

PRESIDENT
HOSNI MUBARAK



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Vision and Achievements



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**Mohamed Hosni Mubarak,
President of the Arab Republic of Egypt**

A Profile of the Man and his Political Philosophy

Hosni Mubarak became President of Egypt in October 1981 at a time of great stress and conflict, but his serene and balanced approach has restored a feeling of security and stability to the nation.

During his time in office he has achieved the apparently impossible: a stable, confident nation that is growing in international significance not only because of its geographical location and its natural assets, but also because of the strength and diligence of its people. The task of ensuring continuity of government, political stability and economic development at that critical stage in Egypt's history, called not only for a subtle balance between the many imponderable factors, but also strong and humane leadership.

Hosni Mubarak combines the experience of a successful technocrat and military strategist with modern, farseeing ideas and an unshakeable faith in Egypt's destiny that are in keeping with the mood of a nation determined to maintain stability and prosperity and to play its traditional role in the Middle East, in Africa, in the Muslim world, and in the community of nations at large: a nation also conscious of its contribution to the progress of mankind during its 50 centuries of history.

Who could have predicted that the baby boy born on May 4, 1928, in the small village of Kafr el-Moseilha, in Al Minufiyah Governorate, Lower Egypt, would be called upon to join the phalanx of nation-builders stretching from the Pharaohs of old, the Fatimid caliphs and the Ayyubid rulers, to Mohammed Ali, Gamal Abdel Nasser, and Anwar Sadat?

Hosni Mubarak is a man of the people. His father was determined that his son should have every educational advantage that had been denied to him in the feudal climate of his own youth. It was an attitude shared by most Egyptians – and by all villagers in Kafr el-Moseilha, where the tradition of independence and co-operation was particularly strong.

Hosni was not alone in achieving the grades at primary school and indeed his example has been followed by all children in Kafr el-Moseilha, which has one of the highest literacy rates in the country. But its population was too small to support an establishment for secondary education, so Hosni was sent to Shibin el-Koum, the capital town of the Lower Egypt Governorate of Al Minufiyah.

He is remembered there, by his Arabic language master, as a student who “*combined intelligence with courage and good behaviour.*” Hosni's parents had hoped that he might study the liberal arts at Cairo University, but he had already showed a marked capacity for leadership and strategic thinking. He decided that his future lay in the armed services, enrolled in the Military Academy, and passed out on February 1, 1949.

The Egyptian Army Air Force, as it was then called, had been established in 1932.



The Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian Air Force watching the Victory Parade in Cairo, on October 6, 1974

Hosni Mubarak, realising that the resolution of any future conflict would depend on air superiority, completed his military training at the relatively new Air Force Academy. After two years spent on active service, Mubarak returned to the Academy as an instructor in February, 1952.

Flying Instructor Mubarak stayed in his position at the Air Force Academy for seven years, training the future officers of the Egyptian Air Force. Many of them, like himself, had come from the countryside, and it was with particular pride that he moulded these sons of the earth into giants of the air, imbuing them with the courage, steadfastness, and confidence which were so much part of his own personality.

The training period was only one year but in this relatively short time Flying Instructor Mubarak was able to learn much about the aspirations and attitudes of Egyptian youth

while teaching the cadets the most sophisticated and complex aspects of modern aeronautics. In 1959, he was transferred to the command of an L-28 squadron, and this was followed by the command of a TU-16 jet fighter air brigade. These were the first jet bombers in the Egyptian Air Force, and Mubarak made several visits to the USSR for specialised training in their use. In April, 1965, he undertook a course of advanced study at Frunze Military Academy in the Soviet Union.

The unprovoked surprise blow suffered by the Egyptian military forces in June, 1967, left the country with virtually no aircraft. As on a later occasion in his life, Mubarak was the right man at the right time. The right place was again the Air Force Academy, to which he was now assigned as Director-General. In two years, from November, 1967, Mubarak succeeded in building

up the expertise, the confidence and the morale of a vital arm of the Egyptian military strength.

He worked tirelessly from dawn until well past the bedtime of his young recruits – thereby earning his reputation for inexhaustible energy. Within a year and a half, he had literally re-created the Egyptian Air Force, with five different groups of cadets graduating as fully trained flying officers.

This monumental job achieved, Mubarak was appointed Air Force Chief of Staff in June, 1969. Then in April, 1972, President

Sadat by special decree appointed him Commander-in-Chief of the Air Force. Here his exceptional talents were used to their fullest potential when on October 6, 1973, the Egyptian Air Force made the first strike of a wholly successful war.

Mubarak's meticulous planning meant not only victory, but remarkably little loss of aircraft and Air Force personnel. The Egyptian Army was able to cross the Suez Canal and reach the supposedly impregnable Bar Lev Line on the East Bank – before the Israelis realised what was happening. President Sadat





The new President is sworn in by the Speaker of the People's Assembly following his election in October, 1981

promoted Mubarak to Lieutenant-General within hours of the attack, and when the United Nations declared a ceasefire 16 days later, Mubarak was awarded the Star of Sinai, Egypt's highest military honour.

When he was appointed Vice-President on April 16, 1975, President Sadat told him "I want you to be my deputy because I want a deputy who can share responsibilities with me. No one knows what the future holds for me and the state secrets should not be placed in the hands of one person only."

Following the events of October 6, 1981, Hosni Mubarak assumed the responsibility which devolved upon him and, having been so close to the seat of power, was well placed to take over the functions of President.

On October 7, 1981, he was unanimously nominated by the National Democratic Party to stand as candidate for the Presidency. One week later he was elected President by an enormous vote of confidence in a national referendum. Undoubtedly it was the high

esteem in which he was held that made possible a smooth transition at a potentially dangerous moment in history.

It had been thought internationally that, because of his concern for the people, the educational, social and cultural future of the Egyptians, his interest would be exclusively in domestic affairs and that he lacked experience in the international arena. Subsequent developments, however, showed that his years of diplomatic assignments all over the world had given him the experience which, added to his flair for diplomacy and negotiation, made him ideally suited to present Egypt's case in other countries. The relentless hard work and dedication that had distinguished President Mubarak's entire career is now an exceptional feature of his presidency. It is combined with a rare modesty, for the President is well known as much for his discretion and realism as for his overtly displayed judgement.

President Mubarak's wish to keep his family

life private and away from the spotlight of national attention is respected by the Egyptian people. He eschews many of the more flamboyant aspects of his post as leader of a great nation. He has, for instance, cancelled those orders which commandeered for the presidential party many of the more beautiful residences in Egypt. Instead, he and his family live in modest surroundings.

Experience and Motivation

Mubarak's career up to the time of his election as President in October 1981 had already endowed him with a uniquely wide spectrum of knowledge of the problems confronting Egypt. His early life and school years in the village in Lower Egypt had enabled him to share the experience of millions of rural children and the difficulties with which their parents had to cope.

His secondary education, in a small provincial town, had introduced him to the problems of the lower and middle classes. And his quarter century in the Air Force had brought him into close contact with thousands of young men from all strata of Egyptian society. By the time Hosni Mubarak's six years as Vice-President began, he already had a profound understanding of the people he was later to lead: their attitudes and their aptitudes, their propensities and their aspirations.

Those years as Vice-President added an insight into the working of the administrative system and the mechanism of government, as well as the opportunity to study at close hand the experience of other nations and the failures or successes of their various policies.

To these multifarious experiences Hosni Mubarak brought an inherently open and analytical mind. And thus, when he came to the Presidency, he had acquired not only a clear vision of the revival of Egypt's greatness but, more important still, an equally clear vision of the policies which were needed to bring that revival about.

These policies are above all pragmatic and realistic, drawing as they do on his great awareness of, and sensitivity to, the needs of

the common man. Through them all runs the untarnished thread of integrity arising from his strict religious upbringing.

This ability to distinguish between the ideal, the desirable and the possible is one of President Mubarak's greatest assets, and has been evident from the very earliest days of his Presidency. Both his common sense and his military experience had taught him that attacking an unattainable objective is fraught with disaster, and that the key to success is a realistic assessment of one's strength. Underestimating the enemy's potential resilience was one of the most dangerous mistakes a leader could make.

The enemies, for Hosni Mubarak as President, were (and are) not only those who might threaten Egypt's internal and external security, but also poverty, disease, unemployment and low productivity in many areas, inadequate use of human and material resources, and insufficient investment. From his first days in office, he has worked to establish a sound economic basis on which to build his country's future.

Facing this challenge, President Mubarak's stance is that of a man of action. "I will not make any promises I cannot keep," he has said, "and I will not hide the facts from the people."

"If the leadership expects people to do their job properly it must set the proper example. Henceforth no government projects will be announced until they are actually being executed."

In laying the foundations of economic revival, President Mubarak's understanding that politics is the art of the possible is bringing results to reward his patience. For, as he said in 1982, "economic crises are not solved overnight," and his long military experience has taught him that careful, realistic planning is the key to success.

The President places his highest hopes for economic revival on what he sees as the nation's greatest resource: her people. Just as the inhabitants of his own native village have revolutionised their lives and prospects by their own efforts so, President Mubarak knows, can the whole Egyptian nation. Future



development can only grow from the joint determination of the people and the State; it cannot be imposed by the latter upon the former.

"Every citizen must nurture the spirit of reciprocation and not (give himself) the right to depend and rely on what government institutions can do. We must hold onto our right to individual and group initiative. We are citizens with equal rights and duties, not wards of the government."

"No one should rely entirely on the efforts of the government. No one should be negative and wait to be invited to make a contribution to economic, social or cultural problems."

"We are all citizens and not subjects. We are all equal in rights and duties. Responsibility is shouldered by all. We are all required to work with diligence and sincerity for the welfare and prosperity of our country and our people."

In thus rejecting paternalism President Mubarak is expressing not a pious hope but

an assurance that has arisen from his long years in the Air Force. There, he learnt how training, determination, and a common cause could bring out the highest human qualities; how the rawest recruit, given the opportunity, could become self-motivated and self-reliant.

With characteristic common sense, President Mubarak has never lost sight of the fact that few will work so devotedly for an ideal as they will when they can see that their own interests are also being served. And this means the encouragement of the private sector of the economy after its comparative neglect by previous administrations.

"I wish to reiterate," President Mubarak said in a major speech during 1982, *"that the Government is committed to the encouragement of the private sector."*

Just as the strength of the Air Force as a national force depends on the strength of each one of its members so too, President Mubarak knows, does the development of Egypt's great national industries depend on

their making common cause with the interests of private business. Economic revival, he has said, requires that both the public and the private sector should flourish.

It also requires foreign investment. Isolationist policies cannot meet the needs of a free nation or aid the growth of a vigorous economy. President Mubarak has consistently encouraged foreign investment where it is to the benefit of the Egyptian people.

"We welcome Arab and foreign capital and are keen to provide a propitious climate likely to contribute to an increase in production while doing away with exploitationist methods."

And the President knows that what attracts vital investment is not rhetoric or idealism but hard-nosed practicality.

"We are not asking you," he told West German industrialists at a 1982 conference, *"to take any risks or base your decision to invest in Egypt on non-economic factors."*

"We know the rules of the game and offer you a mutually beneficial relationship."

"We need your capital and technology. We offer in return our atmosphere of stability and confidence... and we have taken many steps towards the elimination of red tape and administrative bottlenecks."

Yet in furthering industry and foreign investment, as in every other area of policy, the President will not allow the rights of the industrial worker to be infringed. He has supported the development of trade unions and measures designed to prevent the exploitation of employees. Their well-being he regards as central to a sound industrial base, and in working to achieve a flourishing economy he seeks to serve not the interests of the wealthy but to bring opportunity to the nation as a whole.

Thus he says of the open-door policy he has worked so hard to promote: *"...in our estimation, it represents the optimum way of achieving overall economic and social development and of enabling the masses to reap the benefits of peace and stability."*

"The economic open-door policy should be productive in the sense that projects which we shall accept within its framework should be directed towards the production

of basic goods needed by the working classes who constitute the majority of our people and the broad base of this nation, and not luxury goods which are used by an opulent minority."

President Mubarak's concern to counter the inequity of wealth is expressed with the statesmanlike sense of balance which characterises the Egyptian leader's policies. *"To eradicate luxury and extravagant public and private spending"* is a major aim, he has reiterated... *"but without taking repressive measures which would impair economic activity."*

The fundamental democracy which permeates his economic thinking expresses itself in a resolute commitment to democracy in political life. The strict lessons of his upbringing remain: *"To me power means responsibility, not pleasure,"* he said. It is from this deep-rooted belief that his rejection of the many Presidential residences springs as does, more fundamentally, his commitment to social justice.

Hence the President's implacable, lifelong enmity to corruption. *"There will be no place for nepotism,"* he promised soon after coming to power, *"and those who indulge in any kind of nepotism will be severely punished. The law will be implemented without making any exceptions and all manifestations of corruption will be fought relentlessly."*

And hence, too, the President's determination to lead by consensus and not by fiat. Refusing to counter extremism by extremism, he has broadened the base of Egyptian democracy by deed as well as by word in encouraging constructive political opposition.

"The opposition has a role to play in the national march," he asserted in a policy statement on coming to power, *"by offering studied views and honest criticism, as distinct from slander and unfounded accusations. The opposition should join the government in providing overall solutions to the problems of the masses."*

"We should agreed that our sublime aim is to serve national interests. We can differ but without conflict. We should exchange views and not accusations..."

"If some deviating, misleading elements have tried to exploit the democratic climate to subvert our social system this should not shake our conviction that the problems of democracy can be dealt with by more democracy."

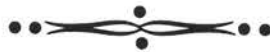
Repression as a means of control is alien to President Mubarak's thinking. His release of political and religious detainees, on coming to power, affirms not only his belief in the inherent strength of the democratic process but his commitment to individual freedom. He is deeply concerned to maintain that delicate balance between public good and private liberty which is the essence of civilisation. Security against terrorism, he has said, must be upheld *"without infringing upon public liberties and rights."* It is typical of his approach that he is working to eradicate terrorism by attacking it at the roots, through improving education and the teaching of true religious values.

"I believe," he said on the occasion of Egypt regaining Sinai in April, 1982, *"that democracy is the best guarantee of our future and the best means of striking a balance between the interest of the individual and the rights of society. It also upholds the dignity of the citizen."*

"This is why I have opted for dialogue with each and every one from the premise that we are equally committed to the public good. I totally oppose a centralisation of power and I have no wish to monopolise decision-making, because the country belongs to us all and we all share this responsibility regardless of individual stands."

In the wider world of international politics, President Mubarak's concern for the interlocking rights of nations pervades his firm grasp of political reality. In the troubled Middle East, 5,000 years of history traditionally place Egypt in a central role whose responsibilities the President does not shirk. The search for peace, stability and justice in the region is his prime directive.

"We shall continue to build peace with all the power and will at our command, and we shall continue to widen its scope so that its beneficial impact is felt on all the people of the region, most of all on the brotherly Palestinian people whose right to self-determination and freedom of choice we support, and beside whom we stand in their legitimate struggle," the President assured the Egyptian people in 1982, and has maintained ever since.



President Mubarak addresses the People's Assembly

Democracy in Action

The dramatic circumstances surrounding the election of Hosni Mubarak to the Presidency in October 1981 denied Egypt's new leader the political honeymoon that is experienced by most heads of state on their ascendency. President Mubarak was confronted by critical domestic issues which had to some extent threatened national cohesion in the previous months; but within days he was able to assert his authority, ensure a smooth transition of power, consolidate the government of the National Democratic Party, and inspire the confidence and trust of the Egyptian people, and of the rest of the world.



In his first address as President, which was delivered to a joint parliamentary session of the People's Assembly and the Consultative Assembly, Mubarak stressed the importance of national solidarity and demonstrated his own qualities as leader:

"I pledge to stretch my hand to those who supported me and those who opposed me alike. We are all sons of one nation, we have one destiny and one history. I pray to Almighty God to help me to realise the hopes of those who supported me and to help me gain the support of those who preferred to wait and see."

President Mubarak emphasised that it was the responsibility of all Egyptians, of whatever creed or political persuasion, to share in the task of nation-building. Egypt's history had traditionally ensured the free expression of the popular will, and the strength of the democratic machinery of government was perhaps the single most important factor guaranteeing the smooth transition of power following the assassination of President Sadat. As he said on October 14, 1981, *"Freedom means respecting the freedom of others - democracy means abiding by the law."*

This sentiment was reiterated the following month when, having managed to stabilise some of the more disaffected political and religious elements, he said *"the minority must respect the opinion of the majority, while the majority must not ignore the opinions of the minority. We should agree that our sublime aim is to serve national interests. We can differ but without conflict. We should exchange views and not trade accusations. The philosophy on which we should all agree and which should guide our work is that Egypt stands above all. Egypt is not a society of a privileged minority which monopolises power and all the good things. Egypt is not a society of a chosen elite which looks haughtily upon the people and imposes its guardianship upon them. Egypt is for all her sons who, with their thoughts and their toil, build their country on the basis of equal opportunity and equality in shouldering burdens."*

In this spirit of inviting reconciliation and

promoting collective responsibility for the nation's political destiny, Mubarak calmed the waters of dissent most dramatically by releasing from detention, or lifting restrictions on, the opposition leaders who had been confined under his predecessor.

In a press interview given just a week after becoming President, Mubarak expressed his views on the functions of political dialogue. *"To me, an opposition should work for the sake of the country and the people and not just for itself. An opposition should analyse a project, examine its pros and cons and come out with a better alternative before opposing it."*

President Mubarak has repeatedly put into practice his avowed political philosophy and democratic principles by encouraging free and open debate on issues affecting the nation, especially with regard to national development. In the first few months of his administration he also invited face-to-face dialogue with the former political detainees whom he had released as well as with those elected members of the People's Assembly who had opposed him in the Chamber.

This approach became typical of President Mubarak's style of leadership. Whenever major issues of national importance arose he would discuss them informally with the leaders of opinion and the exponents of various groups, including those likely to hold different views. He would listen to them with an open mind and if their arguments were sufficiently convincing, he would be prepared to take them into account when recommending a specific course to the Cabinet or the People's Assembly. Foremost in his mind is always the desire to achieve a consensus or, if that is not possible, to ensure that whatever measures are taken serve national interests and enjoy the support of the majority of the population.

A clear demonstration of the positive and practical implementation of President Mubarak's desire to increasingly open up the channels of dialogue with all sectors of national opinion has been given by his handling of many sensitive subjects concerning the economy, demography and development. In September 1984, for example,



President Mubarak confers with leaders of Egypt's main opposition parties

the President called for the convening of a national conference for the purpose of considering the many aspects and dimensions of state subsidies. As well as academics and economists with special knowledge of the subject, he invited representatives of all political parties, including those opposing the Government, to take part in such conferences. Within the framework of this initiative the President himself met with leaders of these political parties and urged each of them to direct party members to actively contribute to a solution of the problem through presenting research papers and studies on how best to handle the issue without prejudicing the national plan for economic reform and development.

Following talks with the President, the leader of the New Wafd Party, Fuad Seraggeddin publicly commended him for his virtues of *"frankness, honesty and faithfulness to the nation."* The New Wafd leader



President Mubarak honours the proud young men of the Egyptian Army, tours a military aircraft production line, and confers with officers of the Egyptian Navy



added that the opposition was conscious of its responsibilities and believed that it was in the interest of the nation that co-operation should prevail.

When Egypt regained Sinai on April 25, 1982, the whole nation had cause to celebrate. The recovery of this part of the Egyptian homeland seemed to epitomise the achievement of national redemption.

As well as marking a significant stage in the peace process, following the October 1973 war, it also illustrated the effectiveness of negotiation in fulfilling national aspirations. In an address following the Israeli withdrawal from the peninsula, the President spoke to and for the whole nation:

"To each and every Egyptian ... to the soldier at his post, to the farmer in his field, to the schoolteacher in the classroom, to the scientist in his laboratory, to the worshipper at the prayer-offering house, to the mother at home and to the artist at his studio, I should like to convey all my heartfelt congratulations because you reflected greatness when you rejected defeat and equally when you manifested determination to liberate your territory." President Mubarak's speech drew attention not only to the need for maintaining a balance between the interest of the individual and the rights of society in order to guarantee Egypt's future, but also to the function of democracy to uphold the dignity of the citizen.

In a key pointer to his policy of decentralising the administrative process he said: *"I totally oppose a centralisation of power and have no wish to monopolise decision making because the country belongs to us all and we all share this responsibility regardless of individual stands."* The following month, on the occasion of the 11th Anniversary of the May 15 Corrective Revolution when President Sadat had made significant moves to set the nation free from the 'power centres' which had manipulated political power and influence, President Mubarak hailed this event as a move which *"came to consolidate the revolutionary march led by the late Gamal Abdel Nasser on July 23, 1952."*

The continuing revolutionary process, the President said, provides lessons which

confirm that national action *"is no monopoly of a given group"* but is the collective responsibility of all citizens. *"This responsibility forms the core of democracy in Egypt and protects it from illusions and from deviation."* He also said that parliamentarians are held responsible for fostering the democratic process through closer contacts with the people whom they represent and by truthfully expressing their opinions and lawful ambitions. *"The masses,"* President Mubarak stressed, *"should be acquainted with all facts, frankly and clearly, as this is the essence of parliamentary representation."*

In May 1984 the Egyptian people went to the polls to elect a new People's Assembly, the eighteenth Parliament in the nation's 60 year-old parliamentary history. But what made this general election particularly significant was the fact that six political parties were contesting 448 seats under the system of proportional representation. Another first in the nation's political history was the fact that all contesting parties were given television and radio time in which to put across their platforms to the people. When the National Democratic Party won a total of 391 seats, with the New Wafd Party taking 57, the victory was seen not only as a major confirmation of President Mubarak's promise to bring true democracy to the Egyptian people but also as a clear vote of confidence for the government's performance and the reforms it had made.

The introduction of the system of proportional representation was effected to ensure that the People's Assembly directly represented the will of the people. This reform runs parallel with the aim to promote popular participation through administrative decentralisation. This process has become increasingly important in the light of Egypt's national development plans, and particularly relevant to the current Five Year National Development Plan whose targets reach some considerable way beyond purely economic objectives. The development of the local administrative system, through Governorate, District and City, and Village Council levels has, through decentralisation, set about eradicating much of the bureaucratic 'red

tape' and speeding up decision-making at local levels. This has helped to ensure that a close link is maintained between economic priorities and political, social, environmental and cultural considerations.

By February 11, 1984, almost exactly two years since the President convened a General Economic Conference to study proposals for development strategies, within the context of a new Five Year Plan, the People's Organizations and Local Government Committee were able to prepare a report to present to the People's Assembly listing the activities and achievements of local government units. The report showed that the sums invested had increased by 41% over the previous year. Significantly, the housing sector showed the highest growth rate in the level of investment, with the areas of North Sinai, the New Valley, Cairo and Alexandria registering the largest rates of investment.

Within the context of the Government's policy to decentralise the decision-making and administrative process, several moves designed to encourage greater regional initiative and involvement were made in the second half of 1984. One of the most important of these, given the fact that in

most democracies the implementation of budgetary measures is the prerogative of central government, was to examine the contribution of Governors to the further interiorisation of the democratic process and their role in ensuring the commitment of local government departments to the broad lines of the state budget. At a meeting of Governors and cabinet ministers in September, Governors were requested to sustain the momentum of dialogue between official organs and the masses in a bid to broaden the actual base of democratic practices, and also that such dialogue should involve the opposition parties. President Mubarak gave directives that senior state officials themselves should inspect work and production sites to directly get acquainted with, and try to solve, field problems.

At the outset of his presidency, Hosni Mubarak made a point of involving himself in regional matters whether political, economic, social or cultural. Presidential visits to factories from Alexandria to Aswan, to new communities from Sinai to the Western Desert, indeed to anywhere where the work of citizens is being directed to meeting national aspirations, have become a traditional feature of Mubarak's style of leadership.

The Quest for Peace

Within days of becoming President of Egypt in October 1981, Hosni Mubarak made two major pledges: that Egypt would respect all international agreements, not swerving from her commitment to peace; and that she would continue her support of the Palestinian cause in their struggle for self-determination and the fulfilment of their legitimate aspirations.

To President Mubarak these commitments are far from being incompatible and contradictory – as some observers in the Middle East, and even in the West, regarded them. Rather, he perceives that they are complementary, each essential to the implementation of the other. Both pledges are integral to a fully comprehensive Middle East policy.

The lesson of Middle Eastern history so far has demonstrated that the use of force and acts of aggression can never achieve a just peace. Nor can justice arise from a 'no war, no peace' situation; where this prevails, experience has shown, injustice tends to be crystallised and perpetuated rather than remedied.



President Hosni Mubarak addressing the 7th Non-Aligned Summit in New Delhi...
...the UN Conference of the IFAD in Rome



...with US and European leaders



But, if a just solution to the Palestinian problem could be achieved only by peaceful means, the reverse was equally true, namely that permanent peace and stability in the Middle East cannot be achieved without a just solution to the Palestinian problem. As President Mubarak put it in a speech on his arrival at the White House in Washington DC in February 1982 "The key to peace and stability in the area (Middle East) is to solve the Palestinian problem." Failure to reach a peaceful solution could only lead to more inconclusive wars, bloodshed and massive destruction which neither side can afford and from which neither side would benefit in the longer run.

Thus, far from being contradictory, the commitments made by President Mubarak at the onset of his administration were organically linked; with the failure to implement one dooming the implementation of the other.

However, President Mubarak entertains no romantic illusions about the virtues of peace in general and the willingness of the parties directly involved in the Palestinian conflict in particular, to achieve a peaceful solution *per se*.



...with East European and Arab leaders



As a military man, a realist and a pragmatist Mubarak knew only too well that his conviction about the expediency of a peaceful solution would have to be shared by the parties concerned, as well as by other interested third parties, before any peace proposal would stand a reasonable chance of success. Arguments alone, however convincing, would be most unlikely to have that effect, especially in a situation in which emotional factors on both sides tend to over-ride both logic and expediency.

In order to induce the parties concerned to come to the negotiating table in a spirit of conciliation and mutual recognition, they would first have to share Mubarak's conviction that there is no valid alternative to a peaceful solution and be persuaded to be more realistic and positive in their thinking. The full participation of all parties is vital in forging a just and permanent solution.

After three years of patient and unremitting efforts, President Mubarak was finally able to offer the parties concerned concrete proposals for a peaceful solution to the Palestinian situation. This involved talks, to be held in Washington or Cairo, between a joint Jordanian / Palestinian delegation and the USA, which had always been a key factor in the situation. These talks would be followed by direct talks between Israel and a Jordanian / Palestinian delegation – talks which the USA and Egypt could join if requested by the two parties concerned.

Following the talks held at the Egyptian Red Sea resort of Hurghada at the beginning of March 1985 between King Hussein and President Mubarak – the fourth series of talks between the two leaders since September 1984 – Egypt and Jordan declared their support for a dialogue between the US and a joint Jordanian / Palestinian delegation, stressing the importance of the PLO as representatives of the Palestinian people in the Middle East peace negotiations. The



proposals were met with a favourable response which Mrs Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, expressed so well when she said on March 6, 1985, "... the efforts being made by moderate Arab leaders to create the basis for direct negotiations with Israel hold out fresh hope that progress can be made towards a broader peace.

"President Reagan and I agree that we would encourage those efforts – and I salute the personal courage of those Arab leaders who are undertaking them."

Throughout, President Mubarak made it abundantly clear that the PLO, as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, would have to participate in the proposed peace talks, even though the PLO members may be part of the Jordanian delegation.

Whatever the outcome of President Mubarak's proposals may be, there could be no doubt that his approach to the problem has received the widest measure of endorsement so far and is regarded as offering the best chances of success.



...and with leaders of African and Asian countries

In his positive search for peace in the area, and for freedom and prosperity for the people of Egypt, President Mubarak reaffirms his nation's long-standing commitment to the policy of non-alignment to which Egypt has remained faithful since she co-founded, with India and Yugoslavia, the Non-Aligned Movement in the fifties.

"We believe," he stated soon after coming to office, "that the interests of peoples seeking freedom, security and justice are best served by the course of non-alignment... Egypt is an Arab African country, neither Eastern nor Western. Egypt shall not revolve in the orbit of any other power."

In adhering to non-alignment, President Mubarak has maintained friendly and balanced relations with the great world powers. And he has also worked to strengthen the Non-Aligned Movement and give new power to its voice on the international stage. Denouncing 'impurities' which undermined the Movement, he has sought deeper co-operation and communication with India and Yugoslavia and greater solidarity in the Movement as a whole, calling on member countries to "help one another confront aggression and prevent foreign intervention effectively."

The non-aligned nations, President Mubarak believes, have a vital role to play in the Middle Eastern arena, both by supporting the cause of Palestinian rights and by promoting peace. Thus he has urged the Movement to exert its influence to help end the wasteful conflict between Iraq and Iran.

Overall, Mubarak has set himself the goals not only of increasing the influence of the Non-Aligned Movement but of developing its philosophy as a positive, constructive force in world affairs and an active defender of the interests of the Third World.

These goals are evident also in the President's participation in the aims of the Organisation of African Unity, of which Egypt is a founder member. Whenever possible, Egypt has put her experience at the service of OAU members and is steadfast in upholding the fundamental principles of the OAU: non-interference in the internal affairs

of member states and respect for their territorial integrity.

Egypt under President Mubarak continues to place her expertise at the disposal of OAU members, and Egyptian agronomists and doctors are labouring side by side with their African brothers in the fight against famine and disease which is a prerequisite to political and social development. Mubarak's voice is often heard speaking in defence of basic human rights. *"It is inadmissible,"* he has said, *"for the world to spend 650 billion dollars annually on armaments, whereas is unable to meet the basic needs of millions throughout the world"*, for, as he puts it, *"Whoever does not command the means to feed himself can feel neither freedom nor dignity."*

President Mubarak has also worked to strengthen the ties between Egypt and the Sudan, *"building bridges of co-operation"* between these two nations which have for so long enjoyed close historical and geographical ties.



Achievements on the Home Front

Agriculture

One of the difficulties faced by Hosni Mubarak on becoming President was the slackness of the economy and an increasingly heavy dependence on food importation to satisfy the basic needs of the growing population. Indeed, by 1980 the increasing imbalance between the production and consumption of food in Egypt meant that 30% of Egypt's bill for imports – paid for in hard currency – was taken up by food. This was compounded by the effects of world recession, which by December 1981 had plunged the world economy to an all-time low, in terms of growth. The much vaunted US economic recovery was yet to come and Egypt's main trading partners in Western Europe, including Italy, France, Germany and Britain, were in the grip of the worst economic crisis since World War II. The effects of this recession led to a cutting down on their volume of imports, including those from Egypt.

The 'Open Door' economic policy, inaugurated in 1974, had yet to gain momentum as, by the end of the 1970s, it had produced only a relatively small volume of foreign investments. This was due in large part to high interest rates in industrialised countries and the caution of investment institutions.

President Mubarak was aware of the fact that if Egypt was to consolidate its complete political freedom of action and to raise the living standards of its people, the first priority would be to become self-sufficient in food and improve its balance of payments by increasing the value of its exports. In a policy

*President Mubarak tours the
Talkha fertilizer production plant*



statement issued to a joint session of the People's Assembly and the Shura Council on November 8, 1981, President Mubarak gave clear pointers to the methods his administration intended to use in dealing with the country's economic problems. High priority was given to tackling the imports bill. *"It is inconceivable"* he said *"that Egypt should continue to import a wide variety of goods which we can produce locally with high efficiency and at an economic cost."* The President also said that the projects to be undertaken *"should be directed towards the production of basic goods needed by the working classes who constitute the majority of our people and the broad base of this nation."*

The staple foodstuffs of the Egyptian population include wheat, lentils and sugar. In 1960 domestic production of wheat accounted for some 70% of total consumption; this figure had fallen to 20% by 1980. In 1980 only 9% of all lentils consumed in Egypt were produced at home; the figure for 1960 was 92%. In 1960 Egypt was producing 14% over its sugar requirements but twenty years later local production accounted for only 57% of total consumption.

The main prerequisite for increased food production – manpower – was abundantly available, as was potentially fertile land. The problems, as Egypt had known for over fifty centuries, were irrigation, efficient cultivation and how to increase the area of arable land. During the last three and a half years, manpower and technological resources have increasingly been put to implementing both 'horizontal' and 'vertical' land reclamation and yield development schemes. One of the most ambitious of the land reclamation projects, and certainly the most extensive in terms of area, is that being undertaken in the New Valley – some 100 miles west of Luxor – where the Kharga, Dakhla, Bahariya and Siwa oases are being cultivated. Water for the project is brought to the surface from a huge underground lake, 100 miles long and 50 miles wide, using artesian wells.



The land under cultivation in Egypt today covers some 6.3 million feddans (acres) and almost a million of these feddans is reclaimed land. The Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation supervises land reclamation projects all over the country and has been able to oversee irrigation and drainage projects which not only extend farm land but also update and maintain water supplies and technology inputs.

Agriculture now accounts for nearly 65% of the value of merchandise exports and 20% of the national income, and of these agricultural exports those of cotton, rice, onions, potatoes and citrus fruits are the most important. Between mid 1982 and mid 1983 the value of agricultural production was LE 5,818 million and income produced was LE 4,126 million, a 15% increase over the income generated the year before. Future productivity is to be developed by such programmes as the widening and deepening of the Ismailia Canal, which will help to irrigate 800,000 feddans, the building of the El-Salem Canal, which will facilitate cultivation of 600,000 feddans (400,000 in Sinai) and a joint venture project with Sudan to build the Jongli Canal, which is expected to be finished by December, 1985, and could save about 14 milliard cubic metres of Nile water currently being lost to evaporation and seepage.

More immediate measures taken to improve the productivity of land already under cultivation include an increasing use of crop rotations and the cultivation of two or more crops grown on the same land in the same season. During 1981/82, improved production techniques applied to the cultivation of sugar cane helped to reverse the trend of recent years when yield per acre was declining. Indeed in the year 1981/82 there was recorded an 8% increase in production over the 1980 figure, without extending the area under this crop.

In addition to crop cultivation schemes, several projects have been established in the field of animal production which are aimed at increasing meat, poultry, and dairy products available to the domestic market. The Salhiya Project, situated near Ismailia, is perhaps the broadest based – having been established to

produce fruit crops, vegetables and animal fodder as well as meat and poultry. But ambitious schemes now under implementation in Sinai envisage cattle and poultry rearing, fruit and vegetable growing and fish farming.

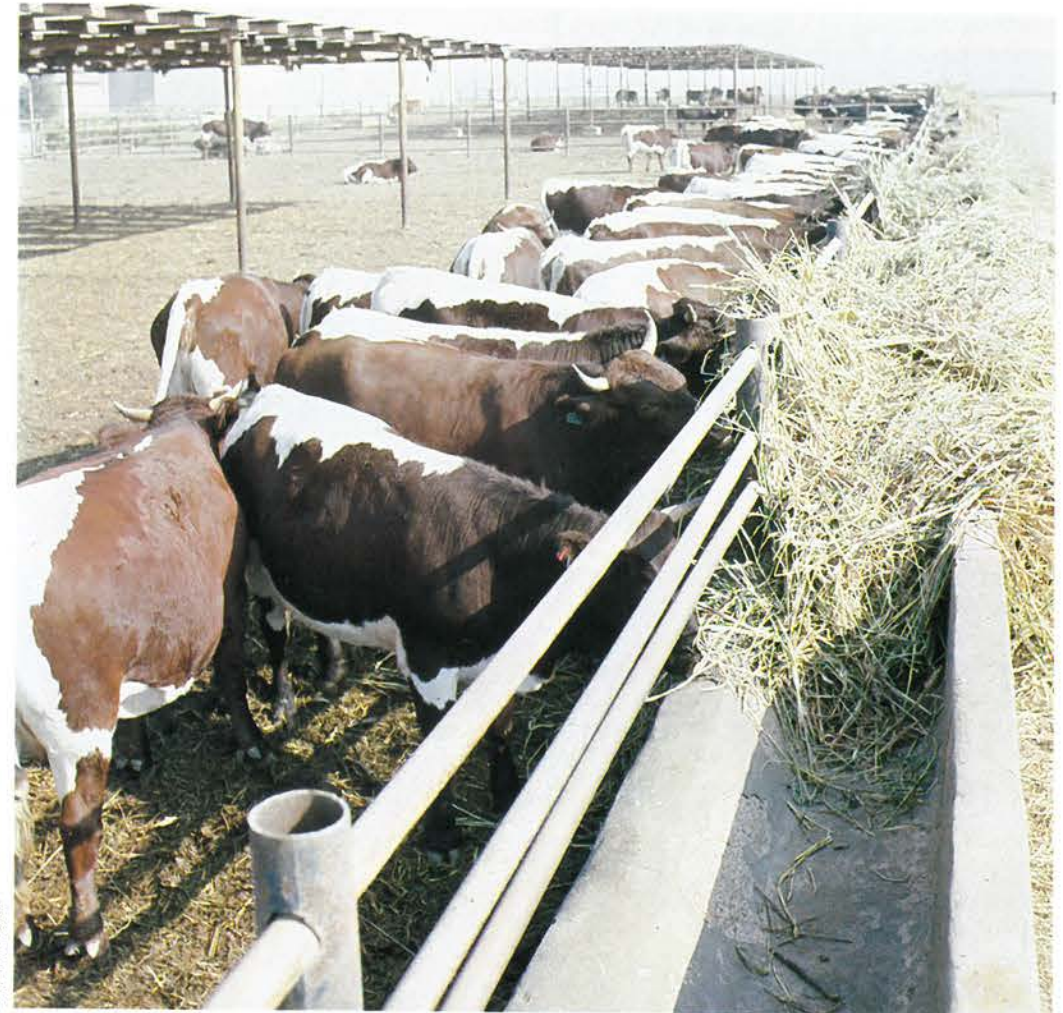
Of more relevance to the small-scale farmer – some 90% of land under cultivation is owned by the private sector – is the fact that measures have been taken to offer concrete incentives to the farmer to raise production and productivity. Information on mechanised farming has been made more widely available, and indeed the value of loans given out to farmers through the Egyptian banks totals LE 600 million.

Total investment in agriculture during the five years prior to 1982 amounted to LE 1,506 million of which 1,063.5 million came from the Public Sector and 443 million from the Private Sector. Under the current Five Year National Development Plan a total of LE 3,995 million --- LE 2,900 million from the public sector and LE 1,095 million from the private sector – is to be invested. These sums are expected to help agriculture's contribution to the gross domestic product increase by some 19% over the five year period.

In a speech to leaders of the farmers, which the President made on January 1983, he said "Egypt is rich in talented people... It is the centre of gravity in the Arab world and the leading state in the area. We are a rich people in our potential – experts... This wealth is the source of Egypt's prosperity and progress and a principal reservoir from which the Arab States draw in all fields of science and expertise."

In the current Five Year Plan, the value of agriculture production is targeted to increase by nearly LE 1 billion. Wheat production should increase by 102% from 1.6 million tons in 1981/82 to 3.21 million tons in 1986/87; rye by 55% from 2.326 to 3.601 million tons; sugar cane by 21.5% from 9.235 to 11.222 million tons; and milk production is expected to rise by 60.5% from 1.582 million tons to 2.540 million tons.

With the implementation of the Five Year Plan currently on schedule, Egypt will



Brian T North

Cattle farming at Salhiya

not only achieve food security but will also regain the place it once held under the Pharaohs as the granary of the region. Indeed, meeting the projected targets of the Plan should allow for considerable export surpluses. Moreover, increased local processing will contribute added value to the exported produce. For example, Egypt will export refined sugar from the increasing output of the refineries already in production, as well as from those planned in the Government's agro-industrial development strategies, instead of exporting sugar in its raw state, either as cane or beet.

President Mubarak at a display of Egyptian cottons



Industry

The achievement of food security and the progress towards self-sufficiency are first priorities of the Government and though the task of keeping Egypt's large and growing population well-fed is by no means an easy one, Egypt has the resources to solve the problem. Government emphasis on production in the agricultural sector of the economy is equally stressed in the industrial sector. As President Mubarak said in an interview on November 6, 1981, "My aim is to change the Egyptian economy from a consumer economy to a productive one. We are putting Egypt's economic potentials face-to-face with world economic activities... I feel confident because international economic activities have confidence in the returns realisable from a productive Egyptian economy."

Egypt has the foundation for an expanding industrial base and the resources for a surge in industrial development: low cost energy, an extensive range of valuable raw materials, efficient public services, modern sea and road transport facilities, skilled and abundant labour and, above all perhaps, a growing domestic market to which is added the vast potential of the regional market.

In the recent past, Egypt's industrial sector, and in particular its primary industries, was subject to the unpredictable and unbalanced demands of the world markets and the restricting interests of the already industrialised economies. Since 1981, increasing emphasis has been placed on the development of Egypt's own secondary and service industries, with the intention of cutting down on the volume of imported manufactured goods and increasing domestic production for the home market and for export.

These targets require both substantial planning and investment inputs. In 1960/61 Government investment in industry was a mere LE 59 million; by 1981/82 it had risen to LE 1,120 million. These investments are projected to total LE 6,841.9 million during the current Five Year Plan ending in 1986/87.



Brian T North

Cement Plant at Helwan

In addition, some LE 1,755 million is to be invested by the private sector over the five year period, which will bring the total of industrial investments to LE 8,616 million, or over 24% of all capital investments envisaged by the Plan.

On April 12, 1982, in celebration of the Silver Jubilee of Industry, President Mubarak gave an address in which he reiterated Egypt's strength and purpose to achieve national development. "We intend", he said, "to direct Egyptian, Arab and foreign capital toward industrial and agricultural activities and to this end the Government shall provide assistance and guarantees. Egypt does not intend to change this line of action, restrict it or go back on it."

"The Government," he went on, "wishes to secure the development of national indus-

tries. This can only be achieved through effective co-operation between state and people, as well as between the public and private sectors. Relations between them must be based on solidarity and an identity of objectives and must not be governed by contradicting aims or conflict of interest. We all seek to capitalise on our enormous potentials, so as to secure our well-being now and in the future."

One of the most dramatic cases of an established key industry rising to meet the demands of domestic and regional requirements is that of cement manufacture. The Middle East building boom, which began in the mid 1970s, shows little sign of petering out and although cement plants have been established in a number of Middle Eastern countries, most of them depend on a propor-



Alexandria Shipyards

tion of imported raw materials for a production which meets only a relatively small proportion of annual requirements. Egypt is fortunate in being endowed with all the raw materials needed for the manufacture of portland cement and also four cement plants which are in the process of almost quadrupling their production capacity from 4 million to 15 million tons a year.

In recent years, the consumer and high technology areas of Egypt's industrial sector have experienced a change in production priority from assembly and accumulation to actual manufacturing. This conversion has already made significant strides in heavy industry, seen as the base of national industrial development, and is also gaining ground in such areas as the manufacture of clothing, glass, refrigerators and supplies for the automotive industry. For instance, the production of cotton textiles is projected to increase by 30% over 1981/82 output by 1986/87, but that of ready-to-wear clothes should rise by 50%. The manufacture of glass and glass products, vital to the construction, high technology and indeed craft industries, is expected to increase by 159% from 27,000 tons to 70,000 tons.

In his address to the Fifth Conference of Egypt in the Year 2000, given in November 1982, President Mubarak said that development trends in the Five-Year Plan included *"the necessity of effecting optimal utilization of all available expertise as well as all the technical and scientific accomplishments at local and international levels. Such expertise and technological achievements must be fully exploited to pool and organise local resources and rationalise their exploitation."* A recent example of this more creative attitude towards industrial diversification is the establishment of a production facility for the manufacture of fibreglass at the Iron and Steel Company at Helwan, a vast industrial complex north of Cairo. The output capacity of this facility is some 5,000 tons per year, resulting from an investment of LE 15 million.

In the context of expanding appropriate and complementary industrial production, an example of agricultural requirements being met by Egyptian industry is the recent

setting up of fertilizer plants manufacturing nitrogenous fertilizers, including the high concentrate urea which uses the by-products of the petro-chemical industry. In addition, phosphatic rock available in Egypt is processed locally to produce essential phosphatic fertilizers ranging from simple superphosphate to triple-superphosphate.

The personal involvement of the President in encouraging workers in all sectors of the Egyptian economy to meet national aspirations has been evident since the very early days of his presidency. In an interview with the foreign press in November 1982, President Mubarak said *"Egypt abounds with opportunities that only need to be thoroughly exploited and followed up. This is what I try to do in my field visits."* These field visits have become a feature of Mubarak's style of leadership.

At the commencement of the fourth year of his term of office, in mid October 1984, President Mubarak personally attended the commissioning of three giant projects: a zinc and aluminium hot rolling plant, the Saladin Citadel Bridge and the Mukattam Bridge. The zinc and aluminium hot rolling plant, at Helwan, is an advanced technology facility launched by the Egyptian General Company for Metalwork. The construction and equipment installation works cost LE 45,470 million but its production capacity is 16,000 tons of zinc and 8,000 tons of aluminium annually.

During his tour of the production wards, President Mubarak said that he was impressed with the scale of the project and commended in particular the plant's export potential. In a characteristic remark made during his visit, the President told factory executives and managers that he intended to pay another field visit in order to make sure that productivity and work were making the progress originally scheduled.

President Mubarak visits the Hawamdia sugar cane processing factory



Health and Welfare



President Mubarak is particularly concerned in the health and welfare of the Egyptian people. As a country man, born in a small township, he knows the wisdom of extending health services to rural areas while still maintaining hospitals and health centres in the bigger conurbations.

Hospital care is available to all citizens of Egypt at nominal rates, in public Government hospitals. At rural health centres large programmes of immunisation, as well as accident treatment and emergency care, are carried out under trained supervision. Mother and child health care centres deal with child vaccination programmes, pre- and post-pregnancy cases, deliveries of infants and family planning services. Social centres and rural units also give services in the field of endemic diseases, as do the hospitals and

health centres. There are dental units, psychiatry clinics, eye and chest specialising centres, and school health units.

In 1981 there were over five thousand pharmacies in the country and the steadily increasing local manufacture of pharmaceutical products makes these available to Egyptian citizens at a reduced rate. The Government's goal is to have a health care unit within three kilometres of each village.

The training of medical personnel is of primary importance and in addition to the established medical schools and teaching hospitals, the Institute of Medical Laboratory Technicians and Scientists was opened at Zagazig University in 1981 (after a record building in a mere three months) to provide the essential backup of technicians. Mortality and morbidity rates have declined sharply

and life expectancy in Egypt now equals that of some already developed countries.

In a summary of fixed investment in the current Five Year Plan, EL 1,600 million has been earmarked for social services, in which can be included the social welfare and medical care budgets.

In the academic year 1980-81 there were 52,657 students enrolled in the faculties of medicine and pharmacology, 34,781 of them male and 17,876 female. Women have for years taken the traditional roles of midwife, local health nurse, dental hygienist and child care specialist but Egypt led the Muslim world in having women medical graduates.

The standard of training is equal to that obtaining in the most advanced countries and Egyptian doctors and nurses are welcome all over the world. For instance many Egyptian doctors have pioneered advanced surgical, as well as other medical, practices. Egypt also provides a significant proportion of the medical manpower requirements of many other countries, particularly in the Arab world. But the majority of the young doctors of Egypt prefer to stay in their country and place the benefits of their expertise at the disposal of their own people.

"Egypt is for all her sons"





Power

When President Mubarak came to power in 1981 he vowed not only to raise the living standards of Egyptians, especially the broad masses, but also to reduce dependence on imports by stimulating the local generation of wealth in all areas.

The consumption of electric power both domestically and industrially has always been regarded as a key indicator measuring the state of development of the nation and reflecting directly on the living standards of its population.

It is therefore not surprising that throughout the first years of his presidency Mubarak has given his wholehearted support to plans which would radically increase Egypt's generating capacity, involving appreciable investments but also making it possible to bring electricity to thousands of communities hitherto deprived of this essential commodity.

In 1982 Egypt's installed capacity totalled 5050 megawatts, corresponding to an annual per capita consumption of about 500 KWH. The present target is to increase the installed capacity to 20,000 megawatts by the year 2000, making it possible to produce 101,000 KWH annually, and to treble the per capita domestic consumption.

In the last six months of 1984 alone, Egypt's consumption already rose by 20%, straining the capacities of the nation's generating plants.

Since Mubarak became President, two large power stations have begun to supply electricity to the national grid. The power station at Abou Kir will have four generators, each giving a total capability of producing 600,000 kw per hour. The first generator began functioning in 1983 and all four are expected to be working at full capacity by

The President in the control room at Beheira Power Station



Brian T North

The Hydroelectric Power Station at Aswan

December 1985. This will double the supply to Alexandria, making the city self-sufficient in electric power.

The three units at Abou Sultan, each with a capacity of 150 megawatts, are all working at full capacity, the first having been connected to the national grid in March 1983.

Egypt had in fact doubled its capacity of generated electricity in the 30 years before 1981, and the largest thermal station, at Shoubra El Kema, accounted, with its capacity for 1,000 megawatts, for about a third of the country's total output.

Grants and low interest loans from international organisations have certainly assisted the Egyptian Government's own investment in the energy sector.

Now, however, President Mubarak has instructed the Egyptian Atomic Energy Authority to step up its plans for building a number of nuclear reactors. As a pilot and a man with a scientifically based background, he realises that atomic power plants offer the

best opportunities for technological development. Eight nuclear power stations will be constructed by the year 2000, with an aggregate capacity of 8,000 megawatts which is expected to provide about 36% of the expected energy requirements of the country.

After a survey of the Egyptian coastline, it has been decided that four of the planned nuclear power stations will be erected at El-Daba, west of Alexandria. The first is scheduled to go into production in 1991.

Clearly, President Mubarak, in realising that nuclear power is the fuel of the future, has decided that Egypt will enter the 21st century fully equipped to supply her own energy requirements. Furthermore, nuclear power is cheaper than coal – which has in any case to be imported.

However, he is also a man with vision and will instigate research into the possibilities of harnessing solar energy. Under the guidance of President Hosni Mubarak, Egypt will be a leader in technical and scientific experiment in the energy fields.

Housing and Infrastructure



Brian T North

Solar panels making use of an inexhaustible raw material

"Our people now wish to devote themselves to development," said President Mubarak in an interview with the Kuwaiti newspaper *Al-Seyassa* on March 14, 1982. Central to this development is the construction industry.

With a rapidly expanding population, and the ravages of five wars to repair, housing has priority. In Egypt, it is divided into three main categories. The Ministry of Housing and New Communities, together with local government, is responsible for the first category: 'Economy housing.' It also assists and supervises 'Medium Housing', which is the responsibility of co-operatives and the private sector. 'High Income Housing', which includes luxury office buildings and hotels, is left entirely to the private sector.

By 1983, the target of the Ministry of Housing and New Communities was 200,000 housing units in urban areas alone. Whole new cities (such as Sadat City, 10th of Ramadan City, El-Abour, 6th of October City) have been built, or are under construction, on specially acquired land and in parallel with new industries, agricultural projects, utilities and services. It is projected that by 1990 there will be ten 'new cities' and four of them have already been settled.

Import restrictions and custom duties have been removed from the import of basic building materials like cement, steel bars and wood, and the manufacture of prefabricated housing complexes provided approximately 35,000 units in 1984 alone. The boom in all aspects of construction has meant an extensive programme to expand and improve the supply of building materials. Work is currently being carried out in seven areas, Suez and Naga Hammadi among them, which will bring the manufacture of Egyptian cement to some 15 million tonnes by 1986/87, which should exceed local demand and provide a surplus for export. The current Five Year Plan also provides for 115% increase in brick production and steel reinforcing bars will be produced at the rate of over million tonnes annually.

The traditional transport of heavy freight on the River Nile and its canal tributaries is still – as in the days of the Pharaohs – the most economical and swift. But new communities have also needed an infrastructure of roads and bridges, and the railway system has been completely overhauled. Cairo itself now has a sophisticated network of suspended roads and flyovers and its first phase of underground railway, begun in 1982, will link the steel-manufacturing town of Helwan with the Cairo suburb of El-Marg by 1987.

The current Five Year Plan estimates an investment of LE 3,648 million in housing, with LE 1,993 million earmarked for utilities (LE 520 million for drinking water supplies and LE 1,400 million for public sanitation

projects, with priority being given to Cairo).

The international airport at Cairo is scheduled for expansion and Luxor and Amria airports are also being brought up to international standard to cope with the 18 million passengers expected annually by 1986/87.

President Mubarak's Government plans to increase the population density in the Sinai peninsula, and roads linking the new cities with the transport network of the whole nation are already under construction. But possibly the most spectacular new link with Sinai is the two-lane Ahmed Hamdi Tunnel at the southern end of the Suez Canal, which was opened in the President's first year of office.

The Suez Canal is now Egypt's third highest foreign exchange earner, following the completion of a major widening and clearing project in 1981. Tankers of 150,000 tons fully loaded can now be accommodated, and shortly tankers of 260,000 tons will be able to use the Canal, with the consequent rise in daily tonnage to nearly 1,000,000.

The Egyptian ports have also claimed much of the development investment, with Alexandria, the largest, being expanded by the increase of grain silo capacity and the construction of a container terminal. The new ports of Dikheila, west of Alexandria, and of Marsa Matruh on the Mediterranean and Safaga and Qudeir on the Red Sea, will relieve some of the congestion at Suez and Port Said. By the end of the century, with these projects completed, the capacity of Egypt's ports will have quadrupled.

Typically, President Mubarak's Government has introduced imaginative plans for a pricing rate that will make it possible to finance the infrastructure system's maintenance and expansion from the income generated. One example is the renovation of existing water utilities, adding new treatment units and in fact a new pipeline scheme for supplying Sinai with Nile water which will be drinkable and also available for irrigation and industrial purposes.

Looking Ahead...



Brian T. North

Through five millenia of history Egypt has always demonstrated a unique capacity to remould her citizenry in every age and to remodel it within a new framework. As a flying instructor, and later as Director General of the Air Academy, Hosni Mubarak was successful in moulding young cadets, many of them brought up in a traditional rural environment, into versatile, technically minded, highly professional airforce officers familiar with the intricate controls of modern aircraft and sophisticated guided weaponry. His efforts had greatly contributed to the creation of what became known as the 'October Generation' – a new type of Egyptian officer synthesising the cultural and spiritual values of the past with the dynamism and requirements of the modern technological age.

As President, his ambition has been to

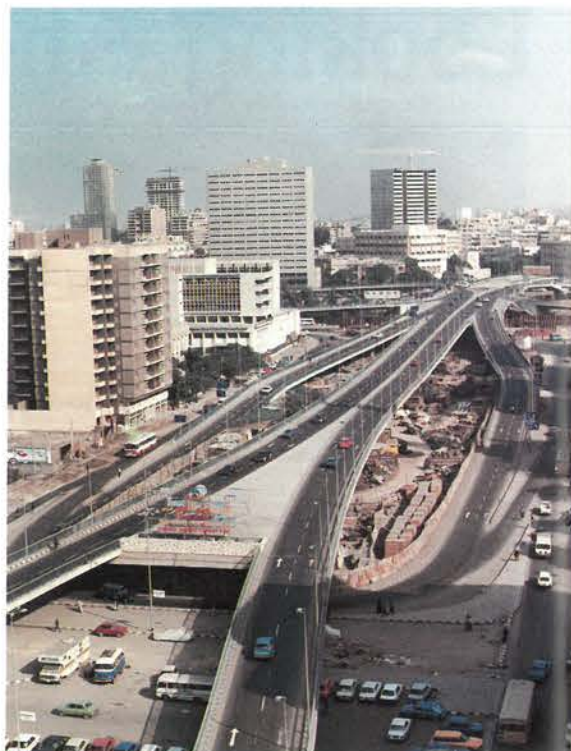
extend this process of 'human engineering' to the nation as a whole – to transform the bulk of the Egyptian populace into a highly productive, efficient and cohesive citizenry combining motivation and initiative with the scientific approach and technical know-how.

With over 3.3 million Egyptian graduates of higher educational establishments – and with 18 universities alone turning out graduates at the rate of 91,000 a year – the total number of graduates is expected to top the 5 million mark by 1986/87. This, together with the new approach to vocational and technical secondary education and the new spirit with which Egypt's youth is imbued, will make President Mubarak's task of transforming Egyptian society well within his reach.

When the enormous human potential

now being enhanced under President Mubarak's guidance is coupled with the country's great natural resources and geographical assets, the vision of a national revival emerges. This is the vision which President Mubarak aims to transform into reality as Egypt heads towards the 21st century. On the practical level this is reflected in the targets of the Five Year National Development Plan which provide not only for a substantial improvement in living standards and social welfare but also for a radical modernization of Egypt's infrastructure and the productive sectors of agriculture, industry and mining, involving an average annual economic growth rate of nearly 8%.

However, as a technically minded realist, President Mubarak is only too well aware of the fact that there is no short-cut to development and prosperity and that it was the solid foundation of the pyramids that ensured their survival. Laying this foundation is a painstaking process calling for a vision of history rather than a propensity for spectacular but short-term achievements.



As he put it in his speech following his election as Chairman of the National Democratic Party in January 1982:

"It is not wise in the least for anyone to imagine that reforms should take the shape of sudden leaps forward or impromptu changes. Nor is it wise to think that the history of nations freezes at certain events or that time moves backwards. Any reforms should stem from the understanding that history is a continuous movement towards the future, that it is an uninterrupted development and that its wheel always moves forwards. It is inevitable that Egypt today should be stronger and should possess more dignity than the Egypt of yesterday. And we should all work to make its future greater and more glorious than its present because the achievements of nations are never realised by being locked up in the past or by crying over bygone events; but are rather realised by a forward movement toward the future based on a correct vision of the past and



the present, armed with a sincere will to make a contribution to the development of the country.

"This is not the time for any one of us to be preoccupied with his personal problems or to seek to divert attention towards subsidiary causes which are not in the least related to the real interests of the people. Action in the public interest should be based on a feeling of responsibility, proper assessment of priorities and the correct timing for the realisation of each objective."



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