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JPRS 74716

5 December 1979

# Near East/North Africa Report

No. 2054

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INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

DPFLP'S HAWATIMAH URGES FURTHER OPPOSITION TO U.S. POLICY

LDO21105 Kuwait AL-WATAN in Arabic 26 Oct 79 p 1, 13 LD

[Interview with DPFLP Secretary General Nayif Hawatimah granted to Yusuf al-Shuli--date not given]

[Excerpts] Beirut--The U.S. Proposal, Camp David

[Question] What is the Palestinian attitude toward the proposal on Lebanon outlined by U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance?

[Answer] The recent U.S. proposal is a "Lebanese Camp David" to impose capitulation on Lebanon through a conciliation [sulh] treaty, to curb Arab and Palestinian opposition to the two Camp David agreements and to break the Arab blockade of al-Sadat's regime. It is no coincidence that the U.S. call for an international conference on Lebanon has been concomitant with the rightist sides' call for an Arab summit on southern Lebanon instead of a summit conference for promoting the Baghdad conference resolutions and boycotting American imperialism, now that the Arab wager on gaining time in order to persuade the United States to change its attitude, on the one hand, and to fragmentize the Baghdad resolution, on the other, has failed. In practice the U.S. proposal means the withdrawal of the Palestinian resistance from south Lebanon and its replacement by the Lebanese Army, the substitution of UN forces for the deterrent forces and the establishment of a so-called general and lasting truce (a treaty of capitulation). Thus, the resistance would be fettered and Syria weakened.

Our attitude toward this plan is based on complete rejection of all U.S. liquidationist formulas. We call for a fourth summit of the steadfastness and confrontation front and strict implementation of the Baghdad summit resolutions. We also call for an ending to the phase of rushing to the United States under the illusion that it is the sources which will regain Palestinian rights. At the same time, we call for the convening of a 10th Arab summit conference to adopt measures against the United States, now that a year has elapsed since the Camp David agreement and the al-Sadat-

Israeli treaty--a whole year of inaction with the United States is enough. A move toward practical and tangible measures is required, particularly the use of the oil weapon.

[Question] The Palestinian attitude appears to be divided on Rev Jesse Jackson's statements and the proposals he brought with him during his recent tour. Is this true? What is the DPFLP's attitude?

[Answer] We must differentiate between Jackson's visit to learn the facts and promote the American blacks' solidarity with our people and an agitating but suspicious task which essentially amounts to U.S. containment of the PLO.

The change that occurred in Rev Jesse Jackson's task from visitor to "mediator" prompts us to adopt a stand toward this new mediation. What Jackson proposes was aimed at getting the PLO to make concessions under the guise of moderation in return for establishing a relationship between the PLO and the United States.

Therefore, Jackson wanted to disarm the resistance, contain the PLO, bring about reconciliation with al-Sadat's regime and end the Arab blockade of this regime. Thus the PLO or any Palestinian side representing it would then be forced to the Camp David table after being divested of all elements of strength.

Therefore, we reject part and parcel all Rev Jackson's proposals and call for the continuation of the struggle against the U.S. policy and schemes until the United States is compelled to acknowledge our people's rights in keeping with the widespread international will which has recognized our people's right to struggle to return to their homeland and achieve national independence.

The Possibilities of War Exist

[Question] Regarding the dogfights over Lebanon between Syrian and Lebanese [as published] aircraft and the possibility of the south triggering a new war, is such a war imminent? What is your estimation?

[Answer] The Syrian aircraft's interception of the Zionist enemy's aircraft over Lebanon has added a new qualitative factor to the continuous Zionist war of attrition. Since the start of the intermittent Zionist war the Arab states have contented themselves with supporting us with statements when they should have extended all elements of support and steadfastness to the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese patriotic and national (Qawmiyah) movement. For the first time in this dramatic Arab atmosphere the Syrian air force has entered the battle to defend the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, thus breaking the wall of Arab inaction and affecting the field of action of the Zionist air force, which had been using Lebanon as an open training ground and as an open area to carry out all its aggressive

schemes and to test the most modern U.S. weapons against the revolution of the Lebanese and Palestinian people and shed their blood.

We are not exaggerating when we said that the parties to Camp David are in a critical position. The bilateral agreement has not expanded to include other Arab countries. The agreements are still being denounced and blocked and the Palestinian seat is still vacant. All this made the enemy lose his senses and prompted him to commit one massacre after another, believing that this method would surely break the chain of opposition to Camp David.

Therefore, the factors of war still exist and we, as a Palestinian revolution, must prepare for it through coordination with Syria, the Lebanese patriotic and national movement, the steadfastness and confrontation front and the Arabs who are truly prepared to translate words into deeds on the basis of the resolutions of the Baghdad summit and the third confrontation states summit.

#### Battleship and Fleet Policy

[Question] Continuing threats to invade the oilfields of the Arab Gulf have become the "daily bread" of U.S. policy. How significant are these threats in the light of the current balance of power in the Arab area and how can these threats be confronted?

[Answer] By throwing itself into the lap of U.S. imperialism and Israel, al-Sadat's reactionary bourgeois regime has greatly encouraged the offensive, aggressive U.S. policy in the Middle East and Africa. All this has prompted the more aggressive and reactionary circles at the White House to adopt the direct gunboat policy well known from the history of colonialist empires. This is in addition to the constant U.S. reinforcement of Zionist Israeli military power with every sophisticated instrument of war. This was impudently revealed to Congress by U.S. war [as published] Secretary Harold Brown recently under the slogan of reliance on the presence of the U.S. war flag in the Middle East and the Indian Ocean alongside the Israeli military. We can now see the U.S. Fifth Fleet in the Indian Ocean close to the sources of oil in the Arab Gulf. We are also witnessing efforts by the United States to build military bases in that area to replace the old British colonialist bases.

#### Return to Old Imperialism

The U.S. gunboat diplomacy represents a reversion to old imperialist methods in the Middle East and Africa and constitutes a direct threat to the Arab and African peoples and their national security, being coordinated with the Israeli military clique and al-Sadat's bourgeois regime--the agent of U.S. imperialism. The policy of the DPFLP in particular and the Palestinian revolution in general is based on rejection, denunciation and confrontation of this aggressive U.S. policy and on the need for all the forces of liberation and progress and all honest Arabs to unit against this U.S. gunboat

diplomacy aimed at imposing a capitulationist solution on the Arab states and turning the Middle East into a U.S. oil lake guarded by U.S., Israeli and Egyptian forces, each of which has a role in serving U.S. imperialism and Israeli expansionism.

Effective confrontation of the policy of imperialist military presence in the Middle East requires a united stand against this policy and a firm principled strategic alliance among the Arab liberation and progressive forces and all the world's forces of liberation, socialism and peace which support our people against U.S. and Israeli aggression to protect the Gulf and enable its people to liberate their national wealth in order to develop their countries and, at the same time, use the oil weapon to liberate the occupied Arab territories and insure the rights of the Palestinian people return to their country and determine their own fate unconditionally within an independent state.

[Question] PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat's recent visits to Amman have apparently created a new framework in Palestinian-Jordanian relations. What is the DPFLP's stand on these contacts?

[Answer] The PLO executive committee delegation's recent visit to Amman produced nothing new. Jordan continues to insist on pursuing the line of extracting every benefit from the current dialog with the PLO without taking any tangible step toward implementing the Baghdad resolution or toward developing the dialog on the basis of recognizing the PLO as the sole representative of all of our people, whether inside or outside the occupied territories, and PLO's right to carry out political and organizational work among our people in Jordan.

Abu 'Ammar's [Yasir 'Arafat] recent visit to Jordan at the head of the executive committee delegation has proved that Jordan continues to overlook the demands of the PLO stipulated in the Baghdad resolutions and to work to turn the joint committees formed a few months ago to coordinate efforts at the level of the occupied territories into committees to implement Jordanian policy in the occupied territories, strengthen Jordan's influence there and use the Arab funds which the Baghdad summit earmarked for bolstering and enabling [the Palestinian people] to stand fast to create establishments operating under Jordanian control in order to strengthen Jordan's influence in the West Bank and Gaza sector.

We must give serious consideration to the note which the people in the occupied territories presented to the PLO executive committee last week denouncing and rejecting the work of the joint committee and openly calling for the rectification of this serious situation which puts the people in the occupied territories at the mercy of the Jordanian side in the joint committee.

The brothers in the PLO executive committee must respond to the note of our people in the occupied territories by correcting the source of the Jordanian-Palestinian dialog through adherence to the Baghdad resolutions to enable the revolution to be present among our people in Jordan and prevent the wasting of funds meant for steadfastness.

CSO: 4802

INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

PLO'S 'AWWAD: IRANIAN MOVES 'PAVE THE WAY' FOR ARAB ANTI-U.S. ACTION

LD261231 Kuwait AL-WATAN in Arabic 20 Nov 79 p 13 LD

[Dispatch by AL-QUDS PRESS: "Arabi 'Awwad Tells AL-WATAN: 'The Expulsion of al-Shak'ah Has Triggered Wrath Against the Autonomy Plan'"]

[Excerpts] Beirut--'Arabi 'Awwad, secretary of the occupied lands office in Beirut, member of the PLO Central Council and member of the Jordanian Communist Party Central Committee, is one of the leaders of the National Front in the Occupied Homeland. The front includes representatives of the Palestinian resistance movement groups, the Palestine communist organization, professional unions, trade unions, student unions and women's unions. The Zionist enemy has banned the activities of these organizations in the belief that they are a link between the nationalist forces and the PLO.

The following is the text of the questions put to 'Arabi 'Awwad by AL-QUDS PRESS and his answers to these questions?

[Question] How do you view the situation in the occupied homeland in light of the recent developments?

[Answer] Following the two Camp David agreements which include the autonomy plan, the situation in the occupied territory has been characterized by increasing Zionist arrogance and denial of the Palestinian people and their legitimate national rights. The Zionists have also given free rein to their expansionist racist tendencies. The terrorist Menahem Begin professed this when he said that autonomy should apply to the inhabitants only but that Israel should have sovereignty over the land and its contents, particularly the vital resources.

On the basis of the Camp David agreement, which resulted in Egypt moving from the anti-Zionist and anti-imperialist trench and joining the ranks of the Israel-U.S. imperialist alliance, the Zionist occupiers persisted in realizing their expansionist inclinations and in seizing Arab territory.

To confront this aggressive policy, the resistance of our masses in the occupied homeland escalated. They rose valiantly to reply to the conspiracy of Camp David and the autonomy plan and to face the onslaught of settlements and seizure of homes. This was highlighted in the prompt resistance to the Camp David agreement through strikes, demonstrations, processions and mass meetings held in Jerusalem, Bir Zayt, Bethlehem, Gaza, Nabulus and Hebron. Our masses in their thousands participated in these mass meetings, including representatives of the professional unions, workers and women organizations, students councils and chambers of commerce, resulting in the emergence of the "higher national committee" to follow up the struggle against the autonomy plan.

This atmosphere brought stronger unity among the national forces and provided an opportunity to reactivate the "national front" which has been joined by broad masses of the nationalist forces, resistance movement organizations in the occupied territory (the Palestinian communist organization, al-Fatah, the Democratic Front and the Popular Front, as well as patriotic personalities and representatives of professional, students, workers and women's unions). The "National Front" has announced a political and struggle program based on the national unity program passed by the Palestine National Council at its 14th sessions, including struggle duties as dictated by the conditions of occupation, such as defense of the land and national heritage, and defense of and solidarity with the prisoners. This infuriated the Zionists. The military governor of the West Bank and Gaza sector issued decisions banning the "National Front," regarding it as illegal because, in his opinion, it is the link connecting the national forces in the occupied homeland with the PLO and because of the front's role in activating popular struggle against the autonomy plan.

[Question] In your opinion, what are the aims of the recent oppressive campaign, which was highlighted by the imprisonment and expulsion of the mayor of Nabulus, and the ensuing development?

[Answer] The purpose of the Zionists occupiers' terrorist step of expelling the mayor of Nabulus is to strike at the national forces which are resolutely confronting the autonomy plan and to pave the way for imposing this plan on our occupied land. In addition to this step, the occupiers have taken measures against the mayors of Ramallah and al-Birah and brought them to trial.

[Question] The PLO's diplomatic contacts in Europe and the United States are undoubtedly beneficial to the Palestinian cause, notably in gaining more support for the Palestinian people's rights in areas which have been closed to the PLO. However, some people believe that these contacts involve the risk of giving way to bargaining over the Palestinian people's rights, especially because the West European countries and the United States are imperialist in nature. What are the advantages and risks, in your opinion?

[Answer] The diplomatic activities undertaken by the PLO to win more recognition for itself and support for the Palestinian Arab people's rights are really an important aspect of the Palestinian struggle and serve the just Palestinian cause. Undoubtedly, the visits made to a number of West European countries come into this category.

However, this does not mean that these countries now support a just solution to the Palestinian issue based on achieving the national rights--the right to return, the right to self-determination and the right to establish an independent state. Despite their approval for the establishment of contacts with the PLO, these countries continue to revolve in the orbit of U.S. policy because they consider the two Camp David agreements faits accomplis and believe that any solution must be based on them and that the Palestinians must participate in the current negotiations within the framework of the Camp David agreement on the autonomy plan. Through these contacts, therefore, they are trying to drag the Palestinian Arab people into the imperialist trap. Meanwhile, they seek to foment division within the Palestinian ranks by talking about moderation and extremism.

[Question] How do you view the Iranian-U.S. confrontation? In your opinion, what repercussions will this confrontation have on the Arab liberation movement, particularly its focal point, the Palestinian resistance movement?

[Answer] It is natural for the Iranian revolution to confront U.S. imperialism, which was the basic force supporting the shah's despotic regime and enabling it to steal the Iranian people's wealth. It is natural for this confrontation to take place, because U.S. imperialism is continuing to engineer plots against the Iranian revolution with a view to striking it down and reinstating the shah's regime or something similar in Iran. This was revealed in the secret documents found at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran.

This confrontation constitutes an incentive to the Arab liberation movement, particularly the Palestinian revolution, to intensify its struggle against U.S. imperialism. The Iranian revolutionaries' challenge to this imperialism does away with the myth of the American might about which al-Sadat has been bragging in his numerous speeches, saying that America holds 99 percent of the area's cards in its hand. The Iranian example clearly proves that the Arab nation, once resolved, could challenge U.S. imperialism.

[Question] What alternatives would cutting off oil to the United States, withdrawing Iranian funds from U.S. banks and boldly confronting the imperialist threat of economic blockade offer in terms of an appeal for the use of the oil and assets weapon at the imminent Arab summit?

[Answer] The step taken by Iran constitutes a blow to the United States because it exacerbates the energy crisis and the economic problems in the capitalist world. It will pave the way for the Arab countries to take



steps and make decisions to pressure the United States to abandon its discredited stand against the Arab nation and support for Zionist aggression.

This bold step taken by the Iranian revolution deserves to be put before the Arab summit in Tunis to persuade it to adopt a firm stand toward the United States. The Baghdad summit, despite the steps it took against al-Sadat's regime, avoided adopting a stand toward the United States in spite of the fact that it is the author and engineer of the Camp David conspiracy. Al-Sadat and Begin are only implements of world imperialism, which is led by the United States.

CSO: 4802

INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

PFLP SPOKESMAN ON RELATIONS WITH EGYPT, UNITED STATES

LDO61423 Kuwait AL-WATAN in Arabic 31 Oct 79 p 10 LD

[Interview granted by PFLP official spokesman Bassam abu-Sharif to AL-WATAN correspondent in Beirut--date not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] How true is it that a senior Palestinian official visited Cairo recently or are you sure that there are no Palestinian contacts with the Egyptian regime at present?

[Answer] We have no knowledge of a Palestinian official visiting Cairo and I doubt that there is any truth in this information. I also believe that there are no political contacts between the resistance and al-Sadat's regime despite the attempts by the Egyptian regime to reestablish contact with the PLO and Syria. The Egyptian regime is now feeling the extent of its isolation and is therefore pretending to be in dispute with the Zionist entity over the interpretation of the term "self-rule" and referring to its attitude in this dispute as a hardline stand. But as far as we and all the nationalists are concerned the Egyptian regime is a treasonous regime. In other words, our relations with it are relations of conflict and will remain so until it collapses.

[Question] What is your attitude toward recent calls in the Palestinian arena for the building of bridges with Egypt on the one hand and the United States on the other?

[Answer] Any voice calling for the establishment of relations with the present Egyptian regime is a voice dissenting with our revolution and with the national stand and, therefore, is condemned. The PFLP liquidated al-Khazindar in Gaza because he was involved with al-Sadat and his plans. This was a lesson for anybody who might be tempted to deal with al-Sadat. There is no doubt that the 14th Palestinian National Council [PNC] program, which clearly determined the attitude of the Palestinian revolution factions toward Camp David and the al-Sadat regime, is the political guide governing the actions of the Palestinian revolution groups.

As for the United States, I would like to make it clear that the U.S. Administration, represented by the U.S. Government, is the leader of the imperialist camp and our masses' number one enemy. It is trying to dominate the Arab area and its markets; it is also providing the Zionist entity with economic, military and technological aid so that it will remain superior and continue to be the imperialist tool to strike at the Arab liberation movement and the Palestinian revolution. Therefore, this being the attitude of the United States, we object to and refuse any contacts with this government.

With regard to the democratic forces inside the United States, we support and are working with enthusiasm to establish the closest relations with such democratic groupings, foremost among which are the groupings of black Americans who suffer from U.S. Government persecution in American society. Consequently, making earnest efforts to win over popular public opinion in the United States is legitimate and something we are trying to achieve with all means available to us. There is no doubt that creating a movement opposed to the war which the United States and its allies in the area are waging against our people and revolution will be in the interest of the Palestinian revolution and the Arab masses.

[Question] According to some, the PLO recently made many concessions, especially during Jesse Jackson's tour of some capitals of the area. Do you believe this is the case?

[Answer] The most serious situation the PLO could face in its political and diplomatic moves is the ability of imperialism to obtain concessions from it "in doses" in a manner that might appear democratic. Jesse Jackson, who came in his capacity as a black American leader interested in finding out about the situation in the area, appeared in the end to have another capacity, that of an intermediary or a messenger between Carter and some of the leaders in our area. Jackson was made to understand that the Palestinian revolution will not stop the armed struggle because it is fighting a just battle and aims at just and legitimate targets. This goes to prove that the Palestinian revolution did not and will not retreat.

[Question] Do you believe that the coordination and unification between the resistance factions are equal to the serious and fateful dangers the Palestinian resistance is facing on the various fronts?

[Answer] I regret to say that the level we are aspiring for has not yet been achieved. But this does not prevent the Palestinian revolution factions from making steady progress. The Palestinian revolution is now armed with two programs: a political program and an organizational program, both endorsed by the PNC at its 14th session. These two programs, if implemented, represent suitable grounds for reaching the required level of coordination and cooperation between the resistance factions.

CSO: 4802

INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

KLIBI HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE FOLLOWING ARAB SUMMIT

LD231942 Tunis TAP in English 1523 GMT 23 Nov 79 LD

["Pool" item]

[Text] Tunis, 23 Nov (TAP)--"For the first time, Arab heads of state agree on adopting the principle of the elaboration of an Arab common strategy of action of which they defined the big lines with all required frankness, seriousness and realism. This strategy includes the political, economic and military fields and aims at ensuring a complementarity between the Arab possibilities and potentialities in the different fields by taking into account the Arab nations struggle against the Zionist forces and the necessity to strengthen the Arab nation's stand in all international instances," Mr Chedli Klibi, secretary general of the Arab League stated in a press conference held Thursday at the end of the tenth Arab summit closing session.

"The tenth Arab summit," Mr Klibi added came up to the Arab public opinion expectations when it confirmed the solidarity of all the Arab League member states and the fidelity of Arab leaders to the principles and resolutions jointly adopted during the Baghdad summit.

The tenth summit did not confine to confirm all the resolutions taken in Baghdad but it took important steps in the implementation of these principles and in the strengthening of these resolution.

The summit moreover managed to find an Arab solution to the problem, of south Lebanon in the framework of the Palestinian Lebanese brotherhood and in such a manner that the Lebanese state strengthens its authority and that the Palestinian revolution is allowed to assume its historical responsibilities always within the framework of the Arab solidarity with the brother Lebanese country which faces firmly and with dignity a hard trial.

The summit furthermore recommended to accelerate the reorganization of the Arab League administrative structures and to propose a new conception of structures to be adopted by the league in the future.

Mr Chedli Lkibi afterwards answered a series of questions put by representatives of the information bodies who covered the activities of the tenth Arab summit.

These questions dealt mainly with south Lebanon, the Palestinian resistance, the economic cooperation and the Arab strategy in the field of economy.

#### South Lebanon and the Palestinian Resistance

The tenth Arab summit recommended the reactivation of the Bayt al-Din Committee to which a representative of the Arab League will be joined and which will ensure the follow-up and the execution of the Tunis summit decisions.

The summit decided that the Arab states will help the Lebanese state in the effort he makes for protecting the Lebanese people--mainly in the south--from the material constraints and rebuilding his national economy. A five-year plan has been implemented and the league's member countries granted for this effect a 2 billion dollar donation.

The summit moreover took note of the PLO engagement to refrain from now onwards launching military operations against Israel from the Lebanese territory and also to refrain from diffusing news on the operations of fedayeen from Beirut.

#### The Arab Economic Strategy of Action

The tenth Arab summit charged the Arab Economic Council to prepare a paper on an Arab economic strategy of action to be included in the agenda of the coming Arab summit. However, the coming summit will the examination of economic issues for which other summits would be entirely devoted once the world would have done a new decisive step in the way of economic cooperation and complementarity. [Sentence as received]

The Tunis summit also tackled the new economic world order, stressing that the Arab strategy of joint action is not in contradiction with the efforts made by third world countries with a view to (?install) this new economic world order.

#### The Arab Stand Vis-a-vis the Separate Peace Agreements

Concerning the condemnation of the U.S. policy in the Middle East, Mr Klibi said that this condemnation results from the role played by the United States in the conclusion of the Camp David accords and form the "good services" that the White House is presently doing in order to [word indistinct] the current negotiations between Israel and Egypt succeed.

Answering the questions of several journalists who asked what would be the solution of replacement to the Israeli-Egyptian separate accords, Mr Klibi stated that there were no other solution of replacement to a deceitful solution apart from a just solution.

The solution of replacement consists in continuing the struggle by all means until the recovery of the Palestinian peoples legitimate rights and until the total recovery of all occupied territories.

"No other solution can be admitted" the secretary general of the Arab League stressed.

Answering a question on the visit recently paid to Tunisia by an Iranian delegation Mr Chedli Klibi stated that the presence of this delegation in Tunisia is normal if we take into account the relations between Tunisia and Iran and that the contacts it had with some Arab delegations participating in the tenth summit were bilateral contracts which had nothing to do with the summit's preoccupations.

CSO: 4420

INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

PLC'S 'ARAFAT ON TUNIS SUMMIT, SAHARA PROBLEM, GOVERNMENT IN EXILE

LD141109 Kuwait AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 8 Nov 79 p 19 LD

[Report on interview with PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat by 'Abdallah al-Shiti in Lisbon--date not given]

[Excerpt] Lisbon--AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM asked Yasir 'Arafat if the Baghdad summit conference resolutions have borne any fruit. It also asked him about the summit conference which is expected to be held in Tunis on 20 November. Yasir 'Arafat said: "I can say that the Baghdad summit has achieved 95 per cent of its resolutions, most of which have been implemented. On the day the Baghdad summit convened, there were claims that the Arabs would not meet without al-Sadat, but the Arabs met without al-Sadat and no one could obstruct that historic meeting. We adopted decisive resolutions without al-Sadat. I regard this as a turning point in our nation's history--I mean, the Baghdad summit and the resolutions it adopted.

Regarding the summit conference which is expected to be held in Tunis on 20 November, I hope that the conference will be convened on the scheduled date and that it will succeed, as the Baghdad summit succeeded, under the canopy of Arab national unity and common destiny and appreciation of the present circumstances through which our nation and our just basic cause are passing. In coordination with our Syrian brothers, we have prepared a joint working paper for submission to the summit conference the Arabs are expected to convene in Tunis. I do not wish to anticipate matters by saying anything more. I will say more only after the conference.

When I asked him if the West Sahara issue has reached a deadlock following the Tunisian and Palestinian mediation between Morocco and Algeria, Yasir 'Arafat expressed hope that this subject would not develop in a manner contrary to our wishes. He said: The problem must be tackled with great calm and cool nerves because it is very sensitive. What I fear most, if we do not tackle the matter in this spirit and with cool nerves, is that this would provide Morocco with an excuse to go along with "Camp David" and deviate from the collective Arab will, which aims to overthrow the capitulationist solution agreement.

Regarding the establishment of a Palestinian government in exile, 'Arafat said: The usual thing would be for such a decision to be made by the Palestinian command when it sees that such a decision, for example, would help and advance the struggle. The usual thing would be for such a proposal as forming a government in exile to be discussed in the Palestinian command like all other projects and views which could benefit the Palestinian people.

CSO: 4802



INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

FOREIGN MINISTER URGES LEBANON TO SOLVE ITS PROBLEM

LD141337 Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic 5-11 Nov 79 LD

[Report by 'Ali Hashim: "Kuwait Has Nothing To Say and Sarkis Must Revive the Four-State Committee"]

[Excerpt] Kuwait--Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah has said that the Kuwaiti Government has no working paper for the Arab foreign ministers conference scheduled (in principle) to be held on 14 November or the summit conference scheduled to be held on 20 November.

In a statement to AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI, he said that Kuwait has nothing more to say about the Lebanese problem because it has said much and done much "but in vain."

Shaykh al-Sabah has called on the Lebanese regime to "move and do something...."

He added: "Even if we go to the summit, what does Lebanon expect us to say? We participated in the Riyadh summit, Bayt al-Din conference and the four-state committee. We took decisions and made recommendations. We wonder: Where are these resolutions, what has happened to them and how many of them has been implemented"?

Shaykh Sabah wondered: "Where is President Sarkis and what is he doing"?

"If I were in his place I would revive the four-state committee, summon its members and ask them: What have you done? Why are you not moving?"

"I would then ask the committee members--or take it upon myself--to contact all those involved in the conflict, all the parties, rightist and leftist, the so-called nationalists and isolationists, be they in the north or the south, and the Syrians and Palestinians and ask them all: What do you want from Lebanon and what are your demands?"

"After hearing their answers and in the light of the information I obtain, I will act.

"It is of no use at one time saying you Arabs come and solve our problem, help us to find a way out of it and at another time running after foreign countries to solve this problem as long as several aspects of the problem are purely Lebanese."

CSO: 4802

INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN--Doha, 12 Nov--Bassam abu-Sharif, PFLP Central Committee member and official spokesman, has asserted that it is not in the interest of the Palestinian revolution to mediate between Iran and the United States concerning the occupation of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran. He said in an interview published by the Qatari newspaper AL-'ARAB today that the Palestinian revolution is supposed to support the Iranian revolution. He added that the resistance will not withdraw from southern Lebanon as long as Sa'd Haddad's enclave and the Zionist forces are there. Abu-Sharif said that a strong Arab stand is imperative to wreck the Camp David accords. This is the responsibility of the upcoming Arab summit, he added. The Palestinian officials asked what has been done regarding the implementation of the Baghdad summit's resolutions. Has the minimum of the resolutions been implemented. He then said: This has not been implemented. Rather, some of the sides which were supposed to proceed toward offensive positions have remained in defensive positions. [JN120934 Doha QNA in Arabic 0900 GMT 12 Nov 79 JN]

CSO: 4802

ALGERIA

ALGERIAN PAPER DENOUNCES U.S. ECONOMIC MEASURES AGAINST IRAN

LD231457 Algiers AL-SHA'B in Arabic 20 Nov 79 pp 1, 6 LD

[Editorial: "Between Political Feudalism and Monetary Feudalism"]

[Excerpts] After opposing the shah's regime and overthrowing it, the Iranian people are continuing their battle on the international level by opposing the dollar domination of international relations. Iran has announced that henceforth it will request payment for its oil exports with currencies other than the dollar. This was in response to the real economic war declared by the United States and represented in freezing the Iranian state's assets in American banks and boycotting the Iranian oil.

Our country, in the light of its own experience, cannot but give its total support to the Iranian decision in response to the grave assault on its economic security by reviewing the dollar's domination of the world monetary system which is subjected to U.S. interests.

The role of the dollar as an international reserve and payment currency has enabled the U.S. authorities to strike, without fear, at the oil-exporting countries' desire to increase or, at least, maintain the purchasing power of their basic wealth.

As if the indirect plundering of oil revenues was not enough, the United States is now trying, through actual acts of robbery by the state under legal excuses, to continue to plunder the wealth of third world countries.

The time has come for OPEC member states to review the dollar's role in the fuel market. The OPEC ministerial conference in Libreville in 1975 had already dealt with this problem. It suggested replacing the dollar--while still keeping it as a payment currency--by units of withdrawal rights (a new reserve currency established by the International Monetary Fund based on a basket of convertible currencies) as an accounting currency.

The tactical rise in the dollar rate, which was followed by a somewhat convincing political pressure, was sufficient to freeze this decision. This

time Iran created a new situation by demanding changing the payment currency itself.

The issue of replacing the dollar by another currency can no longer be avoided. It is the duty of OPEC to include it on the agenda of its coming meeting in Caracas in December. In fact, some of the organization's member states are afraid that the interest on the deposits they invest in the U.S. currency markets will drop if OPEC resorts to an accounting currency or to another payment currency.

But it is the duty of these members to consider carefully the dangers to their deposits in the United States in the light of the "serious precedent in international relations" as confirmed by the Arab League Ministerial Council meeting in Tunis.

The danger is not confined to the United States alone in view of the fact that it says that it has "ordered" the foreign countries where there are branches of American banks--thus showing contempt for the sovereignty of these countries--to act in accordance with the political decision adopted by Washington. The prestige of these countries and the confidence in their currencies will depend on their response to "Washington's order."

It is the duty of the nonaligned states group to condemn this serious violation of Iran's economic security, Iran being a new member of the group, in accordance with regulation number 3 regarding economic security which was endorsed by the Algiers [nonaligned] summit conference in 1973. The regulation stipulates: "International security must be based on refraining from the use of force as well as on refraining from all kinds of aggression in economic relations, whether through pressure, coercion, economic blockade, freezing capital or by any other direct or indirect means aimed at encroaching on the sovereignty of countries and preventing them from exercising their right to independent development suitable to their nature."

It is indeed harmful that the world economy should always be dependent upon an international monetary system which the United States can use as a weapon in its bilateral relations. The result of such a situation would be plunging the world economy in an increasingly turbulent sea and keeping it in a state of stagnation that no country however powerful can avoid.

CS0: 4402

ALGERIA

ALGERIAN-SOVIET COMMITTEE DISCUSSES ECONOMIC RELATIONS

LD191019 Algiers AL-SHA'B in Arabic 11 Nov 79 pp 1, 5 LD

[Unattributed report: "Algerian-Soviet Cooperation: Governmental Cooperation Committee Begins Fifth Session"]

[Excerpt] The meetings of the fifth session of the Algerian-Soviet standing governmental committee for economic, scientific and technical cooperation opened yesterday evening at the government palace.

The Algerian delegation to the meetings is headed by Brother Mohamed Hadj Yala, member of the Central Committee and minister of finance. The Soviet delegation is headed by Skachkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations.

The two delegations discussed cooperation between the two countries and the traditional relations between the two peoples.

In lauding the Soviet Union Brother Yala said that Algeria does not forget its friends in times of difficulty, the friends who during the severe hardships of the war of liberation gave it the moral and material support of which it was in great need.

He added: "Liberated Algeria is fighting another war aimed at achieving genuine economic independence. Since 1965 the efforts of our leaders and people have been devoted to development, to which all the country's resources have been subordinated, including the resources of all our economic sectors and the country's national wealth."

With regard to strengthening and consolidating economic relations between the two countries, the finance minister said: "Algerian-Soviet cooperation has maintained its vitality because we have known how to preserve our relations and protect them against the influence of the world capitalist market whose crisis is affecting all economic activities."

On his part Skachkov said: "The Soviet people are well aware of the heroic history of the Algerian people. We follow with interest Algeria's development and are happy with the relations that link us to it."

Head of the Soviet delegation added: "There is rapprochement in the political field that is bringing the two countries even closer."

Concluding, Skachkov affirmed that the work of the fifth session will greatly contribute to cooperation and trade relations between the two countries.

CSO: 4402

ALGERIA

'APS' COMMENTARY APPLAUDS IRAN'S OIL-DOLLAR DECISION

LD201845 Algiers Domestic Service in French 1300 GMT 20 Nov 79 LD

[Text] The national news agency Algerie Press Service devotes a commentary to the Iranian-U.S. dispute. Having opposed with success, as is well known, in the domestic field the shah's feudal regime, the agency writes, the Iranian people, continuing the same struggle in the international field, have undertaken to contest the dollar's feudal position in international relations. Reacting to the veritable declaration of economic war which is the freezing of the assets of the Iranian state in U.S. banks by the U.S. Government, Iran has just announced that it will see to it that its oil exports should be paid for in other currencies than the dollar. Algeria, after its decision on nationalizing the hydrocarbon resources, has also found itself exposed to foreign economic pressures aimed at forcing it to give up its policy of national independence. We have known, in particular, the era of red oil, a term used to give legitimacy to the boycott that has made us its victim. Today, as then, the countries imposing the boycott can count, as was reaffirmed by the secretary general of the International Energy Agency recently, on an attitude of solidarity of all industrial countries.

Strong in its own experience, our country can do nothing less but lend its full and wholehearted support to the Iranian decision to react against this grave attempt at its economic security by calling into question the stranglehold of the dollar on the international monetary system, which is thereby rendered subordinate to the interests of the United States.

CSO: 4400



ALGERIA

BRIEFS

ALGERIAN-SOVIET COOPERATION--[Unattributed report: "Algerian-Soviet Co-operation: Discussion of Bilateral Cooperation in Heavy Industry Sector"] Brother Mohamed Liassine, Central Committee member and minister of heavy industry, yesterday held talks at the ministry headquarters with Skachkov, CPSU Central Committee member and chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations. The talks dealt with studying the most important aspects of the present cooperation. The two sides lauded the good progress made in the work to expand the al-Hajar iron and steel complex. They also exchanged views on future possibilities with regard to expanding and strengthening cooperation ties between the two countries in the heavy industry sector. [Text] [LD201701 Algiers AL-SHA'B in Arabic 14 Nov 79 p 3 LD]

CSO: 4402

BAHRAIN

'DAILY NEWS' VIEWS EVENTS SHAKING MIDDLE EAST

GF241700 Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English 24 Nov 79 p 2 GF

[Editorial]

[Text] The events over the past few days involving the Grand Mosque in Mecca have been traumatic. Not only for the Islamic faith but for the American expatriate community in different parts of the Middle East.

The situation in this part of the world is volatile and for this to be the time for religious fanatics to make a move like they did is incredible. They could have sparked off a bloodbath by their blinding stupidity.

Naturally, when such a horrendous thing happens we are engulfed by rumour and counter-rumour. And, of course, there are always those who will seek to turn any situation to their own advantage.

But the result of this rumour swayed the Middle East dangerously towards a flare-up. The group who triggered off the events have been responsible for the deaths of many innocent people. The exact number of dead and wounded around the Grand Mosque has not yet been determined.

But the sacking of the American Embassy in Pakistan by a mob too ready to blame the Americans for every sparrow that falls led to the death of seven people.

Saudi Arabian authorities have given the assurance that the fanatics who committed the unforgivable will be dealt with. The Pakistan Government have promised an investigation into the causes surrounding the Embassy violation. We hope that they too will be just as uncompromising in bringing the leaders to justice.

It would appear that the savaging of diplomatic buildings and personnel is not the heinous crime it once was. The Saudi Government is demonstrating that no one dare tamper with the holy places. It is a principle that should also apply to the personnel and buildings of foreign guests.

CSO: 4820

BAHRAIN

BRIEFS

EMBASSY TAKEOVER 'BARBARIC'--We note that the Iranian foreign minister has called for a meeting of the United Nations Security Council because he fears "an atmosphere of war" is being created in the U.S. Is it really surprising that the American Eagle is ruffling its feathers? No matter how placid the giant, no matter how conciliatory and easy-going, if a mosquito keeps biting, it is going to react. And as long as there are 100 men, women and children locked up in the American Embassy and trotted out at intervals blindfolded to be paraded before jeering mobs then there is going to be a groundswell of American and world condemnation to this act of barbarism. [Editorial] [Text] [GF150530 Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English 14 Nov 79 p 2 GF]

TREASURY SECRETARY TALKS--Stability and energy must go hand-in-hand if the world is to overcome lurching economies and rampant inflation. While there are many factors that contribute to this unhappy situation--not least the greed of multinational concerns who owe no allegiance but to the balancesheet--the eyes of the world have fastened on oil which may well be used as a scapegoat, but which nevertheless is an important factor. America, anxious to play her part in bringing about an atmosphere that can lead to this stability in relation to oil, is now sending Treasury Secretary William Miller to hold talks with three major oil producers in the Gulf. This is to be applauded as long as he is prepared to see the Arab point of view and not look at the question from just one side. Saudi Arabia has always led the way in an honest and balanced policy regarding production and pricing. If Secretary Miller can lend any weight in supporting this view at the approaching OPEC meeting, then his tour will have been a success. [Editorial] [Text] [GF190635 Manana GULF DAILY NEWS in English 19 Nov 79 p 2 GF]

CSO: 4820

IRAN

TAKEOVER OF U.S. EMBASSY GETS MASSIVE SUPPORT

Backing of Political Parties

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 5 Nov 79 p 4

[Text] The takeover of the U.S. Embassy by Moslem students who follow Emam's policy has now entered its second day and has been supported by various groups, societies and parties. The summary of statements issued in this respect are as follows:

The Committee of Emam's Syndicate Affairs:

The takeover of the U.S. Embassy by a group of Moslem students has not been an accidental or unexpected matter. According to the law of action and reaction, it was quite natural that by following the Emam's policy, Iran's revolutionary youth would take such an action on a day which reminds us of the responsibility for the death of young students by U.S. imperialism.

The U.S. government should know that since its political and military threats and even her actions taken on economic grounds have not affected the hero nation of Iran, with this revolutionary action taken by a group of Moslem youth who believe in the revolution, the reaction of the risen nation of Iran to the United States in hosting its mercenary servant Mohammad Reza Pahlevi, has entered a new phase and it is going to affect all of the interests of that country in Iran.

With full awareness of what world imperialism--under the leadership of America--is making preparations for, we, the syndicates in Tehran, announce to America and its mercenary allies that it is in the interest of the U.S. government to turn over the deposed shah as soon as possible to Iran's court of Islamic justice and revenge and not to create further anger in Iran's aware and revolutionary nation.

The Iranian Society of Cooperation With Palestine:

Our regards to you, our Moslem high school and university students. You, who follow the Emam's policy and have taken over the center of shame, crimes,

espionage, treason, imperialism and Zionism--for the hero nation of Iran's Islamic Republic.

On this historic day on which Iran's decisive leader had been sent into exile and is also the anniversary of the death of dozens of students, the Iranian Society for Cooperation with Palestine supports your revolutionary action and asks the United States to deliver the treacherous shah immediately and stop encouraging Israel in its crimes toward Palestine.

Iran's Moslem People's Revolutionary Movement (JAMA):

Iran's revolution against world colonialism and U.S. imperialism enters a new phase. The anti-imperialist demonstrations of the Iranian people on 'Eyd-e Qorban [Feast of Sacrifices] by taking over the U.S. Embassy has brought the anti colonialist movement of Iran's Moslem people to its peak. Fifteen years ago, 13 Aban [4 November] became a turning point in the history of our people's liberation movement when the Emam was sent into exile. Last year with the death of our devoted youths on 13 Aban in the university, a decisive move was taken toward achieving victory in the revolution. This year 13 Aban the revolutionary action taken by the victorious students of our revolution, opens a new chapter in anti-colonialist struggles. We hope that next year 13th of Aban would mark the movement's victory over capitalism and colonialism. JAMA supports the students' revolutionary action against the interferences and aggressions of U.S. imperialism and together with all Moslem revolutionary forces, it will accept the guidances of the honorable revolutionary leader.

In the statement, the Community of Kurdish Residents of the capital city has announced its support for the students and Moslem scholars [of religious studies] in taking over the U.S. Embassy and has demanded that relations with the United States be broken.

The statement indicates that the bloody events in Kordestan are fomented by U.S. imperialism and international Zionism and that the Islamic Community of Kurdish Residents of the capital city has announced that it heartily supports the honorable leader, Emam Khomeyni and obeys him.

The Union of Islamic Association of Students in Europe with headquarters in Germany has sent the following telegram to the Moslem students who follow the Emam's policy and are stationed in the U.S. Embassy:

"In the name of God, our brave and Moslem brothers, students, brave guards of Iran's Islamic revolutionary achievements and those who follow Emam's way, our revolutionary regards to you, the people's Moslem children.

"We heard your message and admire the holy action that you have taken. God is also pleased with what you have done. We hereby announce our decisive support of the truthful way you are following. We promise that we will not remain silent until final achievement of our demands. We are with you. With God's help and the people's effort which is our backing, we wish you success."

Signed by the Union of Islamic Students Association in Europe, headquarters in Germany.

In a message, the Islamic Students Association in America and Canada has supported the revolutionary action taken by Moslem students. The message is as follows:

"Dear brothers and sisters, the Moslem students following the Emam's policy, The Islamic Association of Students in America and Canada supports the revolutionary action taken by you--the takeover of the U.S. Embassy. You, the beloved and courageous ones who bravely gave a positive response to the proclamation of Iran's Islamic revolutionary leader, Emam Khomeyni. We ask the government to follow the Emam and the nation's way and not to fail in taking action in returning the criminal deposed shah.

"In the continuation of our revealing efforts, simultaneously with you, who went on food strike, we had a sitin demonstration in the Statue of Liberty and made the world hear the voice of Iran's Moslem people. We protested to the U.S. government and demanded the delivery of the deposed shah. The criminal masters of the treacherous shah arrested our brothers and broke up the demonstrations and took these beloved ones into captivity. To support your action, we will continue with our revealing programs.

"Regards to you, the dear children of Iran's Moslem people and regards to our great leader, Emam Khomeyni.

"Long last Iran's Islamic revolution, the true defender of the deprived in the world! Death to the enemies of the Islamic revolution, especially U.S. imperialism!

#### Student's Approval

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 5 Nov 79 p 12

[Text] In an interview, some of the Moslem students who have demonstrated in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran expressed their views regarding their revolutionary action in the takeover of the U.S. Embassy.

One of the students said: "We are a group of students who believe in the Emam's policy and we believe that this revolution, that is, the movement which has brought the society up to this point, especially until 22 Bahman (11 February) political and military move, has been something of absorption of Emam's revolutionary policy in society. Those students who think like us form a group believing in the Emam's policy and they are not affiliated to any party or group. Now, what was the purpose of this action? Many anti-imperialist positions were observed in our ideological belief system with which we had started and achieved the revolution for fighting against domination, colonialism and dictatorship. The school of thought had the

capability of arousing a nation against other schools of thought and bringing the movement to the final point. The movement continued until 22 Bahman and afterwards. We expected the school of thought which had brought us up to this point to meet with our other demands such as economic and cultural independence. However, we were seeing that the matters that the country was dealing with, especially actions taken by the executive pillars of the country were not accepted by this school of thought and that very easily grounds had been prepared for U.S. imperialism and Israel and, in general, the deviationist forces against which the nation has always fought, to penetrate into various pillars and take over various areas and not to allow the revolution to grow and even sometimes take it backward. It was in connection with this issue and the fact that we were seeing that America was deeply penetrating into our country. Unfortunately, the government we have is not an efficient government, as observed in various dimensions--whether from the viewpoint of foreign policy, domestic policy or the manner of running the country. The youth who made the revolution and believed in their school of thought saw that the ruling government had created a series of problems and that spies were found in various pillars. A series of military contracts were concluded and the nation was not aware of them. Or, a group of government officials would hold negotiations with an American delegation abroad. Anyway, things are getting out of hand and there is the possibility for a series of deviationist events. Revealing this issue, especially the grounds that the Emam has prepared--an anti-American policy--led us to revealing this matter and telling the whole world that our nation is still an anti-imperialist nation and that it will not accept any domination. That is why we saw the U.S. Embassy as an espionage nest where conspiracies were planned.

"Even the contacts established were for revealing this issue to say that the main enemy of our nation, the Emam and our school of thought is still the United States which has brought so much adversity for the Moslems. This is why we decided to take over the embassy and express our demands and protests."

Another student expressed his views as follows:

"Regarding the manner of occupying the U.S. Embassy, I should say that we could have acted in two ways: by military attack or by the people's participation, which was the specialty of our revolution. We chose the method of political action. In other words, by demonstrations our brothers would enter the embassy and take over the buildings. And truly all brothers were ready for martyrdom, if they had been faced with any resistance. Because they believed that they should fight with America and carry out the Emam's view. It has been anticipated that if there had been any shooting and we had martyrs, we would carry the martyrs to the streets by the people who would be covered. We did just that and succeeded and the problems were overcome."

Support From Provinces

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 5 Nov 79 p 2

[Text] In support of the brave action taken by Moslem students who follow the Imam's policy in taking over the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, the Islamic Association of Iranian Students in London has sent the following message:

"Regards to the Moslem student brothers who took over the filthy nest of the American CIA in Tehran. Regards to the brave Mojaheds [fighters of holy war] who frustrated criminal U.S. imperialism and revealed its inauspicious plans to give shelter to the deposed shah under the pretext of illness in their infidel arms in order to inflict a blow on Iran's Islamic revolution.

"In supporting this brave action taken by our Moslem brothers, the Islamic Students Association in London condemns any conspiracies Eastern and Western world-eating imperialism and believes that our Islamic ideology under the uncompromising leadership of Imam Khomeyni, the indefatigable mojahed and the firmness of the hero nation of Iran has closed the way for any negotiations or talks with Brzezinski that is, the infidel who started their open encroachments against our poor nation from many years ago. One should not stand, not even for one second, behind these closed doors because it is non-Islamic and vain."

Signed by the Islamic Students Association in London affiliated to the Union of Islamic Students Association in Europe.

The takeover of the American espionage nest in Tehran by Moslem students following the Imam's policy has aroused a wave of excitement among the people of various cities in the country.

Esfahan--After taking part in 13 Aban [4 November] ceremonies and finding out about the takeover of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, the people of Esfahan supported this action by marching and shouting anti-American slogans.

Today, the Moslem Students Association of Esfahan Industrial University issued a statement inviting the people to participate in a march on this occasion.

Mashad--After finding out about the takeover of the U.S. Embassy, the people of Mashad made demonstrations and by shouting anti-American slogans, they demanded the return of the deposed shah.

Khorram Abad--Various groups of people in Khorram Abad, especially the Lor tribesmen referred to KEYHAN's office in this city, supported the takeover of the U.S. Embassy by Moslem students who follow the Imam's policy. They announced that they are ready for any anti-American activity.



Kerman--Yesterday, in a splendid gathering of the people of Kerman on the occasion of 13 Aban [4 November] the people supported the action taken by Moslem students who follow the Imam's policy in taking over the U.S. Embassy.

Orumiyeh--In honoring the memory of 13 Aban martyrs [4 November] in Orumiyeh in which thousands of people participated in Orumiyeh University, the revolutionary action taken by students--the takeover of the American Embassy in Tehran--was supported.

Shiraz--The Mojahedin Organization of Islamic revolution in Shiraz has issued a statement announcing its unsparing support of the takeover of the American espionage nest in Tehran, the natural reaction and anger of the poor people toward the United States.

Qasr Shirin--Yesterday, following the takeover of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, the people of Qasr Shirin marched in the streets supporting the students' revolutionary action.

Qom--Last night in supporting the revolutionary action taken by students--the takeover of the U.S. Embassy, the people of Qom made huge demonstrations. The demonstrators were shouting "Death to Carter and his guest" in the streets and they condemned the meeting between the Iranian Government and Brzezinski, Carter's security adviser.

In a telegram, the communications personnel in Qom have also announced their support of the revolutionary action taken by student who follow the Imam's policy in occupying the espionage nest of the U.S. Embassy.

Karaj--In a statement the Pasdaran Corps [Guards Corps] of Karaj has announced its support of the takeover of the U.S. Embassy by students who follow the Imam's policy.

Yazd--The Pasdaran Corps of the Islamic Revolution in Yazd has also issued a statement announcing its support of the takeover of the U.S. Embassy. They have stated that they are ready to neutralize any conspiracy and turn over the executioner, Mohammad Reza, under the order and leadership of Imam Khomeyni.

Kermanshah--The Operational Staff of the Pasdaran Corps in the western part of the country has issued a statement announcing its support of the takeover of the American Embassy.

Ramsar--The students, members of the Islamic associations, the employees and personnel of Ramsar's Revolutionary court and Dr Shari'ati Hospital announced their support of the takeover of the U.S. Embassy by marching.

Arak--Ayatollah Haj Sheykh Abol Fazl Khonsari, Imam Khomeyni's representative in behalf of the people of Arak and himself, also sent a telegram to the U.S. Embassy today, praising the revolutionary action taken by the students.

The telegram indicates that the rotten roots of world imperialism should be thrown into history's garbage can.

The Democratic Youth and Students Organization has also announced its support of the takeover of the U.S. Embassy by Moslem student brothers who follow the Emam's policy. They have asked all progressive and anti-imperialist youths and students to hold each other's hand and unite in this sensitive moment in the country's political life against U.S. imperialism.

U.S. imperialism.

The Islamic Iranian Students Association in Manchester has sent a message in support of the students who follow the Emam's policy. They have announced their support for and cooperation with the hero students who have now occupied the U.S. Embassy and in revealing the conspiracies of the United States and its allies.

Signed by the Islamic Students Association in Manchester affiliated to the union of Islamic Associations in Europe.

The employees and the Islamic Council of Iran Air Lines have announced their support of the revolutionary and brave action taken by Iran's revolutionary students in occupying the U.S. Embassy. They have indicated that they are ready for any cooperation even to shed their blood.

Much Favorable Mail

Tehran BAMDAD in Persian 6 Nov 79 p 12

[Text] Following the takeover of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran by Moslem students who follow the Emam's policy, yesterday various Islamic groups, societies, associations and centers issued separate statements announcing their support of the students' action. In the messages, various groups in the country have condemned the conspiracies of imperialism, headed by the United States, have supported the takeover of the U.S. Embassy and have demanded the extradition of the former shah.

The names of the groups and societies that have announced their support are as follows:

The Islamic Society of PARS News Agency, the Iranian Society for Cooperation with Palestine, the Committee of the Emam's Syndicate Affairs, the Islamic Society of Personnel of the Civil Defense Organization, the Islamic societies and personnel of government organizations in Mazandaran, The Sistan and Baluchestan Pasdaran Corps, the Pasdaran Corps of Hamadan, the clergy

of Chahar Mahal Bakhtiyari, the Pasdaran Corps of Shahr Kurd, Moslem teachers following the Emam's policy in Shahr Kord, The Islamic Society of the Hanif Nezhad Educational Complex, Kerman's Construction Jihad, the judges and employees of the prosecutor's office and the Islamic Revolutionary Court in Kerman, the Islamic Society of Personnel of the Voice and Face of the Islamic Republic of Kerman, the employees of Ministry of National Guidance, PARS News Agency in Kerman, the Pasdaran Corps, the Islamic Communications Society, the Coal Employees Council in Bab Nizu area, the struggling people of Khanuk, the students and teachers of Khalq in Gilan, the Islamic Society of College of Literature and Foreign Languages, a group of employees of the Geology and Mineralogy Research Organization, Sympathizers of Mojahedin Khalq Organization, the Center for Fighting Against Freemasonry, Imperialism and Zionism, a group of employees of the Ministry of Health and Welfare, Iran's Democratic Youth and Students Organization.

A group of Moslem employees of the Ministry of Power, the Islamic Society of the employees of the Ministry of Justice, the Moslem employees of the Environmental Protection Organization, the Islamic Society of Ministry of Power, the Palestinian Students Union in Iran's Islamic Republic Branch, the Islamic Society of Iran National Air Lines, the Islamic Revolutionary Council of HOMA Personnel [Iran Air], the Islamic Society of Students of the Economic and Political Science School of National University, the Moslem Students Movement of Tehran University, the struggling clergy of Qir and Kazerun area, the employees of governors' offices and the Islamic societies of teachers and students in Sari, Behshahr, Amol and the Office of the Construction Jihad in the cities of provinces. Students, teachers and employees of Meshkin Fam Agricultural School following Emam Khomeyni's policy in Kerman, the Pasdaran Corps, the syndicates, teachers and various classes of society in Islam Shahr, the Islamic Society of the Employees of the Sar Cheshmeh Copper Complex, the Islamic Revolutionary Continuation Complex in Kerman, the Construction Jihad Staff and the Islamic Society of Taleqani Bam, the Knitting and Needlework Workers Syndicate of Tehran and Suburbs, the Islamic Revolutionary Pasdaran Corps of the cities of Orumiyyeh and Miandoab, the Moslem Students Society of Tehran University Law School, the Pasdaran Corps, the syndicates and the bazaar businessmen, the Institute of the Islamic Cooperative Fund, the office of the Islamic Republic Party and the Islamic Council in Yazd Province, the students of the Natural Resources School in Gorgan and the Construction Jihad Staff in Gorgan, the Islamic Society of Asadi Arab Teachers College in Gorgan, the clergy and people of Arsanjan, the Construction Jihad Staff in Yazd, the Moslem Students of Sistan and Baluchestan University, the Moslem personnel following the Emam's policy, in the Kakhiluyeh Province, the Commanders Council of the Pasdaran Corps, in Gilan Province, the Moslem Students Society of Mirza Kuchek Khan High School in Rasht, the Students Society of Azadegan High School in Rasht, a group of sympathizers of the Mojahedin Organization, the personnel of the Ministry of Housing and City Development, the personnel of Communications and the Department of National Guidance of the Province, the employees students of Azad University in Behshahr, the teachers society and Pasdaran

Corps in various cities in Mazandaran, the offices of the Islamic Republic Party throughout the province, the community of Moslem engineers in Mazandaran, the Society of Moslem Youth and the personnel of medical services in Behshahr, the Islamic Societies of Students of Samadiyeh Labaf College in Babol, the College of Economics in Babolsar, the personnel of the Ministry of Education in Babolsar and Shahsavari, the Islamic societies and personnel of most of the government offices in Mazandaran, the Students Council of Sharif Industrial University, the employees of the Royal Garden Hotel, the Moslem students associations of the universities of Science and Industry, Polytechnique, Teachers' College, and the National University, the Justice Society, the Islamic Society of the employees of the Vahed [Bus] Company in Tehran, the Islamic Society of Iran's Customs Personnel, the Islamic Society of Oil Industry Personnel in Tehran, the Society of Moslem Mothers, the 4th of Khordad [25 May] Youth Society, the Islamic Society of Children and Youth Mental Development Center, the Islamic Society of Employees of Bank-e Melli Iran, the Movement of Vanguard Moslems, the Employees of Tehran Reconstruction and Development Corporation, the clergy of Yazd, The Islamic Society of Qom, Iran's Student Center, the Moslem Worker's Movement, the employees of the Islamic Society of the General Department of Rural Development and Agriculture of Chahar Mahal and Bakhtiyari provinces, the Moslem students of Amir Kabir High School in Shahr Kurd, the Pasdaran Corps of Borujen, the Construction Jihad of Borujen, the Moslem Students of Borujen, the employees of PARS News Agency in Shahr Kurd, the Asef Monotheism Organization, Fajr Islam (Dawn of Islam) Organization of the Islamic Community, the Social Welfare Organization, the Islamic Community of the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, the employees of the Chamber of Commerce, Industries and Mines, the employees and students of Husayni Islami Elementary School; District 5 Tehran, the employees of Mahab Company, the employees of Simorgh Production Co, the Islamic Association of Iranian Students Residing in Hyderabad, India, the students and employees of Parvin Etesami High School, District 17 in Tehran, the Pickup Taxis Union, the Islamic Association of Students of District 12 of the Department of Education, the Islamic Society of Razi Psychiatric Center, the Islamic Society of Vahdat, the Workers of the Printing Department of the Ministry of National Guidance, the Islamic Community of Iranians Residing in Kuwait, Iran's National Front, the employees of the Ground Transportation Corp related to the Ministry of Roads and Transportation, the Towhidi [Monotheism] Party, the Syndicate of Technical Workers of the Vahed Bus Co.

9156  
CSO: 4906

IRAN

PREMIER ATTEMPTS TO REASSERT AUTHORITY

Tehran BAMDAD in Persian 25 Sep 79 pp 1, 2

/Article: "The Prime Minister: A Five-Man Committee Has Been Charged with 'Cleaning up' Each Ministry So To Speak: Eng Bazargan: By Order of the Emam, No Figure or Body Has the Right To Interfere in Government Activity"/

/Text/ Eng Bazargan, the prime minister, gave a radio and television speech to the Iranian nation describing the country's political and economic problems and issues and declaring the government's viewpoints concerning national affairs.

At the start of his message, Eng Bazargan dealt with the reasons for his previous speech, thanked the people for their sentiments following the broadcast of that message and then proceeded to describe the nation's economic and agricultural condition, saying:

"The Iranian banking system has given much assistance to agriculture, to industry and to commerce; however, there are problems with regard to opening credit and other things, and the fact that debtors are not treating the banks as they should and must. Although the tax revenues are proportionately far better than they were last year--that is, the year in which the new regime, the Islamic regime, had not yet arrived--nonetheless, our non oil revenues, one of which is tax, along with customs and duties, are low as a consequence of Ministry of Finance measures and some reductions and changes which the Ministry of Finance has made, and from the economic standpoint--the budget and plan economy--our current situation is in no way sound or proper, although, thanks be to God, expenditures have been met and God willing will continue to be met. No country can live on special revenues from a god-given resource, without any real revenues from work, effort and toil. The unemployment situation is much better than it was 6 or 7 months ago but its future situation is not very assured and it is still one of our threatening matters."

The prime minister then referred to the need for expansion and growth in the private sector and to the damage that sector has endured, stressing

that it is the most repressed of sectors. He examined the question of security and the state of the security forces and emphasized that although these forces, from the physical corporal, material and personnel standpoints and the standpoint of protection of the nation's security, are in no way comparable with their state when the regime was being overthrown, they are in a state of readiness in the face of domestic and foreign attacks through the protection and aid of the Army of the Guards of the Revolution and the committees, although they are still much less than what is needed and required by the country.

#### Revolutionary Movement

In another portion of his message Eng Bazargan dealt with the condition of white collar workers, stressing "The situation in the departments has improved.

"However, the revolutionary movement which I talked about 2 months ago is still not being felt.

"The situation is probably better than it was last year, that is, 7 or 8 months ago, but we are nonetheless still very far off. In short, the most important thing of all is that an imperial system, a tyrannical system, which ruled the country, has been eliminated. However, the system of the Islamic republic, which must take its place, has in no way established its foundations in any of the three stages, that is, Islam, the republic and freedom, and then the system, nor have their places been filled.

"Not only has Islam as it could and should rule not been recognized or become a factor--neither has the republic, freedom or that democracy whose special condition was part of the government's program, whereby the government would gradually follow these stages, the stages and program decreed by the emam, which I have discussed a number of times. We have now reached the point where the council is occupied with the constitution. Thus the government has performed its duty and it is now in the hands of these gentlemen; let us see what is produced and to what degree they discharge this trust and this assignment. God willing, they will discharge it in a way that will bring them prestige and the attention of coming generations and the generations of all time."

#### The Effects of the Revolution

Referring to the deficiencies arising from the revolution, and evaluating this revolution, Eng Bazargan then said "This revolution is a great, all-encompassing one. Its measure and extent go even beyond the borders of Iran and it has assumed the guise of a world revolution. Such a revolution, which also took place with great speed, was not only 'nation shaking'--from certain standpoints it was 'world-shaking.' It is natural that it has had consequences and effects. Revolutions in other countries in history, for the past 300 years, for the past 500 years, have had the same characteristics everywhere but rarely have they been more intense, more shattering and on occasion more encumbered with objections, faults and mistakes."

Cooperation with the Council of the Revolution

The prime minister added,

"There are many volunteers in this revolution. All the members of the committees and the Guards of the Soldiers of the Revolution possess religious, political or party centers which are coming into existence in all towns and provinces, and many people are chasing members of Savak and others. They receive files, investigate departments, present them to courts and people even come and go and make arrests without orders having been given to them, along with the occupying forces and leaders who take places over. However, it is proper here that we face weak points and put our fingers on their existence, on the weak spots--this presence of abundant volunteers. While acknowledging, honoring, respecting and appreciating their original necessity, their presence and their services, since there are as always portions which have not turned out to be properly ordered or arranged, they also have a weak spot. As I have also said in previous speeches, it is this group of decision-making centers, people with divisive tastes and opinions and views, who are among the points of weakness and are inflicting a great blow on our revolution, that is, in the era following the initial victory.

"The solution which was discovered and which has fortunately to a large extent eliminated much of this deficiency and weakness was the process of organization, coordination and in fact more or less regulation which came into being between the government and the Revolutionary Council, both of which are under the flag and under the leadership, the great leadership, of the revolution. Everything has in reality come into an organization under the persons subject to this cooperation and solidarity between the Revolutionary Army and the committee. It is for this reason that I gave the good news at one point that the problem had to a relatively large extent been eliminated and that fortunately, thanks to God and thanks to these young people and gentlemen, friendly sincere relations had come into being between the soldiers of the revolution and the guards and government officials and the government--although the cooperation of gentlemen in the Revolutionary Council and their way of spending time, especially the feeling of responsibility which we were looking for, to the extent desired and expected and in the early part also a bit more available, was not therefore as it could have and should have been, and they have been more attentive to their own duties and responsibilities and preoccupations than to what the government and country require. Matters must soon be resolved. This is the first aspect of this revolution; it has been both a strong point and a weak point, and it is a factor from which these effects have arisen. The second is the matter of differences which arise in feelings of responsibility. Every person feels responsibility in his own fashion: 'what should I do, what should I not do?' On the basis of differences in feelings of responsibility, interferences arise, and these interferences are a lot of wood jammed into the wheels of the government, be it this government, or any other government. There is a common proverb in various

languages which in Persian is 'When there are two mothers a child's head becomes twisted,' not to mention the situation when there are a hundred mothers. For this reason a great deal was said and a great deal was discussed, until two or two and a half months ago when 11 of my honored colleague ministers resigned, resulting in my going to visit the emam.

"These gentlemen considered four things to be an essential and necessary condition if they were to serve and accept responsibility, and these things required very close cooperation and prosecution on the part of the government. These four things were the army of the revolution, the committees, the revolutionary courts and the media, the radio and television. The first two things were handled in a relatively good fashion but the second two remained with I do not want to say bad will being involved, but it was not until 2 weeks ago that an announcement was issued by the revolutionary public prosecutor general, Mr Qoddusi, who gave a very correct, logical, sincere, friendly and brotherly opinion on the government, addressed to the committees and so forth. In accordance with the emam's orders, no committee, no public prosecutor, no revolutionary court, no guard, no soldier and no official has the right to intervene in matters related to the government. This matter, just like the previous one, has been one of the government's great victorious steps.

"When I say that the government has no selfish aspects, I do not mean to say the victory of this government but the victory of any government; it has been one of the victorious steps of the Islamic revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran that such an order, such a proclamation, such a decree has come to be issued by the order of the leader of the revolution. To a degree, of course, it has been obeyed, and I hope that the orders of the leader of the revolution will be carried out completely in a meaningful, sincere, profound and obedient way, and that we, that is, the employees of the government and the workers and servants of the country, will not experience problems or interference."

#### The Need for Order in Administration

In another part of his message, after describing the people's desires and expectations, the goals and negative destructive plans of some people, the state of vengefulness which is still to be found, and the need to observe order and principles in administration, Eng Bazargan said:

#### Counterrevolution

"To the extent that this first stage of the revolution, which is a negative one, is inseparable and synonymous with speed, severity and even harshness, it must be tolerant, considered, studied and even easygoing. All the criticisms and disputes which have existed between us and the revolutionary young generation from the time the government was formed up to now and into the future are based on this very thing, two views and two different programs. The result of these two different programs is two



different views, a difference in views and programs. The government is a government charged with making an accommodation with this revolutionary group, the severe and harsh group which still views the government employees and apparatuses with an eye to enmity and continued enmity, an eye to the question of how we are exploiting this system, these employees and these individuals. We observe that these people are looking with an eye to what job a person previously held and whether he is a counterrevolutionary hostile to us. They want that person to have no head on his body and we, to the contrary, want the head which is on his body also to have a hat and very good clothing and we want his information and resources also to be greater. This is a contradiction which has come into being in different forms and these two actions, that is, this constructive act of reconciling the revolution are not compatible with that fact."

The prime minister added, "My entire concern, all my appeals and all my talks, have been to say, Look, these two programs are not compatible--either the negative program must be carried out to the hilt, and every building and everything that exists must be eliminated and destroyed, and later when the opportunity arises the work of construction will be carried out, and we will carry them both out together--this one destroying that and that person destroying this. The element of difference and the problem between the government and those people who pursue that has a well-known frequently used title, 'liquidation.' The problem lies in the fact that we have two actions whose natures naturally are not compatible. The crusade to build is a crusade. There is some construction and it is also very necessary, but one cannot carry out the crusade of construction with a J-3. The reason why I went to Khuzestan with my beloved colleagues yesterday was because people had written me a letter the previous week with a large amount of complaints and these complaints prompted me to see what was going on there.

The prime minister added, "My entire concern, all my appeals and all my talk, have been to say, Look, these two programs are not compatible--either the negative program must be carried out to the hilt, and every building and everything that exists must be eliminated and destroyed, and later when the opportunity arises the work of construction will be carried out, and we will carry them both out together--this one destroying that and that person destroying this. The element of difference and the problem between the government and those people who pursue that has a well-known frequently used title, 'liquidation.' The problem lies in the fact that we have two actions whose natures naturally are not compatible. The crusade to build is a crusade. There is some construction and it is also very necessary, but one cannot carry out the crusade of construction with a J-3.

The reason why I went to Khuzestan with my beloved colleagues yesterday was because people had written me a letter the previous week containing a large amount of complaints, and these complaints prompted me to see what was going on there. I wish those who wrote letters would come and see how

and in what way the employees of the government and persons who are cooperating are serving with enthusiasm, desire and efficiency. Their complaint was that they went as part of the holy war of construction and a broken-down pump by the river--it is natural, in the thinking of Islam and the revolution, to maintain a farm; drawing from a river is not a crime or a sin, indeed it is very virtuous, but, because there was no irrigation season in that area and no need for one, they went there and wanted to put a pump in operation and on their orders and by force of arms threatened the owner of the farm and the pump on grounds that 'you are against development and the revolution and so on and so forth, we are going to put this pump in operation so the common people can farm.' This is not a holy war of construction, it is a holy war of destruction, it is a holy war of confiscation. I do not know, the holy war is an attack, a revolution, and this is the first stage. The holy war of construction should not be like that."

The prime minister added, "A bill was drawn up and ratified by the Council of the Revolution to the effect that a five-man committee would be in charge of so to speak purification in each ministry. However, the views of these committees are mostly connected with the present and the future and mostly supervision over what people are doing now and /ruling/ 'let him stay, we also did this, and must do so.' We are in no way opposed to purification but the matter has a different face and form, just as, from the beginning of the triumph of the revolution, the enemy, through his domestic and his foreign agents, proceeded according to a plan and put a very organized act into motion every month or every few weeks; it is as if this matter, this matter of purification, has developed dimensions and criteria, part of which is a plan--that is, people set out and, with very compassionate faces, like wolves in sheeps' clothing, on all sides bring out accusations, information, espionage and old files. It is very easy to grow a beard and hold a string of beads in one's hand. These days a title of Islamic Society of Workers, I do not know, workers have been attributing such-and-such qualities to themselves whereas, when we look into individuals and their files, we see that a given person up to the revolution was a Rastakhiz head or representative in charge of collecting the members of the ministry and on the first page of someone else's file is an order which Ardeshir Zahedi issued and on another person's first page is a letter which for example he wrote to Dr Eqbal and there is the flattery and the accolade he made begging and imploring the Shah and Eqbal or others and the rest of them, or, for example, writing to Dr Eqbal and prostrating himself before him. We have often seen people in the name of the committee or other than the committee pouring poison-filled goblets of charges against our ministers, against the deputies, against the general directors and against other people. Now, for perhaps 2 or 3 weeks, or a month, this intensity and haste have increased and people have been receiving assignments from the Revolutionary Court, the assignment to conduct a purification--'bring the donkey all at once and take the beans away'--just as if they were setting bombs and pinning Savak labels on each other. It is still not known what happens when such an earthquake and such a state of affairs arises in an office or agency where for example 25 or 30 million tomans of the country's budget are being spent, in the steel mill or the railway, in the National Oil Company or for example the

Ministry of Commerce--people drop all of these /responsibilities/, set out under the pretext of purification and so on and so forth, and create disturbances, disorder and disruptions, and finally it becomes clear that when they draw up files like this on the head of a department or factory or hospital and stick the worst labels on him, he has no way out except to escape so he doesn't get caught or, if he is very self-sacrificing, to resign. The same with lower persons--whether this government comes in or another one, they have no choice but to /work/ carefully and cautiously and sometimes remove or substitute. The overall view should be to protect, preserve and look after them so that nobody, whether the government or enthusiastic higher officials, should make an effort over these rumors, whose main part and basis and principle is satanic destructiveness and ill will, or pay any heed to them. God willing, we are also taking the third step so that after ratification of the constitution and the elections, the government will recite the lament 'if we become heavy laden and depart, we will refer your judgment to God and depart' and at least the subsequent government will inherit a country which is in good order and therefore can carry out the basic significant plans which will take a long time and will need sacrifice, whether now or later, will need effort, will need self-denial, with divine support and your cooperation, affection and grace."

11837  
CSO: 4906

IRAN

KHOMEYNI'S SON SETS LIMITS ON RULE BY CLERGY

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 20 Oct 79 p 9

[Second letter of Hojjatoleslam Seyyed Ahmad Khomeyni to Ayatollah Montazeri: "The Extent of Religious Authority Should Be Clearly Defined"]

[Text] The second letter of Hojjatoleslam Seyyed Ahmad Khomeyni, son of the Imam, concerning the religious authority of the highest clergymen [hereafter called 'Faqih'] has been received by His Excellency Ayatollah Montazeri, chairman of the Assembly of Experts.

In this letter, Hojjatoleslam Khomeyni, while proclaiming his 100 percent support of Faqih, emphasized that its limits should be made clear. The text of the letter is:

In the Name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate:

Great warrior of the faith, Your Excellency Ayatollah Montazeri, Chairman of the Assembly of Experts, may your spiritual power endure. After greetings are made and before anything else I must say that I am 100 percent in support of Faqih, but I believe that its limits should be clearly defined. In my previous letter, I submitted that if the most knowledgeable man of the time should be a citizen of another country and he should have control of all the forces of Iran and war should break out between his country and Iran and he sees Israeli and American involvement in the war and he has no power to intervene politically or militarily in his country, what could be done?

With him being unable to declare war in his own country and being in fact against war, what would our responsibility be, as defenders against an attack? Your Excellency's answer was: "The acknowledged Faqih has always been in Iran, and if the people's religious allegiance goes to a non-Iranian, and if it should be agreed that such an Islamic Jurist should have control of Iranian politics, he must come to Iran." I have heard no other answer from you, but there are questions:

1. My point of focus was not the highest Iranian clergyman, but the world's highest clergyman, and the assumption was that it might be an Iraqi, for example, who is the most aware, knowledgeable, religious and committed, and our deprived people should be obliged to take him as their leader, in which case my hypothetical situation might thus come about.

2. As I said before, knowledgeability in religion does not depend upon being Iranian, and until now we have seen no learned opinion to the effect that religious allegiance must be given to Iran if the Faqih is in another country.

3. You have asked, if the people follow a non-Iranian Faqih, is this discipleship, which brings about a reverence for skill in Islamic law so that there is no need for a guidance council, the discipleship of the people of Iran or of the Shi'ites of the world? You know well that the fortunes of Iranian Shi'ites cannot be seen to unless the fortunes of all Shi'ites be taken into consideration. The Shi'ites of Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq, India, Kuwait, the rest of the Arab Gulf states, of the Soviet Union, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Indonesia, and the Shi'ites of Africa and other countries and continents should be taken into account.

4. Only about 27 million of the 100-150 million Shi'ites in the world are Iranian. The renown outside Iran for the authority of the Islamic Jurisprudence of Najaf is so great that the Shi'ites of most foreign countries are loyal to it. If Iraq decides seriously to expel the Iranians from the domain of Najaf, from then on all Shi'ites would be loyal to Arab Islamic legalists, and Iraqi Faqih would always possess the allegiance of the majority of Shi'ites.

5. You have asked: "And if it should be agreed that such an Islamic jurist should have control of Iranian politics?" The Faqih of the time, who is sanctioned by the parliament, should control the politics of Iran. The above phrase implies that the writer thinks it possible that a religious jurist might be foremost in the world, but not be given the political reigns because he is Iraqi, and that it is through the indulgence of the people that he would become involved politically.

6. You have said: "He must come to Iran." First of all, according to what parliament would have confirmed, "must and must not" are the prerogatives of Faqih, not of the law of parliament. The ordering and forbidding by the law (that he must or must not) of that clergyman would be a violation of the authority which had been granted him by the parliament. Secondly, if that clergyman, for any imaginable reason, or out of personal preference, or due to his own country's refusal to allow him, should not come to Iran, would he lose his Faqih for this reason?

Thirdly, nonratification of a clergyman's world authority by the Assembly of Experts because he should come to Iran, increases his authority, and the ratification of it takes something away from his authority, because

this Faqih is a divine matter and is affirmed through that channel.  
A right that is confirmed by God for a theologian cannot be denied.

7. The basis of difficulties is that if someone considers himself Faqih and you know his merit is not inconsiderable and he has a number of followers, he himself will consider it an obligation to interfere according to his authority. This is a broad subject. I ask that you write a full answer to the questions or give an explanation.

Sincerely, Ahmad Khomeyni, Friday, 19 October 1979.

9310  
CSO: 4906

IRAN

ARMY PURGE DEEMED VITAL FOR ISLAMIC REGIME

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 21 Oct 79 p 10

[Discussion by Dr Habibollah Peyman: "The Time for Talk Is Over. Action Must Be Taken"]

[Text] Doctor Habibollah Peyman, who had participated last Wednesday in the 40th-day funeral ceremonies of His Excellency Ayatollah Taleqani, in the course of his talks, part of which were published by KEYHAN on Friday night, brought up a number of important subjects related to various issues. Part of the concluding remarks of Dr Peyman are presented below.

Now the time for talk is past and action is necessary. Good intentions by themselves are no longer sufficient to get things done, the process is what is important. Urging and supporting such-and-such actions and such-and-such programs is pointless. We must have action. What has happened in Kordestan, Khuzestan, and other parts of the country is unsettling. By what means does the government intend to curb these catastrophes? The army should not be used to overturn the evils of Kordestan and other places where disturbances exist. This army has not been purged and it still contains elements connected with and loyal to the previous regime. The office of the Imam and other groups have studied the situation of the army several times, and the result is that the army is still the same and there has been no practical, fundamental purge. The same commanders are still serving in the army, who, as an investigation of Kordestan's past will show, in the midst of the people or the military proclaimed that the previous shah was a stupid man, and when America perceived he could no longer protect his interest they overthrew him. Such is the situation of the commanders who are still serving in the army creating disunity among the people and working actively in the guise of peacemakers in Kordestan. Here this question is raised, that Imam Khomeyni exists and his existence is a manifestation of the unity and solidarity of the people. A gesture from him and millions of true believers will pour into the streets to hear his command, but in lieu of answering this question,

that this situation exists right now, and Emam Khomeyni's existence is the best unifying factor for the people what is to be done in the future? What about tomorrow, that distant day when there is no Emam? What must we do then? Who will unify us then? It should not be based on this army and basically this army should not be relied upon. The power of the people is greater than that of any army. When we have a 100 percent people's army, then the power of the people and the power of the people's army, side by side, will bring down any foe. The clergymen who have taken control of things and who also have good intentions, should know that tangible realities and these matters being proposed and matters necessary for continuing the revolution are necessary and have priority. Involvement with historical Islamic events does not solve problems. A people's government is a principal element and is important, and giving importance to the rule of the people and their involvement with securing their own destiny is the most important principle which must be dealt with. Its importance is so great that Father Taleqani also continually spoke of it, and we saw to what an extent he insisted on this. He called on us to take the people into account and to regard their demands, thoughts, and views as important. This is a necessity for us now and we must believe in its abundant importance. The Assembly of Experts, as it is working now, as the assembly of people who are compiling the nation's future constitution, has an important responsibility on its shoulders. It has such a serious responsibility that if it does not exercise enough care in assembling the elements of Iran's future constitution, the people and future generations of this nation will be in a bad situation. The religious authority who is now confirming the representatives of this assembly is without objection now, and the person who has been proclaimed the governing clergyman is fully qualified. But will we have someone in the future whose authority and religious knowledge will equal that of Emam Khomeyni, governing religious authority of this age?

The representatives of the assembly should know that whoever in the future should be considered to be the governing religious authority and be confirmed legally should be qualified. In the event that the requirements are brought forth and he is found lacking, and not well enough acquainted with the realities of society to govern, what should be done? When it comes to the people's government, with the people participating in all matters, this kind of problem does not arise. The responsibility for us now, and of the people who consider themselves responsible, is to open up and clarify the essence of current events and to show the way along the noble path of the revolution's future. Being unified and performing prayers together in order to say that we are united is of no use. Praying together does not solve problems. We should know who we oppose and what people are enemies of Iran and of the Iranian revolution. If standards are not defined and discussed, unity of action will not be obtained. Today we are in such conditions and danger is so near that, if we do not speak the truth and bring forth the issues, we are going to be involved in many problems.

The principal enemy of Iran and the Iranian revolution is imperialism. What is proposed is complete dissociation with imperialism. The combined efforts of the clergy and the intellectuals will solve the problem. The essential solution is that we should not be dependent.

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CSO: 4906

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IRAN

COMMANDERS GIVE STERN WARNINGS TO KURDS

Tehran BAMDAD in Persian 23 Oct 79 pp 1,2

[Text] Urumiyeh--From BAMDAD's correspondent--Following the wounding of 20 soldiers in Mehabad, General Zahir-Nezhad, commander of the 64th Army of Urumiyeh, announced yesterday afternoon that under no circumstances will such activities be tolerated any longer and he added: I will not tolerate any more of this militarily, and if any hotel, home, ruin, apartment, window, barricade or place is the source of an attack against the army, it will be brought down over the ears of the people inside it. I will no longer allow the opponents of Islam to obstruct the Islamic clergy. I am warning them for the last time that I will not tolerate such armed obstructions. I will destroy them with all the force at my disposal." He added: "The Iranian nation should know that these soldiers have been under orders not to take any action unless attacked, but henceforth this will not be the order. We have a responsibility to the country. These faithful soldiers receive no reward or salary from the country. The nation has entrusted us with its innocent sons, we will no longer suffer any bad behavior from the opponents of Islam and the enemies of the people, until the rumors of the colonizers and the supporters of these mercenaries without a country are silenced." Concerning the revolutionary guardsmen and the reasons for opposition to them, Timsar Zahir-Nezhad said: "Those who are opposed to the revolutionary guardsmen are opposed to the Islamic Revolution, and since they cannot oppose the revolution itself out of fear of the people, they oppose the organizations which constitute the revolution. The guardsmen are the only organization which has come into existence since the revolution for the purpose of defending it. In my belief these people are among the most honorable and respectable elements of our current society, but they are young, of course, and they are emotional. We cannot expect the comportment of older people from young people. It is not clear why they only attack these people. They should protest against the Zionists, the South Africans, and the Americans." The commander of the 64th Army of Urumiyeh, in another portion of his talk, said: "The Kurds are one of the noblest, and at the same time one of the simplest, peoples in Iran who have become captivated by the poisonous propaganda of the traitorous Democratic Party. These people, who claim to be legitimate, illegally

take up arms, plunder garrisons, and do everything they can to undermine the security of the country, but you should not be involved in this. If we go on this way, the world will laugh at us as long as it exists and as long as there is time. Should the revolution, brought about by the people with their bare hands, now be defeated by a few traitors with cannons and guns?

At the conclusion, referring to issues raised by Radio BBC, he said: "Where do these hypocrites come from?" General Zahir-Nezhad, in another comment, mentioned that no one except Emam Khomeyni can undertake to guide the revolution, that the revolution is not an export from other countries, and that this revolution must be brought to fruition at any price.

Timsr Vali Falahi, commander of the infantry, in an interview with Urumiyeh radio yesterday said that the readiness and strength of the infantry to answer any threat from the clandestine Democratic Party of Kordestan is far greater in winter than in the summer. Referring to the armed activities of the clandestine Democratic Party, he said: "When a political organization has a military dimension or seeks to secede or intends to overthrow the central government, in any of these cases the army has a responsibility to intervene." He added: The actions we take in the area are based on legitimate and conditional defense. Always when attacks have been begun by hostile troops we have merely defended ourselves, according to the Shari'at, which considers defense a right in any situation, and our defense has been limited, meaning that if we are attacked by Kalashnikov rifles we try to respond with machineguns, not with artillery and tanks." Responding to the question of why the clean-up is taking so long, he said: "The extremist groups, and especially the leftist extremist groups, inhabit densely populated areas in the midst of innocent people, and the clean-up has been prolonged out of respect for these people."

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ISRAEL

ISRAELI SETTLEMENT POLICY CALLED THREAT TO PEACE

Jerusalem AL-QUDS in Arabic 15 Oct 79 p 1

[Editorial: "Settlement and Peace"]

[Text] The occupied Arab territories are continuously shrinking, sometimes by expropriation and other times by striking a siege around them. While the methods used to devour these lands may differ from one case to another, yet the goal is always the same.

The recent decision of the Israeli Government to enlarge the seven settlements by confiscating what the Israeli Government considers to be state domain lands will not be the last measure emphasizing the intention of this government to pursue its settlement policy.

The Arabism of these lands will not be annulled by the different names, categories and classifications they are given. There are no such things as government lands and privately-owned lands. The Arab lands have been inherited by one generation from another. There is no law which allows the confiscation of other people's land for the purpose of establishing settlements on them.

The great agony we, the sons of the occupied territories, suffer stems from lack of recognition by the Arab world of the danger threatening our lands and from the failure of our Arab brothers outside the occupied homeland to agree on a well studied and unified stand to avoid the loss of what remained of the Palestinian lands.

The Arab indifference toward what is happening will lead to the settlement of one million Jews on the West Bank and encircling every Arab village and city with Jewish settlements and cities. Then, we will have to add to the list of the Arab catastrophies a new one that will not be the last!

We know that the mere denunciation of the expropriation of the Arab lands will not affect Israel's determination to continue its policy and to carry out its settlement plan. But, we reiterate that the road taken by Israel is full of dangers. This policy is considered as a threat undermining the chances of peace. This threat will inevitably push the wise among the friends of Israel to force it to retreat from the excessive position of pursuing its current policy.

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- There is still a significant remark to make: The recent Israeli decision affirms the fact that the Israeli Government and the Gush Emunim group are two faces of the same settlement coin. All the allegations that this government is fighting against the so-called "settlement by force" are mere nonsense that nobody can believe. -  
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ISRAEL

HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE WEST BANK

Jerusalem AL-SHA'B in Arabic 18 Oct 79 p 2

[Article: "Higher Education Board Executive Committee Keenly Pursues Question of Placing Gaza Strip Students in the Three Universities of the West Bank"]

[Text] The Board of Higher Education Executive Committee yesterday (Wednesday) held its 13th session at the official headquarters of the Board of Higher Education in the Trade Unions Complex in Beit Hanina. During that meeting, the committee continued discussion of its general report about the current state and future of higher education and the ways and means of developing and improving it to secure a better future for the children of our people in the occupied Arab territories.

As a result of its deliberations, during two consecutive sessions held last week, the Executive Committee approved the final draft of its report endorsing recommendations on planning, coordinating and financing higher education and emphasizing the necessity of continuing the role of the Board of Higher Education, in its capacity as the supreme national body in charge of those issues pertaining to higher education and Arab culture in the occupied Arab territories.

The Executive Committee decided to send copies of its report to the members of the Board of Higher Education and all the concerned circles within and outside the occupied Arab territories.

During the afternoon part of yesterday's session, the Executive Committee met with a number of members of the Board of Higher Education from the Gaza Strip. The conferees discussed the dimensions of the problems faced by the graduates of secondary schools in the Gaza Strip and the ways and means of helping them enroll in the universities in the West Bank. As a result of that discussion, the Executive Committee decided to ask the three universities in the West Bank, namely the Bir Zeit University, Bethlehem University and al-Najah University, to submit to the committee statistics about the numbers of students who applied for enrollment, how many were admitted, and what can be done to facilitate the admission of others for the first and second semester of the current school year.

The Executive Committee will resume the discussion of the problem of the Gaza Strip students after receiving the answers from the three universities in order to coordinate the activities of the three institutes in helping higher education in the Gaza Strip.

AL-SHA'B knew that the Executive Committee's report called for drawing an agreed upon comprehensive and coordinated development plan for higher education and Arab culture in the occupied territories that would be implemented under the supervision of the Board of Higher Education.

Discussing the financing of higher education projects, the report stressed the necessity of financing the programs of the universities and higher education institutes under a comprehensive plan through the Board of Higher Education.

It is worthwhile to mention here that the Board of Higher Education last July invited an educational expert specializing in planning for the development of education. Dr Norman Charles Hunt from the University of Edinburgh in Britain [sic] visited all the universities and educational institutions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. As a result of his visit, he submitted a report which contained several recommendations. The Academic Sub-committee of the Board of Education as well made a comprehensive review of the education situation in our country. Both the recommendations of the British expert and the Academic Sub-committee were taken into consideration when the Executive Committee discussed its general report, approved yesterday.

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KUWAIT

KUWAITI PAPERS ASSESS IMPLICATION OF SEIZURE OF U.S. EMBASSY

LD120826 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 0712 GMT 12 Nov 79 LD

[Text] Kuwait, 12 Nov--Three local papers comment today on the current situation in Iran in light of the continued detention of the hostages at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran.

The newspaper AL-ANBA' expresses its opposition to the occupation of the embassy as a matter of principle but expresses surprise at the reaction of the citizens in the West to it. It writes: The occupation operation constitutes a violation of all diplomatic traditions and usage. It is wrong to believe, for even one single moment, that such an operation will serve Iran's national objectives. For all it will do is to bring disrepute to the prestige of the state in the international and political circles.

Referring to the wave of anger that has swept the United States and other countries over the occupation operation, the newspaper says "we are extremely astounded by this wave of wrath; for the fate of the 40 hostages at the embassy is certainly less important than the lives of an entire people and the destiny of an entire nation."

The paper says that the American people are urging their government to wage a war "even if that means the destruction of the whole world," but they consider it outrageous for the Palestinian people and their revolution to wage such war for their rights to return to their usurped homeland.

AL-ANBA' then advises the Americans to ask themselves about the reason that makes them so hated in the world and that turns their flag into a symbol of plotting and their name into a synonym for international crime. If the Americans were to look at the map of the world and put their blood-stained hands over the wounds of men in Palestine, Lebanon, Vietnam, Cambodia, Chile, Pakistan, Iran and elsewhere, the paper adds, "then the ugly Americans will realize why they alone of all the world's people are singled out for man's hatred."

The Kuwait paper AL-SIYASAH writes: To control the situation in Iran will always require a stand that conflicts with highly delicate and sensitive emotions and feelings. The paper points out that control of the situation must come at the expense of some factions that have found in the Iranian revolution an emotional if not material gain. These factions are content "to be able to raise their voices and call for the death of the shah and his henchmen, and perhaps for the lynching of Carter and facing up to the United States."

The Iranian leadership must be truly anxious to restore order, the paper adds, but "many are still intoxicated by the frenzy of the situation, particularly those who carry arms and find pleasure in chanting slogans against the shah, although he is no longer an important matter, and against Carter, the United States and imperialism."

For 30 years, the paper says, the Iranian people expressed their feelings only in whispers, and now, suddenly, they have got the opportunity to cry out. "Such people," it adds, "cannot be easily steered and directed. The situation will become critical if Khomeyni were to disappear from the scene in Iran where the people are still intoxicated by what has happened."

The English-language KUWAIT TIMES expresses sympathy for the Iranian people's demand for the trial of the ex-shah because of the crimes he committed against the Iranians during his 37 years of rule. But the paper also expresses its opposition to the use of force to detain the hostages in the embassy to bring pressure to bear on the United States to hand the shah over to Iran "because such acts are inconsistent with the Islamic laws."

The paper expresses its concern for the political anarchy that threatens to do away with Iran "where the Kurds seem bent on continuing the fight for independence and where it is very easy to drive the Arabs into bloodbaths there, as they number over 3 million in Arabestan [Khorasan]."

The paper says that a wise leadership can lead the country out of catastrophe and this is something the present leadership in Iran can do.

The paper goes on to say that the Carter Administration is now under pressure from the Congress, the American people and the American press who are all in rage, "and hence it would be illogical for it to hand the shah over to Iran."

The paper concludes that perhaps the ideal solution for ending the crisis is to hand over the shah's wealth to the present government in Iran as proposed by the former U.S. delegate to the United Nations, Andrew Young.

CSO: 4802



KUWAIT

'AL-ANBA' COMMENTS ON U.S.-IRANIAN CRISIS

LD150759 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 0708 GMT 15 Nov 79 LD

[Text] Kuwait--Local papers here dealt today with the developments in the American-Iranian crisis and its reflection on various aspects of the situation in the Middle East region.

AL-ANBA' said that the occupation of the American Embassy in Tehran was no more than a severe reaction to the shah's entry into the United States which had resulted in the cutting off of the oil and the freezing of the Iranian assets in America as the beginning of an economic war. It added that what is more serious than this is the American military demonstration, which resembles the tripartite battle against Egypt in 1956.

The paper ruled out the possibility of the outbreak of war and said that it was the economic blockade whose signs began to emerge. However, it added that this blockade was difficult to enforce due to the interests of Japan and Europe, which need the Iranian oil.

AL-ANBA' called on Iran to take the initiative to "settle" its differences with the Gulf States out of the principle in which we believe, namely the rejection of foreign invasion and intervention. It said it goes without saying that this should be our stand when an Islamic state is being subjected to a real threat. The paper concluded its comment by saying that it was essential that Tehran should realize the importance of consultation and coordination in the policies of the states of the region and not to be hostile to them and create crisis with them so that none of us would find himself alone in the battle of destiny.

CSO: 4802

KUWAIT

'AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM' 'RIDICULES' U.S. STATEMENT ON MIDEAST POLICY

LD080808 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 0710 GMT 8 Nov 79 LD

[Text] Kuwait--AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM said here today that if there was any benefit from occupying the American Embassy in Tehran it is summed up at least in making the Americans taste occupation. The paper hoped that the occupation of the embassy would make Americans realize the meaning of the occupation of Palestine and the deprivation of its people of their right to their homeland and for its people to have a secured existence against threats, terrorism and killing. It said that this was an opportunity for the United States to learn how to deal with people by respecting and recognizing their rights and not by means of subjugation, plotting and supporting aggression against them.

It ridiculed an American statement which stated "that the aim of American policy in the Middle East is to help the states in the region to preserve their independence against any outside interference." It said: Who believes such words? It stressed that the United States was the only source of threat to the Middle East states. It explained that Palestine was the best example of this. It pointed that the mediation of the PLO for the release of the hostages at the American Embassy will not lead Washington to recognize it (the PLO) unless it abandons its demand for a Palestinian homeland.

CSO: 4802

KUWAIT

'AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM' 'REGRETS' ARAB, PALESTINIAN 'RUSH' TO SAVE U.S. HOSTAGES

LD110854 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 0738 GMT 11 Nov 79 LD

[Text] Kuwait, 11 Nov--The Kuwaiti AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM expresses its deep regret at the Palestinian and Arab rush to save the U.S. citizens detained at the American Embassy in Tehran, saying that such an initiative gives the United States "a certificate of good conduct it never dreamed of ever having, particularly since it has been murdering us for 30 years and is still doing so through Israel and is doing away with any dignity we might still have."

The paper adds: "The American commander in Washington, who committed all sorts of massacres in many countries, including Palestine, now talks about humanity and involves the Arabs and the PLO in washing away his sins, thereby raising before the Americans themselves and before the world a certificate exonerating him from shedding our blood and supporting Israel's aggression on us. This rush will show that we have been false in denouncing the United States, so much so that Washington can declare: "Can you not see the Arabs and Palestinians rushing to save the U.S. prestige in this crisis"?"

The paper then points to the contradiction in the attitude of the Arabs who are rushing to secure the release of the hostages and says that a number of Arabs are still being detained in the prisons of the Phalangist Alliance in Lebanon, but no Arab has moved to save them. "Should these Arabs become Americans so that we may care for them"? the paper asks in conclusion.

CSO: 4802

KUWAIT

'AL-WATAN': U.S. COMPLETES PREPARATIONS FOR NILE BASIN UNION

LD101058 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 0729 GMT 10 Nov 79 LD

[Text] Kuwait--A Kuwaiti paper today says that the United States intends to set up a security alliance among seven African countries along the Nile basin, most prominent of whom is Egypt, for the purpose of confronting Soviet "infiltration" in the continent.

AL-WATAN attributes to sources which it describes as closely linked to the U.S. State Department, reports to the effect that the U.S. Government "has completed the final touches to the scheme" which will begin in the form of technological and economic cooperation among the African states and will end by finding a kind of political and security cooperation among them.

It says that Egypt will play a "basic" role in this scheme which will be called the Nile Basin Union [Ittihad Hawd al-Nil] "to replace the Arab League and the leadership role which it had among the group of Arab countries." This is a reference to freezing Egypt's membership in the Arab League as punishment for signing the peace treaty with Israel.

AL-WATAN adds that the other member countries in the proposed union are Sudan, Uganda, Zaire, Ethiopia, Kenya and Chad.

The paper says that the advisers of the U.S. President do not believe that the present sharp political disputes among some members of the proposed union, such as the dispute between Marxist Ethiopia and some of its neighbors, would reduce the chances of success for the scheme as they consider "that possibilities of change in the directions of the aims of U.S. strategy are not unlikely even in the short term." [as received]

CSO: 4802

KUWAIT

BRIEFS

IRANIAN REVOLUTION SECOND STAGE--The newspaper AL-WATAN today discussed the situation in Iran. It describes the recent events in Tehran as being the start of the second stage of the revolution which blew away Bazargan's government and returned the reins to a new revolutionary council differing in form and content from its previous composition." The paper explains that Khomeyni's revolution in the first stage was "the revolution of the people against their ruler" but today's revolution is "the revolution of the state against its colonizer." It adds that the former shah in the first stage was unable to face the revolution and that President Carter, so it appears, is unable in the second stage to move against it "and finds that all he can do is to pray and await solution from heaven." AL-WATAN says that the crisis of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran is not just linked to oil and U.S. interests "but it opens the file of the revolutions of the third world against the American octopus." It adds that it could be said "Iran's coming triumphant out of this crisis will be an international triumph for the oppressed people against American domination and influence." [Text] [LD142235 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 0729 GMT 14 Nov 79 LD]

IRAN'S LOSS OF PRESTIGE--AL-SIYASAH underlines the losses suffered by Iran's international prestige as a result of the incident in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran. It says that the Iranian regime, "which believed that the oil will be a decisive weapon," now has learned "that American itself does not want Iranian oil." It adds that what has occurred in Tehran "will remain unacceptable to the oil-producing countries and they are against it although they are not saying so." It continues to say that "the peoples of this region do not find in such actions ideal demands and aims, especially now that they have become peoples concerned with the logic of dealing with the peoples of the world with comprehensible and convincing languages." The paper stresses that there are many countries "ready" to sell oil to the United States "as long as the conditions for the compensatory request are justified humanely by an incident which is rejected internationally. AL-SIYASAH concludes its commentary by saying there is nothing new in the situation in Tehran "other than an increasing loss of the international prestige of Iran." [Text] [LD142305 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 0741 GMT 14 Nov 79 LD]

POSSIBLE IRANIAN MILITARY COUP--Kuwait, 15 Nov--Reports published here say that Iran will witness a military coup aimed at keeping men of religion away from power. The paper AL-SIYASAH quotes diplomatic circles as saying that reports circulated between Tehran and Paris say there are increasing possibilities of a coup led by Admiral Ahmad Madani, with the support of units from the Iranian Navy, Army and Air Force. [Text] [JNL50949 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0940 GMT 15 Nov 79 JN]

CSO: 4802

LIBYA

LIBYA URGES ARAB NATION TO 'REVIEW' DEPOSITS IN U.S. BANKS

LD151934 Tripoli Voice of the Arab Homeland in Arabic 1715 GMT 15 Nov 79 LD

[Text] The policy of imperialism is based on aggression and piracy. Imperialism wants to impose its influence over people; to suck their resources and exploit them in order to make more profit and as a result deprive people of development and progress and keep them from overcoming poverty and hunger.

The money deposited in Western banks is not secure from danger. When imperialism fails to impose its conditions or use armed force against people, it does not hesitate to act against money in its banks which belongs to such people. This can be seen in the current case in which the imperialist U.S. administration froze \$12 billion of the Iranian people's money in American banks in an attempt to apply pressure to free the American hostages in Iran.

America, whose fingers were burned by the flames of the Vietnamese war, makes a thousand calculations before using the battleship and the gun. Therefore, it threatens to use these armed methods and if this is to no avail imperialism resorts to aggression in another way. The American action against the Islamic people's revolution in Iran has been the freezing of Iranian deposits, that is the seizing of those deposits. This American act of piracy, in addition to being theft and robbery, forces people to draw a lesson from this event and know that when they deposit money in Western banks this money becomes endangered and subject to bargaining by the imperialist pirates.

Perhaps the nation most in need of being aware of this fact is the Arab nation because the Arabs have huge deposits in the United States and the West in general from which imperialist countries benefit. The racist enemy which has usurped Palestine also benefits from them. Despite the role of Arab deposits in strengthening the Western economies and the American economy in particular, the United States is totally biased in favor of the racist enemy and is totally hostile to Arab rights. In other words, despite the fact that it has interests in the Arab world, it supports the Zionist injustice and is hostile to Arab rights and fights them.

Arab deposits in the West and in the United States, in addition to U.S. interests in the Arab world, mean that the Arabs are in a position to threaten the United States and impose their will on it, but the United States behaves as though the reverse were true. It threatens and it is the one to belittle the Arabs. This forces the Arabs to take measures which will make the United States stop dreaming or stop ignoring the Arabs, such as making the United States understand that if the Arabs wait this does not mean that they will continue doing so and that if they have been patient there is a limit to their patience. One such measure is to review our deposits in the West and the United States so that the time does not come when the United States tries to freeze or seize Arab money, causing us two losses: Losing the money and losing because we did not use it to transform and develop our economic capabilities.

The Arab homeland needs the Arab deposits. The Arab nation has priority and is more deserving of its money and the use of our Arab money in the construction and development of our nation. This is more beneficial and more lasting than transforming this money into deposits in Western banks, which benefit our imperialist and racist enemies. Before us is the experience of Libya, which benefits from every penny and where money is transformed into projects of development and great transformation. The use of this money was behind the great transformation in Libya, which has astonished the whole world. This experience is the biggest incentive for all of us to stop depositing our money in Western banks and to review our deposits in Western banks in order to protect them from what has happened to the deposits of the Iranian people at the hand of American imperialism.

There is no doubt that the best and most secure protection for our deposits is that they should be in our hands and in our country, where they should be used in development and transformation and not kept as paper or bank balances. It is strange that your money should be one of the weapons in the hand of your enemy, used against you, but the policy of imperialism is full of such contradictions. There is no way to deprive the imperialist enemy of the chance to use this weapon other than disarming the enemy of the weapon. If this is done the enemy will suffer the two losses: Its loss of this money which eases its economic problems, and its loss of the money as a weapon or a means of pressure and bargaining against the people.

Finally, the seizure by the U.S. imperialist administration of the deposits of the Iranian people is good lesson and a serious precedent that people should not take casually. The nation most in need of benefitting and learning from this lesson and precedent is the Arab nation.

CSO: 4802



LIBYA

'MENA': IN SEPTEMBER ASSASSINATIONS, EXPLOSIONS OCCURRED IN LIBYA

NC141005 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0835 GMT 14 Nov 79 NC

[Text] Cairo, 14 November--The weekly magazine AKHIR SA'AH says that Colonel al-Qadhdhafi is becoming increasingly concerned about his weak position at home and more aware of it, particularly since the opposition--hitherto active abroad--now has forces in Libya itself.

Citing informed sources in Tripoli, the magazine says that on the night of (?1) September these forces succeeded in launching a surprise attack on six fuel stations in Tripoli and on another station in Zuwarah. The Libyan authorities kept quiet about this incident despite the fact that the operation was carried out by an opposition organization consisting of people from (Khazzan). The planning for the operation was done in Tripoli, Zuwarah and Sabhah. This last operation, however, has failed. [as received]

The magazine adds that on 12 September Colonel al-Qadhdhafi was scheduled to inaugurate both a big seven-storey administrative complex housing the health, education and services offices in the town of Surt, and a nearby hotel. The two buildings were blown up. Eighty Libyans and Pakistanis among the people preparing to welcome the colonel were killed. The purpose of the operation was to assassinate al-Qadhdhafi.

AKHIR SA'AH also says that 21 people were assassinated in al-Zawiyah last month including the deputy chairman of the pro al-Qadhdhafi people's committee. The town of Zuwarah is openly showing hostility toward al-Qadhdhafi and his regime.

The magazine confirms the appearance of a new organization in Libya under the name of the "Black Cat." This organization sends threats to wealthy ministers who cooperate with the regime. Pictures of a black cat are being stuck on cars in some Libyan towns. It has been said in Libya that this organization has links with Iraq and that it appeared after the return of the Libyan military personnel who had been training in Iraq.

CSO: 4802

MOROCCO

MOROCCO'S BOUCETTA VIEWS TIES WITH SPAIN, EQUATORIAL GUINEA, SAHARA

LD260825 Casablanca LE MATIN in French 11 Nov 79 p 5 LD

[Apparent text of Madrid interview with Moroccan Foreign Minister M'hamed Boucetta originally published in Madrid DIARIO 16: "The Ratification of the Moroccan-Spanish Fishing Agreement Has Been Delayed as a Result of Statements on Sahara"; date not given]

[Excerpts] On the occasion of his official visit to Spain Mr M'hamad Boucetta gave Madrid newspaper DIARIO 16 an exclusive interview. We publish a full translation hereunder.

QUESTION: Minister, how do you explain the contrast between the big plans for Spanish-Moroccan cooperation and the meager results so far achieved?

ANSWER: Great opportunities have arisen for concrete achievements, especially following the meetings between their majesties King Juan Carlos and King Hassan II.

Some opportunities for finding solutions to minor problems have been missed but we should not despair. We have now reached understanding on a fundamental problem.

Our relations should not be founded on unbalanced bases, and the interests of both sides should be safeguarded. Territorial problems--relating to Tarfaya, Ifni and Sahara--have existed in recent years and they have poisoned our relations. I hope that once the core of these problems is dealt with we will be able to start work on these projects.

The project for the tunnel to be built under the Strait of Gibraltar gives us an idea about the future of our relations not only with respect to the tunnel itself but also with respect to many other problems which our two countries must consider. There now is a desire to outline a framework for such talks which will enable us to establish bases for our future relations. All disputes must be settled.

QUESTION: Can you now talk about a Washington-Madrid-Rabat axis?

ANSWER: No. It is of vital importance for our two countries to harmonize their foreign policy, especially in anticipation of the coming security conference in Madrid. Our trade policy should also be coordinated since Spain will soon become a member of the Common Market.

QUESTION: What is your view on Spain's new Maghreb policy?

ANSWER: We can very well understand that Spain seeks equilibrium but we also want it to understand us. We will be able to progress on this basis.

QUESTION: What is the reason for the presence of a contingent of soldiers in Equatorial Guinea?

ANSWER: Our African policy is based on solidarity which we show any time a country needs and asks for help. Guinea needed humanitarian aid to insure stability. We hope that that country will achieve stability as soon as possible.

QUESTION: How do you explain the inadequacy of Moroccan diplomatic action at the OAU and the United Nations?

ANSWER: The Sahara problem has been misunderstood. Its assessment will change once the problem is better understood. Even though decolonization has taken place a fundamental error is still being committed in this sphere. Self-determination is being confused with referendum and elections, just as methods for expressing desires are being considered whereas our territorial integrity is at stake. People refuse to consider the main problem and this has been further complicated by the fact that they have hegemonist plans and want to seize a territory for ideological reasons through subversion.

CSO: 4400

MOROCCO

ISTIQLAL PARTY MEMORANDUM CONDEMNS ALGERIAN 'FRATRICIDAL' WAR

LD190903 Casablanca LE MATIN in French 3 Nov 79 pp 1, 3 LD

[Unattributed report: "Istiqlal Party Condemns the Fratricidal War and Asks for Help for Morocco in Its Fight for Its Territorial Integrity"]

[Text] During its meeting on 6 October the Istiqlal Party executive committee published the text of its appeal to the Arab nation to intervene to end the threat of war facing this region of the Maghreb.

The note stresses that this appeal is part of a series of warnings given by the Istiqlal Party to Arab leaders since the last appeal launched by the late Allal el Fassi from Kuwait [sentence as published].

The memorandum recalls the conditions whereby elements of various nationalities were enlisted, recruited by Algeria, heavily armed and put forward under the name of the "POLISARIO."

This memorandum denounces Algerian maneuvers which, in fact, are aimed at distracting Morocco, an Arab country, from its real objectives of economic and social development and at dismantling it as a state so as to create other artificial entities from it.

The Algerian maneuvers are also aimed at preventing Morocco from assuming its full responsibilities with the regard to the vital question of the liberation of occupied Palestine.

The note also protests against the Algerian leaders' practice of imposing an (undeclared) war with the aim of:

--setting up a puppet entity--the so-called Saharan Arab Republic;

--isolating Morocco geographically which would produce, as colonialism previously tried to produce, economic and political suppression.

While recalling the process which led to the decolonization of the Sahara and its reintegration into the fatherland--especially the green March and the Madrid tripartite agreement--the memorandum expresses the Istiqlal Party's firm conviction that a Zionist and imperialist plan is behind the tension prevailing in Northwest Africa aimed at:

--distracting the attention of the countries in the region from their essential objective, namely building the Arab nation and liberating the Palestinian Arab territories;

--preparing the ground for foreign intervention which a fratricidal war would render inevitable, as was the case for other countries on the continent.

The appeal launched by the Istiqlal Party executive committee then recalls the escalation in tension highlighting the increasing number of armed attacks from Algerian territory against Morocco in the past 4 years and the sophisticated nature of the weapons used by those mercenaries who return to Algerian territory when their job has been carried out.

Morocco, the memorandum continues, is prepared to make any sacrifices necessary to defend its territorial integrity and will not abandon an inch of its national territory. However, the memorandum adds, Morocco refuses to take the war into other areas in order to avoid shedding Arab blood. Morocco, the memorandum recalls has agreed to all the Arab and African initiatives aimed at finding a solution to the Algerian-Morocco quarrel. It also recalls his Majesty King Hassan II's idea of calling a conference of all states bordering on the Sahara with a view to making the region a zone of cooperation and giving enclaved countries access to the sea.

In the spirit of Arab fraternity and solidarity, the memorandum concludes, and to counter the imperialist-Zionist plans, the Istiqlal Party repeats its appeal to Arab leaders and all political and social organizations with a view to averting the threat of a fratricidal war.

To that end the Istiqlal Party executive committee advocates:

The mobilization of political and trade union organizations and Arab news organs against the enemies of Arab unity.

The condemnation of the fratricidal war.

Aid for Morocco in its fight for its territorial integrity.

CSO: 4400

QATAR

BRIEFS

U.S. POLICY TOWARD IRAN--Doha, 14 Nov--In its editorial today, the Qatari newspaper (?AL-'ARAB) denounced the U.S. position on the Iranian revolution and the recent measures freezing Iranian funds and assets in the United States. The paper says: Despite U.S. attempts to delude the world into believing that the measures the United States had adopted are limited, the world realizes that the biggest power, which claims to be defending the free economic system, is practicing piracy on a worldwide scale. The paper stresses that the UN Security Council has been subjected to U.S. blackmail and explains how the big powers found themselves with a common interest in rejecting the Iranian calls to convene an emergency UN Security Council session to discuss the political and economic U.S. aggression against Iran. The paper then compares statements made by the United States on terrorism and the fact that it is the principal power supporting terrorism on a worldwide scale and launching a campaign of economic intimidation against the Iranian Muslim people. In conclusion, the paper says that Washington supported the deposed shah in the past in his terrorism against the Iranian people. According to the paper, the U.S. intelligence services helped the shah kill more than 300,000 Iranians during his reign. [JN171154 Doha QNA in Arabic 1130 GMT 17 Nov 79 JN]

CSO: 4802

SUDAN

## BRIEFS

CALL FOR 'NATIONAL GOVERNMENT'--At the direction of Muhammad 'Uthman al-Mirghani and under his leadership, 10 of the top Unionist leaders [leaders of the Democratic Unionist Party] have met at al-Mirghani's house in Khartoum and decided to send a national political note to the leadership of the regime. The historic note contained specific demands on which the Sudanese people are unanimously agreed and which are considered the only way to rescue the country from the abyss into which the agent regime has plunged it. The note is summed up in the following points: 1--The Unionists see that a national government of all parties should be formed immediately in order to rescue the Sudanese homeland. 2--President Ja'far Numayri can continue in office as a figurehead divested of all his powers until the end of his term of office. 3--The Socialist Union and the People's Assembly should be dissolved immediately. 4--All parties should be permitted to resume their activities immediately. The note warned the regime that if the contents of the note are not met, the hungry will stage a revolution that would devour everything. There has been no reaction from the leadership of the regime but Foreign Minister and Second Vice President al-Rashid al-Tahir has attacked the parties and party activities. This serious historic note is considered the first major political action the regime has encountered in the country. It can be compared only with the note which the conference [Mu'tamar] submitted to the colonialists and which marked the beginning of the national movement. We have learned that al-Sadiq al-Mahdi is preparing a similar note. [Text] [LD260823 London AKHBAR AL-SUDAN in Arabic undated 1979 p 3 LD]

REGISTERING OF REFUGEES--Khartoum, Nov. 11, (SUNA)--The process of registering all refugees residing here will be completed mid November. The refugees office has issued 21,000 travel documents for refugees who wish to leave the country. A general ID Card will be issued to all refugees with exception of those already employed. Meanwhile, the U.N. has endorsed \$9 million for rehabilitating the refugees in Sudan in addition to contributions from the UNHCR here FAC, and L.s 50,000 from the Sudan government to implement the social and health programme for refugees. On the other hand, the People's Assembly's Security and Defence Committee Chairman Col. Babikar Abdel Rahim stated that the sub-committees emanating from the Committee have held a series of meetings with authorities in the refugees concentration areas dealing with refugees influx into the Sudan. The Committee has sent a team to Port Sudan to study the condition of Eritrean refugees in the Red Sea Province, he concluded. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA BULLETIN in English 11 Nov 79 p 5]

AIRPORT PROJECT LOAN--Khartoum, Nov. 15, (SUNA)--A delegation from the Civil Aviation Department will leave for Saudi Arabia by the end of the month to negotiate a loan agreement with the Islamic Bank for Port Sudan airport project. The loan, equivalent to \$7.2 million will constitute part of the required foreign component. The Saudi Fund has offered a 35.2 million Saudi Riyals loan for the same purpose. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA BULLETIN in English 15 Nov 79 p 2]

ROMANIAN PETROLEUM DELEGATION--Khartoum, Nov. 16, (SUNA)--A delegation from the Romanian Petroleum Company is due to arrive here next week. The delegation will discuss with officials at the Petroleum Public Administration (P.P.A.) the implementation of a project in increasing storage capacity for petroleum products at Port Sudan. A reliable source at the P.P.A. said the project's initial costs are estimated at \$25 million and include the establishment of ten depots. The project will secure the country's requirements of petroleum products and ensure a strategic reserve for emergency. The project will be financed by the Socialist Republic of Romania according to a protocol signed between Sudan and Romania last April in Bucharest. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA BULLETIN in English 16 Nov 79 p 4]

BANK DEPOSITS INCREASE--Atbara, Nov. 16, (SUNA)--First Vice-President Abdel Magid Hamid Khalil yesterday said here that as a result of the new economic policies, the deposits of the Bank of Sudan of foreign exchange have jumped to \$52 million and that \$9.3 million of these deposits have come from the Sudanese nationals working abroad. Addressing the leaders of national action in the Nile Province, Sayed Khalil also said that Sudan will attain an estimate of \$280 million in loans as a result of the Economic Stabilization Programme. Lt. General Khalil is now on a tour of the Nile Province. He has met citizens and leaders of national action and inspected the Armed Forces Units in the Province. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA BULLETIN in English 16 Nov 79 p 9]

LOANS FOR RAILWAY--Atbara, Oct. 25, (SUNA)--The Kuwaiti Fund for Arab Economic Development, the Arab Fund for Economic Development and Abu Dhabi Fund for Arab Economic Development have agreed to provide Sudan with a 12.9 million Kuwaiti dinar loan for developing Railway Corporation services, said Managing Director of Financial Affairs at the Railway Corporation Rasheed Saad El Soufi. The loan agreement was reached after a 4-day discussion in Kuwait conducted by the visiting Sudanese Railway Corporation's delegation headed by Abbas Ali Raji, Board Chairman of the Corporation, he said. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA BULLETIN in English 25 Oct 79 p 3]

ANTI-LOCUST CAMPAIGN--Khartoum, Nov. 15, (SUNA)--The Department of Plant Protection has prepared itself to wage a campaign to combat desert locust and hopper during the rainy season in the Red Sea area, according to a reliable source at the Department. The source added that the existence of desert locust in Eastern Sudan will not affect agricultural regions of Central Sudan. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA BULLETIN in English 15 Nov 79 p 5]

CSO: 4820



SULTANATE OF OMAN

QABUS VIEWS PROBLEMS OF SAFEGUARDING STRAIT OF HORMUZ

LD211621 Kuwait AL-WATAN in Arabic 16 Nov 79 p 10 LD

[Interview with Omani Sultan Qabus Ibn Sa'id by Najib 'Abd-al-Hadi--  
date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Muscat--[Question] How would Your Majesty describe the  
Sultanate's relationship with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the other  
Gulf states?

[Answer] This matter is obvious to all, really. Relations with Saudi  
Arabia and the other Arab brothers in the Gulf are excellent. This is  
the least description of these relations, because we are one family and  
the relationship among the members of this family is a fraternal one. I  
say this not out of courtesy and not in an attempt to play with words.

[Question] There has been much talk recently about the security of the  
Gulf. What is your interpretation of this designation and how can the  
states concerned draw up a strategic plan for the proposed protection  
of the Gulf?

[Answer] The security of the Gulf has been worrying the Sultanate for  
a long time. We have always taken every opportunity to talk to our  
brothers about the area's security. In the past there was much talk  
but little concentration on the problem.

A genuine change in the understanding of the magnitude of the Gulf  
security issue has occurred recently. We now can say that there is  
now a clear and serious concentration on the subject of Gulf security--  
a fact which inspires optimism. The area's states have begun to gain  
a better and deeper understanding of the reality of the dangers threaten-  
ing the area's security and safety.

The Sultan of Oman continued his answer to the question by telling AL-WATAN:

We want to keep the area away from international conflicts. I say inter-  
national conflicts because this area is the center of conflict and is  
rich in oil and mineral resources, not to mention its strategic position.

Since we are talking about keeping the area away from international conflicts, we must ask: How can a strategic plan be drawn up to insure the proposed security? The answer is: By strengthening ourselves and by relying more and more on our intrinsic power until we are completely capable of protecting our security and maintaining the area's stability. We must utilize all our forces, capabilities and energies to achieve economic, industrial and military integration and establish a solid base for achieving political understanding on matters that concern us and on matters that concern others. We must have identical views and complete agreement, particularly when talking to brothers. This method of dealing with each other will give us competence and win us world respect. The enemy, who is lying in wait for us, will then realize that we are capable of defending ourselves against dangers without having to resort to foreign aid and we will also foil every opportunity and every excuse for any foreign intervention or role.

[Question] What is the Sultanate's attitude toward the PLO?

[Answer] The Sultanate's attitude is like the attitude of any other Arab state. Our policy is based on the fact that the Palestinian people have been robbed of their rights and have been displaced and that they must regain their legitimate rights and their usurped land and determine their own fate. We are very pleased to see signs of new understanding prevailing in the world at present--an understanding which will most certainly lead to the emergence of a new trend in world public opinion supporting these legitimate demands instead of continuing to consider the issue as an issue of refugees. In our opinion, the picture has now begun to change. The Palestinians now have a presence in international political circles and have been able to strengthen their position and enhance their role. This is gratifying.

[LD211623] [Question] The recent Al-Ta'if meeting of the Gulf states' foreign ministers agreed to continue coordination among these states, particularly at Arab and international conferences. Can you tell us what were the most important subjects discussed and agreed upon by the foreign ministers?

[Answer] All that I can say is that we are satisfied with the results of the Al-Ta'if meeting. I believe that the results achieved by the foreign ministers augur well. The Al-Ta'if meeting has laid preliminary foundations for greater solidarity, more comprehensive understanding and stronger mutual support. In our opinion, this achievement is a very good and unprecedented sign.

He added: God willing, the future will reveal that this meeting was good and a blessing.

[Question] The Omani plan for the protection of the Strait of Hormuz has provoked several and different reactions in some Arab capitals. Can you tell us some of the details of this plan? Is the Sultanate continuing with its plans to insure navigation on this vital economic waterway? Also, why did the Sultanate have the United States, Britain, West Germany and Japan participate in this plan?

[Answer] It is time we had such a plan. Among the things Oman believes in is that we should not give others an opportunity to interfere in our affairs. There has been much talk about the Strait of Hormuz: shipping might face difficulties, ships might be hijacked or destroyed and the Strait might be mined, which would make shipping difficult. If we are not equal to safeguarding this vital Strait, which is important to most of the states of the world, and if we do not have the necessary and adequate capabilities to safeguard it, shipping there could be obstructed. And because we are incapable of protecting the Strait, the big states which have interests could take this as an excuse to come and impose themselves on us and undertake the protection of the Straits and safeguard shipping there.

Therefore, we had to take the necessary measures, hence the Omani proposal. The Strait of Hormuz lies within Omani territorial waters and it belongs to Oman. Therefore, the Sultanate must provide adequate and necessary capabilities to safeguard this Strait without having to resort to other states which could intervene and impose their own protection. In order to face up to our responsibilities, we have worked at securing: (1) minesweepers; (2) helicopters fitted with specific survey equipment; and (3) the necessary facilities for our navy to enable it to play an effective role.

Securing these capabilities is very costly but if no decision is made in the meantime, the solution might come too late. For this reason, Oman proposed its plan and we told our brothers in the Gulf that it is to their benefit because if something happens to the Strait Oman would not be affected economically; the greater harm would befall the oil producing states and their economy would be affected.

Safeguarding the Strait and insuring shipping there is necessary. All we have asked for is coordination of the program for financing (the Sultan laid emphasis on the word financing) the plan on the basis that we do not want any foreign intervention to be imposed on us.

On the other hand, in view of the fact that world interests have become interlinked and the world has become small, with its states no longer looking upon each other as they used to in the past but calling for economic unity, why should we not make the other parties which benefit from the Strait, contribute some money? We only want money (he again laid emphasis on the word money) in order to insure their interests and

safeguard our mutual interests so that protection would be demanded not just from the producer but also from the consumer.

We now hear that the major industrial countries are training cadres from the developing states to enable them to be self-sufficient. Why should they not help us with just funds and training?

Through training in the use of such equipment we would have skilled and trained technical cadres and the equipment required for this protection.

Sultan Qabus added: We told our brothers in the area: If you feel embarrassed at having foreign states participate in the protection of the Strait, and if you are prepared to provide the necessary funds for safeguarding shipping in the Strait, we will not ask for aid from the United States, Britain, West Germany and Japan.

CSO: 4802

TUNISIA

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL CONDITIONS REPORTED

Paris LE MONDE in French 31 Oct, 1, 2 Nov 79

[Article by Paul Balta: "The Tunisia of Paradoxes"]

[31 Oct 79, pp 1, 7: "The Two Faces of the Government"]

[Text] Some 2 million voters will go to the polls Sunday, 4 November, to elect 121 deputies; for the first time, they will have a choice between two candidates per seat to be filled; however, this choice will be limited to slates of the Destourian Socialist Party [PSD].

All the factions of the opposition, in fact, have decided to boycott an election which they consider undemocratic, since they are not authorized to form parties; and, apart from the Socialist Democratic Movement [MDS], they are not permitted to publish newspapers. Before renouncing participation in the election, they had asked for a general amnesty for political prisoners and exiles and guarantees with respect to the proper conduct of the election campaign, involving particularly the neutrality of the administration, access to public information media and the right to monitor voting and vote counting operations.

This is an "accusation based on supposed intentions," Prime Minister Hedi Nouira retorted. On this score, he told us, "The law is the same for everyone; the guarantees are the same for everyone. On what past experiences can those who question the regularity of the election base their arguments? Why are they already acting like victims? In reality, it is because they are afraid of revealing what they truly represent." In a series of three articles, our special correspondent, Paul Balta, describes the social, economic and political situation on the eve of the election.

Tunis--On Avenue Habib-Bourguiba--the Champs Elysees of the capital-- between the equestrian statue of the Supreme Combatant and the standing statue of Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406), the son of Tunis, and great ancestor of sociology, on all the kiosks, in the shade of a quadruple row of fig trees, there are posted the organs of the Socialist Democratic Movement, DEMOCRATIE, in French, and AL-RA'Y, in Arabic, in which other factions of the opposition express themselves on this occasion.

"You have seen them there," we are told by Ahmed Mestiri, former minister of interior and one of the leaders of the MDS. "However, try to find them in the suburbs and in the provinces where the police can use discreet pressure on the vendors.... In a year, we have had 11 trials and, if the articles are no longer signed, it is to avoid many persecutions." The reader on his own found another reason for this anonymity: "The writers fear that they will have problems or even be beat up at night on a street corner by attackers who go unpunished." The fact is that this has happened," comments another liberal personality sidelines [en reserve] by the republic, Bahi Ladgham. Since his removal from the government in 1970, the former prime minister who is 66 years of age, has been cultivating his roses but keeps well informed of developments in the country.

For his part, a former deputy director of the Destourian Socialist Party who was the personification of the left faction, Brahim Hayder notes that the MUP [Popular Unity Movement], of which he has become one of the leaders, has not always obtained authorization to publish a newspaper. "The Constitution grants everything; however, the law takes it all back," he said tersely before explaining: "We are prevented from touching the Constitution, which is modeled after those of European democracies; however, over the years, it has been emptied of its content by revision, in a restrictive sense, of texts and laws, particularly those dealing with public freedoms, the election code--for all that provided by the multiparty system--the press and even the internal regulations of the PSD in power.

"Members of the opposition are tolerated; however, the police system is very effective and we cannot recruit, express ourselves and be openly activist. Under the circumstances, how could we participate in the legislative elections?"

A rather remarkable thing for a Third World country, the government has authorized the creation of a League of Human Rights although, as Daly Jazi laments, "In spite of our many initiatives, the bureau has never been received by the minister of interior." On 3 August 1979, the entire world acclaimed President Bourguiba's action in pardoning Habib Achour and eight other political prisoners, "the forgotten ones of Bordj-Er-Roumi." Since then, however, as underscored by other interested parties, the former secretary general of the Tunisian General Federation of Labor [UGTT] is under house surveillance and the others, relegated to their residences, enjoy only "conditional freedom," while their arrests had no legal basis. One of them, Ben Othmane, is relegated to a very isolated region and up to

now has not been able to locate his wife in France or even arrange for her to rejoin him. "We could give you many examples to emphasize the contradictions existing between the image of liberalism and tolerance which the government is attempting to give itself abroad, even though it is not always successful in doing so, and the reality which Tunisians are experiencing daily inside the country," we are told by a member of the opposition, who recalled that there are still 100 persons being held in prison for their trade union or political activities.

Opponents of the government who have been exiled for a long time abroad too often describe the situation in Tunisia as apocalyptic, which their comrades who remained in the country have to attenuate. The latter, even though they criticize the policy followed for 10 years by Hedi Nour, prime minister, say with Mestiri, "Tunisia looks good in comparison to most Arab and African countries." In fact, there is no doubt that the country has changed considerably since attaining independence and that the results achieved are unquestionable.

#### The Education Effort

The desire for modernization is evident in the sector of customs. Legislation on women, for example, even though they are still running into sociological impediments, is the most progressive in the Arab world and at times is ahead of that of certain Western countries: forced marriage, polygamy, repudiation and the wearing of the veil have been abolished. Adultery is punished equally for the two spouses; abortion is easy to obtain and free; divorce by mutual consent is authorized; and, in many sectors, including labor, the rights of women are recognized and protected.<sup>1</sup> As the result of an active policy of family planning, the rate of population increase was reduced from 2.9 percent to 2.3 percent; and some planners estimate that there are some 50,000 births "avoided" in this way every year.

However, it is clearly the education sector in which the effort has been most spectacular. Thus the rate of illiteracy is 72 percent for a population of 6.1 million inhabitants, of which 60 percent are under 25 years of age. Today, more than 1 million children are attending primary school (the ratio of girls to boys is 3:5 versus 1:5 in 1958), to which are added the 260,000 children in secondary school, 60,000 in professional schools and 30,000 university students. The opposition denounces the "de facto selection" which has been in operation for several years involving an important "wastage": nearly 75 percent of the primary students do not go on to secondary school. Mohamed Mzali, minister of education, does not deny this; however, he is interested in improving the technical and professional training of the country, which is well endowed with higher management personnel but has need above all for middle level managers and qualified workers.

The effort has also been qualitative: in the Arab world, Tunisia is doing pioneer work in teaching and its schoolbooks--at modest prices--are the most modern and best made. In this connection, an original experiment

supported by UNESCO has been conducted for 4 years: the experiment is designed to train educators who familiarize children within the normal school framework with all the problems concerning population (sex education, emigration, rural exodus, urban overpopulation, etc).

In Tunis and the big coastal cities, the young people seem "to feel great." On the other hand, in the regions of the interior, which are still neglected, universities are nonexistent; the density of schools is inadequate; and the teachers talk of television, rockets and contraception to students who, at home, do not have running water or electricity. Many youths, who represent half the some 180,000 registered unemployed persons, were active in the riots of 26 January 1978 in the UGTT, of which they were the most dynamic element; now--perhaps they are not the same persons--they fill the mosques on Fridays.

What do these young people want? What are they thinking? Commenting on the trial of activists of the clandestine newspaper, ECH CHAAB, who are considered to be "leftists" in the small minority, Jean Lagadac, representative of the Association of Democratic Jurists, recently said, "This trial is of importance in principle because it is the trial of young persons who in their way symbolize the new generation without ties to the political class which issued from independence." It is enough to chat with the young people seated on the steps of the Tunis theatre, which rarely opens its doors--this notwithstanding, the country has one of the best playwrights in the Arab world in Ezzedine Madani--to see that the Byzantine quarrels of this political class do not interest them. The man in the street looks around him, sees what is happening to his neighbors in the northern and southern parts of the Mediterranean and, as everywhere, worries first about the problems of daily life.

Seated facing the sea, Tunisians--government or private sector officials--confide their thoughts and concerns: "Life in France is becoming very difficult for the emigrees. The only ones who can feel comfortable there are those of the middle-class with money and students on scholarships. We others, management types, have opportunities in Libya and in the gulf countries. Many take advantage of these opportunities; however, we prefer to remain in our own country," one of them says. Another adds, "This year during vacations, Algerians came here en masse. We got to know them. They are proud, but they are not disdainful like the Libyans. Their inter-occupational guaranteed minimum wage is nearly double our own which totals 49 dinars<sup>2</sup>; however, the cost of living is higher in their country and many products are not available." He adds with visible satisfaction, "They saw that in our country the elevators operate and that the water faucets in our houses and hotels work; however, for us, prices have risen too much recently. As for taxes, a 504 costs 10 million French centimes. That is the price of an apartment. Where are we going to find the money when we earn 150 to 200 Tunisian dinars, which is still a good salary?"

The conversation next turns to the too rapid profits of businessmen, the "fabulous villas" they had built for themselves and their "ostentatious"



luxury. We ask, "And what about the opposition?" There is a pause, then, "It has a certain amount of credibility; but it is weak and above all very divided." In fact, when a few months ago personalities of the PC [Communist Party], MUP, MDS, UGTT and the Moderate Moslem Movement wanted to prepare a joint text on the essential democratic demands, they were unable to reach an agreement; and the project has become a dead letter.

#### No Freedom for Non-Destourians

If it is difficult to reach unanimity on a platform of this kind, opinions are even more at odds with respect to the strictness of the multiparty system. Some persons note that in the countries of the Third World, which are inadequately structured and where regional solidarities still prevail, the existence of several parties favors the influence of clans and the wealthy on the state. A social plan which assures the development of the whole country and prepares the way to democracy seems, in their opinion, to come under the program of a single, national party. Would not the coexistence of several factions within the PSD be a transitional stage? It seems not to be. Announced a year ago as the opening congress, the 10th Congress was the congress of "closure" or at least of the status quo. "We have the impression of going back 10 years," we were told by several activists disappointed by these sessions.

Recalling that before its prohibition in 1963, the Communist Party was the only opposition party, one of its two secretaries, Mohamed Harmel, comments on this ostracism and the "sclerosis" of the PSD in these terms, "We were the first to say that if there is not freedom for all non-Destourians there will be no freedom for the Destourians either. Over the years, the leadership role of the PSD has been progressively called into question. Normally, in the face of an event such as that of 26 January, a great popular demonstration called by the party would have been enough to restore order whereas it was necessary to call upon the army and the police. That is the result of a policy which has emptied the PSD of its nationalist and reformist ideological content. For a long time, the expression 'Destourian socialism' has had meaning. Now an effort is still being made to carry on socialism; however, it is called liberalism when in fact it is 'adjusted capitalism.' There is talk of the 'intermediate [median] society'; however, inequalities are becoming accentuated. The ideological themes of the government are no longer mobilizing themes because they are mystifiers."

The fact is that, since the traumatism brought on by the "black Thursday" of 26 January, calm has returned; however, the climate remains sullen. In his modest villa, Lagham explains this development, "In 1970, the people had demonstrated their maturity; and they were awaiting a new breath of air from Bourguibism. But we witnessed successive purges which had an impact on the administration, culture and thought, creating a feeling of oppression in all sectors. Nourra has not righted the situation in the political sector, even though he succeeded in the figures sector..." We

suspect that the prime minister does not share this view. With assurance, he defends his development program which is to bring about the birth of the "intermediate society." In the meantime, taking up again a phrase which he likes particularly, he feels that Tunisia, such as it is, is "viable and livable."

[1 Nov 79, p 5: "For the Record"]

[Text] We have learned from the family of Ben Othmane, who was sent to live in an isolated region of Tunisia (LE MONDE, 31 October), that he was authorized to return to Tunis a few days ago; however, his wife still cannot rejoin him.

[1 Nov 79, p 5: "Nouira's Right Triangle"]

[Excerpt] Tunis--The rue de la Grande Mosquee-de-l'Olivier, the celebrated Zitouna--place of culture, a center of education and a political focal point founded in 732--traverses the Arab quarter and its markets and runs to Dar-El-Bey, the government palace, an elegant 18th Century building which houses the offices of the prime minister. It is there that for the last 9 years Hedi Nouira has received journalists in a small room. Although the decor has not changed, Nouira seems to have taken on a new assurance, since our last interview.

When he first took up his duties, the chief of government, beneath the surface of whom the former governor of the Central Bank still showed through, was not at ease except when handling figures and statistics; he avoided political subjects, which he considered to be within the purview of the president, and the problems of the party which he willingly left to Mohamed Sayah, director of the PSD.

Nouira, having retained none of that somewhat tense demeanor, moves to the offensive, takes up political questions and does not hesitate to execute his opponents with a phrase. Thus, Mestiri and his friends are a clique of persons nostalgic over power who, column after column, have never been able to do anything except express sour grapes"; and an official of Amnesty International who particularly irritated him by his interventions is "an ecclesiastic who is purple in rank but red in ideas."

Fortune which has smiled on the prime minister for 9 years and the good results he has obtained in the economic sector doubtless explain his metamorphosis. "The rains voted for me," he liked to say not long ago when commenting on the setback in the experiment of the agricultural cooperatives of Ben Salah, former minister of economy, who did not benefit from them. When the drought began to make its appearance in 1977, terrorism in Spain and Italy opportunely turned tourists in the direction of Tunisia which this year attained a record figure of 1.4 million visitors. That influx of foreign exchange will contribute to reduction of the balance of trade deficit which totaled 227 million dinars for the first 6 months of 1979. Finally, Nouira has benefited from oil discoveries--5.4 million

tons 50 percent of which was exported--whose impact, although limited, is not inconsiderable.

#### Roots in Tradition

Breaking with the socializing and voluntarist actions of Ben Salah, he opted for a policy of incentives within a bilateral framework. He was able to do so all the more easily because he had inherited from his predecessors large plants destined to exploit the natural wealth of the country, particularly phosphates and iron ore. It was in Menzel-Bourguiba that the first high furnace of the Maghreb was placed in operation in 1959, while an industrial complex was set up around Bizerte in 1962. Other focuses of development were then brought into being, particularly in the Gabes region. Nouira feels, however, that a number of these industries were "established under bad conditions and are a disguised form of assistance to the unemployed, financed by the state." He also elected to place emphasis in the period since 1974 on manufacturing industries (clothing, hosiery, footwear, assembly of small mechanical, electric and electronic devices), while agriculture continues to exploit its strong points: citrus fruits and olives.

"The 10th Congress of the PSD," Nouira tells us, "was supposed to evaluate the results of the policy followed for a decade. The activists said 'no' to the multiparty system, judging that formula unsuited to Tunisian realities. They approved the social policy and the development model which we are applying to reach the intermediate society." The prime minister, illustrating his favorite phrase, compares Tunisian society to a "right triangle" of which the two acute angles are occupied by the most advantaged and the most disadvantaged sectors of the population, while the middle class, the greatest in number, occupies the rest of the figure.

"Our objective," he says, "is a unified and harmonious society, within which the method of succession and exercise of economic authority will be democratized, in which the distribution system will not be unjustly egalitarian, in which the spread of incomes will be reasonably narrow, in which everyone will have the same opportunities for social advancement. The intermediate society, in conformity with our moral traditions, will thus transform our deep roots into a way of life and thought to the defining and shaping of which we have contributed throughout long centuries."

Bringing up the name of an illustrious patron, Nouira recalls that, according to Ibn Khaldun, the prosperous periods in Tunisia have corresponded to those during which the middle class was flourishing. He cites figures to illustrate the results of his actions. Thus, in the "right triangle," the acute angles have already been reduced, with the percentage of wealthy persons dropping from 8 percent to 5 percent between the 2 census year, 1966 and 1975, and the angle of the poorest from 27 percent to 16 percent. During the same period, the total number of persons having fewer than 100 dinars per year dropped from 67 to 49 percent, while the sector of the population having from 100 to 400 dinars per year rose from 31 to 46 percent; and today is in the neighborhood of 50 percent.

A walk along the markets where customers squeeze up against overloaded stalls confirms the rise in the standard of living emphasized by the statistics covering the increase in per capita and per year consumption. The latter, between 1970 to 1977, rose from 13 to 16 kilos for cooking oil, 11.4 to 19.4 kilos for meat, from 15.5 to 21.5 kilos for sugar and from 14.3 to 23.4 kilos for citrus fruits. Despite the rise in cost of living, which Nouira says he "maintained at 6 percent per year" since 1970, some staple products remain at reasonable prices: 100 millimes per kilo of bread, 250 per liter of oil, 20 to 25 per egg and 1.5 dinars per kilo of meat, while the average annual per capita income rose from 169 to 200 dinars (in constant dinars) between 1973 and 1976.

Taking up a subject which is close to his heart, Nouira says, "We are establishing five jobs per hour, 45,000 per year." The active, employed population being about 1.5 million persons (930,000 in 1966), the prime minister admits that the additional demand for jobs--"which reveals the great thrust of young people"--continues to be strong: 56,000 per year for the duration of the 1977-1981 5-year plan which will attempt to create 50,000 jobs annually. The difference should be absorbed by emigration, whose annual flow has dropped from 16,000 to 8,000 persons in the course of this decade.

#### Criticisms from the Opposition

Nouira has created jobs but at what price, his opponents ask? They maintain that the April 1972 law which was designed to attract foreign industries is giving them the lion's share: infrastructure work without charge, import of capital goods exempted from customs duties, unrestricted repatriation of profits, fiscal advantages, etc. Moreover, the manufacturing industries which they set up do not involve any transfer of technology while increasing the country's dependence vis-a-vis international private capital. Finally, these jobs, above all poorly-paid jobs for women are vulnerable: the textile crisis in the EEC has impacted upon Tunisia and some companies are not hesitating to pack their bags in 24 hours to set themselves up again in countries where manpower costs a few centimes less.... The prime minister's reply is simple: "Employment was a priority problem which we have almost resolved. Therefore, let no one come to us and quibble over fine points."

The members of the opposition also reproach the government for having reduced the infrastructure works, neglected the public industrial sector, which requires heavy investments, and slacked off on sectors of activity with great possibilities of integration, particularly the agricultural-food industries, "which the private sector finds less profitable than parasite activities such as real estate speculation and import-export." They also feel that the agrarian policy accentuates the social contrasts between the traditional sector, which the government is not seeking to transform even though it is nourishing its man poorly, and agriculture, "concentrated and profitable," which is often in private hands.

Nouira retorts that the fifth plan, which is half implemented, provides 4.2 billion dinars worth of investments compared to 1.5 dinars for the fourth plan and has a targeted annual growth rate of 7.5 percent compared to 6 percent previously, which was already quite respectable. To which his critics, including some high officials, respond, "Tunisia is living on its forward thrust and its reputation. Today, it is receiving dividends on the capital accumulated yesterday; tomorrow, it will be in danger of a rude awakening."

The regional imbalance is probably the weakest point of the policy being followed. "The disadvantaged regions of the interior (Beja, Jendouba, Kef, Kasserine, Kairouan and Gafsa) which had received 22 percent of the industrial investments during the 1962-1971 decade, saw their share fall to 6 percent from 1973 to 1976, while the coastal governments (Bizerte, Nabeul, Sousse, Sfax, Gabes and Medenine) were receiving 60 percent and Tunis 34 percent, asserts the MUP brochure. The planners explain that it was necessary to concentrate efforts on profitable regions to obtain a yield from which the interior of the country could benefit.

#### The Tocqueville 'Paradox'

In the meantime, the rural areas and the disadvantaged regions have become depopulated while one-sixth of the total population is living in Tunis: the growth rate of the rural areas fell from 1.8 to 0.9 percent from 1956 to 1976, while that of the capital--5 percent--will in 10 years result in its harboring one-fourth of the country's inhabitants. These distortions threaten to give domestic confirmation of the "Tocqueville paradox" according to which political instability may set in when things are going "a little better"; such improvement frustrates the excessive hopes which it engenders. In this regard, the events of 26 January 1978 appear to be the first alarm signal.

The authorities have maintained, without offering proof, that Habib Achour and the leadership of the UGTT had fomented a "plot" to seize power. One thing is certain: the scope of the bloody confrontations which pitted the demonstrators against the forces of order gave an indication of the degree of deterioration in the social and political climate. Since then, calm has been restored, the leadership removed and replaced by another headed by Tijani Abid. Everything seems to have been settled for the better; in fact, such is really not the case; and there is great malaise within the trade union. It is enough to visit the UGTT headquarters, in the heart of Tunis, midway between the "post districts" and the native quarters, to be convinced: formerly teeming with activists, the small square bordering the building is now deserted.

Small, timid and discreet, Tijani Abid offers a striking contrast to Achour, a loquacious official. More endured than accepted, he attempts to use his small talents as best he can: "We succeeded in getting many comrades released," he said, "including Achour, of whom I spoke to the president.

We expect that the 14 prisoners will be released at the time of the 4 November elections or the UGTT anniversary on 20 January."

He underscores the actions he has taken and says that all the sections and federations are in touch with the new leadership, except higher education and doctors. "In 1978," he said, "we made a check and found that we did not have a half million members as was claimed but 287,000. Since then we have shot up to 360,000." How are the figures to be verified? Our speaker also emphasizes that at the PSD congress he had stressed the independence of the trade union vis-a-vis the party; however, there, too, his arguments left the other union members sceptical: "He was selected and put in office by the PSD," they say, "because he was the only member of the former leadership to break off with Achour."

Abid is attempting to put on a good show by pleading the difficulty of the dossier. In fact, most of the foreign trade unions and the international confederations are persisting in recognizing only the former "legitimate leadership." The new secretary general is caught between the contradictor' exigencies of the government and his "rank and file." The authorities plan to limit wage increases to increase investments which generate jobs, in conformity with the "social pact" which the workers are contesting, having already reproached Habib Achour for signing it in 1977. Moreover, modification of Article 13 demanded by Abid to restore several benefits would not be enough to appease a working class which has become aware of its power and is seeking to reorganize.

Doubtless, Abid realizes the precariousness of the present situation. Elected a few weeks ago after the events of 26 January by an extraordinary contested congress, he is seeking confirmation of his "legitimacy" by an ordinary congress which would be held at the beginning of 1981 or even at the end of 1980. "In any event," he adds, "we will not convene the congress until all of our comrades have been released." In the meantime, no one is hazarding a prediction as to what will happen from now until then, as the social situation is closely linked to political developments which are themselves dominated by the struggle for power started 10 years ago.

[2 Nov 79, p 4: "The War of Succession"]

[Excerpt] Tunis--In the evening, when the televised news presents the audiences at the Carthage palace, Tunisians scrutinize the face of the chief of state. Comments flow from all sides: "He is at the top of his form right now..." "Look, he smiled at Sayah but frowned at Nouira..." "It is said that after the elections there could be a new prime minister..." "But no, look now, you know very well that the president has never angled for two big fish at the same time; he is going to sideline Farhat by removing him from the Ministry of Defense..."

For a little over 10 years, during which President Bourguiba's health has begun to decline, Tunisia has been living in an end-of-rule atmosphere which does not let up. In the struggle for power which started then no

politician envisaged taking the presidency away from the Supreme Combatant during his lifetime; but each of them has made an effort to be in the best position with a view to "post-Bourguibism." This small war of succession has taken on the pace of a race in which the Horaces, after having knocked the Curiaes out of the game, eliminated one another.

Habib Bourguiba has always succeeded in being the sole master of the game. As early as October 1955, during the Sfax congress, when he was "only" president of the Destourian Socialist Party, he had pushed aside his only real rival, Salah Ben Youseef<sup>3</sup> by replacing him in the position of secretary general with Bahi Ladgham. Following that, the chief of state, who knows the political personnel perfectly well for having shaped them, always allowed clans to be set up, which neutralize one another. If one of them becomes too influential, one sees Bourguiba, whom one thought weakened by illness, rise up again spectacularly, reestablish the balances by brutally if necessary sweeping aside the audacious individual who advanced too far and appear as the supreme arbiter.

"What A Congress Has Done..."

The process began in 1969 with the clan of the "socialists" whose leader was Ahmed Ben Salah. As was to be confirmed later by other similar happenings, disfavor was not to take place with one fell swoop but was preceded by telltale signs. Thus, in September, he was removed as head of the Secretariat of State for Planning and Economy; in November, he lost his other positions, including that of PSD secretary-general. In March 1970, he was arrested and a little later tried and found guilty of high treason. Ben Salah had, of course, made mistakes in the cooperatives policy which he had conducted with--it must be remembered--the support of the chief of state; however, the coalition he created at the time he became too powerful and touched upon too many interests was fatal to him.

The next victim was to be Bahi Ladgham. This old and faithful companion of Bourguiba, who had been arrested often by the colonial authorities, was appointed Secretary of State to the Presidency of the Council in 1956 and served as prime minister until this position was officially established for him in November 1969. Unanimously respected, he contributed to the liberalization of political life, acquired thereby great popularity and appeared to be "No 2." In June 1970, the chief of state called upon him to make plans for the Monastir congress with other personalities, including Nourira, governor of the Central Bank; Mohamed Masmoudi, ambassador to Paris; and Ahmed Mestiri, member of the Central Committee. The presumed "heir apparent," he saw those who were supposed to help him combine against him: in November, Bourguiba dismissed him and replaced him with Nourira, who was named minister a few months earlier.

As the leader of the liberal faction, Mestiri decided to change the methods being used within the party and to impose his views. Nourira and Masmoudi made common cause against him but did not succeed in keeping him from holding the Monastir congress (1971), a victory for his theses and his

person. President Bourguiba then threw his weight into the balance and accused him of having loaded the dice: the decisions made by the rank and file would be ignored, then changed. "What one congress has done, another can undo," the chief of state said.

In 1974, the congress, known as "Monastir-2," took care of that chore. Mohamed Sayah, the director of the PSD temporarily ousted by Ladgham, returned to Tunis and strengthened his hold on the party. At the congress, his opponents were eliminated: the activists were given orders to remove all the names to be found in ninth place for the Central Committee election. The operation was described sarcastically as "nein by nine" [preuve par neuf].

In the meantime, the lightning rise of Nouira told his opponents that the president had chosen him because he was a loner, without a popular base and without real support in the party which saw in him a high-level state clerk, rather than a Destourian activist. Quite naturally, he allied himself with Sayah against Masmoudi, who proved to be a brilliant Minister of Foreign Affairs and did not conceal his ambitions. One weakness: his business relations made him vulnerable. "Somebody" hastened to tell the chief of state about it.

In August 1973, the president ingratiatingly expressed surprise at the "wealth" of his minister. Providently, Masmoudi then accelerated preparation of the Djerba accord which, at the beginning of 1974, was to give sanction to the "merger" of Tunisia and Libya: in the event of success, he would strengthen his position; but if he failed he would be considered the unfortunate champion of Islam and Arabism. Basically hostile to the projected union, Nouira won out, with the support of Sayah. Masmoudi was out of it.

In 1975, Bourguiba, whose absences for reasons of health were becoming more frequent and longer, had the Constitution changed in such a manner that the prime minister, who was also secretary general of the party, would automatically succeed the chief of state, in the event of a vacancy in the presidency. On that day the "post-Nouirism" struggle began, with the rivals of the "heir apparent" seeking to get a hold over him if he remained in power and to be well placed in the event they succeeded in having him ousted.

Nouira expects that their rival ambitions will result in two leaders of the rising generation neutralizing themselves: Sayah, who has the party, and Tahar Belkhodja, minister of Interior, head of administration. A skilled politician, Sayah assured himself of the support of the president by having a history prepared of the national movement which highlights the role of the Supreme Combatant. Belkhodja, who points up the aggravation of the social crisis, plays the trade union game--the number three organized force of the country, along with the party and the army--and has not hesitated to oppose Nouira since June 1977.



Belkhodja has in effect understood that the youth sector, identifying neither with the party which is becoming sclerotic nor with the state which is congealed, is taking the route of the mosque or the UGTT, whose secretary-general, Habib Achour, wishes to profit from this new blood to permit the trade union to exert all its influence in the upcoming legislative elections. Concerned over their common peril, Nouira and Sayah again joined forces. Shortly thereafter, Belkhodja was fired while on a trip to Nice.

It was at this time that Abdallah Farhat, minister of Defense, caused the army to enter the political arena, while Bourguiba had always kept the army out of it. As acting Minister of Interior for 48 hours, he took advantage of the time to appoint his men to key positions in the offices of state security and transmissions and in various services and the television sector. The military also intervened to repress the demonstrations on 26 January 1978; for the first time since independence, there were many victims. Arrested and found guilty, Achour in turn left the scene.

#### A Warning Shot

It was against this background that from 5 to 8 September 1979 the 10th Congress of the PSD took place, which was to seal the de facto alliance between Nouira and Farhat against Sayah. Paradoxically, the planning for these sessions had already been entrusted to the Minister of Defense in his capacity as "party treasurer," rather than to its director, as is customary. During the opening session, the president paid exceptional homage to Nouira for "the colossal job he is doing." He followed the proceedings on closed-circuit television from the Carthage palace and made strange discoveries: activists were performing preservation of order duties and were witnesses of the party's internal quarrels. Farhat saw to it that Noura was reelected secretary-general by acclamation, although such an honor is reserved for the president alone. Sayah was elected to the Central Committee by a narrow margin. Old activists found themselves at the bottom of the slate or pushed aside to make room for technocrats. When he was presented the list of elected officials, Bourguiba sarcastically observed, "I think it should be read from bottom to top." On television, he denounced the manipulations, dismissed Farhat, removed several high officials appointed by the prime minister and the minister of defense and, finally, resoundingly confirmed Sayah in his duties and responsibilities.

This theatrical coup--described by the opposition as "the second 10th congress"--had several consequences: it confirmed Bourguiba as the sole master of the game, directed a warning shot at Nouira, reminding him all that was necessary was a two-line presidential decree to put an end to a political career, demonstrated that the hold Sayah had on the party was not as great as thought and, finally, reminded the army chiefs who might have dreamed of participating in the "war of succession" that their place was in the garrison.

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**5 DECEMBER 1979**

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**2 OF 2**

Since then, three hypotheses have circulated persistently in the political sectors of Tunis. According to some of these sectors, the chief of state has permitted clan fights to develop in order to impose his son as his successor. Opponents of this thesis admit that he might have entertained this dream in the past but that assuredly since then has given up the idea.

Others feel that Nouira is "condemned over the middle term." They explain that the chief of state perceives the social and political changes and knows how to turn them to his account. Reportedly he has been even more sensitive to the demonstrations of Moslem integrationists for the last 2 years than to the events of 26 January. For the past few months, however, this movement, which here is said to be "the sole rank and file party of the opposition," is divided over the political tactics to adopt and fears that it will be the victim of repressive measures; therefore, it has adopted a "low profile" while discreetly continuing the recruitment of new activists. Meanwhile, Nouira, say those who sense his fall from grace, handles French better than Arabic and is speaking a language of Western technology which is seductive to the middle class but is not understood by the man in the street. Therefore, the time has come to replace him with a man closer to "Moslem sensibilities." There is even persistent repetition of the name of Mzali, minister of National Education.

Chadli Klibi, secretary-general of the Arab League, who continues to be one of the counselors who have the ear of the chief of state, feels that a change in the near future is not very likely. For his part, Nouira does not give the impression of a concerned man; indeed, he has never seemed more sure of himself: he has curtly informed the members of the opposition that they represent nothing, that any dialog was subject to his conditions and that such dialog would have to take place inside the party. However, in a Tunisia which is wondering about its future and in which paradoxes are not lacking, experience has shown over more than 10 years that the Tarpeian cliff is close to the Capitoline hill and that crises break out when a sullen social corps allows the belief that it is satisfied.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. the excellent book by Souad Chater, "The Algerian Woman, Citizen or Subject?" on which we reported in LE MONDE dated 24 October.
2. 1 dinar = 11 francs
3. Salah Ben Youssef was assassinated on 12 April 1961 in Frankfurt by two Tunisian hired thugs.

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CSO: 4400

TUNISIA

BRIEFS

U.S. FREEZING IRANIAN ASSETS--[TAP headline: "The Tunisian Press and President Carter's Decision To Freeze Iranian Assets in USA"]--The Tunisian daily AL-SABAH comments today on President Carter's decision to freeze all [as received] assets in the United States, describing this decision as a serious precedent in international relations which can be compared to the nationalization measures adopted by some third world countries, except that the latter aim only at recuperating part of the national wealth stolen during the colonial period. The daily AL-SABAH takes a strong stand against the U.S. decision which it calls "illegal" and "arbitrary." The oil producing countries AL-SABAH adds, should learn from this example and not imperil their assets deposited in foreign banks. [LD151530 Tunis TAP in English 1410 GMT 15 Nov 79 LD]

CSO: 4420

YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

ADEN-MOSCOW TREATY SEEN ENDING UNITY PROJECTS

LD161333 Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic 12-18 Nov 79 p 25 LD

[Unattributed report: "Aden-Moscow Treaty Ruled Out Unity"]

[Text] San'a' --Leaders in San'a', capital of the Yemen Arab Republic [YAR], have said that the friendship treaty between the PDRY and the Soviet Union was the final nail hammered by the Aden Government into the coffin of the plans for unity between the two parts of Yemen.

The leaders told AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI that PDR President 'Abd al-Fattah Isma'il, concluded the treaty to embarrass North Yemen and make its leaders give up all thought of unity between the two countries. The officials said that many countries are linked via friendship treaties with Moscow but have preserved their national line.

They pointed out that the regime in Iraq is hostile to communists and the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party has combated them strongly when they have dissented with the regime's national policy. Furthermore, Baghdad has refused and continues to refuse any Soviet military presence whether in the air force or the navy.

The Yemeni leaders accuse the Aden Government of taking Soviet orders even before the treaty was concluded and that it was the only Arab country that, with the help of Soviet experts and Cuban soldiers, fought against Somalia, which is an Arab League member state, and against the Eritrean rebels.

AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI has learned that all unity dialog between Aden and San'a' will stop or, if it continues, will be a formal dialog or similar to the dialog of the deaf. San'a' is expected to convey its views on the matter to the Saudi Kingdom and to the Gulf states, particularly Kuwait which recently sponsored the Yemeni summit. San'a' sources believe that one of the reasons that have led to the treaty with Moscow is Aden's fear of the development of the North Yemeni armed forces as a result of their receipt of large quantities of U.S. and Soviet weapons and the upsetting of the military balance between the two countries. Until a year ago Aden was superior with its disciplined army and militia.

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YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

TRADE AGREEMENT WITH CZECHOSLOVAKIA--The YAR and Czechoslovakia signed a trade agreement at the Ministry of Economy today. The agreement covers the expansion of YAR-Czechoslovak trade and economic relations on the basis of mutual interests and equality. The agreement was signed for the YAR by 'Ali Ahmad al-Khadir, YAR Economy Ministry undersecretary, while it was signed for Czechoslovakia by Engineer (Yazid Fuqi), director of the Foreign Trade Ministry's Arab department. The signing ceremony was attended on the YAR side by officials from the ministries of foreign affairs and economy. On the Czechoslovak side it was attended by the members of the Czechoslovak delegation and the Czechoslovak charge d'affaires in San'a'. The Czechoslovak delegation left San'a' this afternoon at the end of a 4-day visit to the YAR during which delegation members held talks with officials of the ministries of foreign affairs, economy and information and culture. The talks focused on strengthening cooperation between the two countries in the spheres of economy and culture. [Text] [JN192001 San'a' Domestic Service in Arabic 1700 GMT 19 Nov 79 JN]

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END