching them. I can say that I know them to a certain extent. They are closed to us and do not understand what the Jewish people is. True, those from Russia who immigrated to Israel are not angry at those who drop out. Most of them would like for the dropouts to come here, but are not angry at them, because they know them."

From the standpoint of Zionism it is doubtful whether the situation in the West is any better. About 4 months ago Shamir traveled as the head of a parliamentary delegation to Australia and New Zealand. To my surprise, at a fancy gathering at the home of one of the community leaders, he astonished the honorable members of the community. He spoke about anti-Semitism, about pogroms in Poland, on the need to react with force to pogroms against Jews--and to prepare to face that day. I felt the discomfort of the Australians. They wanted to talk about the Palestinians, and Shamir did not let them, but rather lectured on Poland in the 1930's. Hasn't he changed from his traditional outlook on anti-Semitism? Does he continue to see anti-Semitism in the West today like in Poland in the first quarter of this century?

"Just yesterday I read a review in LE MONDE of a new book that came out in France on the problem of anti-Semitism. The writers did a survey of rich, assimilated Jews, whose families have been in France for generations. And what do they say? They have no doubt that anti-Semitism exist and assimilation is not a solution. The solution in their opinion is the creation of a Jewish state, and this is being said by Jews who are not Zionists. They emphasize that the anti-Semitism in their area is something regular. See

who is interviewed in the book: Dreyfus, who was the head of the Renault plants, and other such people. I also was in France recently. In my conversations with Jewish leaders in France I found that they are worried about the increase in anti-Semitism in all circles. The running after the Palestinian movement in France is to a great extent an expression of the same anti-Semitic tendency whispering in the souls of the French. From the Zionist standpoint this should be exploited to the good of its realization [Zionism] without wanting of course the anti-Semitism to increase. But if it exists--it should be used as a crane."

Shamir used the vacation to visit various places in the country, he discovered a positive side to the government. Despite the joking--he claims--the project for neighborhood improvements is advancing. It has improved tax-collection. It [the government] has forced many into the circles of those who pay tax. Shamir emphasized: "This will really be felt in coming years." When Shamir was an Opposition member of the Knesset he criticized the justice minister at the time, Haim Zadok, who expressed satisfaction with the situation in the war against corruption. "The justice minister in the present government is also working to combat corruption, but did not express satisfaction with the situation." Also Shamir does not. In the area of law enforcement the situation remains serious.

I asked Shamir if in the coming elections he will be able to recommend to the voters to vote for the Likud, and if he foresees a chance for this party to put together the coming government. It is still too early to determine, the Knesset chairman claims, it depends what will be done in the remaining 2 years. The government at present is enjoying an interesting situation. The expectations of it are low, therefore, a few normal successes are likely to improve its image significantly.

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ISRAEL

CALL FOR END TO JEWISH SETTLEMENT

Jerusalem AL-QUDS in Arabic 15 Sep 79 p 7

[Editorial: Caucasians in Ya'bud!]

[Text] Colonization and Zionism are synonymous. Despite unanimous international opposition--including that of America--to every act of settlement in the occupied territories, every day we hear about new settlements or about closing off land in preparation for settlement, whether official and sanctioned by the Israeli Government, or unofficial, undertaken by the Gush Emunim.

The basis of the Arab-Israeli conflict is colonization--that is, land--first and last. Before the existence of the State of Israel, colonization prepared the way for its actual establishment and made possible the existence of Israel. By means of settlements, the Israeli Government is seeking to impose a fait accompli as it has done in the past.

Settlement is linked to Jewish immigration, the ingathering of Jews from all over the world to settle in the "Promised Land" as Israeli officials say--in their forefront Begin and the leaders of Gush Emunim.

Therefore, under this policy a group from the Caucasus is expected to settle in the land near Ya'bud on the pretext that these Caucasians and others from every country in the world have the "right" to settle anywhere in "Israel" simply because they are Jewish, while natives of the occupied land abroad cannot return, and natives of the occupied territories within [Israel] are considered "foreigners" who have no right to their land. They live here as unwelcome guests in "Israel." Begin has interpreted autonomy in this manner by emphasizing time and again that autonomy applies to the inhabitants and not to the land.

As long as the Israeli leaders cling to this point of view, even though their [individual] criteria might differ in accordance with their political parties, any talk about coexistence will be only fantasy, and any search for a peaceful solution will only be a waste of time.

9123

CSO: 4802

ISRAEL

SOLUTIONS FOR TEACHER SHORTAGE PROPOSED

Jerusalem AL-QUDS in Arabic 15 Sep 79 p 5

[Article by Muhammad 'Umayrah: "Problems and Their Treatment in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip"]

[Text] The problem of the resignations of hard-to-find teachers of English, physics, chemistry, mathematics, and the sciences which are plaguing the districts of the West Bank, where a not insignificant number prefer to work abroad--while others are considering resigning--is a result of direct pressure by the director of the Office of Technical Educational Affairs in Ramallah on the officer of education preventing such teachers from working in private family schools and educational centers, in accordance with his letter number 3808-18 of 8 July 1979, following his verbal discussion with the commanding officer on 8 July 1979. That was in accordance with the letter--number 4146-539-20 of 11 July 1979--which the director of education circulated in the district of Nablus among male and female schoolteachers.

In the face of this serious problem, the director of education in the district of Nablus forwarded a request to the authorities of the military government in which he suggested, as a radical solution to this problem, acting on the request by Jordan and the Arab countries to return several hard-to-find teachers for a period of 1 year to work in the West Bank schools. We, then, support the suggestion of the director of education in Nablus for solving this problem. We also think that a natural and quick solution to this problem is also possible if the commanding officer in the Department of Education were to retract his decision not to authorize additional class time for male and female teachers, and if he were not to fall under the influence or pressure of the director of the Office of Technical and Educational Affairs in Ramallah.

The teachers' salaries are inadequate for them.

The teachers' salaries provide bare subsistence for them and their families for no more than 10 days of the month, inasmuch as under the best conditions the salary does not exceed 5,000 pounds.

The male and female teachers who work in the outlying villages or in the other provinces pay more than a third of their salaries for transportation, while wages are paid in accordance with old bus fares.

The male and female teachers need justice and consideration. They are the people who are most worthy and most deserving of what is due them materially and morally, because all male and female teachers give prodigiously of their efforts, energy, and thought in directing all of their interest to their children the students, and so the male and female teachers should feel confident while carrying out the most noble and sacred mission, the mission of education, for civilization and mankind. There should be prompt justice for this cream of the transmitters of humanity, civilization, and progress, who also happen to be the cream of male and female teachers.

9123
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JORDAN

JORDAN CALLS FOR INTERNATIONAL SUMMIT

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 15 Sep 79 pp 4-5

[Article by Nabil Khuri: "Cover Page Topic. My Opinion: Secret Agreement Between King Husayn and Abu 'Ammar: Jordan Calls for International Summit Attended by the Soviet, United States and European Community"]

[Text] King Husayn will decide within the next few hours whether he will go to New York and address the General Assembly of the United Nations, or not.

King Husayn will go "if the Arabs stop trying to have Resolution 242 amended," not because King Husayn is against any amendment to this resolution, but rather because he believes "that the United States of America cannot take any step in favor of the Palestinian people, since such a step would conflict with the wishes and interests of the Zionist entity, unless some international developments allow Washington to bend a little."

King Husayn also believes "that whatever has been and still is undertaken by Washington is nothing more than pulse-feeling maneuvers, and the only way for the Arabs to come out of this deadend is to look for other interlocutors."

If the Arabs approve King Husayn's point of view in question, and if he goes to New York, such are the words which he will say, as well as much more explicit and blunter words, from the platform of the United Nations. If the Arabs do not agree, and continue their maneuvers concerning Resolution 242, King Husayn will not go, and he will stay in 'Amman until future developments bring the Arabs about to his point of view. King Husayn has already conveyed his point of view to the Arabs through special envoys, to Washington through the American Consul in 'Amman, and to the Soviet through Jordanian Chief of Staff Zayd Ibn Shakir, during his visit to Moscow.

He also conveyed it to the Europeans when he stopped in Paris a few days ago, on his way back from Havana, during his interview with French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing.

While in Havana, he expressed his point of view, during the non-aligned conference, to most attending rulers and delegations with whom he met. Most important of all, he discussed this matter with the chairman of the PLO, Yasir 'Arafat, during their recent meeting in al-Mafraq, in Jordan.

[Question] What happened in al-Mafraq?

[Answer] A Jordanian politician, currently away from the field of official action and close to the field of decision making, told AL-MUSTAQBAL something about what happened.

Here is what the man had to say.

The first remark, he said, is that the meeting between the two men was much warmer than their previous encounter, which also took place in al-Mafraq. "Abu 'Ammar" began the talks by submitting to the king a list including more than 60 names of Palestinians currently incarcerated in Jordanian jails, and he asked that they be released. 'Arafat also asked King Husayn to have Jordanian passports issued to a number of Palestinians residing abroad. The conversation at this point passed to Jordanian Prime Minister Mudhar Badran, who explained that the matter of the prisoners and the passports was insignificant and unworthy of being the start of talks between the Jordanian and Palestinian parties. However, King Husayn was more flexible, and he talked about this matter, promising to solve it as soon as possible, and asserting that "special amnesty" might be proclaimed for most people whose names appeared on the list submitted by the PLO.

Aside from this question, the man added, one of the Jordanian security men spoke and expressed his regrets concerning the occurrence of some breaches of security, including the confiscation of a number of weapons smuggled into Jordan, but 'Arafat clearly and explicitly countered that, asserting that he was unaware of such operations and that the Executive Committee of the PLO actually had taken a series of definite decisions prohibiting the occurrence of such actions. King Husayn once more was more flexible than his aides and advisers, and he dropped the matter in order to pass to the main point of the talks.

[Question] And what is this main point?

[Answer] First of all, the evolution of the Palestinian-Jordanian relations, and the search for a new formula in order to come out of the current political stagnation concerning the Middle East crisis.

With reference to the first point, an initial agreement was reached between the two parties, to give a more important role of play to the joint Palestinian-Jordanian committee, whose Jordanian side currently is headed by 'Adnan Abu 'Awdah, minister of information, and whose Palestinian side is headed by

Mr Mahmud 'Abbas "Abu Mazin." It is currently intended to make this committee an independent legal entity, headed by only one chairman and continuously engaged in a joint action. I believe that some attempts are currently being undertaken to find a suitable personality, agreeable to both sides, to assume the office of chairman of this committee.

[Question] What about the other point?

[Answer] With reference to this point, both sides agreed that the two Camp David agreements contributed to preventing any chance of possible and fruitful dialogue between the parties capable of exercising any influence and finding any solution. It is consequently necessary to look for another opening. That is why a new idea was brought up, i.e. that Jordan should immediately call for an international conference with the participation of the Soviet Union, the United States and the European Community. It was agreed to try by all possible means to make such a conference successful, even if that meant that both Jordan and the PLO should be represented by a united delegation, if Washington continues to insist on having no direct negotiations with the PLO.

[Question] What is the purpose of this suggested conference?

[Answer] This conference first of all is meant to bring up the question of the Middle East again on the table of the international assembly, after Camp David succeeded in putting it on the table of Zionism and Sadatism. That will accordingly contribute to making the international assembly assume its responsibility vis-a-vis the Palestinian people.

[Question] Do you expect such a conference to succeed?

[Answer] Yes. There actually are other Arab parties involved, such as the Baghdad Conference group, which is ready to back and support the suggested Jordanian initiative to the utmost extent.

[Question] When? When do you think that this new move will start?

[Answer] I believe that King Husayn and Yasir 'Arafat will both start putting out feelers in order to determine the response of the international powers to such an idea, during the non-aligned summit meetings in Havana. However, the principal political activity required to make this idea succeed and materialize will start after King Husayn's return from Havana.

The Jordanian politician's statement stops here.

And King Husayn has come back from Havana.

While he was in Havana, he heard the secretary general of the United Nations, Dr Kurt Waldheim, call for "an international conference concerning the Middle East."

"If such a conference is duly arranged," he said in his address to the rulers of the non-aligned states, "it will provide a way to come out of the dangerous situation in which we currently are."

"Only an all-embracing solution dealing with the various aspects of the question, including the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people," he added, "may guarantee the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East. Finally, all the interested parties must contribute to finding a solution to this problem. If we have any imagination and patience, the United Nations provides exceptional possibilities in this regard, and these possibilities have never been fully used."

And then?

If King Husayn goes to New York, and addresses the United Nations, what will he say?

According to the information received from 'Amman:

1. The king will openly and explicitly attack the United States and its attitude, as well as the Camp David initiative.
2. The king will explain the sterility of the attempts to have Resolution 242 amended, since he is certain that the United States is making no serious efforts.
3. The king will bring up the idea of arranging an international summit to discuss the question of the Middle East.

A new scenario?

That is possible. However, it seems at this point that this is the only solution between a suicidal war (see "My Opinion" in the previous issue), which might be launched by Israel, the standstill reached by Resolution 242, and the capitulation arranged among the Camp David participants. Success depends on God himself.

2693
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JORDAN

WATER SHORTAGE POSES SERIOUS PROBLEMS

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 8 Sep 79 pp 41-42

[Article by Badr 'Abd al-Haqq: "Economy: 'Amman Drinks Yarmuk Water With an Eye on the Euphrates! How Did a Jordanian Housewife's Problem Become a Political Problem?"]

[Text] Housewives in 'Amman, capital of Jordan, try to use as few dishes and kitchen utensils as possible for every meal. People here try to bathe no more than once a week. Private gardens and plants adorning the balconies of private houses and apartment buildings are dying away. All that is the result of the stifling water shortage currently experienced by 'Amman and most Jordanian cities, so much so that the popular maxim, "Jordan is a thirsty country," has become the most faithful description of the terrible water shortage currently experienced by this small country.

Social and psychological effects are not the most serious consequences which Jordan has to face owing to this situation. In fact, there also are what may be called "political dangers." How?

The potable water shortage in Jordan actually is nothing new. The city of 'Amman itself has suffered a shortage of water for more than 20 years, and the other Jordanian cities suffer a similar shortage, to various extents. However, this shortage has increased in intensity during these last years, and has become an overbearing survival problem for the local people, as well as a serious concern for the authorities, for some years, because Jordan has been affected by an unprecedented drought wave. Springs have dried up. The running waters of the rivers and streams alike have become nostalgic memories of the past. This may be clearly seen with reference to the Nahr al-Zarqa, which in the 50's was one of the most important local rivers in Jordan, and which has now become nothing more than a dry riverbed, where frogs are dying from thirst. This river itself is the main source of potable water for the city of 'Amman and the nearby city of al-Zarqa. In the north, the city of Irbid was the first Jordanian city to be hit by the water

shortage, but it also was the first city where this crisis was partly solved, when they managed to bring to it water supplies from the desert oasis of al-Azraq, which is close to the Saudi border and at a distance of over 150 kilometers from Irbid itself.

The authorities in charge of potable water supplies in Jordan currently think of bringing more water from the oasis of al-Azraq to the city of 'Amman in order to quench the thirst of the local people. However, the people of the city of Irbid are worried about the possible results of this solution, as they think that it may be detrimental to them, and that the water of the oasis of al-Azraq may not be abundant enough to meet the requirements of both 'Amman and Irbid, the two largest Jordanian cities. All that has contributed to increasing the concern about the potable water shortage, so that it has almost or actually become a political problem. How?

While undergoing such a crisis, Jordan naturally had to seek the assistance of the closest Arab country, which actually has more potable water supplies at its disposal, and that is Syria. Syria has the Yarmuk River, out of which thousands of cubic meters of water uselessly disappear into the lake of al-Hawlah, in an area occupied by the Zionist entity, while Jordanian farmlands dry up, as well as people's throats.

This gave birth to the idea or project of the dam of al-Muqarin, an area in the northern part of Jordan, from which it is possible to see the occupied Palestinian land as well as the Syrian territory. That spot consequently has its own military importance, in addition to being important with reference to water supplies.

The idea concerning the construction of the dam of al-Muqarin came up a number of years ago, when the consolidation of relations between Jordan and Syria reached a peak. Such an idea actually might not have crossed anybody's mind without the mutual trust which the Syrian and Jordanian parties felt at that time for one another, and without each party's desire to give the other all possible resources and facilities concerning the intended economic and human unification to be realized between the two countries.

Nobody knows exactly why the final agreement concerning the initiation of the construction work for the dam was delayed. However, it is a sure thing that the "question of the dam" and the fact that Jordan needs water, generally speaking, were among the major points which brought relations between Syria and Jordan to a standstill. In fact, some people claim that this very problem actually was the direct cause of the standstill which affected relations between Syria and Jordan a short time ago.

Nobody can definitely confirm or deny that Syria has at any time refused to provide Jordan with its water requirements or to transfer any portion of water from the Yarmuk River to be stored behind the dam of al-Muqarin. The only sure thing is that the talks between Syria and Jordan concerning the dam have taken a long time and involved a large number of mutual visits and delegations between both sides.

According to some sources, King Husayn's last visit--which lasted a few hours--to Syria, about 3 weeks ago, mainly concerned this topic. According to the same sources, the Jordanian king came back from that visit with an unconditional Syrian agreement to complete the dam. This evolution of the situation seems to be confirmed by the fact that Syrian Prime Minister Muhammad al-Halabi, 3 days after King Husayn's visit, actually went to visit the project of the dam at al-Muqarin, not just Jordan itself, and proceeded with an extensive inspection of the construction sites there, accompanied by Jordanian Prime Minister Mudhar Badran. Official talks between the two parties also took place there, and this gives the impression that all the Syrian reservations concerning the construction of the dam have come to an end.

According to the information obtained by AL-MUSTAQBAL, the construction work concerning the project of the dam of al-Muqarin should be completed within 4 years. This project will provide 370 million cubic meters of water a year, of which 120 million cubic meters are destined to meet the requirements of the population of 'Amman and Irbid.

The dam of al-Muqarin is supposed to be the highest dam in the Middle East. The final planning concerning the body of the dam and its various related projects is currently under way, in anticipation of the publication on 1 February 1980 of a world tender for the construction of the dam. The dam will be 148 meters high, and will have an annual storage capacity of about 270 million cubic meters. The dam will be built with "piled up material" consisting of earth, rocks and clay, and will have tunnels and other installations made of concrete. The dam will create a large lake with ramifications extending in both Syrian and Jordanian lands.

Both this project and the project concerning the diverting of water from the oasis of al-Azraq to 'Amman will bring Jordan close to the termination of the water shortage by 1980. However, the main topic of conversation in every Jordanian home deals with the necessity of finding a more comprehensive and lasting solution to the water shortage. On the other hand, the idea of negotiating with Iraq about diverting some water from the Euphrates to Jordan is still a mere thought, but many observers already believe that nothing should prevent it from materializing, especially since Sidam Husayn's last visit to Jordan made Iraq more aware of the magnitude of the water problem in Jordan and also more willing to discuss such an idea, without necessarily going to the extent of saying that Iraq not only approved the idea but also agreed to finance the project.

Generally speaking, one might say that the potable water shortage--as well as the irrigation water shortage--in Jordan actually is one of the worst crises which may prevent Jordan from being able to sustain the pressure to which it is subjected by many powers at the present stage. This is what Jordanian officials state on every occasion and during all the negotiations which they conduct with any visiting delegation. On the other hand, both Arab and foreign rulers, leaders and officials who visit Jordan are convinced of the importance of finding a solution to this crisis, not only as a local and marginal crisis, but actually as a political and general problem which may influence the political attitude assumed by Jordan at the present stage. This was confirmed to AL-MUSTAQBAL by some Jordanian sources, according to which this matter was thoroughly considered and understood by all the Arab leaders who recently visited Jordan, in particular by Mu'ammarr Qadhdhafi, president of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, and Iraqi President Sidam Husayn (who was vice president at the time of his visit).

While housewives in Jordan may be unaware of the political implications of the crisis and the contacts currently undertaken at the higher levels in order to solve it, it still is a fact that there is a direct and actual relationship between these housewives' lack of sufficient water to clean their dishes and cooking utensils, as well as to water their plants, and the foreign relations of Jordan at the present stage. The fact is that the solution to the housewives' problem seems to be only a portion of the overall solution to the Middle East crisis. Down with the theory which says that "political kitchens" have nothing to do with private kitchens!

2693

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WESTERN SAHARA

SPAIN URGED TO PROMOTE SOLUTION DESIRED BY SAHARANS

Madrid NUESTRA BANDERA in Spanish No 100 [no date given] pp 57-59

[Excerpts] Dossier: The "dossier" we are presenting in this issue of NUESTRA BANDERA responds not only to a desire to inform our readers with original documents unfortunately little known by the Spanish public. It is above all a trenchant, unqualified stand in support of the struggle of the POLISARIO Front for the self-determination of the Saharan people; and more, for their independence and sovereignty; for the right to establish their own state in all of their territory: the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic.

Mauritania has just drawn the logical consequences of the defeat to which the mad policy of the Madrid Agreements has led it. It has fully recognized the POLISARIO Front and has announced its withdrawal from the territory it occupies by virtue of the aforementioned Madrid Agreements. The latter, therefore, have been definitively broken. Including in the area of international law, the presence of Moroccan troops in the northern part of the Western Sahara becomes an even more flagrant fact. It is an even more brazen violation of the principles of the United Nations, of elementary international norms of respect for the sovereignty of the peoples.

Two principal parameters shape the present situation:

1. The Military Victory of the POLISARIO Front

The new position of Mauritania implies the retreat and failure of the maneuvers nurtured up to now, especially by France, to seek "pseudosolutions" bypassing the POLISARIO Front. Now it is already clear, including to those who deplore it: the decisive factor of any solution is the POLISARIO Front (and that for a very simple reason: because the Saharan people have given it complete support; and that has developed in the very difficult battleground that is the desert).

2. The Isolation of Morocco

The Moroccan position has been defeated in the United Nations, in the OAU. All the international organizations, all the main powers (the USSR, the U.S., etc.) recognize the right of the Saharan people to self-determination.

Two processes with very different consequences and implications can flow from this situation--existing in early August:

- a) The most logic would be a peace initiative: that traces of common sense, at least of realism, would appear in the Moroccan position; that conditions will thus be created for a solution in accord with the decisions of the United Nations.
- b) But we cannot discount another development: that Morocco may try to prolong and extend the hostilities. According to recent reports, the most aggressive circles of Yankee imperialism, could support such a course.

The threat that this represents is very serious and specifically for Spain. Because Spain is vitally interested, for today and for tomorrow, in a peaceful and just solution, based on self-determination and the independence of the Saharan people.

For that reason, these pages of NUESTRA BANDERA are another contribution to the policy defended in an unadulterated, direct and unswerving manner by the Spanish Communist Party on this subject. This period (following the abandonment of the Sahara by Mauritania) is going to be propitious for taking more favorable stands toward the POLISARIO Front. We are gratified about that, although we must say that the Spanish Communist Party has not needed those more recent incentives.

The Spanish Communist Party, along with the Spanish Socialist Workers Party, has been an essential factor in bringing about a change in official Spanish policy, and specifically the policy of the Democratic Center Union (UCD), a change that assumed concrete form in President Suarez' trip to Algiers. Unfortunately, that positive step has not been continued.

The UCD is undoubtedly subjected to the pressures of the Moroccan lobby, which got us into the quagmire of the Madrid Agreements. Because that lobby was not only "political" in the Francoist system of 1945-46; it was, and is, also economic and financial, and it continues to have influence.

But to continue to "take steps forward and steps backward," to prolong ambiguities, etc. can have very serious consequences, as we have said. Because as things are now, it can only serve to stimulate the intransigence and aggressiveness of Morocco.

Spain has a great responsibility which it cannot escape.

The principal error of UCD policy has been to be unaware that the Suarez' meeting with the secretary general of the POLISARIO in Algiers permitted Spain to assume a leading role in the peaceful solution of the problem. A leading role due above all to the pressure of the left but which, in any case, was essential to erase past wrongs, to defend long-range Spanish

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interests and to project a democratic image of the foreign policy of constitutional Spain to Africa, the Third World (and also Europe).

That required as a basic condition fully recognizing the POLISARIO Front, taking negotiation initiatives in the United Nations, with the United Nations, based on the need for the presence of the POLISARIO Front.

We have lost time and in politics one pays the price for that. But it is still important in the new situation for Spain to act clearly to avoid complications and to promote the solution which the Saharan people yearn for.

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WESTERN SAHARA

NEW MODEL OF SOCIETY BEING CREATED IN SAHARA

Madrid NUESTRA BANDERA in Spanish No 100 [no date given] pp 65, 68-75

[Article by Paloma Portela: "National Liberation and Revolution in the Sahara"]

[Excerpts] In the evermore frequent occasions when the Spanish press reports on the situation in the Sahara, the reports refer almost exclusively to political or military events. These subjects are undoubtedly fundamental but they do not completely reflect the Saharan situation because simultaneous with the military or diplomatic achievements of the POLISARIO Front a new model of society is developing, a collective way of life is being created with very particular characteristics on the basis of the fact that the national liberation movement has to go hand in hand with the transformation of the preexisting social structures.

The leaders of the Saharan people express that unity of objectives saying that "there are two principles that guide military activity: one is that scientific theory directs and controls the rifle and not the other way around; the other is that only the masses guarantee the war of liberation." And they add that in order to establish the revolution, the point of departure is that it is the old that has to be changed and transformed into something new "in our struggle for independence it is very important not to forget that we are dealing at the same time with the passage from the old to the new Saharan society."

A People in the Process of Transformation from Tribalism to a Nation

Following the signing of the Madrid Agreements, thousands of Saharans fled the zone controlled by the Moroccan and Mauritanian troops, seeking the protection of the POLISARIO Front. Refugee camps were organized, first at the border with Algeria and later in the liberated territories. Aware that the problem is basically political, the POLISARIO Front undertook the organization of the camps as veritable rearguard bases without foregoing their labeling as classical "refugee camps."

Following the program of the third congress in August 1975, which posed the need to intensify the political awareness and strengthen the organization of the popular masses, effectively and permanently to mobilize all the people in the tasks of reestablishing sovereignty, and broadening the participation of the masses in the administration of all the affairs of the state, based on the popular administrative organizations elected to fulfill the tasks in that specific stage of the struggle, the camps were divided into three provinces or wilayas: El Aaiun, Smara and Dakhla, under the responsibility of a wali or governor, who is at the same time a member of the Political Buro of the POLISARIO Front. Each wilaya is comprised of several camps (airas) directed by a popular council made up of an administrative official elected by the Rank-and-File People's Congress which meets every 8 months, and by the heads of special committees. These special committees are made up of women and are in charge of administering sanitation, the distribution of food, child care, justice, social affairs and crafts. Education and security of the camps are centralized at the national level.

In their political aspect, the camps are organized into cells, to which all of the population over 14 years of age belongs. Each cell elects its representatives to the different special committees. They meet twice a week, discuss the political and military situation, initiate popular campaigns for the construction of schools, dispensaries, digging of wells and, in general, analyze and take measures for the proper administration of the daira.

The general assembly of all the inhabitants of the daira is held frequently and in it the situation, the problems of the armed struggle, of production, of food, etc. are discussed. Relying practically on their own resources, all productive activity is carried out in production cooperatives. The aid that comes from abroad, basically foodstuffs, is distributed for collective use. There is no currency in circulation nor is there any way of buying or selling anything.

All of the population learns how to handle a weapon, not only to be able to fight in case of need but especially to have greater capability to understand the struggle in order to resist better. The learning of reading and writing, the history and geography of the Saharan territory, and the study of the political line of the POLISARIO Front are promoted.

The present secretary general of the POLISARIO Front explained it as follows in May 1978: "Our cadres must intensify their efforts in work with the popular masses in each home, under each tent, in each settlement and in the boarding schools and literacy schools to make our people a force capable of transforming it all, of understanding it all. Our people are living within the context of a revolution in the midst of which their political and military experience is developing, because a rifle is not effective nor is it well aimed except when one knows why it is fired, when one is really motivated not by demagogic propaganda but by a purpose and irrefutable arguments."

One of the great successes of the political vanguard of the Sahara in mobilizing the people has been precisely the organization of the dairas because from them has emerged great identity of customs, of the social life of all Saharans and has helped to create a collective feeling of national unity.

This system of organization, in which different organizations are inter-linked, may seem complicated at first glance but, on the one hand, it permits great democratization in the making of decisions, by all of the population participating in one way or another in political and administrative life; and on the other, it develops the capacity for political formulation by the masses because they themselves are responsible for the solution of their problems.

One of the elements of analysis that led the POLISARIO Front to this type of organization was the problem of tribalism. For 2 years its action was limited to sensitizing them against deep-rooted values and to try to find the solution for practical problems in that area. Beginning in 1975, it went from propaganda to mass practice. Beginning in 1976 the camps became the appropriate place for the formulation and experimentation of a new social organization, making it possible to go from the concept of tribe to the concept of nation in a very few years.

The traditional Bedouin and tribal society had already been modified by the sedentary life imposed by the droughts and facilitated by Spanish colonialization. Perhaps, under normal conditions, this process would have continued until arriving at a complete change of customs and the mentality of the people. The armed intervention has introduced more radical and rapid changes which directly affect the national conscience, sweeping away tribalism, which is replaced by a feeling of identity, linked with acceptance of belonging to a broader community, to a consideration of the solidarity that goes beyond the patrimonial name and the shared livestock. It was clear to the POLISARIO Front that a people embarking on a struggle for survival should strengthen its cohesion, eliminate the obstacles that traditionally weaken it and eliminate the old causes of division if it wanted to have any hope of victory.

Previously, no normal social intercourse was possible without "identifying" the speaker: his tribe, his family, his social level, relations of alliance or hostility were indispensable elements in a conversation. Now one does not hear the name of any tribe in the camps, through a practice that has eradicated from the language and the mentality the reference to caste.

Measures such as avoiding grouping refugees of the same tribe in the same camp, the dissemination of the idea that without unity there is no victory and the action of the POLISARIO Front as the first national central power have succeeded in unifying the various tribal states. That is an original experience, unique in the whole region among the Moorish communities.

The Integration of Social Groups

The effort to create a national identity has not been limited to eliminating the tribal structure as the basis of social organization; ideological and cultural work is also being carried out which is integrating traditionally neglected social strata, either for reasons of age, sex or status. Slavery has been abolished and the former slaves or their descendants participate as members with full rights in social and military life. The elders are extremely respected and retain the authority to adjudicate judicial or religious matters, but at the same time they are being encouraged to go to literacy schools, by campaigns of political explanation combating the tendency to reject learning at that age, showing the importance of literacy for a people in arms. Men connected with Spanish colonialism, prosperous merchants in other times with a traditional mentality have been attracted to the struggle of the POLISARIO Front so that today former members of the Djemaa are engaged in military training and carry out political activities with a degree of revolutionary maturity. Social contradictions and private interests have disappeared in the face of the common idea of achieving national independence.

It is perhaps among the women where the transformations are most noticeable because the situation they started from was also the most backward. The policy of the POLISARIO Front with regard to the participation of women in the struggle has consisted in gradually integrating them in the tasks of the revolution as the struggle itself creates the conditions for a participation because "the liberation of women is their own task." Among the items in the front program is the achievement of all the political and social rights of women, their access to all fields, stressing above all the educational aspects.

The women assume all the tasks and constitute the fundamental basis of organization in the camps. They head the administrative committees, the crafts schools, they receive military training, comprise a high percentage of the members of the People's Liberation Army, both in the front lines as well as in support tasks. There are many women political cadres; they have their own organization, the Union of Women, charged with the political education of Saharan women. Coeducation is a fact in all schools; the literacy campaigns are especially intensive for the women and the last months of pregnancy are used to learn a trade in the crafts schools. Child care has been socialized so that women can make maternity and work compatible. The age-old rules on arranged marriage and the dowry that accompanied it have been prohibited; the cell to which the prospective bride belongs being the guarantor of her free choice of a husband.

Education

When Spain left the Sahara, 98 percent of the population was illiterate; there were few schools and the number of persons with higher education was limited to one doctor, half a dozen teachers and a few technical engineers.

The majority of the Saharan population did not have the opportunity to attend any educational institution. In 1944 the first primary school classes were organized but by 1958 only 23 native students had graduated and in 1972 the figure was 2,600 graduates. The first secondary school institutes did not open until 1969.

The deculturization of the native population was a conscious policy of the Spanish Government until recent years when the interest in extracting phosphates required having sufficiently skilled people.

The knowledge of Spanish reality was not transmitted by the school but by the imposition of colonial power, which not only did not promote the assimilation of its own culture but destroyed the cultural traditions of a people, who in 1912 had a library of more than 5,000 historic manuscripts, for certain, destroyed by the French in legendary Smara.

At the present time, all children up to 16 years of age are schooled; illiteracy has disappeared in the camps and several thousand youths are engaged in university studies in friendly countries, although none yet in Spain despite the fact that the second language taught in school is Spanish.

In the course of the phase of the POLISARIO Front, understood as the liberation movement that directs the affairs of the state, national institutions were set into operation, among them the Ministry of Education, which generalized an overall education plan the basic strategy of which is to put an end to illiteracy and to provide the whole population with cultural tools. The program embraces the day-care and preschool stage, guaranteed in each daira by the day-care committee. Every morning this committee distributes milk among the tents and gathers the children to be transported to the day-care center, where they are taken care of throughout the day.

School education properly speaking is conducted in boarding schools with a capacity of several thousand students between 6 and 16 years of age. In the first stage, basic reading, writing, mathematics, history and geography are taught; beginning with the third grade they begin to learn Spanish. The texts are prepared by the Ministry of Education, and take into account to a great extent the present situation of struggle. The teachers are recruited from among youths with a secondary school education, who in some cases have received diplomas from Spanish teachers schools. All school work is conducted in terms of raising political awareness and the cultural level. All learn the same language, the same way of analyzing. Another basic aspect is the education in internationalism. The children know about the struggles of other peoples and where they coincide with the struggle of the Saharan people.

Despite the deficiencies and lack of basic elements, the organization of the boarding schools, based on the participation and self-responsibility of the students, is exemplary. The teachers program school activities together; the students have their own representatives, and the keen awareness that they are building a country makes it possible to surmount the many problems that present themselves every day.

Educated People, Victorious People

El Oali, the secretary of the POLISARIO Front killed in action some years ago, posed the need to put an end to illiteracy and ignorance, to build a culture emanating from the people that would have as its objective transformation of the current situation. From the beginning, the POLISARIO Front paid great attention to culture and the health care of the nomadic population along with their integration in the struggle for national construction; and furthermore, gathered from the various congresses the idea of strengthening the links between the armed revolution and the cultural revolution as well as the idea of struggling against the vestiges of a backward ideology.

The literacy campaign has been undertaken in line with this idea, beginning with many political cadres who had a high level of militancy but did not know how to read or write. It was precisely the argument that they would work much better if they could read the military communiques, the manifestos of the Political Bureau, etc. that provided the incentive for literacy in that sector. For months, at meetings and gatherings at the cell and daïra levels, it was explained that literacy was also a weapon against the enemy and a tool of liberation as fundamental as the rifle. The result, among others, was that the women, who represent the great majority of the rank-and-file have a high political level, a sufficient knowledge of general cultural and great maturity in the affairs of national administration.

At the military level, a special "department of literacy of the political commissariat of the People's Liberation Army" insures teaching at all fronts and at the rearguard bases. In the military instruction centers, geography or history classes are alternated with target practice so that all fighters learn how to read and write.

The Traditions

Ideological work is a constant in the daily life of the desert; even customs and folklore have been adapted to the new requirements. Popular songs, dancing or the theater occupy an important place in the struggle for liberation.

Song is a means of gaining awareness, of mobilization and it played a role of primary importance at the beginning of the revolution. Rooted in traditions, popular songs with didactic and militant content are like an oral newspaper in the camps of the liberated territories and in the occupied cities. They tell of the victories, attack the enemy, disseminate watchwords. A popular song committee has been created in each wilaya, in each daïra, whose task it is to compose the words to songs about the most significant events, so that song is transformed into the collective expression of a people, who sing basically at night, at meetings, presenting a very beautiful sight.

Ideology

When one asks a POLISARIO leader if the Front's ideological positions are Marxist, Maoist or Islamic, he begins to laugh and replies that its ideology is Saharan. Behind this phrase, there is great pragmatism, a strong rejection of dogmatism, an analysis strictly based on practice, which leads them to reject any alinement with any of the world blocs.

Nevertheless, both the program texts and concrete practice indicate that the POLISARIO Front pursues progressive political principles. The dialectical nature of its analysis, the capacity for adapting to the reality of each moment in order at the same time to overcome it, the insistence on the transformation and change of the existing social structures are elements proper to a political concept inspired in scientific socialism.

The constitution approved in February 1976 contains very clear doctrinal aspects in this regard. It declares that the Saharan people opt for the policy of nonalinement, have the full conviction of the militant solidarity of the peoples of the world to impose a just and equitable world order. The achievement of socialism and the application of social justice are one of the objectives of the state. National property belongs to the people; private property is guaranteed as long as it does not constitute exploitation.

Among the social benefits envisaged is the fair distribution of national resources and the elimination of all exploitation, the guarantee of housing, compulsory, free education at all levels, health care and concern for the family as the basic nucleus of all society.

The revolutionary process has succeeded in uniting the armed struggle and popular mobilization in one cluster--national independence--of which they are indissoluble elements. The armed struggle is not the only offensive of the Saharan people inasmuch as mobilization exists at all levels.

Political education, the participation of everyone in the tasks and in the decisions, both in the dairas and in the army units, are establishing a deep democratic conviction among the population. The fact that the camps are also the field for struggle and that the front is not only military but also a cultural and political front, permit a close symbiosis between the concepts of liberation struggle and political revolution.

A new society is developing that rejects tribalism but reuses the gains of a centuries-old tradition: resistance, the ability for rapid movement, the solidarity inherent in nomadic life are factors of identity already existing among the population, which the leadership of the POLISARIO Front has converted into elements of national awareness.

Concurrent with this anti-imperialist and anticolonialist war, a revolutionary transformation of the power structures is being carried out; the feeling of national unity over tribalism is being formalized, closely linked with

principles of political, economic and social organization of a socialist nature; and the organizational practice gives the masses a system that prevents "leaderism" because they themselves control decisions from the bottom and become the motive force for change.

As Ahmed-Baba Miske, POLISARIO leader, said, "the extraordinary success is to have invented modern desert guerrilla warfare, to have almost destroyed one of the largest military and industrial powers in the world, practically without foreign aid, to have transformed the decision of a handful of militants into national unity." And he adds with a certain touch of mock sagacity: "Explain well to those who do not know us that we like the impossible."

The impossible is becoming an undeniable reality. What is termed "armed bands" in Western foreign ministries are today an organized people, possessing a state apparatus determined that there will be no peace or stability in the region until complete independence is recognized. One of the potentially richest people in Africa, situated in a strategic position. A people who in 5 years of war have overcome an anachronistic and medieval social system, and are preparing to become a progressive, democratic and modern nation.

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