

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

JPRS L/10084

30 October 1981

Near East/North Africa Report

(FOUO 39/81)



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

COPYRIGHT LAWS AND REGULATIONS GOVERNING OWNERSHIP OF
MATERIALS REPRODUCED HEREIN REQUIRE THAT DISSEMINATION
OF THIS PUBLICATION BE RESTRICTED FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

JPRS L/10084

30 October 1981

NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

(FOUO 39/81)

CONTENTS

INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

- Ways of Increasing Arab Influence in Media Examined
(AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI, various dates) 1

AFGHANISTAN

- Defector Denounces Kabul Government
(Alexander Thompson; THE GUARDIAN, 19 Oct 81) 21

- Cofounder Describes Programming of 'Radio Free Afghanistan'
(Renzo Rossellini Interview; LA STAMPA, 9 Sep 81) 23

LEBANON

- Bashir al-Jumayyil Interviewed
(Bashir al-Jumayyil Interview; AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI, 9 Oct 81) 25

SUDAN

- Financial Situation Analyzed; Deficit Grows Worse
(MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS, 18 Sep 81) 29

- Prospects of Sugar Industry Discussed
(MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS, 18 Sep 81) 31

SYRIA

- Briefs
Information Minister Reportedly Hospitalized 33

- a -

[III - NE & A - 121 FOUO]

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

WAYS OF INCREASING ARAB INFLUENCE IN MEDIA EXAMINED

Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic 14-20, 21-27 Aug 81

[No 235, 14-20 Aug 81 pp 18-21]

[Text] How can Arabs prevail on world public opinion and win its sympathy?
The international character of the Arab media.
Can Arabs imitate THE HERALD TRIBUNE, REUTER and the BBC?
Eighty percent of the news we relay about our Arab world is filtered first by British, U.S. and French media.

When young students went out in a demonstration to protest the fact that they were being forced to purchase their clothes from textile plants owned by Her Excellency the Empress [of the Central African Empire], His Excellency Emperor Jean-Bidel Bokassa was enraged and ordered that the students be shot. Those who escaped the emperor's bullets were strangled in a prison cell by the emperor's divine hands, and their tender flesh was turned into a delicious meal that was served at his table.

When Gen Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq--and what an inappropriate name that is--came to power in Pakistan 4 years ago, he said he would stay in power 4 months only. He promised he would reinstate the constitution and restore liberties, but then this general whose name means light and truth forgot his promises. He has stayed in power until now and has no intention of giving up power in the near future. Instead, he slowly and cunningly removed from power his benefactor, his president and his leader, Dhulfiqar 'Ali Bhutto, because his presence used to remind him of the demands of 20 million Pakistanis who were subjected to his brand of justice and have been its captives ever since.

There are regimes in the Middle East that fall somewhere between Bokassa's and Zia-ul-Haq's. These regimes destroy constitutions and liberties and do away with liberals and with those who oppose them. However, they do refrain--and we do thank them for this--from eating the flesh of those who oppose them.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Are these and other regimes qualified to undertake by themselves the task of giving the outside world information about what is happening in their countries and their homelands?

Briefly, this is the question with which UNESCO, the UN Organization which oversees the affairs of education, science and culture in the world, has been preoccupied since 1970. In recent years this question has developed into a political question that provokes noisy debate between the communists of the east and the capitalists of the west and between the rich people of the north and the poor people of the south.

Three fourths of the 154 countries that are members of UNESCO are saying yes. The constant argument [that is being advanced] is the need for "a new worldwide information order" that would eliminate the discrimination that western agencies and media practice in reporting the news, questions and problems of the Third World. Such a new order would restore balance to the flow and transmittal of news so that world public opinion does not become overwhelmed with the questions and concerns of the wealthy advanced people and forget the tragedies and hardships of poor, backward people.

It is painful that the distinguished Arab delegates to UNESCO--and we hope that we do not arouse their anger--are taking the side of the former emperor and the present general in supporting the right of governments to impose greater control on the process of selecting local and domestic news and information which has been prepared for transmittal abroad or for foreign consumption.

Although this Arab posture is painful to us, it is in fact neither surprising nor curious. This is because despite their vast knowledge and education, none of these delegates is a professional journalist who knows quite well the hardships, problems and danger encountered by the press in its daily and constant contact with the mentality of the agencies that are in control. These delegates do not have to deal with these agencies' understanding of the role of the media and the press and their curious explanation of freedom and democracy.

The argument is crystal clear and almost compelling. It is the western media that control today the influential, active and more powerful public opinion in the world. They are almost the only means by which news and information about the Third World can be derived, transmitted and relayed to the world because of their trained manpower and their superior technology devices. The process of selecting the kind and quantity of news that is transmitted is quite unfair to the Third or developing world. Negative, provocative or trivial aspects of daily life and society are always chosen, and the positive features of progress and development as well as the aspirations of nations and the struggles they go through to achieve a better future are never covered.

However--and we are also addressing the distinguished Arab delegates in UNESCO--it would not be reasonable to remove the injustice of the western media and to replace it with another that is official and more dangerous.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

We cannot for example assume that Emperor Bokassa or Gen Zia-ul-Haq can also become correspondents for THE TIMES or LE MONDE and provide them with information about what was happening in their countries and under their regimes.

If the outside world knows nothing about "development and progress" in Central Africa or Pakistan because of discrimination by the western media, would the outside world have learned something about that if the official regime were supervising the selection and the flow of news abroad? Would the outside world have known about the emperor killing and strangling children? Would the outside world have known that human flesh was eaten at official banquets? Would the outside world have known anything about what happened to Bhutto during his last days in his cell on death row?

The noisy debate which is taking place in the hallways and meeting rooms of UNESCO and which has been extended to the pages of international newspapers is quite stimulating. It is ultimately, however, a futile debate that does not deserve all this attention. It may end, as the evidence indicates, in a modest recommendation to establish a training program to help the developing world develop its media and the means by which it communicates its news to the advanced world. Implementation of this program may take many years and will yield inconsequential results that are not worth the importance and the hopes that had been placed on it.

AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI's purpose in this review is not to keep itself and the distinguished gentlemen, the Arab delegates in UNESCO, preoccupied with an argument about the "new world-wide information order," which is being heralded by Ahmed Mahtar M'bow, the intellectual, distinguished director of UNESCO. [Nor is it its purpose to become involved in an argument] about whether or not governments have a right to impose greater control over the flow of news abroad. AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI rather wants to explore and to find out the proper and practical way of presenting Arab questions to world public opinion, especially the more important western sector of that public opinion which exercises more influence on its governments. Western public opinion also plays a greater part in forming the political decisions of western governments and in shaping the foreign tendencies on whose bases these governments deal with the world and its questions.

We must concede that the Arab countries have failed--perhaps inadvertently and for reasons beyond their control--to convey an accurate image of the Arabs and their causes to world public opinion. Despite the relative understanding that is presently available for the Palestinian question, the image of the Arab which is imprinted in the mind of most people in the world, especially in the West, does not go beyond three distorted and negative images of the original. In the mind of the world the Arab is an individual who is looking for a good time with a blonde; a murderous terrorist who has no pity or mercy; or an unemployed man, wandering in the Arab ghettos of Europe's cities and underground tunnels. None of these images, naturally, does credit to the true Arab or his just causes.

The old motif that had settled in the back of the western mind helped

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

outline this new image. This motif goes back to the ages of armed conflict with Arabs and Muslims, who were either conquerors, threatening Europe or warding off an invasion of their homeland and their old east. This motif is strengthened by a large measure of condescension mixed with disdain and scorn for Arab and Islamic culture. It filtered down with the modern European renaissance which was built on science and material objects which refuse to recognize the major influence of spiritual considerations and religion in society.

Then colonialism conveyed an ugly picture of backwardness in the Arab and Islamic worlds to justify to the European nations the fact that they were being dragged and involved in the invasion, conquest, exploitation and plunder of the Arab nation and the Islamic people. Colonialism was followed by world Zionism which distorted the Arab image further. To do so Zionism used its financial influence and its influence in the media and in advertising, and it took advantage of the fact that Jews have contributed for a long time to the cultural, artistic and political organizations that are in control in the West.

Thus the process of changing the features of the Arab image in western minds is not easy. This process will take a long time and will require intelligence, patience, deliberation, expertise and experience in penetrating the traditional western view of Arabs. It will require a thorough understanding of the western mind whose thinking is based on reading; making judgments; observing; experimenting; extreme precision in dealing with figures; absolute respect for counter and opposing opinions; a tireless search for truth; and staying away from abstractions, complications and theoretical and creative analysis.

Furthermore, Arab media that address the West must completely and fully remove from consideration the direct information which is based on blatant propaganda for regimes and exaggerated praise for their leaders and their men. Although a few regimes can justify the use of such information in their countries and in the locations where they exercise control, this kind of information is not acceptable in any form to western public opinion.

There are several means and methods of the media which can convey the Arab voice to world public opinion gently, deliberately, without supervision and without affectation, obtrusion or imposition.

The first one of these methods may be that of publishing a daily international newspaper in English in a European capital, in London or Paris, for example. This newspaper would follow the exclusive rules of journalism and information in covering and analyzing the news. It would offer the western reader news of interest about developments in the questions of the world in which he lives, the world that is around him. Such a newspaper would offer the western reader no more articles of Arab interest than he can accept and digest on a daily basis.

This daily "Arab dosage" can be presented cleverly through the news and general analyses. It would not be tainted by bias, emotion, enthusiasm or

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

the exaggeration that still characterizes the way we deal with each other in the media.

Diversity in this daily dosage is an obligatory duty. The newspaper would, for example, deal carefully, scientifically and objectively with political developments regardless of how sensitive they are. It would not exclude any question or problem over which the official media imposes a blackout or sets up a screen. The newspaper is also to include reports, impressions and observations about social and economic questions and daily life in the Arab world written in an elegant and succinct journalistic style. These articles are also to show the value of the old and modern cultural, educational and human heritage of the Arabs.

If this daily dosage of information can prevail upon western beliefs through a sedate, elegant and attractive international newspaper, such a newspaper will in time exercise considerable influence not only on the average western reader's understanding and indirect sympathy with Arab questions, but it will also influence the circles where political decisions are made, especially if modern technology, the communications revolution and the means of orderly and rapid distribution are made available to that newspaper so that it would arrive daily on schedule at the basic principal locations in the five continents.

Suffice it here to refer to the obvious direct and indirect services which are offered to the ruling U.S. establishment in Washington by an international newspaper like THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE. This newspaper, which has been published in Paris for about 100 years with the help of the news service and the analytical material of the two largest and most influential U.S. newspapers, THE NEW YORK TIMES and THE WASHINGTON POST, is now distributed on the day it is published in the capitals and cities of Europe, southeast Asia, the Far East and perhaps the Middle East. Through its development, its elegance and its simplified linguistic and journalistic American style, it has been able to impose itself on the average reader who speaks English fluently or who knows some English and keeps up with international questions.

An analyst or an observer who has been with THE HERALD TRIBUNE for a long time can perceive in its headlines, predispositions and choices of the news and subjects it promotes the declared and undeclared lines of U.S. official policy. The newspaper does not impose this or prescribe it obtrusively, but it rather presents it through its general international subjects where interest in European questions primarily prevails.

THE HERALD TRIBUNE does not disregard the questions of the Middle East. At first, it appears or tries to appear to be balanced in its presentation of the developments of the Arab-Israeli struggle. But as soon as one follows its presentation of a question like that of the missiles crisis or the Palestinian-Israeli fighting, an observer discovers how biased the newspaper is toward Israel. Begin's threatening statements to the Arabs were headlined on the first pages of the newspaper most days of the crisis, whereas Arab points of view were hidden in the back and presented in bits

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

and pieces. Similarly, the press coverage given to the brutal raid on Beirut was equal, as far as importance is concerned, to the random Palestinian shelling of the border settlements.

The bias is extreme in an angle that may not be of interest to the average reader but is of interest to the intellectual and critical reader. This angle is that of the book review and criticism section. The newspaper quotes from THE NEW YORK TIMES and THE WASHINGTON POST everything that is published by Jewish authors, but it never occurs to the [editors of the newspaper] to review a book by an Arab literary writer or novelist, including those who made peace with Israel and recognized "the genius" of Jews, like al-Hakim, Najib Mahfuz and al-Husayn Fawzi.

We hope readers will forgive us for talking at length about an international newspaper like THE HERALD TRIBUNE. Our purpose in doing so is to let them realize the effect of the daily "Zionist dosage" that is carried by this U.S. newspaper which has close ties with U.S. agencies. This "Zionist dosage" has an effect on the western, average, politicized reader and on the circles where political decisions in the world are made. These circles cannot manage without reading the newspaper.

Publishing an international newspaper in English is not an extremely difficult task for Arabs if they have courage, good intentions and pure national objectives. Arabs have the money; they have the educated minds that can absorb the self-evident principles and the foundations of western intellect, psychology and culture; they also have the journalistic staff that can contribute to such a project or take part in it. The Arabs are predisposed to seek the help of distinguished foreign press elements that are sympathetic with Arab questions or at least conscious of them and not prejudiced against them.

The second means of information that is not less important than publishing an international newspaper is that of establishing an international news agency that also follows the proper methods of journalistic work and competition with other agencies for news and business.

Official and unofficial Arab correspondents have not yet realized the not readily obvious importance and significance of this international information agency. International news agency networks with their correspondents, their special assignment reporters, their stations, their offices, their receivers and their transmitters are tantamount to arteries through which news flows every minute and every instant to newspapers, radio and television stations, financial and commercial centers and rulers' and senior officials' offices.

A country that has an international or at least a regional news agency can with intelligence mold world or regional public opinion in accordance with its wishes, its interests, its predispositions and its interests. The British REUTER Agency has monopolized the formation and molding of world public opinion for scores of years. The British are truly the masters of formulating newspaper news. They've had competition for a few decades

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

from Americans who established The Associated Press [AP], the biggest and fastest agency in the world, and from its arch competitor, the United Press. They also had competition from the French who established the French Press Agency on the ruins of the well-known Havas Agency.

In order for the Arab reader to appreciate the importance of a news agency, suffice it to say that until the mid fifties the British used to monopolize the means of communication and news exchange in the Arab world through the Arab News Agency. Cairo knew no more than what London would allow it to know about what was happening in Baghdad; nor did Damascus know more than what London would allow it to know about what was happening in Amman or Beirut. Through its international agency, REUTER and its regional agency, the Arab News Agency, the British capital continued to determine the amount of news that one capital would receive from its neighboring capital. This news was formulated and molded with unmatched British skill in accordance with the supreme interests of the empire on whom the sun never set.

Then Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir came along, and he realized with his sharp sense for information the importance of connecting the nerve [endings] of the Arab nation. So he established the Middle East News Agency. Today, however, 25 years after its establishment the agency has become more like the well-known Wikalat al-Balah in the Egyptian junk market. It has been bogged down by Egypt's astonishing red tape, by the discrimination that exists between its Egyptian employees and its Arab correspondents and by the weak Egyptian awareness of the Arab world's problems. Then came the Camp David disaster, which along with the erosion of Egypt's [influence] in politics and information stripped the agency of even its semi-regional Arab feature and made it retire inside its principal office, preoccupied with [the task of] fabricating news and inventing information that is damaging to the Arab nation and advantageous to al-Sadat and to Begin.

Arab public opinion may be surprised, distressed and hurt if it finds out that 80 percent of what is published, broadcast and received by newspapers, radio stations, television stations, banks and officials' offices in the Arab world about the Great Homeland is based on what is relayed by the four principal western news agencies between the Arab capitals.

We offer this bare informational fact to Arab public opinion. Every reader can verify that by simply following the sources of the news daily. These are indicated in the newspapers on the first line of every Arab news story that is printed.

Yes, this is what is happening after 30 or 40 years of independence with 20 official Arab news agencies in existence. Despite their exorbitant expenses most of these agencies have not been able to get out of the clutches of the official, local, regional and government red tape and acquire a regional or pan-Arab scope--and we are not saying a world scope--so as to offer their news materials to their clients and subscribers in an accurate press formulation and provide full, reasonable and trusted coverage that is neither biased nor fragmented.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

It is our right to wonder after all this: have we lost hope that the Arabs would have a regional or an international news agency?

The answer is no. Arab manpower is available. With much or little training in the art of formulating news and the methods of receiving, compiling and classifying news according to their importance, these human resources can become the "professional" nucleus for a real news network on a pan-Arab, regional level. Foreign human resources specializing in the arts and in journalism are also available.

There remains the sincere desire to rise above the narrow, local, political and personal interest. We do not exaggerate were we to say that any wealthy Arab country can exercise tremendous influence on the course of Arab and perhaps international politics if it can establish and finance an international or a regional news agency that would have administrative independence, a trusted journalistic and news personality and a network of correspondents and offices scattered in Arab and international capitals.

If the countries are incapable of providing this independence to a news agency, private Arab capital, whose hobby these days is to amuse itself by publishing newspapers and magazines that lose money, can finance a project to establish a regional or a world-wide Arab news agency that would have the greatest measure of independence possible as well as professional and political credibility. In addition to its national service to Arabs, such a project would be commercially profitable 2 or 3 years after it is established.

The third information project that would help present Arab questions to world public opinion would be a strong radio station that can broadcast around the clock in English or in more than one modern language.

It would be all right here to copy and to imitate the broadcasting experiments and experiences which advanced countries have had before us, such as adopting the sound and high standards of broadcasting and journalistic professionalism of the world-wide program of the British Broadcasting Corporation. The BBC has been able to combine in a praiseworthy manner indirect informational guidance with the art of presenting and analyzing news.

The importance and vitality of this project are affirmed by the struggle that is taking place on the air waves between the East and the West for control of what the masses of world public opinion hear, feel and believe. With its worldwide program which it broadcasts in English, Radio Moscow has largely been able to match the BBC's broadcasts. It has largely and cleverly managed to rid itself of the sternness and rigidity of a bureaucratic socialist administration. With astonishing flexibility it has dealt with millions of listeners in the world, attempting to reach their convictions after having reached their hearts and their minds.

What Moscow did any country or group of wealthy Arab countries can do. It can also be done by private Arab capital with the indirect participation of one or more Arab states. The opportunity is there for a strong

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Arab broadcast in English to attract a broad sector of world public opinion. It would benefit from the continuing and anticipated reduction in the services of the BBC's worldwide program.

What is curious here is that after the decline of their colonialist empire, the British became more objective in understanding the questions of nations and they began to reduce their wireless communications with their audiences at a time when they most needed to have their voice heard in the world. The fact that the BBC has been pulling back continuously is the truest expression of the fact that the spark of intelligence which British political leaders had in the past is waning. It is the most serious evidence of the present leadership's inability to understand the importance of a huge media facility which, like the British crown, has become one of Britain's distinctively historical features.

The success of a worldwide Arab broadcast is not to be achieved by providing it with strong devices. The success of such a broadcast requires rather a conviction that it is the right of the body of persons that oversees the broadcast to present its news and international and Arab analyses with full independence. Such a broadcast is to deal with Arab questions without restrictions, without favoring any regime and with full protection against [all] pressures.

These are the broad outlines of three practical information projects that may help change the distorted or obscure features of the Arab's image and causes as these are seen in general by westerners.

The importance of the change lies in the fact that the increased understanding and sympathy of western public opinion for Arab questions constitute two factors that would apply pressure on political leaders and on those who make political decisions. Thus, political leaders and decision makers would assume more moderate positions that are closer to Arabs' positions, especially in the Arabs' crucial struggle with Israel and Zionism.

If improving the Arab image in western minds is desirable in the next stage, there is no doubt that we too have to change. Every step that we take on the road to development and modernization; every step we take towards developing our regimes, expanding their popular bases and ridding them of the appearance of a police state; every measure to achieve social justice and to narrow the gap between the haves and the have nots; every alleviation of the direct and naive propaganda that abounds in exaggeration, verbosity, praise, commendation and personal adulation--all these measures--will help win world public opinion over. These measures would make us appear more mature, more aware, more stable and more balanced in the eyes of those we are addressing.

World public opinion in our age has become a moral force whose influence in winning political, diplomatic and military battles cannot be discounted. Any openness toward world public opinion, every approximation of the predominant and principal political trends in it, and every step away from its suspect, secret and extremist movements--rightist or leftist--make our struggle more legitimate on the international scene.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

These international information projects which we discussed in this review would best be implemented by private Arab capital with the moral support and encouragement of political regimes and even with their indirect material participation. The fact that these projects would stay away from the official aspect would make it easy for them to set themselves up in the countries from where they will launch their project. It would give them more freedom in addressing public opinion and make them more acceptable to the political and popular movements in the capitals and countries where they will work.

A discussion about Arab information addressing world public opinion remains lacking if it is confined to Arab initiative carried out through these projects to approach the people's centers of action in the world. This discussion also requires talk about the initiatives of the foreign and worldwide media to come close to us. In other words, it requires a discussion about official Arab dealings with the press and with foreign and world news agencies. Such a discussion would be more stimulating and more exciting and would deal with the semi-confidential aspects of our official mentality and understanding of the function of foreign and world information. This discussion would also deal with the methodology of the foreign media in dealing with the Arab world, and it would deal with the method, work and performance of foreign reporters on temporary assignments or correspondents in Arab capitals.

In the preliminaries to this discussion we said that a history of mutual misunderstanding has existed between us and the world media, especially the western media. This made us accuse the media of total and absolute bias on the side of our adversaries and enemies.

Why is this so? Is this a true accusation? If it is, to what extent is it true? How can this relationship between us and the foreign media be cleared and re-established on clearer and firmer foundations?

This is the subject of the next installment in the discussion about "the international character of the Arab media." Until next week, God willing.

[No 236, 21-27 Aug 81 pp 18-21]

[Text] Is the western press biased? The answer to that question is yes and no; we must accept the relationship between the media and intelligence. Begin speaks with correspondents every day, but Arab capitals leave them alone without monthly or even annual press conferences. Radio Monte Carlo does not represent the true face of France; it promotes self-indulgence among the new Arab generation.

In the first installment of "The International Character of the Arab Media" we proposed three practical projects for approaching world public opinion. We said that an international newspaper, a worldwide or regional news

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

agency and a modern language program that would be broadcast around the clock from a powerful transmitter would help win the emotions and prevail upon popular sectors that are active and exercise influence in their societies' decision making process, and especially in the advanced societies.

But this would not be sufficient if we do not know how to deal with the attempts that are being made by the world media, especially the western media, to approach us. There has been a history of mutual misunderstanding between us and the western media. This made us accuse the western media of total and absolute bias on the side of our adversaries and our enemies and against our causes.

This accusation requires review and correction because a generalization such as that which is not supported by considerations and full information makes us captive to our judgments. Accordingly, these judgments do in time restrict the actions we take to address world public opinion through the powerful means of the western media. Unfortunately, these means are still the only ones through which world public opinion can be reached.

Part of the review and correction process requires us to criticize ourselves, and especially the official view of how we are to deal with the western media.

We have accepted the self-evident notion that the function of the media is merely that of official propaganda. This belief stems from the fact that the Arab media is almost fully controlled [by the authorities] and has been turned into a mere mouthpiece for direct propaganda.

Thus when a senior official deigns to agree to an interview with a foreign correspondent--and this is rare--media aides and advisers try to make the correspondent commit himself to printing the official's full responses. In fact, they sometimes interfere and determine the questions in advance.

They either do not know or are ignoring the fact that the text of an interview in any respectable newspaper in the world is subject to editing. During that process redundant details that do not affect the principal statements, opinions and components of the interview are deleted. Furthermore, self-respecting magazines handle official interviews as side elements that complement the basic report which is compiled by the reporter who is on assignment, or by the press delegation in the country in question. In true reportage, whose purpose is to serve the reader and win his confidence, what a government official says in the course of a classical interview where a question is raised and a creative, long-winded response is given is no longer of any importance. Official statements may not [convey] the whole truth. [Usually] three fourths of that truth lie in what the correspondent is able to put together from his inquiries and investigation. This is the true reportage which every self-respecting journalist aspires to and which every newspaper or magazine that is primarily interested in the confidence of public opinion wants.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

If we allowed the process of self-criticism to continue and to touch upon details, we will be faced with a set of impressions and observations about our dealings with the western media. The most important of these may be [the following]:

In most cases there is an insistence on speaking in abstract, general, stylized and long-winded terms to which we are accustomed in our local and Arab press. The western reader finds this impossible to understand regardless of his awareness and his knowledge. Sometimes the eloquence and the ambiguity of the statements make the task of translating the interview into the easy and acceptable language of the press impossible.

There is a belief, which is beginning to gain support and acceptance in some of our official sectors, that it is possible to use two languages and two jargons in addressing public opinion. One of them would be used for foreign consumption; it would define positions and points of view on specific crucial questions. The other language, which would utilize emotion, passion, abstraction, generalization and obfuscation would be used for local consumption.

This attempt "to outsmart" the public has negative effects. The modern communications revolution has abolished the barriers that used to exist between the public opinion sectors in the world. It is now easy to re-broadcast a news brief of any interview directed for public consumption and to make it available to local consumption sometimes even before the interview is published in the foreign newspapers and magazines.

As a result of the contradictions between the specific positions we offer foreign public opinion and the ambiguous ones with which we appear in front of local public opinion a tremendous amount of distortion is produced. This "clever" distortion causes considerable damage to our national questions and makes us appear to ourselves and to foreign officials and correspondents who are concerned with these questions to be not serious and not truthful.

We take another step in the process of self-criticism, and we say that so far we have not utilized official spokesmen who are capable of talking to journalists and correspondents. The resident correspondent or the reporter who is on special assignment works hard to find an official agency that would give him answers to the daily questions he has or that would help him pursue a subject that came up unexpectedly. In this case he finds no one in front of him but the authorized minister, who in most cases cannot be reached in person or by telephone. If the correspondent finds a minister, that minister dodges the interview or avoids making a comment or giving an explanation either because he is in awe of the responsibility or out of consideration for local sensitivities.

Israel has realized this and has selected two official or semi-official civilian and military spokesmen. They respond to all the questions of correspondents and provide all the explanations [that are called for].

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Thus we find that the quantity of news, information and daily investigative reports coming out of Israel almost equals or exceeds everything that comes out of all the Arab capitals together. Then we go on to lament and blame the foreign press because it adopts Israel's point of view and everything that comes out of Israel.

We take another step in the process of review and self-criticism.

An event takes place in an Arab capital or in an Arab country: a demonstration, a strike or a clash with security forces in which people are wounded and killed. But all media officials ignore the event: no reference is made to it; no commentary is heard about it; and no explanation [is provided to the public]. It were as though demonstrations, strikes and even armed clashes or verbally expressed opposing opinions did not occur or should not occur in our Arab world. [If they did], they diminished the worth, the reputation and the popularity of those in power.

But distorted or exaggerated information about these events soon filters--perhaps through the private means of resident correspondents or reporters who are on assignment. This information is circulated by the biased and the non-biased foreign press. When it is laid out on the pages of newspapers, our delayed official explanations are no longer useful and beneficial even if they were true. This is because at first the event captures the reader's attention and consciousness and is imprinted on his mind and in his heart in the biased or exaggerated manner in which news of it was received. Any details or explanations that come after that recede and are lost with the reader's gradual declining interest in the event.

There is another example of the negative effects of delaying official information. A local or broad Israeli military operation is carried out against a certain sector on the confrontation line. Few seconds after that operation is completed, correspondents begin sending the Israeli version of the incident to their principal centers of the world news agencies. These agencies immediately transmit the news to the newspapers, radio stations, television stations and official offices throughout the world which subscribe to their services.

The Arab bulletin about the operation, however, is delayed for many hours and may not even be issued or released to the local media. Then we lie back easily as though the world would [eventually] hear of the event simply because it was broadcast on our radio or television station. In this case the correspondent is forced to relay the news late. When his main office begins to broadcast the news again, valuable hours would have been lost, newspapers would have published the Israeli version and radio stations and television stations would have broadcast the news all over the world. And then we go on to lament the fact that the foreign media listen and give their attention to what Israel broadcasts and publishes.

It would be all right to expatiate a little here on the subject of dealing with world news agencies and resident correspondents for newspapers, radio stations and television stations.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

We do not appreciate the value of these foreign information embassies that travel or reside in our midst at no material costs to us. It is not an exaggeration to say that the correspondent of any world agency or newspaper is much more important and beneficial than the ambassador of that country whose nationality he carries. It is extremely important to win his affections and to get him to believe [our point of view]. It is enough, for example, to open for him a few official doors so we can talk with him or provide him with some information and news. A mutual relationship is established with him through daily interaction, and that relationship can develop into a profound understanding of what we want and do not want published.

It is astonishing that senior Arab officials do not think of holding regular weekly, monthly or at least annual press conferences in their capitals during which they would talk to residing correspondents or reporters who are on assignment. At the same time Begin is allowed to talk with correspondents every day on the way to or from his office.

In fact, some Arab capitals do not allow foreign correspondents to establish residence in the first place. In most of these countries, if foreign correspondents are allowed to enter and live in the country, their life and their work are made unbearable. They are shunned, ignored, subjected to stern censorship, treated with disdain and contempt, and the process by which they send their news articles to their main offices is hampered.

It is ironical that some Arab capitals complain of the fact that senior official visitors wish to hold press conferences in those capitals when they visit. These capitals forget the importance of having their names repeated in the newspapers and broadcasts of the world. They are not aware of the importance of becoming sources of news and information. This would yield beneficial media effects to the Arab regimes and would spotlight the political role of these capitals.

So far we do not know how to take advantage of news agency offices and correspondents in our capitals in the war of reporting and political initiatives and maneuvers. There is not one Arab capital that has mastered the art of launching "trial balloons" or "taking the pulse" [of a situation] by suggesting to correspondents news or information that is not official in character. At the same time we are overwhelmed daily by scores of "trial balloons" that are sent to us on the air waves from Washington, London, Moscow, Paris and Israel through the news agencies and the western press. Through these "trial balloons" we are subjected to views, pressures and maneuvers. In fact, we get lost; we disagree; we split with each other; we become fragmented; we fight over explaining and analyzing these trial balloons; and we assume conflicting positions on them. [In the mean time] they would have performed the political and tactical objective that was intended by launching them and trying them out.

The only thing we know so far is to make the correspondent stick to the text of the interview, the statement or the bulletin that we issue. If he makes a mistake in transmitting, translating or interpreting a

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

statement, we punish him with imprisonment or expulsion [from the country] or we deny him [the right] to practice his profession.

None of us sees the U.S. fleets when they sail in our waters or assemble opposite our shores. Official U.S. agencies, however, provide the world news agencies with news and pictures of these movements. They exercise considerable craft in directing and arousing [public opinion] in order to achieve the required strategic or tactical goal, be that "to scare," terrorize or support, etc.

With all the legitimate and illegitimate means [at its disposal] Israel has succeeded in winning over a large number of resident correspondents or reporters on assignment. Israelis have opened officials' doors to them, and they've tempted them with money and sexual favors. We, however, do not stop with the restrictions we place on them. We chase them sometimes in the streets of Beirut and we gun them down with our bullets. The reader may appreciate after that the effect of these thoughtless bloody acts on official and popular Arab reputation.

We continue the process of self-criticism and we talk about the costly supplements or paid advertisements [that are designed] to improve Arab reputation. These are published by the major newspapers of the world about some Arab countries.

This foreign media action is futile. On the one hand, it falls under the category of direct propaganda which Arab public opinion rejects and does not accept. On the other hand, it is a waste of money on promotional advertisements that create an effect opposite that which is required. The newspaper, its editors, writers and correspondents are not necessarily sympathetic with the country that is placing the advertisement as one thinks or imagines.

In the course of criticizing ourselves [we have indicated] a few important and principal aspects of our practice in dealing with the world's media and particularly with the western media. If we have engaged in this much criticism without making officials impatient with us, we will have achieved a major benefit in revealing what is painful or astonishing in these dealings in the hope that we can review and correct [our actions].

To be fair we have to talk about how the western media deals with us with the same measure of objectivity.

The first thing that can be said and stated in general terms about the western media's view of us is that it is biased against us. If we wish to dilute this description, we can say that the western media views us with a lack of concern that sometimes approaches gloating or ridicule. One can read between the lines of their written, audible or visual statements suppressed or visible varieties of resentment and hatred of everything that is Arab or Islamic.

There is no room here for expanding the analysis of the reasons for this.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Suffice it to say that this negative view of Arabs and Muslims is part of a media view that has been passed down since the Third World was colonized when the Third World was seen as "a backward world with incurable ailments and chronic problems, a world whose non-white people had an indifferent nature."

Although ownership of most of the western press has shifted from colonialist lords and aristocratic families, who look down in disdain through their monocles on the Third World, to multi-national monopolies and corporations, [the latter] did replace the old colonialism in plundering the wealth of the Third World and dividing its consumer markets. Notwithstanding the editorial staff's independence from the directives of the board of directors on which the owners and directors of these monopolies and corporations sit, traces of the interests that control a newspaper are clearly evident on its pages and in its commentaries.

Perhaps the way the question of energy has been handled in the western press provides evidence and testimony to the western press's bias for capitalist monopolies against Arab interests. The way this subject has been handled shows that the Arabs are envied because God did bless them with this resource and did not bless the other countries of the former colonialists who are "more deserving of this wealth" because they are more knowledgeable and more advanced.

Although the western media's bias for Israel has somewhat receded and declined in the last few years, the character of the discussion about Arab causes is still largely negative. One still senses that a correspondent shows a lack of concern when he records his impressions and observations [of Arabs]. He focuses on everything that is negative in society and on everything that would suggest to the reader a pessimistic outlook on the possibility that the Arabs would overcome their problems.

Let us take one aspect of the way the Lebanese question was handled. The Arab Front with its three leaders, Bashir, his father, Pierre al-Jumayyil and their ally Camille Sham'un, became the center of interest with western newspapers, correspondents and news agencies simply because the Front's leaders were rejecting [the notion of] an Arab Lebanon and were dealing publicly or secretly with Israel. At the same time [interest in] Raymond Iddih and Sulayman Franjiyyah vanished or almost vanished simply because the first was neutral and the second refused to deal with Israel.

Thus in the view of the western press Arab societies are backward, emotional societies with torn loyalties and affiliations. They have no national or ethnic ties that bring them together; they are rather controlled by family, tribal and sectarian disputes and prejudices.

Let us acknowledge in return that the western press does discuss internal Israeli problems and that it sometimes expatiates upon the conflicts of Israeli society at length. However, its discussion always remains that of the sympathizer and the compassionate, affectionate critic who hides [the difficulties], looks for excuses and justifications and is optimistic about

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

the possibility of overcoming the difficulties. This is because Israel is "western civilization's" spoiled daughter and the "only oasis of democracy in a world that abounds in military dictatorships and medieval regimes."

This does not lead us at all to generalize that the western press is Zionist or that it is totally subject to Zionist influence. This accusation blows the situation out of proportion. There are now on Fleet Street in London and on the Champs Elysees and Opera Street [in Paris] where the best western newspapers are published a large number of editors, commentators and writers who sympathize and agree with Arab questions after having discovered the falsehood of Israeli and Zionist propaganda.

Despite all this, however, Jewish and Zionist hands are not far from the centers where directions are set and decisions made in newspapers and news agencies. Jews and Zionists work cleverly to maintain the negative image of the Arab in western minds and to exonerate Israel from all forms of prejudice, barbarism and brutality practiced by Begin against the Arabs. They try [to continue] showing [Israel] as the innocent lamb that fell in the clutches of the old wolf, Begin. It were as though they were not the ones who brought Begin to power.

Even though the European press did change its biased conduct against the Arabs in recent years, Arab correspondents of principal western agencies have more than daily evidence that their agencies are biased. How much news is transmitted in a fair manner but is then broadcast in an abbreviated, distorted or biased form?

And here too the hidden facts about the actions and the biases of newspapers, news agencies and radio stations of the world against the Arab nation must be revealed. For scores of years these media have been choosing their local correspondents in the Arab capitals from groups that mostly belong to racial, sectarian or religious minorities in the Arab societies. They have done that to assure themselves of these correspondents' bias against the aspirations of the nation in which they live. Fortunately, this group of journalists is beginning to shrink and to become extinct with time.

What is more important and more serious than all this is the fact that all local correspondents for the principal western news agencies in the capitals of the Arab east are tied to the regional office or foreign correspondent who lives in Beirut in one way or another--through administration, information and directions. Unless it is absolutely necessary, they are not allowed to send their news directly to the principal centers in Europe.

Thus the news these reporters send, even if it were unbiased, undergoes a preliminary review in the agency's regional office in Beirut. This review is carried out by the foreign correspondent who lives in Beirut and who is influenced by the separatist environments which oppose everything that is Arab, or it is carried out by local editors who belong originally to these environments or minorities. Because of [their affiliations] they reject Arabism and do not entertain an ounce of solicitude for Arab causes.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

The final refining, sifting and slanting process takes place after that at the principal European center which returns the news formulated in accordance with the interests of the state or the organization that owns the agency.

Media bias against the Arabs and the Third World is not confined to the process of picking up, formulating and slanting news. It is also manifested in the selection process of foreign press members who are chosen as resident correspondents or sent on temporary assignments.

The Soviet news Agency TASS has cut short the process of western hypocrisy. It treats its correspondents like diplomats and gives most of them diplomatic passports. It considers them an inseparable part of its official, diplomatic and intelligence missions operating in the Arab world.

Western countries, however, do not give their correspondents diplomatic passports, but their intelligence agencies are not above recruiting and employing some of them. It is enough to refer here to the fact that the British journalist, Harold Philby (Kim) a senior Soviet intelligence officer in British intelligence, was employed recently in the years that preceded his escape to the Soviet Union as a correspondent for several British newspapers in the Middle East and that he lived in Beirut.

In this regard also we must remind [readers] that 2 weeks ago the Central Intelligence Agency decided to re-hire all U.S. and non-U.S. journalists and correspondents who work in foreign capitals.

The fact is that gathering news is very close and very similar to gathering intelligence. Therefore, [intelligence officials] consider [media] representatives, reporters and correspondents a valuable network for gathering news and information and for observing current political and social trends in the countries that have controlled democracies.

And here another fact must be revealed. The vast majority of the regional offices of foreign newspapers and news agencies in Beirut and Cairo undertake in one way or another the task of gathering and compiling news and information that is at the heart of the intelligence gathering process. This is done while their foreign correspondents are fulfilling their tours of duty in Arab capitals or through the network of local correspondents that are related to those correspondents. Some of this information surfaces in newspapers and western news agencies in the form of "private information from confidential sources" to serve specific political purposes and objectives. Some of it goes on a silent, secret course to laboratories where it is analyzed and monitored by the intelligence agencies in the major countries.

Does the fact that we are approached by western media in this biased fashion and in these various negative ways require us to approach the western media in return with a similar negative attitude?

No, we do not believe so. We must accept all these negative features; we

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

must contain them and overlook them as much as possible in the effort and the hope of achieving the greater and the more important goal of addressing the broader and the more influential sectors of public opinion in the world and in the west.

The absolute bias that we used to complain of in the past has now turned to a kind of negative or positive interest in Arab questions. This bias and its negative features can be reduced every day. If this has happened because of the activities and the efforts of the intellectual elite in the Palestine Liberation Organization and because of Arab intellectuals in western organizations and universities, the Arab diplomatic corps is being called upon [now] to contribute to the task or to complete it.

The phenomenon that still bewilders us is that the Arab diplomatic corps remains generally unable to establish warm friendly relations with journalists, writers and political thinkers in the principal capitals of the west. The first principles for success in establishing such relationships require that the halo or the pomp with which the diplomat surrounds himself and his work be set aside so he can mix easily with journalists, befriend them and win their confidence and their affection in an atmosphere from which affectation, flattery and protocol are removed. Such an atmosphere would be closer to the friendly, ordinary and simple environments that all journalists like in their work and in their lives.

This relationship helps not only in winning the affections and the sympathies of western journalists, but it must also make the mission of those who travel to Arab capitals for temporary or permanent assignments easier. A diplomat who encounters and lives with those journalists and follows their instructions and what they write closely can always provide good assistance to his government in dealing with the western media and understanding their peculiarities.

The dangers of an open door atmosphere to western and eastern media, which are manifested in the relationship some journalists and correspondents have with intelligence agencies, must be accepted. In today's world--the world of satellites, AWACS airplanes, fishing fleets that are equipped with radar and sonar devices and microelectronics which disappear in a button or a hole--there are no longer many secrets that can be kept. The fundamentals of the intelligence game have to be accepted, even if they were covered with innocent silk gloves.

If anything can be done to alleviate the damage effected by intelligence agents who pose as journalists, that can be accomplished by getting the members of the Arab diplomatic corps to help by gathering information about them, about their past and about their work to verify whether they are in fact journalists to be trusted and honorable in their work.

Pressure must also be applied on news agencies to make them appoint local correspondents in Arab capitals who have the authority to transmit news and communicate directly with their principal offices. The preliminary sifting and refining process which takes place in the regional office in Beirut or

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Cairo is to be eliminated to ensure that the news arrives at the principal office without distortions and to determine what changes or alterations of the basic text that was transmitted by the correspondent in the Arab capital took place.

The effort by governments and agencies that oversee Arabic programs or broadcasts in western countries to employ Arab broadcasters and personnel who are really affiliated with their Arab heritage and not with their resentful minorities, sects and prejudices comes in the context of the mutual rapprochement that is taking place with the western media. This way a broadcast like that of Monte Carlo Radio, for example, which reflects in one form or another the interests of the French media in the Arab world, would not become a nest for the hornets of the Lebanese Front and a point from which this daily flow of trivia and self-indulgence is broadcast to the new Arab generation. We cannot accept this as the media and political facade of France--the France of freedom, justice and culture--through which it addresses the Arabs day and night.

What more is there?

A discussion about a mutual rapprochement between the Arab and western media can be lengthy and diversified. AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI wanted in these two installments to formulate a set of suggestions, observations and journalistic impressions that would form a suitable nucleus for an expanded academic study of the means by which this exchange can be furthered.

The Arabs cannot win their political and social battles if they do not have the sympathy of world public opinion. This popular sympathy can constitute an influential and an effective pressure factor on official policies, on the directions these policies take, on the decisions that are made and on the positions that are assumed on various world questions including our Arab questions.

Winning over governments by turning the oil on or off is not enough. If the predominant trend in French, British and American public opinion is not applying pressure on the governments and is not sympathetic to the Arab causes, Reagan's position and Mitterand's outlook will not change simply because of a polite diplomatic protest or an official memorandum formulated with the [exemplary] courtesy of Chadli Kalibi or the eloquence of Habib Chatti.

Mutual economic interests create official positions that are temporarily close. But getting to the hearts and minds of people is the only means by which firm and permanent policies can be formulated; these policies would not change as governments succeed each other and leaders fall.

Copyright: 1981 AL WATAN AL ARABI

8592
CSO: 4304/147

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

AFGHANISTAN

DEFECTOR DENOUNCES KABUL GOVERNMENT

PM191539 London THE GUARDIAN in English 19 Oct 81 p 11

[Dispatch by Alexander Thompson: "Afghanistan Regime 'On the Point of Collapse'"]

[Text] Peshawar--Mr Mohammad Yusif Farand, a senior Afghan official who has defected to Pakistan, said yesterday that his country has almost ceased to exist as a functioning political, administrative and economic entity, and that there were strong rumours that the Babrak Karmal regime might soon be replaced by another communist administration.

Mr Farand, who has been a special adviser to the Afghan Government on economic affairs, was president of the board controlling textiles, sat on the board of the national airline, Ariana, and was approached by the government to take part in the National Fatherland Front set up earlier this year to try to give the government a more popular base, is the most senior of hundreds of Afghan administrators who have fled over the past few weeks.

He said that, in effect, the government of Afghanistan has become merely the government of the capital, Kabul.

Mr Farand, who escaped to Pakistan four days ago, said the faction in power in Kabul at present, the Parcham (Flag), is a small unrepresentative group based only in the cities.

Without the Russians, he said, they would be nothing. If the Soviet Army ever withdrew they knew they would have to withdraw ahead of them. He describes them now as spoilt and scared children clinging on to their mothers' skirts.

The faction which ruled before them, the Khalq people, were very bitter, he said. They still believed they would have succeeded in transforming Afghan society if Moscow had not overreacted. They still had support in the army, but the Afghan Army now was nothing.

Both factions had failed and were now discredited with the Afghan people.

There were reports that the Russians might be thinking of removing Mr Karmal from power and replacing him with a new faction headed by Mr Zahir Oufuq, a member of the Academy of Sciences in Kabul, who leads what he likes to see as a more independent and less compromised communist grouping.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Mr Farand was particularly scathing about the National Fatherland Front which held its first meeting in January. He said one of the main reasons for its failure was the refusal of the government to involve any parties or organisations. Membership was restricted to individuals who often join only because they are well paid and enjoy the special status conferred on them.

If a genuine attempt had been made to involve progressive elements, and a programme had been drawn up which included the ultimate withdrawal of the Soviet Army, it could have been more successful. He said that when he started questioning the front his invitation to attend was withdrawn.

Most of the hundreds of defectors over the past few weeks were young men escaping conscription measures announced a month ago. Mr Farand said the effect of such an exodus would have been severe if the administrators in Afghanistan had more to do. But in at least one ministry, finance, there was only a quarter of the manpower left. Those remaining were not overworked. The ministry now has to do less than a quarter of what it had to before the Soviet invasion. As the country slips away from central control, income taxes, land taxes and other revenue remain ungathered.

Industry is faring no better, apart from the natural gas industry which is close to the Soviet border, heavily guarded, and of particular value to Moscow.

COPYRIGHT: Guardian Newspapers Limited, 19 Oct 81

CSO: 4600/68

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

AFGHANISTAN

COFOUNDER DESCRIBES PROGRAMMING OF 'RADIO FREE AFGHANISTAN'

PM161118 Turin LA STAMPA in Italian 9 Sep 81 p 1

[Interview with Renzo Rossellini, cofounder of "Radio Free Afghanistan" by Lietta Tornabuoni in Venice: "A Voice for Afghanistan, a Proud People"--date not given]

[Excerpt] Venice--"It was a highly secret operation. I had to take three radio transmitters into the country, train a group of resistance fighters to use them and start broadcasts." Renzo Rossellini, 40-year old son of Roberto, who is himself a film producer, chairman of the Italian Gaumont Company and a former director of Rome's leftwing radio station Radio Citta Futura and who has just returned from Afghanistan, described how, with French philosopher Bernard-Henri Levy and dissident Russian writer Marek (Halter), living in exile in Paris, he set up the first communications system among the anti-Soviet fighters.

"The military situation necessitated special technical solutions. At present there are three transmitters, which are designed to be light, simple, easy to transport and modest: they cost 1.8 million lire each. There should eventually be 36. They broadcast mainly at night, for a few hours, one taking over from the other so as to become a kind of national radio broadcasting political news and debates in three languages: Dari [apparent line drop].

The broadcasts in Russian, prerecorded on tapes by Russian dissidents in Paris, are intended to have a special line of development, Rossellini said: "They are also to be used to urge Red Army soldiers in Afghanistan to desert, but two conditions are required. First, the resistance fighters must not kill Russian prisoners: this is a war in which nobody takes prisoners. Second, the International Red Cross must agree to take charge of the deserters, undertaking not to hand them over to Soviet diplomatic representatives but to guide them to neutral countries until the end of the conflict and then allowing them to obtain political asylum, perhaps in Switzerland or the Netherlands. The local Red Cross agrees: Negotiations are now going on at the international headquarters in Geneva, and if they are successful Radio Free Afghanistan [Radio Afghanistan Libera] will immediately start broadcasting calls for desertion."

[Question] Do you think they will have an effect?

[Answer] I think that many people will desert; I think that many Soviet soldiers are horrified by what they are doing. [answer ends]

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

The initiative, Rossellini said, has been received very enthusiastically by the Afghan anti-Soviet fighters: "One of the worst traumas in the occupation, which places the entire communications system in Soviet hands, is the lack of information." The initiative has been received so enthusiastically that even political or religious organizations representing various military groups have formed a joint committee to run the radio: "This was the only condition we set." It was not difficult to teach the people who were to operate the radio in an intensive and rapid 10-day course. "There was an electronics engineer among the resistance fighters, and there were boys who had studied at French or American universities and who already knew how to use tape recorded and tuning equipment. Operating a radio was therefore fairly simple.

COPYRIGHT: 1981 Editrice La Stampa S.p.a.

CSO: 4628/2

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

LEBANON

BASHIR AL-JUMAYYIL INTERVIEWED

JN121314 Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic 9 Oct 81 pp 40-42

[AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI interview with Bashir al-Jumayyil, commander of the Lebanese forces--place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] Since the latest round of meetings between the Arab Followup Committee and the Lebanese Front, you have been wagering on an Arab solution. What has happened on the regional and international levels to make this wager realistic?

[Answer] Since the beginning, we have responded to the resolutions of the Riyadh mini-summit in 1976 which provided for the formation of an Arab committee to follow up the implementation of the summit's recommendations and assist President President Ilyas Sarkis in doing so. The Lebanese Front, particularly the Lebanese Phalangist Front, performed an effective role regarding the convocation of the Riyadh mini-summit and the formulation of its recommendations. Hence, as a Lebanese Front, we wagered from the beginning on what can be termed an Arab solution to the Lebanese crisis. Our wager was on both the political and security levels: political through our response to the work of the Arab Followup Committee and security through allowing the then Arab deterrent forces to enter the heart of our regions.

However, it is the Arabs who relinquished their role in Lebanon. Some of them withdrew halfway from the Followup Committee and the Arab deterrent forces, while others, that is Syria, deviated from the right track and its forces were transformed from deterrent forces to occupation forces.

However, this time, the representatives of the Arab countries which are members in the Arab Followup Committee have taken it upon themselves not to confront Syria but to stand fast against any Syrian attempt to alienate them anew and singlehandedly tackle the Lebanese situation. We hope that this time our wager will be justified, because we care about our good relations with the Arab countries. Furthermore, the facilities rendered thus far to the Arab Followup Committee after more than 4 months were all rendered by us; whereas, Syria has not rendered any facility; instead, it is blocking the implementation of all the recommendations made by this committee.

[Question] Does the Lebanese forces' decision to stop its arms cooperation with Israel mean that the Lebanese Front has found another ally on the regional level?

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

[Answer] Every nation needs support and backing in resisting the wresting of its independence and in achieving sovereignty. This is the lot of big and small nations. The most bitter part of the contemporary Lebanese experience has been the participation of quarters, which we considered to be props and supports for our existence, in seeking to cut down to size and to contain the Lebanese presence. However, the steadfastness of the Lebanese people over the past 7 years has prompted some Arab and foreign states to reconsider their hostile stands toward the Lebanese issue. However, this new trend has not resulted in effective, firm and final support for our determination to reunite our homeland and safeguard its independence and sovereignty. Yet we are determined to provide this new trend with all the required weight to transform it into the aspired cooperation.

[Question] Do you believe that the strategic equations which brought the Syrian forces to Lebanon continue to hold true? Or do you believe that the new equations impose a gradual Syrian withdrawal?

[Answer] The Syrians entered Lebanon within the framework of the Arab deterrent forces under three equations: a Lebanese equation based on a Syrian-Christian agreement; an Arab equation based on a Syrian-Egyptian accord; and an international equation based on a U.S.-Soviet understanding. All three equations have fallen: the first under the 100-day war in 1978; the second after Camp David; and the third after the shelving of SALT II and the invasion of Afghanistan.

Moreover, the declared aims for which the Syrians entered Lebanon have not been realized. The Syrians could neither preserve Lebanon's security and territorial integrity--on the contrary they committed aggression against all the Lebanese people--nor could they protect the Palestinians from the Israeli raids. Today, the Lebanese people do not need the Syrians to enable them to communicate with the Palestinians. The Palestinians are also not in need of the Syrians to enable them to face Israel, especially following the signing of the cease-fire in the south through the mediation of U.S. envoy Philip Habib and with the help of Saudi Arabia. Therefore, the new equations inside Syria, inside Lebanon and in the Middle East necessitate Syria's withdrawal from Lebanon so that Lebanon can regain its sovereignty and hence its full role without depriving the Arabs of their interests.

[Question] What will be the alternative to the Syrian forces? Will it be mixed Arab forces, international forces, forces of the legitimate authorities or Arab-international-legitimate forces?

[Answer] The Syrian forces had not been there in the first place; why should they have an alternative? The Lebanese Army should assume responsibility for the security problems, something which the Syrian forces prevent it from doing now despite the demands of the Lebanese people and authorities.

When we say that the Lebanese Army can regain its role from the Syrian forces, we are not ruling out probable assistance to this army from the local forces in Lebanon and some contribution from an international force if need be.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

[Question] Is there any conflict between the Syrian and Saudi roles in Lebanon at least in the present stage? How hot are Syrian-Palestinian relations following the new Lebanese developments?

[Answer] I would prefer not to discuss the internal problems of the Arab forces and states and their bilateral relations, and I would like the Arab position to be unified, particularly at this stage in which we witness important political and military developments. However, I notice that the Saudi role in Lebanon differs from that of Syria, and that there is a struggle in Syrian-Palestinian relations. This is due to the fact that Syria wants to prevent Saudi Arabia from dealing with Lebanon in order to monopolize the Lebanese situation, and it does not want the PLO to take independent diplomatic initiatives in order to monopolize the Palestinian factor. This is the crux of the struggle which is spreading in Lebanon at this stage.

[Question] To what extent can your recent stand toward Israel open the door for dialogue between you and the PLO with regard to the previous agreements and to organizing the Palestinian presence in Lebanon? Does this stand make possible the resumption of dialogue between you and Damascus?

[Answer] The Lebanese people have long been wagering on the Palestinian cause. Today, the Palestinians in general are asked to wager on the Lebanese cause because Lebanon's security is beneficial to everyone including the PLO. To the extent that the Palestinians respond to the requirements of security and sovereignty in Lebanon, we will have scope for understanding with them.

As for establishing an independent dialogue between us as a Lebanese force and Damascus, I say that Syria fears the establishment of such a dialogue. Damascus, moreover, does not want any serious and fundamental dialogue with us because it does not want a solution to the Lebanese problem at this stage.

[Question] You have previously stated in more than one interview that President Ilyas Sarkis' replacement will not be a person but a new political formula. Do you still believe in this as the mandate of the regime is nearing its end?

[Answer] Of course. President Ilyas Sarkis' replacement will not be a person but a new political formula because the forthcoming presidency is an important and basic step for us on the road to settling our crisis. As long as the current political formula continues to exist, the man who emerges if elections are held will not be the one whom the Lebanese are waiting for to reshape their future and destiny.

[Question] Can constitutional procedures for the election of a new president be implemented while the Syrian presence continues to exist in its present form, and do you agree to holding presidential elections while Arab deterrent forces continue to be present in Lebanon?

[Answer] This was exactly what I meant in my previous reply. The Syrian presence in its present form hampers the constitutional game and practically mitigates against holding honest elections. That is why many doubt the possibility of new elections being held. Some have started to talk about extending President Sarkis'

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

- mandate. The Syrians are working for the election of a person who will be completely loyal to them, such as Babrak Karmal in Afghanistan and Husak in Czechoslovakia. This is something we reject and which we shall oppose.

[Question] What will be the fate of Sa'd Haddad's state if security relations between you and Israel remain severed?

[Answer] The situation in Sa'd Haddad's region will return to its normal state immediately after Palestinian occupation of the south ends. Everything that Sa'd Haddad has done has been in response to the threats facing the Christians in the border strip.

[Question] Do you see any strategic relationship between the expected changes in the Iranian situation and the Saudi role in Lebanon in the next few months?

[Answer] The entire East is passing through a stage of instability. Some of its countries are suffering from military crises and others from political crises. Any event that takes place in one of these countries is linked to the current overall developments and the expected changes. Something will take place because all these wars in Afghanistan, Iraq and Lebanon in addition to the disturbances in Egypt, Syria and some Gulf countries will inevitably produce a new situation sooner or later.

[Question] There is increased talk about clear U.S. options in the region and Lebanon. How can one envisage such options in light of your U.S. trip?

[Answer] There is no doubt that the options of the new U.S. administration will be partially or completely opposite to many options of the former administration. If the Vietnam war has caused a psychological shock in the United States, the war in Lebanon must produce a political shock. In other words, the current U.S. administration regrets that Lebanon has reached this tragic situation, and officials there show determination to seek a solution to the Lebanese crisis or at least a long truce until the other Middle East issues are solved. U.S. officials believe that the nonsolution of the Lebanese crisis complicates the solution of the Middle East crisis while former U.S. officials used to believe that the complication of the Lebanese crisis would facilitate the solution of the region's crisis.

- COPYRIGHT: 1981 AL-WATAN AL-ARABI

- CSO: 4404/45

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

SUDAN

FINANCIAL SITUATION ANALYZED; DEFICIT GROWS WORSE

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French No 1871, 18 Sep 81 p 2378

[Text] The balance of payments for the 1979-1980 fiscal year ending on 30 June shows a deficit of \$48 million, while that of the preceding year had a surplus of \$6 million.

The trade balance thus grew substantially worse, with a deficit of \$745.5 million, compared with \$611 million for the 1978-1979 fiscal year. This worsening in the situation mainly results from the increased cost of oil imports (\$254 million, compared with \$178 million for the previous year), representing 20 percent of all imports and 40 percent of all sugar exports and imports, which leaped to \$123 million, compared with only \$28 million during the previous fiscal year. This tendency toward a worsening trade deficit persisted and grew slightly worse in 1980-1981, despite a rather strong improvement in agricultural production (see MARCHES TROPICAUX of 11 September, p 2327).

The current balance of payments shows a continuous increase in foreign aid and in deposits of Sudanese working abroad, along with a reduction in interests to pay for service on the debt as a result of agreements to spread out both the private and public debt, agreements obtained at the Club de Paris.

It is essentially the direct aid to the balance of payments made by the Arab nations (Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates and Qatar) for some \$200 million for the 1979-1980 fiscal year, and by the European Economic Community and the International Monetary Fund, which made it possible to bring the overall deficit down to \$48 million.

Sudan's foreign debt at the end of 1980 amounted to \$3,003,000,000, half \$1,511,000,000 due to foreign governments, mainly Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Kuwait. International financial organizations (World Bank, the special OPEC Fund, the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development) are owed \$587 million. Debts owed to banks and private financial institutions amount to \$547 million and finally, \$358 million are due to suppliers as unsecured private credits.

In November 1979, negotiations engaged in by Sudan with its public and private creditors within the framework of the Club de Paris enabled it to obtain advantageous conditions for its guaranteed public debts (some \$450 million). In addition,

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

the five commercial banks (Arab African Bank, Commercial Bank, Citibank, Deutsche-bank and UBAF [expansion unknown]) accepted a modification of terms involving some \$450 million, on the following conditions: repayment in 7 years with a 3-year deferment and an interest rate 1.75 percent over the Libor.

Service on the debt during the 1979-1980 fiscal year totaled \$90 million, including \$70.5 million in interests. In 1980, service on the debt represented 21.3 percent of all Sudanese exports of goods and services.

COPYRIGHT: Rene Moreux et Cie Paris 1981

11,464
CSO: 4519/6

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

SUDAN

PROSPECTS OF SUGAR INDUSTRY DISCUSSED

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French No 1871, 18 Sep 81 p 2378

[Text] In order to halt the foreign exchange drain caused by sugar imports (\$123 million in 1980), the Sudanese Government wants to modernize the sugar industry to make it an exporter and enable it to generate foreign exchange receipts for the country.

The Islamic Development Bank in Jeddah is studying the possibility of participating in the financing of the project to rehabilitate sugar refineries. For its part, the German Government has already granted a sum of 33.3 million Deutsche marks for the rehabilitation of the New Halfa and Junayd plants.

The following table gives the characteristics of the major sugar complexes:

Location, Year of Startup	Area in Cane (Acres)	Daily Crushing Capacity (Tons)	Annual Refining Capacity (Tons)	Sugar Production 1979-1980 (Tons)	Annual Sugar Con- sump. Sudan (Tons)	Total Refin. Capacity Available (Tons)
Junayd (al-Jazirah Province) 1962-1963	37,000	4,000	60,000	29,600		
New Halfa (Kassala Province) 1965-1966	42,000	5,000	75,000	43,053		
Sannar (Blue Nile Province) 1976-1977	30,000	6,500	110,000	30,523		
As Silaia (White Nile Province) 1980-1981	30,000	6,500	110,000	7,560		
Malut (Upper Nile Province) 1982-1983)	40,000	6,500	110,000			

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Semi-Public Sector

Kinanaah (White Nile
Province)

1980-1981	80,000	17,000	<u>330,000</u>	<u>20,000</u>	_____	_____
Totals			795,000	130,736	350,000	445,000

According to the different studies, mainly by the Dutch company HVA-International, the investments needed to rehabilitate the different units would be around (in millions of U.S. \$): Junayd, \$9.5 million; New Halfa, \$10 million; Sannar, \$38 million; and As Silaia, \$38 million.

COPYRIGHT: Rene Moreux et Cie Paris 1981

11,464
CSO: 4519/6

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

SYRIA

BRIEFS

INFORMATION MINISTER REPORTEDLY HOSPITALIZED--AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI has learned from reliable sources that Syrian Information Minister Ahmad Iskandar Ahmad is in a London hospital suffering from an acute illness. The Syrian minister was transferred from Damascus to London last week on board a special plane under strict security measures, after falling victim to an embolism in his brain at his office. The Syrian minister is now unable to move or speak. Mr Ahmad underwent critical surgery in London. Well-informed sources say that he is still unable to move or speak despite the surgery and that he is in the intensive care unit. Doctors believe that it will be 5 to 7 weeks before they will be able to decide on the next step of his treatment. [Text] [JN312125 Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic 28 Aug 81 p 18] [COPYRIGHT: 1981 AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI]

CSO: 4404/45

END