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# Near East/North Africa Report

(FOUO 21/82)



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INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

PARIS PLO REPRESENTATIVE QUESTIONS FRENCH POLICY

Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic No 266, 19-25 Mar 82 pp 18-19

[Interview with PLO director in Paris Ibrahim al-Sus by AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI: "Does Paris Think 'Arafat Will Visit as a Tourist?"; date not specified]

[Text] Mr Ibrahim al-Sus, director of the PLO office in Paris, escalated his attack on the trends in French policy-making regarding the Middle East. In this interview, he emphasized that Mr Yasir 'Arafat will not visit the French capital without an official invitation from the highest level.

[Question] What is your evaluation of French President Mitterrand's visit to Israel?

[Answer] President Mitterrand's visit has revealed that the French stand is prejudiced in favor of the Israeli-American stand.

We have a few remarks on this visit.

First, official French sources had notified us a few days before the visit that Mitterrand's speech in Israel would be general, that its tone would be humanitarian and philosophical, revolving around the theme of two peoples for one land, and that the French president would not address political issues as his foreign minister, Mr Claude Cheysson had done in the UAE.

We were surprised that the "humanitarian" tone of the speech was simply content to talk about the problem of the Jews during World War II.

Second, President Mitterrand addressed the Palestinian state by saying that the Palestinian Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza would be able in the end to establish their state if they linked their rights to the rights of others, that is, Israel.

With these sentences, he ignored the Palestinian people, the unity of the Palestinians who live under occupation with those who live in the Diaspora and the hopes and ambitions of this people.

Third, President Mitterrand's mention of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people was conditional on the PLO's recognition of Israel and the abandonment of its struggle, as a prelude for joining the

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negotiations. At the same time, he failed to ask the members of the Israeli Knesset to recognize the existence and right of the Palestinian people to live in peace and dignity on Palestinian land.

[Question] Do you believe that some French statements that were pacifying for the Arabs were meant as a camouflage of the true French stand?

[Answer] We had no illusions about the reality of French policy, and we are very much aware of its strategic links with American policy, especially since the present French administration is more Atlantic-oriented than the preceding ones.

[Question] How, then, do you explain the contradiction between President Mitterrand's statements and those of his foreign minister?

[Answer] The Quay D'Orsay is traditionally more understanding of Arab problems and more knowledgeable about French interests in the Arab world. But it seems there is some sort of role allocation between Mitterrand and Cheysson lately

[Question] Is it possible that Mitterrand's visit to Israel might pave the way to a revival of the European initiative, or did it remove this possibility?

[Answer] Through his visit to Israel, President Mitterrand provided Israel with great support for its aggressive policy towards the Palestinian and Arab peoples. He also helped remove the international isolation Israel suffered when it did not have another ally but the United States. Now Israel has a potent ally, France.

This role was manifest, for example, in Mitterrand's promise that France will play the ambassador for Israel in reestablishing its relations with the African states.

As for the European initiative, we never had any illusion about the so-called European initiative. The European states have to realize the reality of Zionist ambitions and Israel's aggressive plans and work to establish justice, that is, to support the Palestinian people in their legitimate struggle to regain their lost rights.

[Question] What happened to the invitation to Mr Yasir 'Arafat to visit Paris?

[Answer] The way President Mitterrand addressed this subject during his visit to the Zionist entity injured the "pride of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation."

[Question] Does President Mitterrand believe that Yasir 'Arafat is begging him to invite him to visit France or that he wants to visit France like a tourist?

[Answer] Abu 'Ammar will not come to France except at an official invitation addressed to him from the highest level. Such an invitation entails France's recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

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[Question] Would such a visit be a positive indication of French policy towards the Palestinian cause?

[Answer] An official invitation to Yasir 'Arafat and recognition of the PLO might be considered an indication of a correct trend in French policy towards the Palestinian people.

I would like to refer here to the statement of French Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy in Tunisia when he said that France is a friend of the Palestinian people; and we wonder: Where has this friendship gone? And does it mean supporting the stand of those who occupy its land and disperse its people?

[Question] What is the basis you consider right for establishing positive French-Arab relations?

[Answer] There is a clear basis for improving relations with the French administration:

1. Full recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and an end to maneuver on this subject.
2. Making clear the French stand towards the Middle East problem by asserting that Israel's withdrawal from the various occupied Palestinian and Arab lands is a precondition for any solution.
3. Full recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, for which these people are fighting, and their right to establish an independent Palestinian state in their homeland.
4. That France adopt a Security Council draft resolution that states the rights of the Palestinian people the way they were stated in General Assembly Resolution 3236.

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IRAQ

MINISTER COMMENTS ON COUNTRY'S PROBLEMS

Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic No 268, 2-8 Apr 82, pp 54-55

[Interview with Minister of Oil, Tayih 'Abd al-Karim by Salib Zaytun: "We will Overcome Export Obstacles"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Iraqi Minister of Oil, Tayih 'Abd al-Karim, in a special interview with AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI said that the Iraqi oil situation is now better than before and that his country is determined to carry out new projects to increase oil exports. He made this statement in a meeting with a group from AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI attending the conference.

The Iraqi minister said: Our oil position is now better than it was last year. We are still producing much less than before the war and what we are exporting is still limited because of limitations on the means of export, which are now restricted to the pipeline across Turkey and Syria. It is not enough to hold the total Iraqi production capacity, but we are hoping after the war stops to resume pumping at a greater rate. We shall begin by repairing the damage done by the war."

[Question] Assuming the war continues, what means is Iraq thinking of using to overcome the obstacles to export?

[Answer] I'm not giving away any secret when I say there are alternatives to exports that we have thought of and used like floating docks, but this is no longer enough. We therefore made agreements in principle with Kuwait and Saudi Arabia to extend the two networks of pipelines to them to help in exporting Iraqi oil. We are limited in our export capacity to the Turkish pipeline, which carries about 60 million tons annually, and to the Tripoli pipeline, which carries 70 million tons a year. We discussed with our brothers in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait a plan to extend the two pipelines. And we obtained the agreement of Saudi Arabia for the pipeline which will carry Iraqi oil to one of the ports on the Red Sea with a capacity that may reach 80 million tons annually. Our big hope is to complete this pipeline before the end of this year. As for the second pipeline, it will pass through Kuwait starting at Basra. We expect to send through it a million barrels a day. We have obtained the agreement of our Kuwaiti brothers. We still have to work out the details, bearing in mind that the pipeline may take 2 years to complete.

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[Question] Don't you think the completion of these two pipelines will increase the volume of production in Iraq at a time when you are calling for less production by OPEC in order to end the oil glut in the international market?

[Answer] We do not doubt for a moment that the glut is artificial. The foreign companies are undoubtedly helping to sanctify its existence by dumping extra quantities (on the market). When the glut ends, the balance between supply and demand will be restored. We are bound by OPEC's decisions. Our current production due to the war is less than that before the war. All that we are doing is to maintain the former level of production.

[Question] It was decided to hold an OPEC summit in Baghdad more than a year ago, but the war with Iran put it off. Is there now an opportunity to hold it?

[Answer] The invitation to hold an OPEC summit in Baghdad still stands. And we hope suitable circumstances will allow it to be held this year.

[Question] Is it possible, for example, to hold a summit conference of the nonaligned nations in connection with it?

[Answer] Everything is possible... if there is a readiness and consensus to do so. We welcome it before, during, or after (the OPEC meeting).

[Question] Does the oil weapon still have a role to play in the Arab cause?

[Answer] Oil is without doubt an effective weapon in Arab hands, but it is sometimes used, unfortunately, against the Arabs and against the exporting countries and against the developing countries. Some want the oil weapon to be stripped from Arab hands so that it cannot be used in the national struggle with the Israeli enemy and imperialism. We believe oil provides bargaining power for the developing countries in the dialogue between the North and the South. In addition to oil helping the Arab and world economy with energy for a long time, it is a strategic commodity that can be exchanged for technology, which is the basis of the development process.

[Question] What is the energy situation in Iraq today?

[Answer] Oil is considered the primary source of energy in Iraq. It was used to build an integrated industrial base. We are expanding explorations and developing fields to increase our reserve capacity. Natural gas is second in importance. We have carried out a number of projects to exploit the gas efficiently, including the northern and southern gas project. The period of flaring the accompanying gas in Iraq will end in 1984 when it will be completely utilized.

Electric power is considered especially important along with solar power, wind power, and tidal power. All this requires more attention, scientific study, and concentrated exploitation.

[Question] What proposals did Iraq make at the Arab Energy Conference recently held in Doha?

[Answer] We invited our brother Arabs to exploit our natural gas that is in excess of the producing countries' need for it and to bring it through pipelines to the other Arab countries. We also proposed the exploration and



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identification of Arab resources in the way of raw materials used for nuclear power. This will require unified efforts to build nuclear stations and plants to treat the radioactive materials on special natural bases. In addition, we urge the creation and development of an Arab heavy industry to produce the machines and equipment used in energy industries, oil and gas in particular. We favor the acquisition of experience and conducting of studies to support Arab economic integration in order to carry out the process of gradual conversion to alternative forms of energy when the oil is used up. And we have called upon our brother Arabs to adopt the idea of creating an Arab oil reserve for the purpose of assuring ourselves of the energy needed for the integrated Arab economy.

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JORDAN

CHAIRMAN OF PRESS SYNDICATE ON ARAB, JORDANIAN MEDIA

Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic No 265, 12-18 Mar 82 pp 80-81

[Interview with Rakan al-Majali by AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI: "Our Newspapers Are Like Something Out of the Middle Ages!"]

[Text] [Question] How do you evaluate the third advisory meeting of the International and Regional Organization of Journalists, in which you participated as vice president of the Union of Arab Journalists?

[Answer] This meeting was extremely important, since it was a continuation of the international meetings of journalists' organizations on the widest scale and the highest level. Besides, the Baghdad statement that was issued at the end of the meeting is a profound elaboration on the Mexico statement and the Mexico declaration on information. This meeting between various international journalistic bodies representing 200,000 journalists was a practical achievement, especially with the successful adoption of the special article concerning the establishment of an international council to include international and regional organizations of journalists, and with the special efforts exerted by the Union of Arab Journalists to make it a success.

[Question] Did the Union of Arab Journalists have a special role in this meeting, and what are the most prominent activities of the union in the field of international communications?

[Answer] The Union of Arab Journalists is the one that called for this meeting and succeeded in holding it with representatives from all of the international organizations to confront the vicious campaign launched by the political and military industrial monopolies, which want to frustrate the efforts to establish an international information system, find solutions for the problems of the profession and challenge the obstacles that stand in the way of a citizen's right to free expression.

The Union of Arab Journalists has carried out a series of activities in its current session on the international level that sought primarily to achieve interaction with the international journalistic organizations and explain our just causes. The first meeting was with journalists of the nonaligned countries, as well as the dialogue between Arab and European journalists. An Arab-African dialogue of journalists is also among the activities of the

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union. This year we will have another dialogue with the journalists of Latin America. This continuous communication is the real success of the union.

[Question] This is on the international level. But what is the role of the union on the Arab level, and what do you think of the real conditions of Arab journalism?

[Answer] The role of the union on the Arab level lies particularly in the fact that we succeeded in preserving the unity of the union, and that it passed through all obstacles in spite of the difficult conditions. But the real condition of Arab journalism is as painful as everything in our lives. It is painful because journalism is no longer a mission or a standpoint of free expression or honesty; it has turned into business, hypocrisy and the practice of mercenaries. In the absence of public freedoms generally and of democratic and political institutions, the Arab unions of journalism become incapable of doing anything in response. We do not want the unions to turn into mere formalities. We want them to be an active force in defending the profession and promoting it. We do not want the heads of the unions to become notables. We want them to be in a position to defend the honest word.

[Question] Amid this Arab reality, where does Jordanian journalism stand?

[Answer] The reality of Jordanian journalism is painful and sorrowful. Regretfully, it is not a reality in line with the general progress or with the moral standards of our people. The reality is a feudal situation that is far behind the feudalism of the Middle Ages. The feudal lord of the middle ages used to give the serfs and lackeys some financial rights and some degree of free will, based on his own self-confidence.

[Question] How is this translated into reality?

[Answer] It means low wages compared to the high income of the only two newspapers in Jordan. It means preventing the editors from enjoying any rights whatsoever, including their participation in union elections, under threat of immediate dismissal. This monopoly of the two newspapers that form an alliance against journalists is the cause of all the problems...as there is agreement that whoever leaves one newspaper would not be accepted by the other.

[Question] Are you telling us that journalistic competition is nonexistent?

[Answer] It goes deeper than that. There is practically only one newspaper, because both newspapers have a common administration: one advertising agency, joint distribution and coordination in even the most trivial of things, and the only objective is profit. Each newspaper makes about 1 million dinars annually in profit, from distribution and ads alone. These large sums go to a handful of people, who no doubt have a vested interest in perpetuating this state of affairs and opposing any journalistic attempt or effort to publish a new newspaper.

[Question] How long has it been like this?

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[Answer] During the fifties and the sixties there were always five dailies, at least, in addition to the weeklies. Since then, journalism has been subject to conspiracies and plots from people who could not overcome their failure to publish a newspaper called AL-MANAR. Since then, they have borne a grudge against all that is Arab, starting with Abd al-Nasir. They put on the cloak of Islam and hid behind names such as The Muslim Brotherhood and The Islamic Conference and the Khomeyni... etc....

[Question] From your description, where does journalism in Jordan stand?

[Answer] Weekly journalism is contained and suffocating and can hardly, even to preserve their royalty, as is the case with AL URDUN, for example.

[Question] What do you think is the solution?

[Answer] The solution is clear: Encourage the publication of new newspapers. The government has begun to see the importance of such a step, hence the decision to publish AL-SHA'B, with a capital of 2 million [dinars], two-thirds of which was a government investment. As a matter of principle, I believe this is a good trend, but I am against the dual experience in one country. Either apply this formula to everybody or leave matters to the private sector, as is now the case.

[Question] Do you think the government is willing to own the press, and what do you think of such a possibility?

[Question] I do not believe the government wants to do that. But there is a general feeling for the need to change this closed monopoly, and the government wants to participate in this change. There is no doubt that publishing a new daily would be an actual effort to break this monopoly. But the remedy must be a thorough one and to the benefit of the journalists. This means that the new trend that aims at having journalism as simply a commercial investment owned by government investment agencies or private companies or big merchants is an unhealthy trend. I prefer that the government directly own the press, which would be better than what we now have, or that the takeover be done through various governmental agencies, as with AL-SHA'B, although I believe the latter would be successful, since the existing monopoly has so far prevented the success of the experiment, and it has been 3 months now since AL-SHA'B obtained its royalty, and its board of directors so far has not done anything.

[Question] Then you support the press being a government enterprise?

[Answer] No, of course not, not on principle.... But compared to what we now have in the field of journalism, the press would be a lot more free than it is now. As far as dealings go, the editor would rather be an employee at some official agency than be a hand in a farm or in the house of somebody who controls him.... I would like to mention an example here: A colleague from AL-RA'Y signed a letter asking for a meeting of the general assembly, Now, that person was the editor-in-chief. One of the owners of the institution called him and asked him: "Do you stab me in the back when you are in my

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house and eating my food?" That is why a government press would be much more merciful than this feudalism, although we hope not to reach that stage since the solutions are clear and available....

[Question] It is said that the decision to publish AL-SHA'B was to co-opt AL-'AKHBAR, which has stopped appearing?

[Answer] Some might think so, some might even have planned it. But I am confident that AL-AKHBAR, and I am the owner of its royalty, will soon start publishing, and this is based on official promises, of course. There is nothing to stop it from appearing, because it stopped according to an agreement between us and the Ministry of Information, simply to solve a preexisting situation. So far there has been no decision to withdraw or cancel the royalty, but the forces of feudalism have managed so far, with their wide influence, to prevent the appearance of this newspaper.

[Question] Do you feel you have been the victim of some plot?

[Answer] Not exactly. But there was some backstabbing, meanness and maneuvering on the part of some people; I would like to point here to the minister of information, whose stand was, and still is, honest and clear. Many other official parties had an honest and moral attitude. It would be no exaggeration to say that this problem, as well as the media situation in general, is one of the concerns of His Majesty King Hussayn, which guarantees that injustice will be removed.

[Question] What about the fuss that rose concerning the union of journalists and the concentrated press campaign that went on for several weeks in the Jordanian press and even in some Arab newspapers?

[Answer] It was a fabricated fuss. As you know, any elections would have to include more than one party. I believe success is not merely success in elections, rather it is success in holding the elections and allowing people to exercise their democratic rights. Any honest professional would have as his first concern the exercise of this right.... I personally feel I would have achieved a great success if elections were held democratically and in a spirit of camaraderie, even if I failed to win this particular post. I also believe we have to overcome selfishness and egotistical interests. Therefore, the whole thing was a problem of elections, and it was rooted in the fact that the symbols of press monopoly wanted the union to reflect the painful feudal situation of the press. We do not want to recount history from the beginning in this respect, nor do we want to reopen the story of the AL-MANAR, or recall what happened to Salim al-Sharif, owner of AL-JIHAD and the actual founder of AL-RA'Y, or what happened to the journalist magnate Ibrahim al-Shanti, the first journalists' union leader in Jordan, or his brother Sadiq al-Shanti, both owners of AL-DIFA', or to mention what happened to the people of FALASTIN and the founders of AL-SHA'B; nor do we want to explain how these became owners of newspapers and how they came to be journalists. This is a story known to everybody in Jordan.

[Question] But the press campaign concentrated on the law of organizing the profession?

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[Answer] The law was the basis. Last year the union leader was one of the owners of the two newspapers. They wrote that law under the slogan of modernization. We all support the laying of a new law. But this one was written in secret and everything about it was kept in the dark. We asked for nothing more than to present it to the general assembly and discuss it according to the laws and accepted procedures. They were estimating that the law would be issued before the elections, to guarantee their hegemony over the union. That is why they built their electoral campaign on the necessity of canceling the elections or postponing them until the new law was issued. Thus, the press campaign before the elections was based on the call for the new, modern, progressive, advanced law. But after the elections, when the law was exposed, they conducted a more violent campaign to cover their position by attacking the vast text of the new progressive law, as they themselves called it in the beginning.

[Question] The campaign also addressed the question of government interference in the elections?

[Answer] In all fairness, the government did not interfere in the elections. The campaign became concentrated in one miserable point: Why doesn't the government use martial law and the authority of the military governor to cancel or postpone the elections, since they are not in the interest of the campaigners?

[Question] What about suspending your membership in the union?

[Answer] This is untrue. Nobody asked that his membership in the union be suspended. We were, and still are, extremely concerned about the unity of the union and about not retaliating to the press campaign. We knew beforehand that his provocation aimed at more than doing damage to the union--it aimed at destroying it.

[Question] Are you, and the present council of the union, for the proposed law or against it?

[Answer] We are against the spirit in which the procedures were conducted for issuing this law. In its present proposed form we consider it an open conspiracy against the union, the press and the other unions as well. We consider that passing the law secretly without taking our remarks into consideration is an undemocratic procedure. We even agree with the owners of the two newspapers on rejecting the proposed law in its present form; that is, there is now a consensus on rejecting it and the attempt to impose it on the press. But we disagree with the other opponents in the approach: They attacked this law with violence, intensity and emotion. We presented a study of each article, and we believe that it must be discussed and must be passed to the general assembly of the union, and throughout all the legal stages, in the spirit of the constitution and basic legal principles.

[Question] What stage is the proposed law at now?

[Answer] We believe in just and quiet dialogue, and there is still hope that that can be achieved in the national council. I am confident that the national council will reject this law.

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Frankly, we believe it is better to dissolve the union than be subjected to a law that would effectively negate the meaning of a union. This is a forgery that cannot be accepted. Still, we are talking within the framework of principles and exact definitions of journalism and journalists, the safeguarding of the union structure and the unity of the journalistic body represented by the editors and correspondents who work solely in journalism and within the news agencies.

[Question] Was the subject of the journalists union brought before the third consultative meeting of the International and Regional Union of Journalists, in which you participated, or before the Union of Arab Journalists?

[Answer] No, this subject wasn't discussed because, as I already said, we still have not lost hope. This subject is still an internal affair of the Jordanian Union of Journalists, but it wouldn't be surprising if something happened that required us to raise our voice.

[Question] You have said some serious things: That you would prefer the government to own the press in view of what is now happening; that you would prefer to dissolve the union than have the law passed.

[Answer] I said that on principle I am opposed to the government owning the press. But the situation is extremely bad... For example, AL-RA'Y was a newspaper owned by the government; then a deal was made in the dark in which the newspaper became owned by a group of people most of whom are from outside of media circles. When the prime minister decided last year to return the ownership to the government for 24 hours, the decision was then postponed or canceled; this was natural because it is retrieving a right on the one hand and ending an immoral situation, and it is better that things be clear, on the other, thereby having the name correspond to the reality of the content. I prefer that the newspaper be owned by the government and not by a minister or an official or the relative of an official. This is the basis for my reservation on the formula of AL-SHA'B... Why should the government participate with this huge financial share in this newspaper while the government's newspaper AL-RA'Y exists and would cost the government nothing more than a decision to reinstitute it...Of course, there are many details involved, but in short the condition of journalism is extremely painful, more than you can imagine. Therefore, in comparison, and since the decision is in the hands of the government, the best thing would be to clarify everything... That is, if the government wants to own the press, let it do so. This is not simply a reaction, but things have reached a stage where an end must be reached. The solution is clear: let the journalists have the right to publish newspapers. As for dissolving the union, what I said is clear: I prefer a public and effective cancellation to removing all actual content from the union.

[Question] You have been presiding over the union for a long time; this is your fifth term, I believe. Why don't you give someone else a chance?

[Answer] I was elected president of the union for the first time in 1977 and was reelected to four consecutive terms, after which I decided to give someone else a chance. When I decided last year to withdraw and not run as a candidate,

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I was determined not to return to the presidency. But circumstances beyond my control, the illegalities and mistakes that occurred last year and especially the attempt to pass the law secretly made me bow to the wishes of my colleagues and return to remedy this difficult situation, despite what is involved in such a return to taxing exertions on my part. I only hope not to find myself in such an embarrassing situation in the coming years. Five terms are enough.

[Question] What are your roles in journalism?

[Answer] I still have not lost hope despite what I was subjected to, which some people thought would be a killing blow to me. Here I would like to mention the saying "The blow that does not kill me pushes me forward." I am certain the case of AL-AKHBAR will soon be solved the way AL-SHA'B was.

[Question] Do you have any other options?

[Answer] To tell you the truth, I don't. I was asked to be editor of AL-SHA'B and I refused before I discovered the formula. I was asked to be part of the monopoly in the two existing newspapers and also refused. There is no place for negotiations or "give-and-take," and by nature I am not susceptible to containment.

[Question] Why don't you start a project abroad?

[Answer] This is the last straw. But I don't believe that circumstances have reached a stage that would require me to emigrate. I understand that what happened in Lebanon led to the diaspora of Lebanese journalists so that they now work abroad. Could it be that I would leave and those who are strangers to Jordan and the journalistic profession remain there.... I hope this does not happen.

[Question] What are the union's plans and projects for the future?

[Answer] When I was elected for the first time in 1977 I said that we did not want the union to turn into a charitable society. Unfortunately, that is how we operated, because it was the only way to address the deteriorating living conditions of the journalists. The union prepared two housing projects that covered the needs of 122 journalists and their families, the securing of scholarships for their children, reductions on some airlines and help in some needy humanitarian cases. The newspaper booths project that the union established achieved a good financial income for the union, which enabled it to carry on some of its plans. We do this because the press institutions, which make hundreds of thousands in profit, do not provide anything for the journalists, and had these institutions implemented some of the above-mentioned projects, we would have saved ourselves a lot of trouble.

[Question] But AL-DUSTUR and AL-RA'Y provided medical insurance for their workers?

[Answer] In fact, it was a meager insurance and an inhuman one. They provided insurance only for those journalists who were registered in the union, in order to keep them away from the union, whereas there were tens of other



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workers that the insurance did not include. For example, the number of people benefitting from the insurance provided by the union, from AL DUSTUR, was the same number as last year. Those who were included in the health insurance (of the newspapers) can be counted on the fingers. There are over 300 employees in both institutions who were not included in the insurance. We would be very happy if they continued with this insurance and expanded it to cover everybody, so that this step not be simply a reaction to the elections.

[Question] You still have not answered the question about your plans for the future?

[Answer] We will prepare a study on the conditions of journalism and the income of the newspapers and journalists. This is the first step. We will continue to seek a new fair law that represents the wishes of the journalists, and there is the third phase of a housing project and the second phase of the newspaper booths project in the capital and a number of towns.

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JORDAN

INFIGHTING IN NATION'S PRESS ESTABLISHMENT REVIEWED

Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic No 268, 2-8 Apr 82 pp 60, 61

/Article by Florence Ra'd: "The War of Words in the Jordanian Press"

/Text/ The interview which the head of the Jordanian Journalists' Union, Mr Rakan al-Majali, gave to AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI (Issue 265) stirred up numerous reactions in the Jordanian press. The editors in chief of AL-DUSTUR and AL-RA'Y, Messrs Mahmud al-Sharif and Mahmud al-Kayid, replied forcefully to al-Majali, who had directed many charges against the Jordanian press, the least of which were that it was "feudalistic and backward."

Here is a review of the opinions of the owners of the papers regarding the "struggle" going on between them and the Journalists' Union. AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI is publishing it, putting the freedom to respond into practice and believing in the importance of multifaceted discussion.

The Jordanian press is not of recent origin. The first papers began to appear under the Emirate of Transjordan in 1927. First JARIDAT AL-'ARAB, belonging to Hisam-al-Din al-Khatib, appeared, along with AL-SHARI'AH, belonging to Kamal 'Abbas and Mahmud al-Karami. The same year SIDQ AL-'ARAB, belonging to the lawyer Salih al-'Imadi, appeared, and the magazine AL-URDUNN moved from Haifa, Palestine to Amman under its owner, Khalil Nasr.

However, the main paper, which became an official journal in the Emirate of Transjordan, was the newspaper AL-SHARQ AL-'ARABI, which specialized in publishing official decrees and official commemorative events.

After the government amended the Ottoman Press Law so that it would be in keeping with new statutes for overseeing these periodicals, the Jordanian papers remained in a state of flux. In the thirties, they rose to five in number, then to 20 in the fifties. From the start they took part in presenting Arab issues of a national character.

However, this transmutation was not adequate; the franchises of some papers were abrogated, while others preferred to cease appearing for one reason or another. New papers, such as Muhammad al-Khatib's AL-RA'Y (1965), Raja al-'Isa's PALESTINE DAILY NEWS, issued in Jerusalem (1967), and the JERUSALEM STAR belonging to

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Mahmud al-Sharif and Raja al-'Isa, appeared. Some newspapers were merged, as happened with AL-MANAR, whose franchise owner was Kamil al-Sharif; this ceased appearing when it was merged with the newspaper FALASTIN, and the newspaper AL-DUSTUR came out in its place in 1967.

While in the sixties the newspapers numbered 14, of which three were official, in the early eighties only a small number of newspapers remained, no more numerous than the fingers on one's hand:

AL-RA'Y, owned by the Jordanian Press Organization, which issues another publication, THE JORDAN TIMES, in English. Mr Mahmud al-Kayid, former head of the Journalists' Union, is the editor in chief of AL-RA'Y.

AL-DUSTUR, a daily owned by Mr Mahmud al-Sharif, one of the major press advisors in the Arab nation. The al-Dustur organization is now preparing to issue an English-language weekly, JERUSALEM STAR, and another specialized weekly, AL-UFUQ AL-IQTISADI. In addition to these two daily publications, which share the Jordanian market, the Jordanian Press House bought out the magazine AL-ITHNAYN (in 1974), while the newspaper AL-AKHBAR, which was issued in 1975, was shut down. Its editor in chief was Rakan al-Majali the present head of the Journalists' Union. Here people are talking of the likelihood that it will resume appearing under another name, and they are also talking about the likelihood that the newspaper AL-SHA'B, whose editor in chief was Ibrahim Sakajha, will reappear; that stopped appearing some time ago and may reappear with mixed government-private sector capital. There is one magazine concerned with affairs of women and the family, AL-BAYT AL-'ARABI; its editor in chief is Mrs Layla Abu Bab. In addition there are other weekly papers such as AL-LIWA' and AKHBAR AL-USBU'.

Papers that come out in English, such as THE JORDAN TIMES, are closer to testing and training grounds for English language editors.

The people who read the latter are mostly tourists, officials in foreign embassies and foreign workers. Their owners state that the goal in putting them out is not material, since they run at a commercial loss, but that they meet a pressing need.

#### The Union Law

Although the press is of long standing in Jordan, the law regulating it is new. In many people's opinion, it has ceased to keep abreast of development and resurgence in the Jordanian press and has become deficient in regulating the affairs of the vocation, now that the number of journalists has risen and the fields of the profession have proliferated.

However, the draft amendment to the professional statute, the Union Law, specifically, has stirred up great uproar, and it has provoked a bitter, thorny struggle between the owners of the papers on the one hand and the journalists on the other. The government has chosen to take a neutral stand and mediate if asked to do so, in order to bring people's views closer together. Rakan al-Majali, the chairman of the Journalists' Union (in AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI, number 265), launched a violent attack on the owners of the papers and accused them of "feudalism" and "backwardness."

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#### A War of Distortions

This interview stirred up a broad media uproar on the local and Arab levels, in view of the gravity of the "accusations." AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI received two comments, from our colleagues Mahmud al-Sharif, editor in chief of AL-DUSTUR, and Mahmud al-Kayid, editor in chief of AL-RA'Y, on the interview with our colleague Rakan al-Majali, and we are publishing these in exercise of the freedom to reply although the "battle" seems to have gone beyond the bounds of equitable discourse.

Mahmud al-Kayid says:

"I was certainly astonished while reading the next to last issue of AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI when my eyes alit on the article published over two full pages under the title 'The Jordanian Press Is Experiencing the Backwardness of the Middle Ages.' I was astonished, not because the author of the 'article' was someone who is esteemed in the Jordanian press and has worked in it for a while, but because this 'meeting,' with the distortions and slanders it contained, had found a place in the pages of our fellow organ AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI, which we respect and esteem.

"The Jordanian press which the writer of the article claims is experiencing the backwardness of the Middle Ages is not clandestine; it is well known to Jordanian and Arab citizens, who read it every morning and know whether or not their country's press is backward and living in the Middle Ages.

"We in Jordan can assert and claim that our press, like many domestic institutions in our country, has reached an advanced professional, technical and human level which puts on a par with the press institutions in our region, if not above many of them, both in terms of the press services it provides and the honor, sincerity and independence of its commitment to the causes of the country and the nation.

"Regarding the allegation that the condition of the Jordanian press is 'sad and painful to the heart,' I do not imagine that it is anything but the success and triumph that our press has achieved that pains the people circulating that statement, provokes the spite of the arrogant and stimulates the jealousy of persons who have failed and pains their heart.

"The writer of the article, named Rakan al-Majali, pretends to weep over the conditions of his colleagues who work in the Jordanian newspapers, stating, with respect to their situation, that it is 'more backward than the feudal conditions of the Middle Ages' and that the conditions of Jordanian journalists resemble the conditions of 'hired magicians and boon companions' from those eras. That is idle talk, as if no one could read, write or hear, and as if he was addressing people who lived on a different planet from ours. This talk is devoid of responsibility and devoid of all rules of propriety, comradeship and respect, whether to the people in the profession or the truth itself.

"The author of the article claims that the 'symbols of feudalism,' by which he means the owners of the papers, have managed, by means of their broad influence, to prevent the newspaper AL-AKHBAR from coming out. What is this confusion, this soporific argument? What is the connection between the 'symbols of feudalism' and the fact that the appearance of the newspaper AL-AKHBAR was stopped? Did

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they stop it, or was a governmental decree issued stopping it? No, no, everyone in Jordan knows about this. AL-AKHBAR was stopped purely of its own choice, and its franchise was abrogated by decree, by law, because it failed to appear for a number of months. Nonetheless, the government did not issue a suspension decree, and this issue did not concern or preoccupy the 'symbols of feudalism.' Even the real owners of AL-AKHBAR newspaper realize this, and declare that the reason for the suspension was a deficiency and shortcoming, the major share of which belonged to the writer of the articles, that compelled the owner of AL-AKHBAR to resort to this option--the option of suspending issuance of the paper.

"As for the issue of AL-RA'Y, to which the writer of the article referred, I do not believe that I need to refer to that; AL-RA'Y, today, is a major fact, a prominent landmark in our country, a distinguished citadel of journalism which hundreds, indeed thousands, of brothers and colleagues have erected through their effort, their vigilance and their sweat over the last 10 years. Only ingrates, recalcitrant people and the jealous can deny that or fail to recognize it. This also goes for the fraternal AL-DUSTUR, which, thanks to the people who run in it and work in it, has participated in the realization of a journalistic resurgence in Jordan and the development of the notion of a free independent press which is self-reliant and always aspires to advance itself.

"We cherish our press for the good level it has reached, and the Jordanian Journalists who have exerted every possible effort to uplift this profession and protect it from every attempt to destroy its dignity and the dignity of the people working in it will remain loyal to the sanctity of the written word and freedom of the press. There will never be anyone in their midst who does not work and contents himself with lolling about here and going there in order to win big rewards or gain a fat foreign agency.

"In addition to the open distortions which appeared in the 'interview,' which are an obvious violation of the truth, a point appeared which I would have liked to avoid referring to, had it not been for the amazement and astonishment it provoked in the spirit of everyone possessing sincere nationalist and patriotic feelings and in the spirit of everyone who knows the truth of the state of journalism in Jordan, and had it not also been for the questions and doubts it raised concerning the real nature of the motives that prompted the person conducting the interview to address himself to it.

"He described some journalistic colleagues as foreign to the profession and foreign to Jordan. I believe that it is not worth my while pausing before either of the 'alleged states of foreignness.' The facts are well known and obvious: the people who are foreign to the profession (as every Jordanian journalist knows) have been engaged in the profession of journalism for years--years perhaps as numerous as the age of the person who ventured to describe them as foreigners to the profession. In fact, a large portion of the present lofty structure of the Jordanian press was built through their efforts and their pens.

"As for the 'people who are foreign' to Jordan, that thinking is alien to our people and the morals of our society. If it exists, it exists only in the minds of people who puff themselves up with the perverse tendentious regional tribal superiority that our people have rejected and all of whose symbols and claims they have rejected.

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"As for the issue of the Law on the Jordanian Journalists' Union, the position of the journalists working in the press on that is fully known; they want the Journalists' Union to be truly for the journalists and want an acceptable formula to be found which will guarantee their colleagues in the press the participation their colleagues in the official media enjoy. To have the union belong to official government employees, as is the case now, is something no one accepts and sometimes logic cannot find pleasing.

"I do not want to go on at length in discussing this issue; the Jordanian press has been adequate for us, and most of our colleagues have written numerous articles in which they stated the journalists' position on the union and the law explicitly and objectively, showing that adherence to the old law or the insistence on issuing a new one which would treat government employees on a par with journalists is something that would involve a great injustice and would bring on the cooptation of the union and official dominance of it.

"It remains for me to mention that it is the truth, and only the truth, that lasts and endures, that sincere, honest words are what deserve to be spoken and written, and that the true journalist is the one who works, and works silently, without pretensions."

Al-Sharif: We Will Prosecute Him

Responding to the statement by Mr Rakan al-Majali, our colleague Mahmud al-Sharif says:

"I was saddened that a distinguished magazine such as AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI would offer its pages to Mr Rakan al-Majali, who calls himself the 'union chief of Jordanian journalists,' so that he could heap vile curses and lowly imprecations on the owners of the two newspapers AL-RA'Y and AL-DUSTUR in the issue of Saturday 13 March 1982.

"The interview the magazine held with Mr al-Majali certainly goes beyond his right to present his viewpoint concerning the problems of the Jordanian press and the existing dispute on the union in an objective scholarly fashion and brings the person giving it into the realm of slander, defamation and vilification which is the province of the law and is not worthy of an ordinary journalist--not to speak of a person who claims to be 'the union chief of Jordanian journalists.'

"We would have hoped that Mr al-Majali's talk would be confined to his view on the subject of the 'monopoly,' newspaper profits which, he charges, are in the millions, and the manner in which the newspapers treat their employees, which is worse than the way feudalists treated their slaves in the Middle Ages! We would have hoped for that because it is easy to discuss this sort of empty charge and expose it!

"However, for Mr al-Majali to deal with the owners of AL-RA'Y and AL-DUSTUR on the pages of AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI, a sometimes levelling accusation against their Arabhood, sometimes accusing them of being followers of Khomeyni, then accusing them of being 'foreign to Jordan and foreign to the profession of journalism,'

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though they have founded giant newspapers of which Jordan and the Arab world are proud, while he has not known the concerns and vexations of the profession, beyond experiencing the pleasure of trips, smoking cigars, and the prestige of the position of union head five times, then for him to proceed to claim that the sole objective of the owners of AL-RA'Y and AL-DUSTUR is profit and that they are standing in the way of the issuance of new papers because they are 'symbols of monopoly' and feudalists, then for him to hint that they are responsible for the fate that befell the late Salim al-Sharif and Ibrahim al-Shanati and the disappearance of the newspapers FALASTIN, AL-DIFA' and AL-SHA'B, without offering a single item of proof on all these serious capricious charges, and without the magazine AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI taking the trouble to ask him for a single item of proof to support these allegations, or at least getting in touch with the 'people concerned' to give them their natural right to reply to Mr al-Majali's allegations in the same article--that is something which goes beyond everything we have come to expect in the morality of the journalistic profession and it contradicts the most basic principles of equity.

"AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI is morally and legally responsible, in my opinion, for correcting the tendentious picture that Mr al-Majali's interview has created in the minds of Arab readers concerning the Jordanian press, its history and the struggle of the people who run it. Since I am hastening to send this response to you for publication in next week's issue of AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI, I cannot find the time, nor do I have the intent, in reality, to reply to the campaign of curses which Mr al-Majali has unleashed against the Jordanian press and Jordanian journalists. The place for that is the realm of the judiciary."

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JORDAN

MINISTER OF INFORMATION DISCUSSES PRESS CONTROVERSY

Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic No 268, 2-8 Apr 82 p 61

Article by Florence Ra'd: "'Adnan Abu 'Awdah: The Government Is Neutral'"

Text Where does the Ministry of Information stand on the dispute between the newspaper owners and the Journalists' Union?

The Jordanian minister of information, Mr 'Adnan Abu 'Awdah, replies,

"There are clearly two sides to the issue. There has been repeated talk about this issue in the papers. The basic dispute is between the members of the Journalists' Union, which, in the context of the old law, included the employees of JORDANIAN NEWS AGENCY, the employees of the private sector, and the owners of the papers, although the owners of the papers and some private sector employees do not want the employees of the news agency and the employees of the official sector to join them in the union.

"The former group's argument is that the union is not just a professional body but that it provides services for its members which the government, not the union, is supposed to offer people working in the official sector, since the employer here is the government. That is correct. The other party replies that the union is a professional grouping that cannot be restricted to private sector employees and that the people working in the public sector have the right to belong to this grouping. That is also correct. This is how each side presents its case and tries to support and defend it, while failing to consider the arguments presented by the other side. As for the government, it stands in arbitration, trying to prepare the draft of a balanced law. We are not entirely in favor of one side or the other. The new law will try to take the two viewpoints into consideration. There are three professional or trade union models in the world. The model in the Western countries is that the private sector owns the media; therefore, in this case, there is no problem of having government employees and private sector employees in the same union.

"Then there is the second pattern, where the press is nationalized and the media therefore belong to the government. The third pattern or model is mixed ownership of the media, in the sense that the government and the private sector participate at the same time, as is the case in our country."

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/Question/ But how is it that the employees of JORDANIAN NEWS AGENCY belong to the union, while radio and television employees have not joined it?

/Answer/ They will in the new law, but the situation will be confined to people working on news, documentary and editorial programs.

/Question/ There are people who say that the small number of papers subjects the editors to pressure from employers; what is the government's position on this point?

/Answer/ The fact is that each side claims that it is subjected to pressure. However, it is necessary to have a dialogue and arrive at an agreement. We will go in as an intermediary, if they want our mediation, or as a third party, but we will go in only after they give their agreement, as a body seeking what is beneficial, and nothing more.

/Question/ What provokes one's attention is the fact that you supported Yusuf Abu al-Layl, director general of the JORDANIAN NEWS AGENCY, in the previous Journalists' Union elections. The newspaper owners supported him at that time, but today they are objecting to JORDANIAN NEWS AGENCY employee membership in the union.

/Answer/ That has actually happened. /There was/ freedom of choice and respect for the democratic majority. That person believed in elections. The proof is that Yusuf Abu al-Layl lost the election, and this is further proof that there is democracy and freedom of choice.

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LEBANON

**CAMILLE SHAM'UN DISCUSSES SYRIAN ROLE, PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS**

Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic No 266, 19-25 Mar 82 pp 24-25

[Interview with Camille Sham'un: "Camille Sham'un Tells AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI, 'If There Is War, It Will Be in the South, in al-Biqa';' The Next Political Formula Will Be One of Three: an Amended 1943 Charter, a Federation or Decentralization;" in Beirut]

[Text] The political career of Camille Sham'un, past president of Lebanon and current president of the Lebanese Front, has been longer than the life of the "first republic" in Lebanon. His allies as well as his adversaries believe that he may be the most intelligent politician of his generation. Sham'un had the experience of living half the past century [immersed] in Lebanese and Arab politics, and he is still capable of assuming the initiative. His perspective on politics is a historical one, and his historical intuition has always been astounding.

We interviewed Mr Sham'un in his home in Beirut. We asked him about the characteristics of "the Second Republic" at a stage that could provide solutions to the Lebanese crisis. We asked him about war and peace in the area; we asked him about the U.S. position, the Syrian role, the battle for the presidency in Lebanon and briefly, the immediate present in the history of Lebanon and the area.

A few hours earlier Philip Habib, U.S. envoy to the Middle East had ended his fifth tour in the area and returned to Washington. Those who had met him in Beirut after his talks in Damascus relayed that he had the impression that his talks with Syrian officials there had been the most tense of his trip. He was talking about one thing, and the Syrians were talking about another; and the longer they talked, the gloomier the atmosphere became.

The annexation of the Golan, the alarming events of Hamah, the new formulas in south Lebanon in addition to the new U.S. logic that is being used in dealing with the Syrian role are all considerations that increased the complexity of Philip Habib's mission. Despite this complexity, which surprised no one, the parties to the fighting in Lebanon went back to set up their guns on the hills and on the traditional contact lines. Meanwhile, the Lebanese people who want to live began taking advantage of the March sunshine and to engage in their favorite sport of skiing near the forest of large and small guns.

We asked President Sham'un, "A basic question is being raised about the cease

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fire in south Lebanon after Philip Habib's recent tour in the area. Do you think that in the next few weeks or months this cease fire will actually be in jeopardy?"

[Answer] The cease fire is still in effect on the borders. Today, however, it is likely to collapse because of any Palestinian action which Israel may consider a violation of the agreement, just as it considers any incident inside or outside Israel, whether or not the perpetrators come from inside the borders of Lebanon, Jordan or Syria. Israel may also consider the increased arms supplies for the Palestinians and the stepped-up military preparations near the borders a form of challenge or a threat to its borders. In Israel's view this may constitute an excuse for launching a war that it would consider preemptive.

Local War

[Question] If there should be a war in the south, can it start a broader war in the area and against Syria in particular, or does the question of Syria's missiles and role in Lebanon constitute two problems that are independent of the Israeli-Palestinian confrontation in south Lebanon?

[Answer] If an invasion of the south does take place, it may be confined to Palestinian and Israeli forces, unless Syrian forces were to oppose Israeli forces or if Syrian missiles in al-Biqa' became engaged in the military activities. In both cases I believe that the war would not go beyond the local areas, south Lebanon and al-Biqa'. I also believe that the Arab countries will not take part in this war, if it does break out.

[Question] To digress [here], there are those who say that the withdrawal from Sinai was the last step in the Camp David process and the first step in Fahd's plan for peace. Is war strategically necessary to ensure a minimum consensus among Arabs and Palestinians about Fahd's plan? Doesn't the Saudi plan require a basic change in existing formulas in Lebanon, Syria and Palestine?

[Answer] The withdrawal from Sinai constitutes the last stage in the Camp David process unless the West Bank autonomy talks continue. However, both the near and distant past indicate to us that one cannot hope for anything beneficial to come out of these talks. Israel does not agree to the establishment of a Palestinian state in Palestine unless the Palestinian Resistance recognizes Israel as a state in the Middle East that has a right to live in the area within secure boundaries. As far as Prince Fahd's plan is concerned, its inevitable fate will be that of Camp David itself because both plans are facing the same difficulties.

[Question] There is a growing feeling in western circles, following the events in Hamah, the explosions in Beirut and the battles in Tripoli, that Syrian security is now threatening Lebanon's and not the other way around. In your diplomatic contacts with Arabs and foreigners did you sense that there was a conviction that the Syrian role in Lebanon had lost all its fundamentals and that it had also lost its ability to assume the initiative?

[Answer] The gory events that occurred and are still occurring every day proved that the Syrian occupation constitutes a threat to Lebanon's security everywhere: in Beirut, Tripoli, al-Biqa', in 'Ayn al-Rummanah, al-Ashrafiyyah, Upper al-Matn,

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al-'Aqurah and in the north. The West and most Arab countries as well are now convinced of this. However, these people lack the courage to declare this officially, not only in defense of Lebanon, but also out of their commitment to international law, to the lawfulness of the United Nations and to the charter of the Arab League.

[Question] The battle for the presidency in Lebanon, which will take place soon, constitutes the most important order of the next political stage. What Lebanese, Arab and international factors are controlling the destiny of this battle, and how do its approaching prospects appear so far?

[Answer] The election of a president is a significant event in the public life of the Lebanese people, especially under the present conditions that Lebanon is experiencing. What matters to us is that this take place in a normal fashion and that there be no interference or coercion by anyone who is not Lebanese. This would then constitute the beginning of Lebanon's restoration to a normal state, and Lebanon would regain its vigor and its full sovereignty over its territory.

[Question] Is the need for a new president of Lebanon paving the way for a new formula for Lebanon, or have the federalism, confederalism and partition programs been forgotten? Is the restoration of the spirit of the charter now possible? Briefly, which president is being sought now and for which Lebanon?

[Answer] It is not important now that we think of a new formula; but what is important is that understanding, harmony and fraternal cooperation between all the elements which make up the Lebanese family be restored. When this is accomplished, the Lebanese people themselves will choose the regime that they want. They will either choose the 1943 formula with whatever amendments it needs; they will choose a federation; or they will choose an expanded decentralization.

[Question] How would you describe relations at this stage between the National Liberal party and the Phalangists? Have these relations been established on clear foundations, or do their form, content and principal directions require reconsideration?

[Answer] There were painful incidents between the two parties, and the National Liberal party was not responsible for them. However, despite these incidents the spirit of cooperation between the two parties is prevailing so that the harsh conditions of Lebanon can be confronted in the present and in the future.

Good for the Iraqis!

[Question] What is the political significance of the fact that the Iraqi Embassy moved from West Beirut to al-Hazimiyah--a subdivision in East Beirut--and how would you describe relations at this stage between you and the present leadership of Iraq?

[Answer] I do not believe that the move of the Iraqi embassy from West Beirut to al-Hazimiyah has any political significance. The decision was dictated by purely security reasons. We all know, unfortunately, what happened to the building of the Iraqi Embassy and to the late Iraqi ambassador and the employees who lost their lives as a result of the criminal attack that had targeted them. We

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also know the identity of those who carried out that attack; they are the ones who claim to be in charge of security in West Beirut. But relations between me and Iraqi leaders are excellent, and the purpose of those relations is to serve both countries loyally and courageously.

[Question] Do you think that the war between Iraq and Iran is about to end soon? And is the religious tide (the reform movement) in the Gulf and in some Arab countries a factor for stability in the area or an explosive factor?

[Answer] It is being said that there are negotiations to end the war between Iraq and Iran and that these private initiatives may soon produce a cease fire. What matters here is that Iraq fought to regain its legitimate rights over some Iraqi and Arab territory. The sacrifices Iraq made for that objective were crowned by military success. I hope Iraqi officials enjoy their success!

[Question] There will be a new stage in Egypt after 25 April. Do you believe that Husni Mubarak will go back to the Arabs or that Arabs will come back to Egypt? What are the effects the changes in Egypt will have on the Lebanese crisis?

[Answer] It would be natural for President Husni Mubarak to try to return to the Arab fold, and it would also be natural for some of the Arab countries to think that restoration of Arab cooperation would strengthen the Arab position in the Middle East. However, Egypt did voluntarily sign a peace treaty with Israel, and this must be taken into account so that there would be no confusion in relations between Egyptians and Arabs in the future.

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LIBYA

NATIONAL OPPOSITION STATEMENT

Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic No 266, 19-25 Mar 82 p 30

[Article by Fadil al-Mas'udi: "Demands of the National Opposition"]

[Text] In a statement to the official news agency JANA on the occasion of his official visit to Austria, Col Mu'ammr al-Qadhafi announced that he wished to meet with his political opponents abroad. He said he wanted to talk with them for the purpose of reconciling with them and making it easier for them to return to Libya.

In the past al-Qadhafi had refused to admit that there were Libyans who opposed him, and he insisted on ignoring the national opposition inside the country and abroad even as he was dispatching execution squads to the capitals of the world where they carried out the physical elimination of many elements of this opposition.

Al-Qadhafi always insisted on not referring to the hundreds of national figures, students and army soldiers and officers who were being held in his detention camps or in the dungeons of his jails in Tripoli, Sabha and Benghazi. Many of those people lost their lives while they were being tortured, and many of those innocent people were killed on hanging platforms on 7 April 1977 or were treacherously gunned down inside the camps and the secret and public centers of repression.

Less than 1 month ago the agencies of repression carried out broad operations in which they arrested and kidnapped scores of students, soldiers and a few army officers under the pretext that an attempt to assassinate the colonel had been discovered. The colonel was to be assassinated while inaugurating a public market in Benghazi.

As usual, such investigations are not conducted publicly; they do not take place in the presence of an attorney for any of the defendants; and they are not necessarily restricted to a specific legal period. It was inevitable that the investigation with the defendants ultimately result in some of the defendants being eliminated and others condemned to serve sentences the least of which was a life sentence. This came about after the "necessary confessions" were wrested from those defendants to justify the sentences against them. This was done by means of advanced and new methods of torture carried out by the lackeys of al-Qadhafi's power under the supervision and expertise of experts from clandestine government agencies in East Germany and North Korea.

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While execution squads are still touring the capitals of the world, even at this hour, looking for the regime's real opponents and planning their physical elimination, "our brother" Col Mu'ammār al-Qadhafi invites his Libyan opposition to sit with him and to talk during his visit to Austria as the guest of the leader of international socialism, Dr Bruno Kreisky.

As long as public opinion circles continue to comprise people who have some ability to be discerning and to use logic, Mu'ammār al-Qadhafi's invitation to hold a dialogue with his political opponents--an invitation which came unexpectedly and at this time in particular--must arouse in everyone's mind considerable suspicion that it is not serious and not sincere.

Al-Qadhafi's invitation was extended to "Libyans abroad." This is deliberate distortion because Libyans abroad are actually only a small part of the large numbers of those who disagree with al-Qadhafi and oppose his regime.

The real, serious and broad opposition to al-Qadhafi's regime is that which is still in Libya. A large number of its leaders were hung or treacherously eliminated by the bullets of the lackeys of oppression and terror. At this hour hundreds of them are still in prisons, in the dungeons of military intelligence and in the institutions of repression and terror.

If al-Qadhafi were actually sincere in looking for a national reconciliation formula, it would have been logical and reasonable for him to go first to his political and national opponents who are still alive in his prisons despite the forms of terror, torture and suffering to which they have been subjected, and to release them all immediately. He should have revoked all the sentences that were issued against them by his puppet courts. After that he can turn to his opponents abroad and ask them to take part in a sincere dialogue to close the book on the past and restore the country to a climate of peace, safety and security where the law is sovereign. The foundations of democratic government would be established, and this would guarantee public liberties, respect for human rights and ensure justice for all.

Nevertheless, . . . .

Despite everything that happened, if Col Mu'ammār al-Qadhafi wants the Libyan opposition inside the country and abroad to take his call to a dialogue for national reconciliation seriously and if he wants people to believe his inclination toward peace and his desire to close the book on the past with all its evils, its misdeeds and its gloom, he must immediately implement these national demands:

1. Release immediately the various political prisoners, those who are detained pending investigation and those who have been condemned by the tyrannical "revolutionary" and puppet courts. This includes the group of lieutenant colonels: former minister of defense Adam al-Hawaz; former minister of the interior Musa Ahmad; all the defendants and those convicted in the case of the August 1975 uprising; the student groups who were victims of the repressive campaigns of 7 April; the defendants in the case of the Fifth Brigade uprising that was led by the late al-Shahibi; and all those who are still in prison or under house arrest. Respect must be restored to all those people; all their rights and compensations must be settled; and all injustice that befell them--their imprisonment and harassment--during the previous period must be lifted.

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This measure must include Libyan citizens--former civil servants, suspended students and leaders of the political opposition who are being targeted for harrassment, persecution and repression--who were forced to leave the country and to choose life in exile.

2. Issue an order disbanding people's and revolutionary committees. Accordingly, the General People's Congress is to be dissolved, and all the unjust measures, tyrannical practices and arbitrary decisions that ensued from what our brother the colonel called the proposals of the Green Book and the Third World Theory are to be repealed. These measures had hurt vast groups of citizens and damaged their legitimate interests.

3. Form an independent civilian government led by a national figure of integrity from a previous or a subsequent administration. This government would restore the rule of law to the country, and it would achieve democracy and the sovereignty of law.

It would be a foregone conclusion that upon assuming power the function of this government would be to hold general elections to form a national assembly that would write a new constitution which would realize for the country a civilian government that would enable our people to express their choices freely with regard to their political, economic and social regime. This constitution would ultimately provide the people with stability and peace and would ensure for them justice, freedom and the sovereignty of law.

We may then say, "May God grant forgiveness for the past." Our brother the colonel and his colleagues in the military will have to take off their military uniforms and take part in the next legislative elections as ordinary citizens. If they were to carry out this national reconciliation honestly, courageously and with integrity, they may win positions of leadership and they may assume the reins of power again, but then this would be based on the people's consent and the free will of citizens.

Other than that, . . . .

This invitation to a dialogue which al-Qadhafi is casually extending now only to the Libyan opposition abroad without being prepared to realize the aforementioned people's demands gives anyone who has a mind and the ability to discern the right not to take the colonel's invitation seriously. It also entitles him to consider this invitation, which comes at this time in particular a blatant political maneuver whose purpose is to deceive Arab and international public opinion and to lead it to believe that Libya's colonel is not like the image that everyone has of him.

Hence we have no misgivings about any Libyans inside the country or abroad being taken in by this trick or having doubts about the fact that it is not sincere or serious. International public opinion [will undoubtedly come to the same conclusion]. Public opinion has been watching all the colonel's suspect actions. The public knows all the previous incidents and facts about the colonel's political and international conduct in the past 12 years of his rule over ill-fated Libya.



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Fadil al-Mas'udi

--A well-known Libyan journalist.

--Publisher and editor-in-chief of the newspaper AL-MAYDAN which has ceased publication.

--He was forced to flee the country after a military order for his arrest was issued on 8 December 1969. He has been living in exile ever since.

--His property was confiscated by the regime; he was stripped of his Libyan citizenship; and he was sentenced to death. The revolutionary committees have been hounding him to carry out the sentence against him. So far, three attempts to assassinate him abroad have failed.

--Chairman of the Libyan Commission for Defending Democracy and Human Rights. The commission was formed on 17 April 1973.

--Secretary general of the Libyan National Democratic Movement until 17 December 1981 when the movement was merged with the Libyan National Coalition to form one organization.

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LIBYA

INTELLIGENCE, SECURITY ORGANIZATIONS DESCRIBED

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[Article: "Report from al-Qadhdhafi's Jamahiriyah: Libyan Intelligence: Names and Assignments"]

[Text] Those who saw Col Mu'ammr al-Qadhdhafi in his elegant military uniform during his recent visit to Vienna, surrounded by "the royal family" were undoubtedly reminded of one of the phenomena of al-Sadat's rule among whose foremost critics was Libya's president. [We are referring to] an upstart, parade-like appearance. Under these elegant appearances, however, lie a set of gloomy facts about the "rule of the masses." Some of these facts are reflected in a report about Libyan intelligence with names and assignments that is being published for the first time.

How does Col Mu'ammr al-Qadhdhafi rule Libya? Many people know the truth about what lurks beneath the cover of the "People's" and the "Revolutionary" committees which were formed by the totalitarian ruler. Before and after these committees were formed, intelligence agencies were being managed by a handful of al-Qadhdhafi's relatives, the essential backbone of the regime. The colonel's attempts to check these agencies under slogans of the people's rule and under the colored paper and green banners that were unfurled by the "set designs" of these multi-name committees did not succeed.

But who are those relatives and arrogant followers of al-Qadhdhafi who are running Libya's intelligence agencies? How are they running these agencies?

AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI received from Libya a report that reveals the secret makeup of these agencies, their operating methods and the real names of those who are in charge of them. AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI is publishing only parts of this report for numerous considerations, most important of which is its concern for the source of this information.

The basic group of this "elite" upon which al-Qadhdhafi's rule is based consists of [the following]:

--Mustafa al-Kharubi, chief of staff and chief of intelligence. He is one of the most influential members of the regime. He strengthened his position by uncovering most of the attempts to overthrow the regime that were planned in the ranks of the armed forces. His favorite tactic is to leak news every now and then

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about his grievances against the colonel's "madness" and his dissatisfaction with his policies. This enabled him to make contact with many members of the opposition who took the bait and met their fate.

It is known that al-Kharubi leaves Libya only once a year to perform either the pilgrimage proper or the minor pilgrimage. However, he did travel to Syria numerous times to coordinate efforts with Syrian intelligence for tracking down the opponents of al-Asad and al-Qadhdhafi in Europe.

2. Sayyid Qadhdhaf al-Damm is the colonel's cousin and a former police officer. He heads the general intelligence agency alternately with Mustafa al-Kharubi. He also works as a journalist in his spare time. Sometimes he writes in the newspaper AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR, or he writes some of its articles. For a period of time he also wrote in the magazine AL-KIFAH AL-'ARABI. It is known that Qadhdhaf al-Damm has a special budget for "foreign operations" and that he spends lavishly from that budget. He used to travel frequently to the capitals of Europe until British authorities accused him of taking part in plotting the assassination of Dr Mahmud al-Maghrabi, Libya's former ambassador in London until his resignation in 1975 to join the ranks of the opposition.

However, British authorities allowed Qadhdhaf al-Damm to enter Britain 6 months ago for "humanitarian reasons." This was explained in terms of a special relationship which the man has with British intelligence.

Qadhdhaf al-Damm had traveled to the Austrian capital a few days before the colonel's arrival there to receive treatment for cancer of the bladder. He was in the hospital throughout the colonel's visit to Austria.

3. Col Mas'ud 'Abd-al-Hafiz (40 years old) is also one of al-Qadhdhafi's cousins, and he is the one responsible for political assassinations and for special security missions in the area of Sabha. He is the one charged with the task of winning the sympathies of the al-Qadhdhafi tribes, ensuring their loyalty and watching those in the tribal ranks who appear critical of the colonel. He is also the one who is charged with ensuring security in all the tribes of Sabha.

4. Cpt 'Abdallah al-Sinusi is the chief of armed forces intelligence. He is one of those who accompanied al-Qadhdhafi on his visit to Austria. He is from the area of Fazan.

5. Cpt Ahmad al-Qadhdhafi is the colonel's cousin and the closest relative to his affections. It is being said that Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi considers Cpt Ahmad his "favorite son" because he sees himself in him. Ahmad al-Qadhdhafi travels often to Europe. He does not go anywhere without a special guard, and during his visits to European capitals he spends large sums of money which are believed to come from the country's security allocations.

6. Col Yunis Bilqasim is a police colonel. He was one of the most energetic officers serving King Idris al-Sinusi before 1969. Al-Qadhdhafi kept Bilqasim after coming to power: he transferred him to Tripoli and appointed him department chief in the Ministry of the Interior. He soon promoted him assistant deputy minister and then deputy minister. Then he promoted him Minister of the Interior. Three years ago al-Qadhdhafi appointed him chief of the al-Jamahiriyah Security Organization.

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Four Agencies

Al-Qadhdhafi sits in his seat of power quite confidently over this group after developing four agencies that share the task of executing security functions. The first agency is the al-Jamahiriyah Security Organization--Bilqasim; the second is the intelligence agency--al-Kharubi and Sayyid Qadhdhaf al-Damm; and the third is the General Investigation Agency which is led by each of [the following]:

--Police Col Muhammad al-Ghazali who is also one of the officers who served during the royal administration.

--Sa'd ibn 'Umran from Benghazi was recently "divested of his powers" when a decision was made recently to push him aside without ousting him [from his job].

--Then there is Lt Col . . . from al-Barkah in Benghazi. There is no need to publish his name now for special considerations.

The fourth agency is directly subordinate to al-Qadhdhafi. There is no intermediary for it, and not enough information about it is available.

Operating methods have recently developed quite noticeably. After actions against the opposition had consisted of sending elimination missions to assassinate the most visible and most influential members of the opposition, Libyan intelligence is now using a more "sophisticated" method. It is using a number of businessmen as a front to open what are presumed to be trade offices in European capitals for the purpose of using these offices as the foundations for the activities of intelligence agencies abroad.

One of the prominent examples of the fact that Libyan intelligence is adopting this method lies in the activity of Libyan businessman 'Ali al-Nayiz who opened a contracting office in Rome. The Department of Military Operations which is affiliated with the Libyan army gave him the right to execute a number of transactions in its behalf.

Although this new method is the latest method utilized by Libyan intelligence abroad, these intelligence agencies are still following the method of physical elimination in Libya. Here several names emerge.

--Maj Khalifah Hanish, who is also from the al-Qadhdhafah tribe, is the one behind the elimination of 'Amir al-Daghis in February 1980. Al-Daghis was a symbol for the national opposition in the royal age and then in al-Qadhdhafi's age. Maj Khalifah claimed that al-Daghis committed suicide in his cell.

--Cpt Hasan Ashkal, al-Qadhdhafi's cousin, was a police officer in the royal age. His predisposition to showmanship is known, and he is well-known for his haughtiness, his ignorance and his predisposition to provoking others, especially intellectuals. Ashkal also supervises the projects of agricultural planes in the area of Surt.

Cpt Ashkal is married to an Egyptian who now owns two buildings in Cairo.

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The Masked [Force]

One of Ashkal's most prominent accomplishments which made him eligible to win the confidence of the colonel is the fact that he formed a special group of masked men. This team became famous after its members broke into the home of al-Haj 'Ali Zawawa at night and arrested al-Haj Zawawa who was known for criticizing the colonel's policies. They took him to a forest on the outskirts of Benghazi where they beat him up. He died later.

Then comes Cpt 'Awad Ibrahim from military intelligence; he is chief of the military intelligence branch in Benghazi. Lt Col Bilqasim al-Qanqa who is in charge of the investigations for the military prosecution in state security cases holds a prominent position on the list of al-Qadhdhafi's regime. He is responsible for investigating security cases.

The city of Tripoli is still talking about the wedding of Cpt Bilqasim where extreme pomp was evident. It was said that this was his reward from Col al-Qadhdhafi for his devoted role in "preserving peace and stability" throughout al-Jamahiriyah.

This is the elite that undertook the task of eliminating the opposition inside the country--chief among which were Muhammad 'Amir al-Daghis, Husayn Saghir and Muhammad Faraj Hami--and assassinating the opposition abroad, chief among which were Muhammad Ramadan, Muhammad al-Khazmi, 'Abd-al-Jalil 'Arif, 'Abd-al-Latif Muntasir and 'Umran al-Mahdawi.

It is in this manner and under the slogan of "absolute authority for the masses" that Col al-Qadhdhafi is ruling Libya. If this is the case, it may be necessary to ask: how is the colonel continuing in power? In whose interests is he in power? What foreign role has been assigned to him so he can continue in this power?

The answer naturally requires a more detailed inquiry and a more adequate historical reading into Libya's conditions. However, some answers do thrust themselves in the course of these questions.

--The first answer is that al-Qadhdhafi is surviving because he is the primary "hero" in aborting attempts for Arab solidarity between Egypt, Sudan and Libya; between Libya and Tunisia; or between Libya and Syria, ad infinitum. He is the central party in every inter-Arab rapprochement. He is a party to the Iraqi-Iranian war; he is a party to the Arab oil policy; but he is not a principal party in any Arab strategy against Israel.

--We find the second answer in the Libyan president's interest in charging the Egyptian-Libyan atmosphere with tension every time Egyptian-Libyan relations take a course toward liberalization. The evidence for this lies in the fact that he increased his military troops on the Egyptian borders in the past 2 weeks. What applies to Egypt here also applies to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia which was not spared the colonel's attacks during the same period after he had made considerable efforts to settle his differences with it.

We find the third answer in al-Qadhdhafi's sudden liberal attitude toward some

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Arab capitals and in the fact that for some time now he has been asking for a date on which he can visit Washington. After accusing Chancellor Bruno Kreisky of being a broker, he went to him personally on a ceremonial visit during which it was noticed that he was careful to promote the role of the family (his wife and his son) at official meetings, and this is a role for which he used to criticize President al-Sadat.

Naturally, this is a case which international decision makers strive for in devising the formulas of struggle according to their interests in the Arab area.

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