

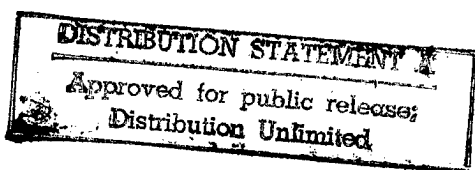


# ***JPRS Report***

# **Near East & South Asia**

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# FBIS 50th Anniversary Note

To Our Consumers:

This year the Foreign Broadcast Information Service observes its 50th anniversary.

The service, first called the Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Service, was established in 1941 prior to the U.S. entry into World War II. At the time, a number of U.S. Government officials were concerned about the content of foreign radio broadcasts—a relatively new means of conveying information and propaganda across borders. On their advice, President Franklin D. Roosevelt in late February 1941 allotted money from his emergency fund to institute the recording, translating, transcribing, and analyzing of selected foreign broadcasts for the U.S. Government. During World War II the service demonstrated that monitoring was a fast, economical, and reliable way to follow overseas developments.

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We members of the current staff of FBIS extend our thanks to consumers for their interest in FBIS products. To past staffers we extend our thanks for helping the service reach this anniversary year. At the same time, we pledge our continued commitment to providing a useful information service.



R. W. Manners  
Director  
Foreign Broadcast Information Service

# Near East & South Asia

JPRS-NEA-91-015

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## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

### Leadership, Popular Attitudes on Gulf War

91AE0253A Paris LE MONDE in French 1 Feb 91 p 6

[Article by Jean Gueyras in Amman]

[Text] "There will never be another Black September in Jordan. From now on, there are no longer any differences between Jordanians and Palestinians. We are one people." In Amman, everyone, or almost everyone, is in agreement with this sentiment, from political leaders to the person in the street, and including, of course, PLO representatives now located in the four buildings forming the Palestinian embassy in the chic quarter of Jebel Husayn. Nevertheless, the Palestinians continue to dream of the country they had to leave and of villages that exist no more. "For me, never having seen Palestine, the idea of returning has become an obsession," asserts the daughter of Mr. Yahya Hammudah, who, before Mr. Yasir 'Arafat, oversaw the direction of the PLO.

In the approximately ten refugee camps in Jordan that house nearly 300,000 Palestinians, nostalgia for the mother country is quickening because of the miserable living conditions that prevail. Over the past year, portraits of President Saddam Husayn are often more numerous than those of King Hussein or Mr. 'Arafat. "It is because he has given us hope that one day we will be able to return home," says a young Palestinian in the camp of al-Biq'a, an immense agglomeration of 120,000 habitants. An old woman swears candidly that the day the first Iraqi missiles fell on Tel Aviv was "the most beautiful of my life."

The enthusiasm for President Saddam Husayn is not the exclusive province of the landless residents of the refugee camps. It is also shared, although with some reservations and nuances, by the Palestinian intellectuals, both members and nonmembers of the PLO. The sitting room of the stylish Amman villa of Dr. Sa'di Dabbur is dominated by a large color portrait of Saddam Husayn smiling in the midst of bouquets of red roses. "A year ago," says the doctor, "I would have torn that portrait into a thousand pieces. I did not support him in his war against Iran, and I always condemned him for his history as a dictator. But he is not the only one. Stalin also was a national hero at the same time as a pitiless tyrant. This is not the time to talk about the dictatorial character of the regime of Saddam Husayn. Now is the time to stop the aggression. If the Iraqi president dies and if his country is destroyed, we will still have the new nation that is in the process of creation in the Arab world. 'Abd-al-Nasir began it, and the Iraqi president took up his torch. Finally, I feel I am an Arab and a Muslim, even though I am not a believer."

### Rejection of Mr. Yasir 'Arafat's Peace Plan

Mr. Labib Kamhawi, owner of a business, considered here to be one of the representatives of the new generation of ideologues of Fatah, thinks the Palestinians were

lucky to find a man who succeeded in mounting a military and industrial force capable of protecting the region. "The Americans," he says, "do not understand anything but force, and eventually they will listen to what he is saying." The idea that Saddam Husayn could lose the battle does not dampen his spirit in the least, and he grows angry when such a possibility is mentioned.

The representative of Mr. George Habash in Amman, Mr. 'Azmi Khawajah, stresses that the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) was opposed to Saddam Husayn "all down the line" in the past, but that it changed its attitude when the Iraqi president, in February 1990, announced his intention to strike back in case of an Israeli attack. "He wants to be the guardian of the Arab world. Therefore, he must strike at Israel," he says, while affirming that the conversion of the Iraqi president to Islam and the addition of the inscription "Allah Akbar" to the flag are tactical decisions aimed at enlarging his audience.

Mr. Ibrahim Abu-'Ayyash, a long-time Fatah militant, recognizes that Saddam Husayn is "very ambitious," but he emphasizes that he is very "sincere." He affirms that, on a voyage to Baghdad with a Jordanian delegation last December, President Saddam Husayn recognized that the war against Iran was "a big mistake." According to him, the Iraqi president also said he had been drawn into that "trap" by Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and those very ones who are trying to destroy him today. "They wanted then to get rid of him and neutralize Iraq by appealing to his personal ambition," thinks Mr. Abu-'Ayyash, who adds, "the great merit of Saddam Husayn is to have understood that the Palestinian problem cannot be settled if there is no strategic parity between the Arabs and Israel. We have no illusions about him, but at least he is trying to try to do something to end the Palestinian impasse."

### The Fault of the Americans

Mr. As'ad Abd-al-Rahman, a sociologist and member of the central committee of the PLO and the Palestinian parliament, believes Saddam Husayn succeeded in creating a certain charisma about his personality and that he constitutes the only hope for the Palestinians. "The question of whether or not he is sincere," he says, "is purely academic. I believe that Saddam Husayn is secular and not a follower of Islam. Others hold that two years ago he began to turn toward religion, thereby following the example of Michel 'Aflaq, one of the founders of Ba'ath, who, two years before his death, was converted to Islam. It is said that he is no longer the same. Perhaps he was drawn to religion by remorse for the numerous Iraqis he had executed? In any case, part of his political jargon is purely tactical. Did Mr. 'Arafat err in putting all his eggs in the Iraqi basket? The answer from our subjects is nearly unanimous. "He had no choice. He had been chased out of Lebanon, Syria, even Tunisia. Relations with Jordan and the Gulf countries were bad. Furthermore, he had no choice but to follow the will of the Arab masses. We must not forget that the

first to support Saddam Husayn were the combatants of the intifadah." Mr. As'ad 'Abd-al-Rahman notes, however, "Arafat has nevertheless been prudent and has avoided moving the PLO leadership to Baghdad and has kept it in Tunis, even though that represents a danger for the security of the Palestinian leaders." Mr. Labib Kamhawi questions the Americans who, he says, have practically pushed Mr. 'Arafat into the arms of the Iraqis by making the dialogue they began with the PLO "a dialogue of the deaf, in other words, a monologue."

The problem of the occupation of Kuwait raises questions of conscience for the Palestinians that they cannot sidestep by affirming with Mr. 'Arafat that Arab disputes should not be resolved by arms, and they appear to want to obscure the issue. During a public meeting in Amman on 1 January, two weeks before his assassination, Abu-Iyad was booed by the crowd for daring to talk about the occupation of Kuwait. Mr. Labib Kamhawi affirms that Mr. Yasir 'Arafat did everything to avoid the occupation, advising the Kuwaitis to satisfy Iraq's "reasonable requests." "He told them Saddam Husayn was very serious and that he did not bluff." Does that mean he was informed of the Iraqi president's decision to occupy the emirate? "No, I do not think so. Like everyone, I think he was referring only to the occupation of the two disputed islands of Warbah and Bubiyan and the region of Roumeila." According to him, the person actually responsible for the occupation of Kuwait was Egyptian President Mubarak, "a dishonest mediator," who assured Kuwait the Iraqis would not attack, while the Saudi Crown Prince 'Abdallah had advised them to be more flexible in order to avoid disaster.

All our sources agreed that the adoption of Mr. 'Arafat's peace program by the Palestinian parliament in Algiers in November 1988 was a serious error. "Arafat," they say, "gave too many concessions without getting anything in exchange." Mr. Saji Salamah, representative of the FDLP [Democratic Front for Liberation of Palestine] in Amman, thinks the 1988 strategy is still in force. "But," he adds, "everything will depend on how the Israelis behave in respect to the intifadah." For Mr. Labib Kamhawi, the 1988 program has not been annulled but "the Americans discarded it. In Algiers, we reached bottom. Now, we have no choice but escalation. We have nothing left to concede. The whole world is pushing us to find another form of action."

Mr. As'ad 'Abd-al-Rahman has a warning. "Our whole region is slipping toward radicalism, including the Palestinians. What will happen if Saddam Husayn is not totally vanquished or if he wins? In either case, extremism will make immense progress. Officially, the PLO controls its strategy, but it is questioned more and more. Since 2 August, the Palestinians have been coordinating their efforts with a view to helping Saddam Husayn. However, while united against the Israelis and the Americans, they no longer agree on the political agenda."

Palestinian observers in Amman think there are now four opposing forces within the PLO. First are those who, like Mr. Bassam Abu-Sharif, favor moderation and still hope to win the sympathy of the Americans. Then there are those who, like Yasir 'Arafat, while supporting Saddam Husayn, want to avoid a slip into terrorism. Third are those who believe nothing can be obtained without "armed action." Last are those who, like Messrs. Khalid and Hani al-Hasan, are frankly opposed to the chief of the PLO and totally opposed to the alignment with Iraq in order to avoid exposing Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

These cleavages exist within Fatah, the principal component of the PLO, called by some, in a tone of irony, "Futuh" (plural of Fatah). Mr. Mu'ayyin Tahir, a member of Fatah and the Palestinian parliament, says he was against the program of Algiers which, he says, is "totally superceded." Mr. Labib Kamhawi goes further, affirming that Abu-Nidal, considered here as a killer and an agent of the Israeli Mosad, is a "patriot" and that no proof has yet been presented demonstrating his participation in the attacks that have killed numerous moderate Palestinians close to Mr. Arafat.

#### Return to Terrorism?

The radicalization of the Palestinian movement in Jordan has, until now, benefited greatly the Muslim Brotherhood, its branch that exists in the occupied territories being called Hamas. The beginning of an infiltration of Fatah by the Muslim Brotherhood has been observed in the Palestinian camps for a while now. Mr. Tahir, who clearly practices Islam—still strong in Fatah—thinks "the progress of Islam is the direct result of the failure of Arab nationalisms and the parties of the left." He notes that Fatah in the occupied territories and in Jordan is essentially Islamist and that this is a trend that is constantly growing in all Palestinian organizations. He affirms in conclusion that "the new Islamic order" that is emerging will be the result of a closing gap between Fatah and the Muslim Brotherhood.

Of the 22 Muslim Brotherhood deputies in the Jordanian parliament, approximately nine are Palestinians who are particularly active in the refugee camps. The Muslim Brotherhood in general recently ended its hostility against Iraq and apparently burned its bridges with Saudi Arabia, their principal and traditional backer. They therefore constitute an additional element of radicalization in the Palestinian movement.

According to Mr. Azzayadeh, spokesperson for the parliamentary group of the Muslim Brotherhood, the movement opposes an independent Palestinian state in the occupied territories if there is not an unequivocal rejection of the recognition of Israel. Normalization, now in progress, of relations between the PLO and the Muslim Brotherhood is not accepted by all Palestinians. Mr. Abu-Ayyash denounces the Brotherhood as "liars and

opportunists. There is a tendency," he says, "to forget that Hamas nearly destroyed the intifadah by opposing Fatah."

In any case, the radicalization of the Palestinian movement, with or without the Muslim Brotherhood, is in danger of becoming irreversible if Saddam Husayn is defeated. "In this case," warns Mr. Abu-Ayyash, "we will be set back to where we were 20 years ago, at the beginning, and will turn to violence and armed struggle. I do not think that that will constitute terrorism but rather an attempt to escape this stupid world and its torpor. It is time for the world to listen to us."

## EGYPT

### New Speaker on Improving Function of People's Assembly

91AA0162A Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic 26 Dec 90  
pp 10-12

[Interview with Dr. Ahmad Fathi Surur, Speaker of People's Assembly, by Muhammad 'Abd-al-Hamid and 'Awatif Nash'at; place and date not given: "First Interview With New Speaker of People's Assembly"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

[AKHIR SA'AH] Democracy has become the wish of contemporary man, in addition to the presence of a minimum of human rights. We see what has happened and is still happening in the countries of Eastern Europe and the political, social, cultural, and economic transformations in the Soviet Union. What, I ask, is the extent of democracy in Egypt? What are the threads that weave its fabric? On the other hand, while democracy gives the citizen his rights and makes things easier for him, it also develops his full sense and feeling for the performance of his duties. What is your opinion?

[Surur] The extent of democracy in Egypt now is great. The weave of its fabric is cohesive, strong, and also durable. If democracy is now the wish of the countries of Eastern Europe, we in Egypt should be considered in a very advanced stage in comparison with them, as shown by the fact that we have more than they have and are not trying to outbid them. We have arrived at democracy gradually after many varied experiments. Egypt is considered a model in the application of democracy in comparison with the countries of the region—I mean those of the Middle East. Truth and fairness lead us to affirm that the scope of democracy is wide, extensive, and deep in the age of President Husni Mubarak. This is so on the political, economic, and social levels.

On the political level, the existence of a people's assembly, with its deputies chosen by individual election without any authority interfering with the will of the

masses, constitutes the highest form of democratic practice. When assembly members are allowed to express their opinions with complete freedom—this practice, I say, deepens democracy.

On the social level, providing compulsory education for the popular classes and educational opportunities for all after the stage of compulsory basic education should be termed democracy of education—and it is practiced in Egypt. In addition, Egyptians enjoy the rights of social and medical care.

On the economic level, democracy is present in Egypt through providing economic rights to workers and employers and through working to provide jobs for young people to the extent of the government's powers.

On the other hand, to answer the other half of the question, I say that democracy as a feeling pervading the masses guarantees that the people participate actively in running their affairs. When democracy is absent, the society tends toward passivity, waiting for orders, with no one offering positive effort or an objective solution to any problem. So democracy is not merely a right of peoples to express their opinions and to manage their affairs by themselves, for themselves; it is a responsibility. This responsibility becomes visible in active participation and commitment to performing one's duties. When democracy is absent, people forget the feeling of responsibility and only demand their rights. Democracy is therefore the best way to guarantee that the people participate actively in managing their affairs, not by demanding rights, but by also performing duties.

### Assembly-Government Cooperation

[AKHIR SA'AH] Section 86 of the constitution enumerates the role and function of the People's Assembly. One of these functions is to exercise surveillance over the actions of the executive—the government. How will coordination between the assembly and the government take place? In other words, can conflict or disagreement occur between the assembly and the government?

[Surur] The assembly will not hesitate to discuss proposed laws submitted by the government. They may be approved as is, or amendments that the assembly deems appropriate according to the opinions and discussions of members may be made. Section 110 of the constitution says that every proposed law shall be sent to an assembly committee for examination and report. Member-submitted bills are sent to committee only after examination before a special committee to pronounce on whether it is fitting for the assembly to consider them and after the assembly decides that it is. The constitution has prescribed the relation between the assembly and the government. On the other hand, I would say that projects are implemented not by laws alone, but also by plans, strategies, and good performance.

[AKHIR SA'AH] The following question concerns the role of the next assembly in implementing the 1,000-day plan that President Husni Mubarak has proposed to

reform the course of the Egyptian economy and solve all its problems. Can the assembly occupy itself with the required bills that will help implement all the reforms and solve the problems that impede implementation?

[Surur] When President Husni Mubarak in his recent speech in the People's Assembly at a joint session of the People's Assembly and the Consultative Council announced the 1,000-day plan to reform the Egyptian economy, the intention was that all the organs of the state, including the legislature, would begin formulating their ideas for beginning the process of overcoming economic obstacles and eliminating them within three years. The Economic Committee of the People's Assembly will formulate its ideas for the government, so that the latter can benefit from them. Also, what the government presents to the assembly will be discussed. In all cases, the assembly will cooperate fully to complete the aspects of economic reform within this period, so that we can overcome all problems. I would also say that the assembly has other political, social, economic, and cultural goals besides or other than discussing the proposed laws necessary for the 1,000-day plan. I repeat, as in the answer to the previous question: Projects are implemented not by laws alone, but also by plans, strategies, and good performance.

[AKHIR SA'AH] You are known not to like haphazard performance that does not fully accord with your scholarly way of performing and giving. What, I ask, is the People's Assembly's future strategy of performance?

[Surur] God permitting and willing, we will work in cooperation with the assembly's committees and members so that the People's Assembly has a strategy during the coming period that will deepen the democratic line that President Husni Mubarak is following and will work to confront all the problems that impede our economic, social, and cultural course. In other words, the assembly in its strategy must have its traditions, and the movement of its performance must completely agree with the fine democratic line and with working to solve the problems of the masses.

#### **Lobbies, Private Interests**

[AKHIR SA'AH] It is frequently said that in previous assemblies without exception there was what we might call a lobby, which would move quietly, flexibly, cleverly, silently, and ruthlessly to serve its own interests. This happened in many laws. How, one asks, will you prevent this in the future?

[Surur] (Smiling quietly) This is something that happens in many parliaments. One should certainly not become disturbed about it. What everyone should realize is that the country's highest interest is what we must strive for. Democratic debate in the People's Assembly on the widest scale can benefit many orientations. It can reveal some of the interests that lie hidden behind opinions.

[AKHIR SA'AH] Can the independents form a party? Could you explain the reasons for your answering yes or no?

[Surur] The independents are not a party, unless a party called "the Party of Independents" were formed. This has not happened and is not expected to happen. Under the political parties law, blocs or groups must take the form of a particular party's parliamentary group. They are therefore not considered a parliamentary group because they do not belong to a specific party. The assembly now contains a parliamentary group from the National Democratic Party [NDP] and one from the NPUG. A request from Liberal Party chairman Mustafa Kamil Murad to seat the member Ahmad Rizq al-Mallah on the General Committee as a representative of the Liberal Party parliamentary group is before the assembly. The request is still being studied. I welcome the representation of all parties in the assembly.

[AKHIR SA'AH] You represent the majority. Will you side with it? Where is the place of the opposition, while you carry out your role as set forth in the constitution and the rules of the assembly?

[Surur] (With level-headed enthusiasm) I was elected by the votes of the majority and the opposition. I belong to everybody; I do not discriminate between a deputy who represents the party, another who represents the NPUG, or a third who is an independent. I am careful to respect the constitution and the rules. I like discipline and order. I like to put things in their right and proper places. I say in earnest that I will not flatter anyone. When I want to express my opinion, I will give up the speaker's chair and go onto the floor of the assembly to carry out my role and my right just like any member. I am the speaker of all the members—majority and opposition—and want to implement complete impartiality and objectivity. The opposition is part of the political system. That is my policy—I will not diverge from it—on the premise that the People's Assembly belongs to the people. I ask the opposition to strive to be exact in what it publishes. I will not withhold information from anyone. I am ready to reply to any inquiry. That is true democracy.

[AKHIR SA'AH] One member has demanded a closed session to discuss the concerns of People's Assembly members and the assembly's problems in order to work to solve them. What is your opinion?

[Surur] The General Committee has studied this request in accordance with the constitution and the rules. There is a difference between a secret session and a special session. A secret session must take place for reasons related to state security. A special session or sessions is not secret. The rules also govern it. It takes place to deliberate on one of more matters of the assembly—i.e., things related to the course of activity in the assembly or members' problems.

[AKHIR SA'AH] One notices that People's Assembly members pile up and crowd around ministers of the services in an extraordinary way. You yourself suffered

greatly from this when you were in the Education Ministry. One also notices that some members sit in ministers' seats. What is your opinion of all this?

[Surur] God permitting, we will set forth regulations in cooperation with the government to assure that the task of members is facilitated, so that it becomes easy for them to meet the ministers outside the assembly chamber to solve the problems of citizens in their districts. As for members sitting in the seats of ministers, that is not allowed.

#### Fact-Finding Committees

[AKHIR SA'AH] Fact-finding and hearing committees have not obtained their full due. In other words, their role has been smaller than expected. More details about these committees will make the reader perceive their importance. The question remains, What will be the place of these committees in the coming stage?

[Surur] Fact-finding or hearing committees are formed as required for certain proposed laws on which hearings may be needed. Certain subjects require fact-finding. The "as required" rule is set forth in Section 131 of the constitution: The People's Assembly may form a special committee or may assign one of its committees to investigate the activity of an administrative department, government-owned company, any executive or administrative body, or any public project; this in order to investigate the facts and inform the assembly of the real financial, administrative, or economic conditions, or to make inquiries into any subject related to the above activities. In performing its task, the committee may gather any evidence it sees fit, and may ask to hear the statement of anyone it desires. All executive and administrative bodies must comply with its request and place at its disposal for this purpose whatever records, documents, or other things it asks for.

The assembly's internal rules also make reference to fact-finding committees in Section 218. In Section 219, we learn that they are formed by a decision of the assembly based on a request from the General Committee or one of the assembly's other committees or based on a motion submitted in writing to the speaker from at least 20 members. A fact-finding committee must be made up of no fewer than seven members, and no more than 25. They are chosen by the assembly on the basis of nomination by the speaker. There are also exploratory and interviewing committees provided for under Section 223 of the assembly's internal rules. They are public, unless otherwise specified. Members of the press, as well as experts, specialists, and people with experience in economic, cultural, and social life may take part in them.

Exploratory and interviewing meetings aim at carrying out some or all of the following purposes:

- Gathering information that will effectively contribute to filling in deficiencies or defects in proposed legislation and to making its provisions achieve the goals

of the legislation as fully as possible and agree with the basic elements of society and provisions of the constitution.

- Hearing citizens' proposals on questions and subjects of interest to public opinion and on important pending legislation; this in affirmation of the people's right to present their opinions on public matters.
- Clarifying the facts of the country's public policy in various fields.
- Hearing Egyptian or international public personalities in order to exchange views on international and public issues and problems.
- Making the facts known on a particular subject that falls within the competence of the assembly.

Exploratory and interviewing meetings are held in the assembly building in a place fixed by the speaker for this purpose. With the speaker's approval, some meetings may be held in another place outside the assembly.

#### Solving Problems of the Masses

[AKHIR SA'AH] In the wake of this extensive and useful information about fact-finding committees and exploratory and interviewing committees, will these two kinds of committees be an object of your attention? In other words, will they be formed if the matter requires—particularly since you have always proclaimed that exchanges of opinion, study, and research benefit and enrich subjects, problems, or proposed laws that need these things?

[Surur] That will happen whenever the matter requires.

[AKHIR SA'AH] As everyone knows, there are many problems in the governorates, with each province differing in form and content from the others. The assembly conducts or is supposed to conduct field visits through its committees. These visits used to take place in the past, though not on a continuous basis. For example, the pollution that is said to exist in Lake Manzalah and in the waters of the Mediterranean at Port Said—officials in the governorate denied the rumors, but the opposition affirmed the opposite. We won't discuss the past, but what would the result be if a field visit took place and then the matter were brought up seriously in order to decide this issue, which is a matter of great interest to public opinion, since it deals with an important problem?

[Surur] As for the current assembly, dynamism will be the axis of its movement. Activism will be its guide, and objectivity will be an important part of its achievements. Solving the problems of the masses will be at the center of interest to a very high degree. That is an important part of the assembly's role. I shall not hesitate to form these committees whenever anything comes up that justifies their existence. [passage omitted]

**Writer Reports Problems Facing Dairy Farms**

91AA0161A Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic  
23 Dec 90 p 3

[Article by Ahmad al-Sharif]

[Text] Whereas consumers buy a kilogram of milk in Cairo for 1.5 Egyptian pounds, producers of "clean" milk [processed in automated dairies] find no one within dozens of kilometers to buy a kilogram of milk for 33 piasters! You will find no one buying the 75,000 kg of milk produced by modern dairy farms in al-Fayyum! The disaster is repeated daily before our eyes in the Governorate of al-Fayyum, the location of the largest aggregate of modern farms in Egypt for the production of milk free from impurities! Egypt's milk cows are dying under the siege of livestock pens, the bureaucracy, and the plots of powdered milk importers and milk middlemen!

The scene evokes sorrow.

Vehicles equipped with milk tanks compete every morning to unload 75,000 kg of milk to whomever will drink it, even at a loss. They cannot cease for one day, because 34,000 Holstein cows standing in long lines in eight automated dairies are being milked every afternoon.

Each cow has a file and field in the farm's computer system, which provides her date of birth, growth rate, and average flow. Dairy farming has become a sophisticated industry that has helped to fill a large gap in our food needs. A kilogram of top-grade, factory-produced cheese cost no more than 4 Egyptian pounds, compared to an average of 20 Egyptian pounds in the Arab region.

A war has been declared against this sophisticated industry, and al-Fayyum has been its largest theater! The losses, which are immense, are not concealed by their victims.

**A Farm's Problems**

Samir Iskandar: "All countries of the world, except Egypt, subsidize their dairy industries. A British milk producer visited me and was amazed when I started to install another automated dairy as an independent effort. In Britain, the government assumes the total cost of a dairy line. He lends three tons daily without interest. The basic fixed, purchase price [of a kilogram of milk in Egypt] dropped to 33 piasters [per kg]. With the addition of [the costs of] refrigeration, [obtaining] the [proper] degree of viscosity, and milking, [the price comes] to no more than 45 piasters per kilogram, whereas the cost of producing a kilogram of milk is 47.5 piasters, as indicated by computations recorded by the farm's computer. And the confusions continue.

I suffer losses daily, and I cannot stop. How can I dispose of this choice herd of Holsteins whose formation I have followed for dozens of years."

An automated dairy costs 1 million Egyptian pounds. Regarding the supply of spare parts for it from abroad in exchange for hard currency, the ministry said that there are Egyptian-made "Bistim" spare parts, which work for a single day, whereas their original Swiss counterparts have a hypothetical life of two years.

While beet-root fodder has achieved [production rates of] 80 to 90 tons per feddan, and the farm has received a rating certificate, the agriculture minister, although he has of course seen this certificate, has not provided us with a [beet-root] nursery [shatlah], and we have gone back to standing in a long waiting line for fodder.

The Egypt Dairy Products Company is a rival and an arbiter at the same time. It sets whatever price per kilogram it desires. Last year, the price was 60 piasters per kilogram [of milk]. When imported milk powder from Poland became available at \$1,000 per ton, the company reduced the basic price [of a kilogram of milk] to 33 piasters, and it began to treat us differently.

Samir Hanna, the farm's director, says that the farm had to discard 3 tons of milk, because the company delayed its receipt of the farm's milk on the pretext that the milk's acidity was high.

The [company's] war [against producers] extends to [milk] collections centers.

**The War Against Independents**

Engineer Sa'd Husayn, the director of the Animal Resource Cooperative in al-Fayyum:

Due to red tape and a jurisdictional conflict between the governorate's agencies, the Egypt Dairy Products Company took possession of a modern dairy product collection center, which Finland donated to producers in the Governorate of al-Fayyum.

And it was not satisfied with that! In an effort to monopolize the dairy products collection market, the company began to wage a war against a collection center established by the cooperative to serve small producers.

The company offered temporary enticements [to producers]—a kilogram of subsidized fodder for a kilogram of milk—until the market came under its control, and the collection center for small producers closed down, at which point the company stopped disbursing subsidized fodder.

Then came the decisive blow against milk producers.

Last year, the price which producers receive for their milk was reduced to less than their production cost, from 60 piasters per kilogram last April to 33 piasters!

Other parties joined the hostile front against milk producers.

The cooperative made attempts to surmount the Holstein milk distribution problem. Its advisor, Dr. 'Umar al-Damirdash, the chairman of al-Fayyum Agriculture

College's dairy department, put forth a project to produce cheese from Holstein milk mixed with water buffalo milk to suit the taste of the Egyptian consumer, who likes white cheese. Planning for the implementation of the project began, and a site was selected for the factory, which was to incorporate milk tanks and refrigerated warehouses. But the Egypt Dairy Products Company halted the project, because it posed illegal competition.

Dr. Hisham Hamdi Hilal, a major milk producer in the cooperative, donated a pasteurization apparatus with a 0.5-ton-per-hour capacity.

But this time, the Electricity Administration opposed the project, arguing that the electrical current could not support the factory, and that the cooperative would have to assume the cost—in excess of 40,000 Egyptian pounds—of putting in a line and an additional transformer.

Thus, this project also entered the spider's web of the bureaucracy.

#### Outstanding Issues

Some Holstein farm owners had no choice but to stop raising Holsteins, at a loss!

'Adil Tawfiq 'Abd-al-Karim, the chairman of the Animal Resource Cooperative: I have a herd of 250 Holstein cows. I contracted with the Egypt Dairy Products Company to supply 680 to 800 kilograms per day. The company's chairman visited the farm, demanding higher production. The matter generated unsettled issues between me and the company, issues that have been outstanding for three years. I switched from Holsteins (which produce an average of 20 kg [per day]) to water buffalo, which produce an average of 6 kg [per day], to avoid the problem posed by the marketing monopoly of Egypt Dairy Products, which purchases it [i.e., Holstein milk]. I tried to attain a productivity rate of 8 kg per water buffalo per day, but the Veterinary Medicine Administration's industrial inoculation and high-yield stock-breeding efforts concern only Holsteins!

In addition, fodder specifications have deteriorated, which greatly affects productivity, and fodder is in short supply and poorly distributed.

However, the problem of milk that is discarded remains to be solved. More than one farm has run up against the problem of having to discard milk. Ahmad 'Abd-al-Ghaffar, a small producer from Sabla, pours out 200 kg daily, and the large al-'Aziziyah Farm and the al-Mazazi Farm discard 8.5 tons each in a day, perhaps once a month or more, because of slowness in receiving the milk or high milk acidity rates. Thousands of kilograms end up being poured into drainage canals.

#### The National Producer's Battle!

Finally, we go to Muhammad Fahmi al-'Attar, the chairman of the administrative council of the Egypt Dairy Products Company, the largest buyer of milk, or,

as it is called, purchase monopolist. [According to him] dairy products are connected to physical well-being and cannot be viewed from a purely economic standpoint. The world's richest countries subsidize their dairy industries and cattle farms. Western and European countries provide \$10 billion annually to subsidize agriculture, particularly livestock production. The United States places constraints on the importation of dairy products.

However, what are we doing now [regarding import limitations]?

Ministerial Decree No. 333 of 1966, which prohibits the importation of cooked dairy products has been circumvented, inasmuch as these products fill the market under numerous trade names.

Even white cheese is imported. It is filling the consumer depots subordinate to the Supply Ministry. In the face of this competition, the amount of white cheese which it [the company] distributes to the [government] cooperatives has dropped to only 20 percent of what the company had distributed previously, despite our efforts to improve production, which have been praised by more than one neutral party, and which have led a number of Arab states to attempt to import the cheese of Egypt Dairy Products due to its excellence and modest price, which does not exceed 25 percent of that of comparable products in those countries.

#### The Importation of Congealed Bacteria

Ahmad al-Sharif: "This is an important problem that has faced the company. However, doesn't the problem of producers of Holstein dairy products require a solution?"

Muhammad Fahmi al-'Attar: "I have many offers [of milk] at prices that are lower [than that of Holstein milk]. However, we respect the company's contracts with the [Holstein milk] producers, so that we can ensure supply continuity, even though the market has been flooded with milk powder imported from abroad, especially from Poland, despite the fact that this powder contains congealed bacteria, as proven by laboratory analysis, which renders it unfit for some uses."

The importation of milk powder has caused a switch from "natural milk" to milk powder in the production of many dairy products, especially fresh lightly salted creamy white cheese, ice cream, yoghurt, and confections, which has created the difficult-to-understand problem of natural milk being discarded, especially milk from Holsteins!

The problem was also exacerbated by some dairy producers going out of business last year, when the price of natural milk and imported milk powder was high, \$2,400 per ton compared to only 1,000 this year. The problem afflicting dairy producers, which has clearly appeared in recent days, requires a solution that ensures the survival

of these important producers, who are connected to the health of Egyptians. Such a solution should have the following goals.

#### **Producers Must Stay in Business**

The protection of domestic producers from foreign competition. We do not have the same animal production capacity as the United States, whose Secretary of Agriculture, Clayton [Yeutter], has moved against subsidized dairy products from West Europe by restricting their entry into the United States. We, [on the other hand,] permit the importation of large quantities of cheese. This cheese is not only distributed in private supermarkets, but also in government cooperatives, whereas our factories, as acknowledged by the administrative council of the Egypt Dairy Products Company, operate at only one third of their capacity.

The subsidization of dairy livestock breeding farms by providing them with the necessary fodder. Yasir al-Lahhami, a breeder from al-Fayyum, emphasizes that, recently, obtaining fodder has been regarded as a miracle, which recurs every week, although the fodder that is produced is of a poor quality. A fodder recipient must pay an extra 10 Egyptian pounds per ton if he is an resident of the same governorate in which the [fodder] plant is located!

Holstein hybridization has succeeded in Egypt. Holstein productivity is high. A Holstein cow produces from 20 to 30 kg of milk per day, compared to 5 to 6 kg for a domestic water buffalo. However, an army of veterinarians must take measures so that a virus does not come from abroad. Some breeders have connections and abilities. Salah al-Tubhi and Samir Iskandar [obtained vaccine] through their own efforts. However, the majority are at the mercy of the Veterinary Medicine Administration.

The provision of veterinarian care must be followed by the provision of veterinary needs, such as medicine and vaccines, to protect this important national resource.

The reorganization of dairy product distribution, so as to achieve fairness for the producer who offers his dairy products at no more than 0.5 Egyptian pounds per kilogram, whereas consumers in greater Cairo cannot find clean milk, i.e. milk produced by automated dairies that is untouched by human hands, and they pay 1.5 Egyptian pounds per kilogram.

The above goals must be achieved lest Egypt's milk cows, which provide us with clean, uncontaminated milk, die!

#### **Sources See Slump in Agricultural Product Exports**

91AA0160A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
27 Dec 90 p 10

[Article by 'Atif 'Abdallah]

[Text] Exports of Egyptian agricultural products have recorded a sharp and continuous decline over recent

years, due to a number of factors. These include increased local consumption at the expense of exportation, and marketing and bureaucratic problems faced by exporters.

A report to the Egyptian Consultative Council warned of this continuous drop in principal agricultural exports, pointing out that the value of cotton exports had dropped from \$450 million in 1985 to \$360 million in 1986; to \$329 million in 1987; to \$326 million in 1988, and down to \$224 million last year.

The amount of rice available for export also fell, because of fixed production and rising consumption.

Official statistics show a decline in exports from 128,000 tons in 1981 to only 16,000 tons in 1983. Exports rose slightly in 1985 to 24,000 tons, then to 75,000 tons in 1987, to resume the decline in 1989 to 52,000 tons.

What is true of cotton and rice is also true of most crops, even flowers and ornamental plants, for exports dropped from 699,000 units in 1980/81 to 470,000 units in 1982/83; to 117,000 units in 1984/85, and 47,000 units in 1986/87. Then exports tumbled to 16,000 units in 1988/89.

As a statement prepared by the agriculture committee of the Egyptian Consultative Council points out, this serious decline in the export of Egyptian agricultural products is due to organizational, economic, marketing, and production problems.

At the forefront of agricultural production problems are instability in local production and its inability to provide ideal quantities to cover export needs, and the failure to conform to set exporting goals. This creates a state of instability with respect to foreign markets, and at the same time it causes these markets to lack confidence in Egypt's ability to provide their needs and to fulfill contracts with them so as to get what they need regularly, and thus it causes markets to be lost.

Growth at an increasing rate in the volume of local consumption affects the volume of production. This is something that has occurred in recent years, and it affects the amount of production available for export to foreign markets, especially of the two commodities rice and cotton, which are important strategic export commodities.

The wave of worldwide increases in the cost of basic requirements has been an added burden on Egyptian production of these products, which has compounded Egypt's problems in its attempts to export to various markets, especially when prices abroad have not risen as much as local costs have.

It was clear from the report that most marketing operations are ultimately not carried out as they should be with respect to most agricultural crops, with the exception of citrus, potatoes, and peanuts. This leads to

increased losses of the crops and the spoilage of a large portion of them of up to around 20 to 30 percent depending on the type of the crop and how long it remains in marketing channels, in addition to the type of means used in transport, and the materials used in canning.

Prices, especially the price to the consumer, also play an important role in the success of exports. Because there is no mandatory pricing of these crops, the local merchants or producers are the ones who set the price of delivery to exporters in light of domestic demand. It has often happened that the quantities of some export crops such as citrus or garlic needed to fulfill export contracts have been unavailable because of a rise in local prices.

Among the economic problems that the report brings up is the lack of necessary financing and the fact that the banking apparatus has recently refrained from providing the necessary support, in addition to the rise in the interest rate on loans granted to producers.

#### **Bankruptcies Among Egyptians**

Also in recent times some complicated tax problems between the Tax Administration and the exporters have begun to appear. They have started threatening to stop many exporters from pursuing their activities. Indeed there are many who are now at risk of declaring bankruptcy because of these problems.

Moreover, the computational exchange rates of currencies in which transactions are concluded with respect to Egyptian exports to the states which deal commercially with Egypt through reciprocal deals and commercial agreements are still below required levels.

In many cases the Egyptian exporter is unable to complete the export process because returns from exports have dropped below the production cost of the exported commodity. Moreover, many groups of agricultural producers now hesitate to get into this field fearing the lack of export incentives to encourage them. The fund supporting spinning had been abolished for 30 years, until it was reinstated in 1983.

The report revealed the absence of flexible regulatory structures and the domination of a negative and complicated bureaucratic pattern with which these agencies operate, and the existence of many complicated administrative measures.

A clear example of bureaucracy is the plethora of documents that must be submitted, the multiplicity of agencies that one must continuously draw upon and be dependent upon, the length of the time it takes for fees to be reimbursed, which in some cases is more than two years. Moreover, the fee may not be reimbursed in full because of a difference in opinion between customs and the exporter over the subject of how much is lost when the raw material is used in the production of the exported commodity.

The report presented several proposals for getting out of this export crisis and reviving exports once again. In the field of agricultural production the report stressed the need to allocate specific areas for export in the reclaimed lands, and to expand the growing of protected goods in the new lands to ensure production at the right time for export. Along with that, production requirements of seed, fertilizer, and insecticides should be provided sufficiently prior to the growing season, and the right amounts of fertilizer to raise the productivity of the crops should be used.

In the area of marketing, the report called for the development of canning and packaging operations for agricultural crops in line with state-of-the-art world systems. So that this may be accomplished, the use of plastic crates and cardboard boxes imported from abroad is preferred; a rapid transportation network supplied with refrigerators should be created; agencies devoted to marketing the crops destined for export should be established; and specialized fairs, travelling fairs, and fixed trade centers should be set up in the areas of the international markets.

To solve the economic problems, the report said it would be necessary to provide producers and exporters with the help they need, and reduce the interest rate on loans to 8 percent. It would be necessary to take immediate steps to solve the tax problems and to simplify and reduce the burden on the exporter, for he could be satisfied if a fee of 2 percent were imposed on the value of exports obtained at export, and getting it would be tantamount to exempting the exporter from the specific taxes to which his activity is subject, and he should be exempt from any taxes from his export activity of around 50 percent of the value of his exports.

The Consultative Council asked that late interest and fines not be imposed on late tax payments, and that completely exempting export activity from taxes as an incentive to increase exports be considered, a system which is followed in many countries of the world.

It called for adjusting the computational exchange rate of currencies which are dealt in for Egyptian exports to the countries with which Egypt deals commercially through reciprocal deals or trade agreements so as to be in line with the free exchange rate.

It called for the setting up of a flexible and fair system of export incentives; for giving easy loans with low interest rates to finance exports; for complete customs exemptions for production requirements and materials for canning and packaging goods destined for export; and for encouraging investment in export projects by offering numerous advantages and exemptions.

In the organizational field, the report points to the need to support the center for developing Egyptian exports, so that it could play an effective role in the area of foreign marketing and supplying exporters with information that would help them increase their exports. The role of

the offices of Egyptian commercial representation abroad must be strengthened.

The report also calls for the establishment of a supreme council for the development of exports to whose decisions all agencies that have a connection to the development of exports would be subject. Thus it would include in its formation a number of ministries and agencies overseeing exports in the state, and it would bring together the laws relating to exports, and unify them in a single law with one rule.

## IRAQ

### USSR Ambassador Comments on Saddam Husayn

91ES0447Y Istanbul NOKTA in Turkish 3 Feb 91  
pp 67-69

[Interview with USSR ambassador to Ankara, Albert Chernishev, by Ahmet Taner Kislali; place and date not given: "If Something Happened to Saddam"]

[Text] The Soviet Union's Ankara ambassador, Albert Chernishev, was interviewed by Ahmet Taner Kislali in connection with the Gulf war, Turkey's stance and the future of the Middle East.

[Kislali] Is there a chance for a peaceful solution in the Gulf? Did the war start too soon?

[Chernishev] Of course it started too soon. We considered 15 January as an element of pressure on Baghdad, not a limit set for starting the war. It was not as though all the nonmilitary routes for solution of the problem had been exhausted. But Baghdad's very tough attitude also played a role in the tragic dimensions the incident has taken on.

[Kislali] Neither Saddam, nor France, nor the UN secretary general, offered any hope for peaceful initiatives at the last minute. What would have changed if there had been a delay of a few more days?

[Chernishev] It is true that Saddam rejected all peace initiatives, including ours and those of the Arab countries. But there is no political logic in saying, "I'm giving you an ultimatum and I know what I will do if you do not accept it." The sanctions were in effect, and it was wrong to expect results in such a short time. In addition, joint efforts ought to have been made to apply pressure on Baghdad. I believe that Saddam had no other remedy and would have withdrawn sooner or later. It is necessary not to forget that we are setting a precedent in the new climate of relations between East and West. We are setting a precedent for the question of how difficult problems will be solved in the future.

[Kislali] Would Saddam have withdrawn if assurances had been given on convening an international conference on Palestine?

[Chernishev] There is no connection between the invasion of Kuwait and the Palestine problem. Saddam came up with this later.

[Kislali] There is the claim that the United States and Britain were deliberately hasty for a military solution...

[Chernishev] It is very hard to say anything about the U.S. attitude. However, the American administration was caught between two fires. On one hand there was the pressure of "Here we are at Kuwait, what are we waiting for?" and on the other hand, antiwar activities were steadily increasing. Factors such as the weather and the approach of Ramadan must also have played a role. But whether such haste was right is another matter, of course.

[Kislali] Would you predict how the war will develop from now on and how long it will last?

[Chernishev] I served in Hanoi for three and one half years during the Vietnam war. It was said at that time that the Vietnamese could not last against such advanced weapons. But they lasted for 10 years. I also saw there that it is impossible to win a war by air attacks alone. People are still the most important factor in a war. We can give a more realistic estimate of how long the war will last only when the ground war begins. But this much is true, the attempt for a quick war has not worked out. The Americans are even saying it may last from a few weeks to a few months.

[Kislali] The allies have air superiority. Will the situation change when the ground war begins?

[Chernishev] The Iraqi troops have been at war for eight years. Bombs and missiles do not overly bother them. They are also used to a great deal of bloodshed. The American units, however, are made up mostly of reserves called to active duty, and they have none of this experience. This also is very important: You need two or even three times more troop strength for a successful attack. However, there is no question of such superiority now. But the Baghdad regime is a very tough regime based on a single person. Therefore, if "something were to happen" to this person, it would have a very negative effect on the Iraqi army. It is necessary to keep this in mind also.

[Kislali] How do you evaluate Turkey's attitude in the crisis?

[Chernishev] Turkey's attitude is being voiced by the authorities in the form of "it will not attack if it is not attacked." We welcome this attitude. We hold the opinion that joining the war is not in Turkey's interest. But equally as important as its own attitude is that "the others" not draw Turkey into the war. I think the polls showing that the Turkish people do not want war reflect the truth.

[Kislali] How do you interpret the permission to use Incirlik?

[Chernishev] I want to repeat one sentence: It is important that the others not draw Turkey into the war. We are opposed to an expansion of the war's boundaries.

[Kislali] Would Turkey gain anything by entering the war?

[Chernishev] Let's make an abstraction completely apart from Turkey. If a country wanted to snatch a share of a hypothetical pie, on what accounts could it act? For example, there may be the account of grabbing some land. But no one wants Iraq's territorial integrity to be damaged or would permit it. Some may promise money in exchange for entering the war. But the Americans promised Vietnam \$20 billion, which gradually dropped to 10, then 5 and then 1. In the end, they did not pay it. The United States has already spent a lot of money on this war. What will first come to mind after the war is over will be the effort to rebuild in Kuwait and Iraq. Those who want to demonstrate political solidarity with the allies will lose morally in the eyes of their neighbors. Even if Iraq has a different administration from Saddam, the Iraqi people will still remember for a long time that certain ones joined in the war. It took 25 years for us to lose our anti-German feelings after World War II. This was the greatest obstacle to reunification of the two Germanies. There is no pie to be shared by joining the Iraqi war. But there may be a pie for those who can be balanced, patient, and smart.

[Kislali] Do you share the view that there is a danger for Turkey as long as Saddam and Iraq's military power exist?

[Chernishev] No, I don't. You have no serious problem with Iraq except water. Saddam probably could not come to Turkey to get water and then return to Iraq. Therefore, I do not think he constitutes a true threat for Turkey. You had active economic cooperation with Saddam, and you have a common interest in developing this cooperation.

[Kislali] What kind of government would be formed if Saddam were overthrown? Is there a possibility of the formation of a Kurdish state in northern Iraq?

[Chernishev] It is hard to say what kind of regime will come in Iraq if Saddam goes. But it must not be a puppet regime; instead it must be able to represent the Iraqi people in the full sense. As for the existence of the threat of a Kurdish state being formed in the north of Iraq, I do not think so. No one wants Iraq's territorial integrity violated, and this would not be permitted.

[Kislali] What kind of developments do you expect in the Middle East after the war?

[Chernishev] I want to believe that positive changes would take place after the war. Tension may be reduced and the level of armament brought down. This is a region free of blocs. Blocs are a thing of the past anyway.

Relations must be based in the future on active cooperation between regional countries. A mechanism for political consultation may be formed for preserving peace and stability. Moreover, a very wealthy economic community may be formed. The United Nations could perform the function of a guarantee against the desires of some to influence the region unilaterally and keep it under pressure.

[Kislali] Could postwar circumstances facilitate solution of the Palestine problem?

[Chernishev] The very long period of time that the Palestine problem has gone without solution is not conducive to optimism. But the cleansing effect of events in the Gulf region and the changes in East-West relations are two important factors. We are sure the Palestine problem will be solved in the future.

[Kislali] Will the Iraqi government resort to chemical weapons if hope is gradually destroyed?

[Chernishev] There is such a possibility, but we think common sense exists in Baghdad and that chemical weapons will not be used. The use of such weapons is very dangerous. And retaliation may occur. Still I do not think the United States and the others would resort to weapons of mass destruction in return.

[Kislali] Is it true that the short range of the Scud missiles in Iraq is being extended by Soviet experts? For example, could the missiles being sent from Iraq reach Ankara?

[Chernishev] We sent these missiles to Iraq 15 years ago for defense purposes. The success in extending the range is the accomplishment of Western experts. With the help of Western engineers during the Iran-Iraq war, they added one stage to some of them and two stages to others.

[Kislali] What is your response to the view that the USSR is taking advantage of the West's preoccupation with the Gulf war to intervene in the Baltic republics?

[Chernishev] We have some problems, and there is no link between them and the Gulf crisis. It is a complete coincidence that certain events are occurring at the same time.

## ISRAEL

### Teddy Kollek on Iraq, Jerusalem, Austria

91AE0254A Vienna PROFIL in German 21 Jan 91  
pp 52-53

[Interview with Mayor Teddy Kollek of Jerusalem, by Erhard Stackl; in Jerusalem, date not given: "Generosity Toward the Arabs"—first paragraph is PROFIL introduction]

[Text] Teddy Kollek, born in 1911 near Budapest, grew up in Vienna and as a child attended Emperor Franz

Joseph's funeral in 1916. As a youth he joined the Zionist movement and, in a career which reads like a novel, participated in every phase of Israel's development. For the last 25 years Kollek has been the mayor of Jerusalem.

[Stackl] Mr. Mayor, how do you feel about the military action against Iraq?

[Kollek] Four months ago I met a few Iraqis in London. They were convinced that if a war broke out the Iraqi army would collapse within a few days. This comes as no surprise to me. The Arabs have always chosen leaders of that sort—first the Mufti of Jerusalem and Hitler, then 'Abd-al-Nasir and 'Arafat, and now Saddam. And then they are overwhelmed by their terrible misfortune.

[Stackl] How does this development affect Israel and Jerusalem? The PLO is threatening renewed terrorism.

[Kollek] Terrorism has been around for some time, and it will continue a while longer. We must tell the Arabs that they have lost the game—but we also have to be generous and decent. We have to offer them a solution, but they will reject it in any case.

[Stackl] Opposition delegates in the Knesset think that it would be a positive gesture on the part of Israel to announce prior to the end of the crisis that it is ready to participate in an international conference on the Palestinians. However, the government is still strictly opposed to such a conference.

[Kollek] I try not to get involved in government business. I am of the opinion, however, that we should not govern 1.5 million Arabs and that we should return the [occupied] territories. I have said this ever since 1967. Perhaps the border would have to be changed here and there, but all things considered I am in favor of Arab independence. But we are worried about our security; we would therefore have to make certain that they do not establish an army—at least for a few years. One danger lies in the fact Arab political thinking processes are different from European ones. You can see that from Saddam's behavior. You can also tell from that awful act of murder (whose victim was PLO leader Abu-Iyad) that terrorism is an acceptable method there. There have been political assassinations in Europe too; but here it is an almost daily occurrence. But to let a foreign element—ourselves, in this case—rule over 1.6 million Palestinians is, in my opinion, more dangerous than to give them the opportunity to become independent. Whether they are to form a state immediately or whether this is to come about gradually can be made negotiable. In Jerusalem we made it possible for the Arabs to keep their (Jordanian) citizenship. Whenever something was partitioned in Europe, whether it was the South Tirol or the Sudetenland, this was never done. Here the Arabs could determine their nationality for themselves. They could also have been elected to the city council. But fear takes over once again. When one man, newspaper editor Hanna Sinyurah, declared that he wanted to propose a

list of candidates for the city council elections, two of his automobiles were set on fire—so he abandoned his plan.

[Stackl] You have recently had a discussion with Faysal al-Husayni, who is considered a leader of the PLO. Even your political friends criticized you severely for that. It was said that you had gotten cozy with the "king of the cutthroats" who is supporting Saddam Husayn.

[Kollek] I wanted to prove one thing, that even in this situation there is a way to discuss diverging opinions calmly. This was in contrast to political murder and terrorism. And this discussion was reported in the Arab press in greater detail than anything else. The people who criticized me think that such meetings should take place only to defuse tensions in the city. But neither Mr. al-Husayni nor anyone else has any influence with the cutthroats or the stonethrowers; they have no way of giving them any orders and calming them down. I do not believe that there is a solution for the intifadah in Jerusalem through police methods—but not by meetings with Arabs either. The only way this could come about would be for a political evolution to take place. At the present time, we are redecorating the central Arab bus terminal. The same people who criticized me for the al-Husayni meeting are saying: why are you doing something for them? My reason is this: they are taxpayers, therefore they are entitled to the same municipal services as everyone else. The fact that a few hundred young people are conducting the intifadah is no reason to punish 150,000 people who use the buses. Some suggested that their water supply be cut off—foolishness!—we are not going to levy collective penalties. We have 3,000 Arab employees in the city who have never participated in a strike for a single day, even though strikes have taken place on many dozens of days during the last few years.

[Stackl] And they are not being threatened?

[Kollek] I recently held a meeting with 160 Arab officials. I know you are receiving threats, I told them, but after all you are serving your own fellow citizens. We have never asked you about your political opinions. You receive the same pay as the Israelis, and it is in the interest of the city that you continue working. I believe this served to reinforce their decision to continue.

[Stackl] What sort of work do these employees perform?

[Kollek] One of my secretaries is an Arab woman; we have people here in city hall; there are Arabs in the finance department, in social services, in engineering; but the majority are people who clean the streets or are employed in the waterworks.

[Stackl] Radical Jewish groups organized a campaign demanding that business people not employ Palestinians; there were some signs reading "Out with the Arabs." One newspaper editorial stated that you sought to downplay this, saying it wasn't all that bad.

[Kollek] No, I did not say that. Together with the police we did all we could to remove those signs. We told one and all that we are opposed to it. The truth of the matter is, however, that there are people who employed Arabs but who could no longer rely on them because of the strikes, etc. They were a little afraid too, because there were one or two cases where people who had been employed for five years stabbed their employers to death. But those are exceptional cases. The number of Arabs who work here has not decreased. Unfortunately, we have our extremists too. They have come to being as a result of the Arabs' having attacked us for more than 20 years.

[Stackl] Israeli citizens who are in favor of a compromise with the Palestinians have told me with regret that they are members of a shrinking minority.

[Kollek] Not in Jerusalem. In the parliamentary elections the Workers' Party and the left-wingers suffered small losses. But the last time around, I received two-thirds of the votes.

[Stackl] On a list of individuals, but not as a candidate of the Workers' Party.

[Kollek] I have been a member of the Workers' Party for 46 years, and I have no intention of leaving it. It has done a great number of stupid things; but in its philosophy it is closer to me than any other. But ever since I have been in this city I have not participated in any party activities. There are three years left in my term of office. I do not think that my popularity has diminished.

[Stackl] Recently you have had to deal with the additional problem of the massive immigration of Jews from the USSR.

[Kollek] I believe that the intifadah has given the Arabs a feeling of being on the same level as the Israelis, and that they have won some sort of victory. This will provide a greater opportunity for the Arabs to participate in negotiations and to agree to compromises. If on the other hand we will have one-half million or 1 million Russians in our country, this will give us a feeling of strength and we will have nothing to fear. Maybe 100,000 will come to this city. We are making every effort to see that none of them will live on the West Bank, in the occupied territories...

[Stackl] ...however, in parts of Jerusalem which formerly were part of the Arab east side.

[Kollek] Jerusalem was never an Arab capital; it was an Arab holy city. In 1967, after an interval of 2,000 years, we returned here, we occupied the Temple Mount, and someone hoisted a big Israeli flag on the mosque. We took it down within a few hours. We told the Arabs that the Temple Mount would remain theirs, because they had prayed there for 1,200 years. This constituted the greatest imaginable self-restraint because next to it, in the Jewish quarter, we found the ruins of 58 destroyed synagogues. But we certainly will not recognize the claim

for an Arab capital in Jerusalem. That will be the central part of the argument. During all those centuries Jerusalem was never their capital. The seats of government were always either Beirut or Damascus.

[Stackl] How do you feel about your former homeland?

[Kollek] I have always said that I am a little ashamed of Austria. The Germans have had a group here for more than 20 years which they call the "Sign of Penance." Young people come here for six-month periods, wash floors in the institute for the blind, or work with handicapped children. They say that they have no personal guilt, but they feel a responsibility. If you talk to young Austrians—and that is a result of the policy of the government—they say, we were conquered, there was nothing we could do. That is untrue—my parents were still there during the Anschluss, and Hitler was greeted with great enthusiasm. The Anschluss had just as the Germans did, but they cleverly evaded the consequences. Not a single young Austrian has visited here who would have said: I want to do something to atone for the deeds of my parents, grandparents, or uncles. I cannot get over this. Personally, I had a pleasant youth while in Austria. As for President Waldheim, I believe that being denounced by Jews resulted in additional votes for him. If he is severely attacked in the future, he will be reelected.

#### Minister Eytan on Economic, Military Issues

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28 Dec 90 pp 12-13

[Interview with Agriculture Minister Refa'el Eytan by Dan Shilon; date and place not given]

[Text] [Shilon] Refa'el Eytan, are you serious?

[Eytan] That is a provocative question. What do you mean?

[Shilon] How is it possible to treat seriously a minister who compares a Knesset member to a pig?

[Eytan] I did not compare him to a pig.

[Shilon] You stated explicitly that the pig law [prohibiting pork sales] suits Yehoshua' Matzah.

[Eytan] Correct. I said that the law suits him and that he suits the law. That is not a comparison between a Knesset member and a pig.

[Shilon] Even your interpretation sounds insulting. Why did you have to attack him personally?

[Eytan] Because he attacked me personally. His behavior was shameful and he cannot be immune to attack and reaction.

[Shilon] Are you so sensitive about your honor?

[Eytan] Yes. Certainly. When my honor is damaged, I respond with a war. Usually, I respond in a restrained

manner, and I do not go beyond certain bounds of behavior. But, I do not leave the field empty.

[Shilon] Are your rough, occasionally vulgar, responses spontaneous or calculated?

[Eytan] All of my responses are said with calculation and intent. My level of harshness or roughness is a matter of character. This is my character.

[Shilon] What is stronger, your reason or your emotions?

[Eytan] My emotions activate my mind, and my mind activates my tongue. That is the chain of command with me.

[Shilon] Do you enjoy being in the government?

[Eytan] Enjoyment is not the right word. I discharge a function in the government. Perhaps because of inexperience or lack of knowledge, I previously thought that the government had to be conducted otherwise. I have learned that there are coalitional pressures and constraints that prevent the government from functioning as I thought. Overall, I am not disappointed, because I can fulfill my duty as agriculture minister along the lines I determined for myself.

[Shilon] After inscribing exalted, lofty principles on your political flag, you are suddenly speaking of constraints and pressures. You sound like a mapainik [a member of MAPAI—Israel workers party].

[Eytan] I am basically a real mapainik. I came from it. I continued on their true path, whereas those who now call themselves members of the [Labor] Alignment, have strayed from their original path.

[Shilon] You know well that this mapainik is not only a positive symbol, it is also a symbol of political opportunism. Are you like that?

[Eytan] Opportunism has not been attached to me, although I came from this background. Tzomet is the heir and true perpetuator of the historical MAPAI and the Zionist-pioneer-national way.

[Shilon] Do you not feel that you are sitting in a corrupt government?

[Eytan] No.

[Shilon] You yourself defined it as corrupt in connection with the affair of allocations for the Grofer family and other issues.

[Eytan] I never said that the government was corrupt. The government per se was not involved in the Grofer affair. Do not try to put words in my mouth.

[Shilon] Is a government that contains some members who rob the public treasury an ethical government?

[Eytan] It is not the government per se that is doing this.

[Shilon] Only members of the government?

[Eytan] If the Grofer affair were to reach a vote in the government, it would not be approved.

[Shilon] Why are you twisting, turning, and evading? Is it only to prolong your participation in the government?

[Eytan] It is true that I am trying to evade your question, because I know where you are trying to lead me, and I want to avoid that. I am saying this directly, up front, and without shame.

[Shilon] You were once known as one who contends with problems rather than fleeing or trying to evade them.

[Eytan] Who says that I must contend precisely with an issue that you decide to present to me?

[Shilon] Do you not have to be faithful to the principles that you declared, and on behalf of which you sought the public's confidence?

[Eytan] I have preserved all of my principles without any hedging. It is a fact that not one piaster has been distributed.

[Shilon] Not distributed in the meantime to the Grofer family, because a large public outcry went up. However, this government has distributed and is distributing millions to Orthodox [Haredi] groups, and you are a partner in this.

[Eytan] That is another matter, which I also vote against in the government and the Knesset.

[Shilon] That does not exonerate you from your partnership in, and responsibility for, these acts.

[Eytan] That is correct. I am a partner in what the government decides. However, the government did not decide on the exclusive funds. The Likud decided on that, the coalition decided on that, not the government.

[Shilon] Are you attempting to play innocent? The funds do not come from the Likud's treasury or the coalitions's treasury. They come from the state treasury.

[Eytan] That is also correct. Therefore, Tzomet has declared itself against this in the Knesset and the government. Not everything that I vote against can be stopped. We are a minority. We have only two Knesset members.

[Shilon] And do you not call this opportunism? You speak out against this, but you continue to collaborate in this government.

[Eytan] I am not a collaborator.

[Shilon] You sit in the government, and you take responsibility for all of its wrongs.

[Eytan] These matters do not characterize the government's functioning.

[Shilon] What characterizes it? The release of masses of yeshiva students from military service. Do you live in peace with this.

[Eytan] This matter has never been discussed in the government.

[Shilon] Why do you not raise it for discussion?

[Eytan] When it is raised in the government, I will express my opinion. Evasion from the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] was also approved by the government headed by the Labor Alignment. It began in the fifties. Whoever wants to form a coalition is compelled to pay those who are religious in one form or another. They pay them with money and with laws. Our power is too meager to stop these matters. When we have six mandates in the next Knesset, we might succeed in stopping matters. Perhaps the entire picture will be different, because the method for electing the prime minister will be different.

[Shilon] That seems unlikely. You made a change in the elections method, an indispensable condition for your participation in the coalition. You even established an ultimatum and a target date for the completion of the process. You are ultimately compromising on this as well.

[Eytan] You will not succeed in degrading me or Tzomet. We sought freedom to vote regarding this matter, and we indeed established a condition, namely that the matter be put to a vote within three months. Regarding the freedom to vote, there is no problem. However, the condition of time was not sufficiently calculated from our standpoint. We did not take into account the recess. Thus, the date that we established has no significance. The law's only chance of being approved is our continued participation in the government.

[Shilon] You are well aware that the law has a much better chance of not being passed than being passed. If it does not pass, no one will treat you seriously.

[Eytan] Treatment of me and Tzomet is much more serious than what you think and what you are trying to present to your readers in this interview.

[Shilon] This interview quotes your remarks as you say them, without additions or changes.

[Eytan] However, you will certainly change the order of the words.

[Shilon] Not a word of the remarks that you are making here will be changed.

[Eytan] Fine. We will remain in the government and make every effort to ensure passage of the law.

[Shilon] Are you preparing an alibi in case the law does not pass and you remain in the government?

[Eytan] You do not understand what I am saying.

[Shilon] I understand perfectly.

[Eytan] You do not understand anything. Do not try to give the public the impression that we are conditioning our continued presence in the government on approval of the law. This has never been the case and never will be.

[Shilon] In other words, are you willing to reconcile with the law not passing?

[Eytan] Yes, if the balance of power in the Knesset precludes passage of the law, I tried but did not succeed.

[Shilon] Will you remain in the government?

[Eytan] We will have to see.

[Shilon] Who is to blame for the water shortage, nature or humans?

[Eytan] Humans are to blame, because they did not think, while there was still time, about the forecast for our water economy. There is criminal neglect here.

[Shilon] Are you now taking emergency measures or long-range planning measures?

[Eytan] Both. I am first of all trying to stop the decline, and then think of how to produce water in the long term.

[Shilon] Are you seeking to stop the decline by economizing on ornamental plants. Who besides you knows that plants supply oxygen?

[Eytan] Have you ever been in the desert?

[Shilon] Yes.

[Eytan] Did you not breathe? Did you go there with an oxygen mask? There is oxygen there in abundance.

[Shilon] Do you want to make the state of Israel into a desert again?

[Eytan] I do not want that, but that we will come to that if behavior regarding water does not change.

[Shilon] Will a blue patrol bring the hoped for change?

[Eytan] There is no blue patrol.

[Shilon] What will bring about the change, taking showers in twosomes?

[Eytan] That is not my idea. However, if it is convenient to attribute it to me, you have my blessing. I have not tried to shower in that way.

[Shilon] Is the United States acting wisely regarding the Gulf crisis?

[Eytan] I do not like to talk about the wisdom of others who perhaps have interests that are different from ours. We must not link Israel's interests to American interests regarding anything related to the Gulf crisis. We must and can solve our problems by ourselves.

[Shilon] How would you like to see the removal of Saddam Husayn and the end of the crisis?

[Eytan] By military means. It is necessary to break, by military means, the power that he has accumulated.

[Shilon] Has the possibility occurred to you that a formula might be found for a political compromise between the United States and Iraq, and that Israel would have to ultimately do the military work?

[Eytan] That might happen.

[Shilon] Does Israel have the ability to act effectively against Iraq.

[Eytan] Yes.

[Shilon] Without entering Jordan.

[Eytan] Without entering Jordan.

[Shilon] By conventional means?

[Eytan] I did not refer to the types of weapons or to the means for carrying out the mission. We can hit the Iraqis without conquering Jordan.

[Shilon] Is Dan Shomron a success story as the chief of general staff?

[Eytan] I prefer not to publicly criticize those who fill senior positions in the Army.

[Shilon] However, you have done so. You sought Dan Shomron's dismissal.

[Eytan] Yes, that is correct. That was in the context of discipline in the Army. I do not wish to say more.

[Shilon] Discipline in your tenure as chief of general staff was weaker than in Dan Shomron's tenure; in your tenure, there were many more training accidents.

[Eytan] That is incorrect numerically. Aside from that, Shomron has not yet completed four years, and I was chief of general staff for five years. But what does it matter? Let us assume that I was a terrible chief of general staff. Does that mean that he also has to be a terrible chief of staff? I do not want to enter into any comparison, because matters are very difficult, both in this area and in others.

[Shilon] Is the IDF of today a less wise army than the army that you knew?

[Eytan] Absolutely. We have lost wisdom and cunning in handling the intifadah. We are not operating on the basis of good intelligence. We are not taking correct initiatives, and we are not operating on the basis of knowledge of the characteristics of the population with which we are contending.

[Shilon] In your opinion, are freedom of expression and freedom of information supreme values in a democratic state?

[Eytan] These are values, but not supreme values. Everything has a limit. Regarding security matters, it is necessary to know the limit. Our enemy acquires 90 percent of its intelligence through open sources and what is published in the Israeli media.

[Shilon] Regarding matters not related to security, are there limits to the public's right to know?

[Eytan] Journalists will not determine these limits.

[Shilon] Who will determine them?

[Eytan] The public.

[Shilon] Do you perceive politics as a public mission.

[Eytan] No. My occupation is the mission.

[Shilon] Has your nose ever sensed the political stench?

[Eytan] Perhaps the public has sensed the political stench. Perhaps this is truly the reality. I still view my political preoccupations as a mission.

[Shilon] A mission with the accompanying pleasures of power?

[Eytan] What do you mean?

[Shilon] The official car for example, and your portable phone [pele'fon], which, only a few months ago, you said you did not need.

[Eytan] True, a few months ago, I wanted to continue using my own car, but the legal advisor told me that this would present complications and would be unprecedented. I said fine. Instead of a Volvo, I travel in a small Mitsubishi.

[Shilon] Have you thus conceded and painfully assumed the yoke of the pleasures of power?

[Eytan] I did not concede. They told that I could not continue using my own car, and I accepted that. Fine, so say that I conceded. Regarding the 'portable phone [pele'fon],' it is true that I said that I did not need it, but the ministry acquired such a device, and I found that it is very advantageous. Not only do I use it, but the entire ministry does.

[Shilon] After you finish being agriculture minister, what do you want to be when you grow up?

[Eytan] When I grow up, I want more time to work in carpentry and agriculture.

[Shilon] Are you not looking toward a higher position?

[Eytan] No.

[Shilon] If, for example, you were offered the position of defense minister?

[Eytan] I was only offered the position of agriculture minister, to which I agreed.

[Shilon] You are not answering the question.

[Eytan] I know that I am not answering it. That is intentional.

[Shilon] Why?

[Eytan] If I am offered something other than the position of agriculture minister, I would weigh the offer. If I thought that I could be more beneficial than someone else, I would agree.

[Shilon] Do you have free time?

[Eytan] Yes.

[Shilon] What do you do in it.

[Eytan] I work in carpentry or in the oil press, and read books.

[Shilon] What are you reading now?

[Eytan] "Classical Greece" and "Haqufsa Hshhura [the Black Box]" by 'Amos 'Oz.

[Shilon] A year ago you said that you were reading this. Are you still there?

[Eytan] I read only in the evenings, when I have time.

[Shilon] It is said that sawdust, not blood, flows in your veins.

[Eytan] That is correct. That is a complement for me. There is no shame in working on and loving carpentry.

[Shilon] What about the blood?

[Eytan] My blood is irreproachable.

[Shilon] Thank you.

### Recent IDF Appointments Criticized

91AE0226C Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 19 Dec 90  
p 1B

[Article by Ze'ev Schiff]

[Text] Unlike appointments made in recent years to the general staff and IDF [Israel Defense Forces] leadership, current personnel changes are being made during an especially sensitive period. A large war could break out in the Middle East, in which unconventional weapons might be used, and into which Israel could be drawn against its will. Therefore, extreme care must be taken regarding the volume and quality of the appointments. There are a number of especially sensitive posts, such as senior posts in the leadership of the Military Intelligence Branch in the general staff.

Israel's intelligence deployment against Iraq is particularly problematic, because of Iraq's distance from Israel's borders. Previously, Iraq was not considered a primary target or immediately dangerous, but a strategic reserve of the Arab confrontation states. It is only natural that

the bulk of attention be given to states such as Syria. Therefore, contending with Iraq in the battle field will be different from an intelligence standpoint compared to other wars.

The challenge facing intelligence is not only the danger of war. At the end of the crisis in the Gulf, whether or not war breaks out, Israel can expect extensive, highly problematic political activity that will occupy intelligence considerably. The political echelons will need the best information and assessments.

When standing at the threshold of such a period, everything must be done to avoid simultaneously rotating the entire intelligence leadership. Being moved are Intelligence Branch Chief Major General Amnon Shahaq, who is being appointed deputy chief of staff, as well as his deputy for research and appraisal, Brigadier General Dani Rotshild, who will be promoted and posted as coordinator of activities in the territories.

In such a period as this, it is not enough to have wise personnel with intellectual courage who can express their opinion in full to the political leadership, even if it does not correspond to that leadership's political and ideological outlooks. It is also important for such personnel to have certain experience and understanding regarding political-security matters. Otherwise, the price of learning will be higher.

It should be remembered that the Intelligence Branch chief serves not only the chief of general staff and the IDF regarding military matters. For years now, he has also served as the intelligence officer of the governmental cabinet. His appointment does not have to be solely a function of work arrangements in the IDF leadership.

Tough difficulties also exist regarding other appointments, such as the commander of the northern command. This is an especially sensitive command from a military standpoint, and in no way should it now become a laboratory for personnel experiments. This is not a period in which Israel can permit itself to take excessive risks regarding the northern command, where a permanent war is being waged along the Lebanese border, and when Palestinian and Lebanese organizations, with outside help, are making efforts to penetrate into Israel. The northern command is responsible for a part of the eastern front, and it also faces Syria, which is continuing to arm itself on an extensive scale, precisely now, without us knowing what its direction will be after the Gulf crisis. Whoever heads the northern command in the event of a war will be commanding a large part of the IDF's land power. Therefore, this is the place to which the best and most experienced among field officers should be sent. The defense minister is personally responsible for ensuring that this appointment is made on the basis of these criteria.

The incoming chief of general staff, Major General Ehud Barak, made an extraordinary decision when he brought back to regular service General 'Imanu'el Saqel to head the Ground Forces Command. This is a position which

Major General Mitzna' or Major General Rubin would certainly have accepted willingly. Baraq is convinced that Saqel will perform best.

Also, in the past, there were cases in which reserve major generals were brought back to regular service; however, there is a certain price for such a step. Many praise the ability of Saqel. However, a segment of the current military leadership express some lack of confidence regarding his appointment. Matters become complicated if a brigadier general is promoted to fill another key position, such as the northern command. Such a development is a sure formula for quickly pushing out of the IDF three to four major generals with considerable operational experience. Baraq has another problem in this regard. He must avoid blocking the promotion of the brigadier-general layer in the current series of appointments. Four to five brigadier generals—talented candidates for promotion—are now waiting at the door.

The current appointments are being influenced primarily by the incoming Chief of General Staff, Ehud Baraq. The impression is that [Defense Minister] Arens' role regarding these appointments has been too neutral. Baraq, in his first steps, is already revealing himself a strong chief of general staff, who is highly capable of persuading and influencing. His influence was also decisive in the decision to cancel the submarines project. It is good for the IDF to have a strong chief of general staff. However, such a chief must be balanced by people at his side who do not get along with him too harmoniously. This certainly applies to the relation of the deputy chief of general staff, or the intelligence chief, to the chief of general staff. However, above all, a strong defense minister is needed, one who knows his way with confidence. Therefore, it is important for Defense minister Arens to move quickly to establish his own personal staff and to staff it with high-level military, political and economic experts who will help him form independent positions.

#### **Coordination Between Voice of Israel, IDF Radio**

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21 Jan 91 p 6

[Article by Eylana Baum]

[Text] Uri Paz, the director of the news department at IDF [Israel Defense Forces] Radio, states that the marriage between the IDF Radio and the Voice of Israel is "like a couple forced to marry when a divorce is clearly imminent."

However, in reality, the two sides are getting used to each other. After the first hours of screaming and crying that were experienced at the joint studio, the new arrangement quickly became an institution. When they succeeded in matching faces with names, matters simply became easier, "almost establishment" according to Alex Ansqi, who is among the military station's senior personnel.

The joint broadcasting arrangement is based on an equal bearing of the technical and journalistic load. Sharp-eared listeners can distinguish who prepared what. For example, IDF Radio's musical segments are more contemporary, with Eti Anqari starring when IDF Radio personnel do the editing. By contrast, when the Voice of Israel broadcasts, one hears more good old songs of the land of Israel. However, overall, the differences are surprisingly minor. "We bring seriousness and responsibility, and they bring the spice," says 'Adi Malul, the editor at the Voice of Israel.

"It is fun to work on an equal footing with a group that is 20-25 years younger than us," states Shalom Kittel, the secretary of Voice of Israel's news editing staff, as he looks playfully at Gilat Levy, an IDF Radio correspondent. In addition to spice, IDF personnel bring feelings of envy to the Voice of Israel's news facility. They move dumbfounded from room to room, amazed at the quality of the studios, the spaciousness, and the work conditions. "If only we had it so good," states Rafi Reshef.

A folding mattress with two prickly, grey blankets lies in Kittel's office. He has managed to catch two hours of sleep here during the first 72 hours of the joint broadcasting operations.

According to Ari'ela Klien, a production assistant at the Voice of Israel, "the hardest moment is the feeling of powerlessness during an alarm. People much more important than myself turn white. There are so many people around me and they are all powerless. Initially, they try to put on the masks. But they end up removing them and continuing to work, because it is simply impossible to be engaged in broadcasting with a mask and a filter on."

"We are under a curfew—we eat, sleep, and do not move from here," states Uri Paz, IDF Radio's news department director, who received an office next to Kittel's office. During ordinary times, the two are rivals. In radio slang, their names are synonymous with the notion of competition. Since last Wednesday, they have been broadcasting together from a joint studio over what is now called "the Voice of Israel and IDF Radio from Jerusalem"—a strange bird, which only Israel could invent and institutionalize, as if nothing could be more self-understood than a joint broadcast by a military station and its civilian rival.

"On the one hand, it is great fun to come into the studio and submit a lead to my correspondent, to Dan Shilon, or to Rafi Reshef. On the other hand, it is very painful," states Rina Matzliah, the Voice of Israel's health affairs correspondent, "because I hate it when other people"—meaning the competing IDF Radio correspondent—"report news in my field. It is also painful, because two thirds of our work is competing with IDF Radio. Now, we are being forced to cooperate."

The beginning was difficult. Amnon Nadav and the commander of IDF Radio, Efrayim Lapid, had to act

like kindergarten teachers. Everyone was tense, and the tone of discussion ranged from weeping to tears.

Ari'ela Klien: "It was difficult on the first day. Each pushed his own correspondent and it was almost impossible to work." When the Voice of Israel's producer went to the lavatory, the producer of IDF Radio hastened to broadcast "her" correspondent, or vice versa.

"I feel like a fire station chief, always having to put out fires," states Uri Paz.

"And I am like an all-clear civil defense siren," claims Shalom Kittel.

And the correspondents, both conclude, are like the rising and falling sirens—IDF Radio rises and the Voice of Israel falls, or vice versa.

However, the new broadcasting arrangement is turning out wonderfully. It is as if one could imagine that Shalom Kittel, Rafi Reshef, Mikha Friedman, Tzvi Lider, Dan Shilon, and Razi Barqai were all just waiting for an opportunity to broadcast together. "People who never exchanged a word are broadcasting together, as if they had been drilled for years," states Uri Paz. Rafi Reshef, for example, became excited when he was told that he could direct questions to his monitor, Miki Gordos. And Shalom Kittel melted at the chance to turn to Eylana Dayan reporting from the United States.

Uri Paz defines the joint broadcast as "amazing...one of the most fascinating and exciting experiences I have had in the media." Paz explains that "joining two rival editorial staffs, with all of their personal baggage and rivalries, is certainly a difficult task."

All the while, they all remember that the war is what brought them together. As far as they are concerned, when peace comes, the war will resume.

### Galilee Arabs Seeking Autonomy

91AE0250A Tel Aviv DAVAR (Weekend Supplement)  
in Hebrew 28 Dec 90 pp 4-6

[Article by Avital 'Inbar]

[Text] Arabs and Jews are thinking about how the Galilee will look in another 50 years, and each side has a different view. In the daily struggle for control between a disorderly Arab settlement [i.e., unplanned, unauthorized Arab construction activity] and a government that wants order, the law is in the hands of the Jews, and the law is so dry that drinking water is denied to the Arabs in its name. From time immemorial, the Arab of the Galilee has been threatened with the demolition of his house, whereas the immigrant who will arrive shortly in the Galilee will receive a house on an outlook. One hand demolishes, and the other builds. Even if the master plan to Judaize the Galilee does not contain a secret paragraph regarding "the encouragement of Arabs to relinquish land," it is nonetheless described as containing

such a paragraph. Even the granting of full, equal rights will no longer help, because the Arab Galilee is already preparing for autonomy.

Only about 20 meters separate the ten year old Jewish settlement of Kammon from the 100-year old bedouin settlement of Kamanah. One settlement, two worlds. Kammon is on the map in all senses. Kamanah is not. The water pipe and electricity lines going up to Kammon do not cross the trifling distance to Kamanah. Water is brought to Kamanah in containers and electricity is supplied by generators. Moreover, according to Arabs in the vicinity, it is rumored that an official letter has prohibited Jews from giving water to the Bedouins, who live with them as good neighbors, and that the settlers signed such a commitment. In the summer, a resident relates, a wedding was held in Kamanah, and a resident of Kammon extended an electrical wire to the celebrating family for one evening. The next day, they wanted to send her away from the settlement. Yes, states a local Arab, there are informers among the Arabs. When I asked a senior official about the disgrace of Mt. Kammon, he fired off: "you hit the bull's eye."

Dov Yermiya, who has looked after Kamanah voluntarily for 20 years, states that he would not be surprised if such a letter did indeed exist, but if it does, it is well hidden. Yermiya emphasizes that "the state treats the Arabs of the Galilee as seventh-class citizens. If Jews were treated as such, heads would roll and the Knesset would be overthrown." Mikhal Mizrahi from Kammon, who has fought, without excessive hope, to improve the conditions of her neighbors, defines the situation as "more than alarming" and points out that "a notice arrived in the settlement regarding water allocation, which requested residents not to deviate [from the allocated amount]. There are residents who give water to the bedouins from their quotas, and others who frown on such behavior." Mikhal had the residents sign a request to lay an extension pipe to east Kamanah. However, at the same time, because the existing pipe does not supply [Jewish Kammon's] needs, a letter went out from Kammon demanding that its water problem be fully solved before thought was given to solving the bedouins' water problem. Water pressure and pressure for water have created confusion, provoking hard feelings among the bedouin. In the delicate web of relations between Jewish authorities and the Arab population, without open communication that reduces mutual suspicion, it is important to be respectful and to guard against making mountains out of molehills.

At the foot of the mountain, a bit south of the village of Ramah and somewhat north of the bedouin village of Tzalmon, or Salamah, are the houses of the Niqula family—farmers, woodcutters, and hunters, from time immemorial. If bulldozers should one day come to destroy their homes under longstanding demolition orders, "we would not bring out hunting rifles to defend our houses, but we would not leave. We would live in tents on our land," stated Jamil, 37. Their land covers an area of 300 dunams extending along 1,200 meters of

Wadi Tzalmon. Most of it is planted, and the houses are farm houses. "We have been here for more than 100 years, since my great grandfather left Sahnin and built a house in the wadi. We are tillers of the land. However, who said that we need to live on the land and not in houses?" The Niqula family is a large, flourishing Catholic family. Its 100 members are for the most part spread over the area.

An interview with Jamil and his father, 'Abdallah, was held on Friday, 14 December. Comments about a demolition order were heard as a troublesome but unreal reminder. "A longstanding demolition order? There is nothing to become excited about," stated the Arab Affairs Advisor, Dr. Alex Blay. However, on Tuesday, at Ra's al-Nabih, a kilometer to the north, such an order became very real. We were thrown into an emergency meeting that included 50 members of the Niqula family, seven heads of Arab councils from the area, the leaders of the "Association of the Forty," Arab journalists, a handful of politicians, and one Jew, Yisra'el Rozens, the MAPAM [United Workers Party] coordinator in the north. The reason for the meeting was an order to immediately demolish the house of Kamal Salim Niqula, "despite an explicit promise that the house would not be destroyed, and even though the Markovitz Report has determined that the demolition of houses built without a permit before 1986 will be frozen."

"We respect the Markovitz Commission Report," responds Tova Alinson, an Interior Ministry spokeswoman, "but we have now tightened control, and we will issue and carry out demolition orders regarding anything that we identify as having been built recently without a permit."

After receiving the order, the family appealed to members of the Misgav Regional Council. The members of the council told the head of the family that they would not destroy the house if he sealed it and lived in an adjacent house. He agreed. They then went on to say that, in exchange for not demolishing his house, he had to sign a commitment to persuade the rest of the clan's members to leave their homes. He refused. "How can he make a commitment in my name," asked another family member. "What need do we have for houses in which it is forbidden to live." The head of the Misgav Regional Council confirms: It is true that elements tried to make them sign a broader understanding. "In the morning, family members went to the court in Nazareth, which issued an injunction for two weeks. However, the judgment, according to family members, will be determined according to the law, which is against us. They add that their problem is a political problem that requires a political solution.

The actual existence, albeit not on the map, of "the village of Niqula," a temporary name for a series of houses in Wadi Tzalmon, preceded by 50 years any outline plan of the state of Israel. The authorities, who have accepted the place as an existing but unrecognized fact, claim that it "is agricultural land that must not be

built on." Demolition orders have existed since 1950. Jamil, his brothers, and their children were born in houses that are now threatened by the shadow of bulldozers. Building permits for another floor, a mere expansion, not to mention a house, are not being given. The families are large, the crowdedness is increasing, and there is no alternative but to build without a permit. Several frames of building initiatives testify to attempts thwarted by alert inspectors. In 1979, a house was destroyed. Minister 'Ezer Weitzman, who acted to eliminate these anomalies, delayed the implementation of a second order. When a regional council was established, land from the Arab villages was transferred to it, and the fate of this land is currently being determined in Jerusalem, Nazareth, and Misgav. Membership in a dynamic Jewish council that includes the adjacent bedouin settlement did not help. The village of Niqula, which sits on the crossroads, has yet to be linked up to anything. Water is drawn from a spring. Electricity passes only next to their house. However, these are trifling matters in their eyes; they supply their own vegetable, fruit, oil, and fruit needs, and they do not pay local taxes, because they are not provided with services. However, they want a comprehensive solution. Ramah proposed that they be incorporated as a neighborhood with territorial contiguity, and that land compensation be arranged with the regional council. The proposal, which was made three years ago, remains without a response.

The area between the houses of Niqula and the ancient flour mills in Tzalmon Valley, some of which are under their ownership, looks like a rubbish dump. True, the drought has added to the feeling of wretchedness of the site, where, under normal winter conditions, large amounts of water stream, springs flow, waterfalls leap, and everything is green and flourishing. The Nature Reserve Authority gave a low priority to the site and is not fighting the filth, although it was decided that the wadi should become a national park. In contrast to a reserve, in a park, the people whose land is included in the park continue to live in the park. Members of the Niqula family offered a deal: "We will give land to the park, assume responsibility for the upkeep of the wadi and the two ancient mills under our ownership, and establish, with our own money, an exclusive restaurant to attract tourists. Just give us a permit, and above all, give us an official permit for our presence." The response they received was: "This is an agricultural area; why all of a sudden [are you proposing] a restaurant?" However, according to Menahem Shani, the Deputy Director of the northern district in the Nature Reserve Authority, the plan for the park does include a restaurant. What if that is so? "A Jew will receive a permit to open a restaurant in our area," family members fear. The head of the council discloses that "there is an intent to hand over the entire national park to the bedouins of Salamah to provide them with a livelihood." These are "good" bedouins who have agreed to live in an orderly settlement.

A few month ago, the heads of the councils of Sahnin and Ramah came to 'Abdallah Niqula and proposed that a

large demonstration be organized in front of the Interior Ministry's offices in Nazareth. The family refused. Some of its members have served in the Army, and they want to maintain cordial relations. "We have full rights, but we are content to be allowed to exist without fear of demolition." They are ready to vote for any party, even SHAS [Sephardi Torah Guardians], that will grant them the psychological peace for which they long. They have already tried their luck here and there—with Likud and the Labor Alignment—and have yet to lose hope. Their message, while not said explicitly, is clear: "Allow us to continue to be good citizens loyal to the state."

"You only heard one side," they [i.e., Israeli officials] tell me. No [I answered], I obtained most of the details first from Jews who are ashamed of the situation. An official confirmed every word that was said at the Niqula's house and spread his arms in a gesture of powerlessness.

### A Majority of Minorities

The entire Jewish settlement in the Segev bloc is a handful compared to the Arabs living there. It is somewhat funny and sad to read a tourism map of the bloc. The map marks the large Arab settlements of Sahnin, 'Arrabah, Dir-Hanna, and others, as "villages of minorities," when each of these cities contains more residents than the 5,000 living in the 27 [Jewish] settlements of the bloc (incidentally, a national park is marked on the map, although it does not exist and has not been approved yet, whereas existing Arab settlements have been omitted). It should not be forgotten who the minority is and who the majority is in the Galilee, with or without immigration from Russia. A local resident states: "We do not care if two million come from abroad and build 1,000 outlooks in the Galilee. But we are also good citizens. We have done nothing against the state. We want to live like human beings."

The [Jewish] minority, so it seems, is behaving like a wild beast. In the eyes of the villagers, the source of the evil is not the government in Jerusalem, but elements closer to home. The Interior Ministry in Nazareth, and especially Misgav and the young council head, Ariq Raz, who, it is said, "does not want to see [Arab] houses in the area, does not come to visit, and does not want ties [with Arab residents in the area]."

"His duty is to Judaize the Galilee, and he wants to demolish houses and crowd the Arabs into villages," determines a Jew connected to the local situation. "It is necessary to transfer [letaltel] him," a classified state personality told me. Raz, an aeronautics engineer, who was motivated to come to the Galilee by a pioneering spirit, is defined by Jews as a "fine boy." If he has "become a beast," a supposition that he rejects entirely, it is because of his position as "village head" of the area.

Raz is willing to respond to difficult questions—with ease. "I do not want to Judaize the Galilee," he declares. "I do not believe in the concentration of Arabs in villages and in the seizure of land. When I came to the bloc in 1974, I was told by settler organizations: 'There is no

water or land for Jewish agriculture. Look into industry.' It has been that way to this day." However, order and planning are needed. [Raz continues:] "We received a mandate to take a regional look at the situation. [In the council's jurisdiction,] there are 800 scattered buildings owned by Arabs. It is impossible to grant permits, because it would then be necessary to provide services, which would be too expensive. There should be no agreement to uncontrolled expansion due to natural increase. It is impossible for every act of intercourse to give birth to a village. There are very few isolated houses belonging to Jews, and because they are Jews, they receive a permit and water. Yes, this resembles a struggle between [two] peoples over control in the field. However, if the level of trust rises, and the level of suspicion drops, it will be easier."

Regarding Niqula, [Raz states:] "Most of the houses were built in the past 20 years—I can show you an aerial photograph—but most of them are not in danger [of demolition]. In the past decade, and until the final status [of these houses] is determined, we have tried to reach a [construction] freeze agreement with them. They have not abided by any such agreement. Their building activity is not devoid of political considerations, and perhaps we are too merciful and therefore do not demolish [unauthorized structures]. No, I will not sit with them at a festive meal to arrange the matter. They would perceive that as a commitment on our part toward them. I want to act according to impartial considerations. A solution? They must live within [a] planning [framework], based on the existing means of production. Also, regarding the national park, I proposed that they maintain and rehabilitate the wadi, and that we would give residence rights to the parents and to one of their children, but the rest would have to move to Ramah."

"There is considerable illegal construction in Sahnin, but whoever tries now to demolish a house there would encounter several problems," estimates Jamil Niqula with British understatement. "It would be necessary to bring an army," estimates an expert. Jamil continues: "Deprivation, not some nationalistic feeling, will cause the first stone to be thrown at a Jewish car." This deprivation applies to all [Galilee Arabs regardless of whether they are Christian or Muslim]. The stupidity in this case is that they [i.e., the Israeli authorities] do not know how to properly exploit the fact that the Christians are a minority within a minority—torn between their Christianity and the dread of [Islamic] fundamentalism—by helping them to be satisfied and hence more loyal. In the battle over the Galilee, any ally is rare. Jamil states: "We do not fear fundamentalism. We are strong and united, like Israel is against the Arab countries. If there is Muslim danger in the state, it is a danger for us, the Christians, but mainly for you, the Jews." However, they do not hide that being residents in a Jewish state is a great stroke of fortune, because, in a Muslim state, the authorities would have already destroyed homes and shot subverters. Therefore, if requested, they will serve in the IDF [Israel Defense Forces]. They say, "We are in

the same boat; do not compel us to jump overboard into the cold waters of ascending Islam."

Let us return to the mountain. From Karmi'el, as one climbs the Simha ascent, one reaches Kammon, the hoarders and the two bedouin settlements next to them, the "[two] Kamanahs." All of the residents are named Sawa'id, and they make up a large family. Sawa'ids have been in the IDF. Their ancestors lived here in tents. At present, there are in east Kamanah shacks, a sort of family clinic run by a private association, and a small stone house belonging to the village head, Khalid Ahmad, who is leader to 430 persons. The settlement "does not exist," but he pulls out a voter register containing the names of voters whose number exceeds the number of residents. [The discrepancy is explained by the fact that] bedouins scattered throughout the area are also called to the polling station, which the state established here, in an unlicensed building, in a settlement whose existence it does not recognize. However, to be a citizen entails not only the right to vote. Education is also a requirement. In west Kamanah, a kindergarten was built with contributions collected from Jews. This kindergarten has miraculously obtained recognition as a private kindergarten. In east Kamanah, there is nothing. In the last elections, by the way, the polling station was transferred from the village head's house in east Kamanah to the kindergarten in the west, and the residents of the east refrained [from voting].

#### Polling Station, Yes—Water, No

According to residents, the official explanation states that "an unlicensed house does not receive water." The enticement: "Move to Salamah, and you will obtain everything." However, [the residents maintain that] "we were born here, and we will die here." The authorities fear that anyone receiving services will be less inclined to evacuate. The topography indicates, and the authorities confirm, that they will be forced to evacuate, because Kammon can only expand to Kamanah. Water is the elixir of life. The [Kamanah] village head requested a water pipe extension from Kammon, 20 meters away, with one central faucet. No, they [i.e., the Israeli authorities] are [only] willing to provide one faucet for the two Kamanahs, somewhere [that would serve all bedouin concentrations] in the area. This time, the bedouins did not agree. Individuals received state approval. Raz states: "Water for a new settlement is the responsibility of the [Jewish] Agency. The plan did not take into account the bedouins, because, politically, it is not possible to provide water to an illegal area. However, from a humanitarian standpoint, it is necessary. The matter became acute four years ago. We tried to lay one [water pipe] extension to all of the bedouin concentrations, and the matter dissipated at the 'sources.'"

The son of the village head states: "An intelligent solution is needed. We are citizens, and you see the kind of life we are living. Members of the council want us to leave the majority [status that we enjoy in our present settlements], which is bad for us." Raz confirms that

they want them to move down to Salamah: "Bedouins are scattered on the mountain in four large concentrations. They explained to me that they are not moving because of a dispute with the residents of Salamah. The village was planned wonderfully. Perhaps it is not suited to Arabs. We asked the ministries to approve a new plan. It was difficult, but they approved it. We appointed [Iakahn] an Arab planning office. We divided the area into three parts, establishing large tracts with separations between them—a beautifully planned village. We are offering a fair deal: An exchange of land, and even monetary compensation from the administration for illegal houses. We will maintain human dignity."

However, a solution was also proposed in the field, according to which the two Kamanahs would be united into one village that would be located at an agreed upon place. The bedouins say that this is not a serious proposal. The authorities also know that the proposal will not succeed because of internal politics. Raz states: "They are playing. They will not reach an understanding with them regarding a single grouping. They tried a lot, but did not succeed." However, he thinks that such a settlement would be an "approved, legal" settlement. Who would refuse to leave [the existing Kamanahs]? "They will live in the wild [yihyu be-ra'] until they die. However, the next generation will not. [It will live] only in recognized villages." It has become known that young people have already started to trickle into Salamah. This week, they reached an agreement with several families that want to live like human beings. However, the problem is several times more serious and extensive. The members of the Niqula family—who not only live in a small, nameless village, but are also deprived of recognition—and the concentrations of the Sawa'id family, are like [many] Arab settlements scattered throughout the northern and central parts of the country. Most of them are Muslim, and, although ignored by the authorities, they live, work, give birth to children, and bury their dead.

"Actually, we counted almost 70 large and small settlements," states Husayn Fawr, the secretary of the "Association of Forty," who is from the nonexistent village of Husayniyah (population 340), and who is completing his master's thesis at an American university on "Unrecognized Settlements." [Fawr states:] "We ordered a comprehensive plan, the first of its kind, from Prof. Hubert Loyol [as published] of the Technion. In July, we held a conference, at which the plan received backing from the entire [Arab] sector and from Jewish, democratic forces. In light of this support, we submitted the plan to the Interior Ministry." The plan proposes that large settlements be recognized as independent councils, small settlements be annexed to large settlements, and the status of small, isolated concentrations be frozen. [Fawr continues:] "The plan is based on the law, which requires detailed, regional planning. The Interior Ministry's plans, which do not mention our settlements, are, on the other hand, in violation of the law. A response to the plan has yet to be received, although it has become

known to us that the Interior Ministry ordered a counter-plan from Arnon Sofer of Haifa University. We have not seen it, but there is a secret document at the Interior Ministry in Nazareth that determines that our plan is too expensive, and that instead of recognizing what exists, it is preferable to eliminate all of the unrecognized [Arab settlements] and to resettle their residents in official settlements."

Prof. Arnon Sofer, during his sabbatical year in London, states: "I did not read the plan of Hubert Loyol, but his basic political approach is known to me, namely that the individual Arab and his needs are above everything. In our reality, this does not hold. We do not live in a Jewish-Arab utopia. But it is not true that I was asked to prepare a counter-plan. I have long held a clear view on the matter, and I have presented it in many forums, including governmental forums. The phenomenon in the Galilee is a bedouin phenomenon for the most part. This is a geographical spread for which the state, not to mention the Jews, will pay very dearly. Partisan settlements must not be approved. This is not a matter of 40, but of over 100 [settlements]. It depends on how a settlement is defined. If you recognize one Kamanah, you will signal to the rest not to move. This is the domino effect. You will be forced to recognize others and provide them with services that will cost the state hundreds of millions. The problem should be solved with a sympathetic approach, without negative discrimination, and without concentrating them in a single place. Aside from Salamah, there are several Arab villages that contain areas planned for the bedouins, and 14 bedouin dispersions are recognized. Let them live where they want. They will receive compensation for the structures, and they will continue to work their lands. It is forbidden to deceive them as in the past."

The dry law—which, with the wave of a pen, can change the land use designation of a mountain of ice, so that it then becomes possible to build on it ten houses for a small Jewish outlook that receives water and electricity without consideration of cost—is not willing, after the fact, to change the land use designation of an existing Arab settlement, so that it can become legal, and so that its residents can live without fear. There are two types of discrimination. The first is deprivation, [meaning] the unjust division of the national pie contrary to the principles contained in the Proclamation of Independence, [which is due to] the narrow-minded, unwise egotism of the majority. Great gaps in investments in education and infrastructure will yield sour grapes. The second is the theft of a poor man's lamb [Old Testament, II Samuel 12, 1-4]. The demolition of homes and the removal of residents is cruel and inefficient, in addition to being politically stupid since it would lead to disaster.

However, perhaps there is hope. A check that I made in Jerusalem revealed that the establishment is finally coming to understand that someone who has been on his land without water and electricity since the state's establishment will not suddenly leave that land out of good will. Passive pressure is ineffective, and everyone has

strongly rejected the assumption that force can be used to "take down" unrecognized villages. So, solutions are being thought out. Regarding the Kamanahs, humanitarian steps are being taken. A water pipe to prevent infectious diseases is being installed, and a comprehensive development is underway to try to realize the village head's proposal, so that the bedouins can live like human beings, and Kammon can develop. On the national level, the Interior Ministry has set a policy to act energetically, in coordination with other elements, to solve each problem fundamentally. The Director General, Dov Kahat, is going out into the field to offer an arrangement for each settlement. The solutions, so it seems, will range from the Loyol plan to Sofer's approach. The positive approach of the new Arab affairs adviser is also encouraging, but people who have been experiencing the matter for a long time say that there is no coordination between the elements, that the adviser "has no teeth," and that no miracle is currently in sight.

[box, p 6]

#### Dr. Alex Blay: "A New Spirit"

"My goal is to solve each problem fundamentally, with minimal damage to all of the parties.

1. The construction of residential buildings on agricultural land: I offer a proposal in a new spirit, which is not in the law. The designation of a part of the land will be changed, and the landowner's family will be permitted to build a house on it. This does not respond to the needs created by natural increase, but it is impossible to continue dividing up lots endlessly.

2. Kamal Salim Niquila built illegally in 1988. He received a warning and several court orders. The demolition order was not carried out. I have accepted the logical proposal of Knesset Member Oron, [according to which] rooms will be sealed, and Oron will serve as an authorized trustee in the supervision of implementation.

3. Regarding the Israel Lands Administration, one should not refer to mistaken images. It seems to me that the Administration is falling over itself to make the Arab population feel comfortable, and I am on guard to prevent frictions.

4. I have no knowledge of a secret plan put together by Arnon Sofer. If there is a plan that pertains to residents, it must be public according to the law. Regarding matters of a humanitarian character, it is necessary to move toward the residents, and this is my intention. I am now engaged in examining the situation of each settlement that lacks a status, case by case. In some of the sites, there are isolated houses. It is impossible to give them municipal status. Solutions are being sought that supply an answer to people's problems and permit the maximum utilization of land.

**Renovation of Gal-Class Submarines***91AE0247B Tel Aviv BAMAHAHE in Hebrew 2 Jan 91 p 12*

[Article by Gal Marzhan]

[Text] Despite lamentations over the three Gal-class submarines (even though a final decision against purchasing the Dolphins has yet to be made), the Gal-class submarines are still alive and kicking, with the obliging help of the Navy's shipyards. The shipyards won the Kaplan Prize for 5750 [1989-90] for their overhaul of the submarines using new techniques that included cutting and welding the pressure hull itself.

The Gal is a small, extremely complex vessel planned with technology of the sixties. Changing operational needs and great technological progress since then has required making changes by installing new combat systems. Cutting the submarine's hull enabled the removal and replacement of its diesel engines. In the framework of the overhaul, the weapons system was integrated with a detection and warning system; the technical systems were improved and renovated to permit the installation of new combat means; a new, vision-improving periscope system was installed; and improved sonar systems were added.

The sonar system, which enables relatively long-range target detection and identification, includes processing and display systems. Shipyard personnel used precise optical techniques to install it. Fitting the submarine with cables required the construction of passages in the submarine's hull that withstand the pressure of a full dive. The improved sonar system permits highly reliable target reception. In the framework of the installation of the sonar system, a hydraulic mast was developed and produced at the shipyard. Changes were made to the method of activating the front depth rudders and their panels to reduce weight and accelerations. According to commander M, the chief of the submarine overhaul team, the installation of the rudders is at least as complicated, from an engineering standpoint, as cutting the pressure hull. It required developing a process and solving technical problems that were unknown to us.

The preparation of the infrastructure to receive the new combat means also included changing the internal electrical system. In order to increase the electrical capacity, the submarine's converters, cables, and supply panels were replaced, the air conditioning system was replaced by a higher capacity system, and the combat information center was improved. In order to achieve optimal planning to integrate the many systems in a small volume, a combat information center model was built at the shipyard. In the framework of the submarine's general overhaul, parts of the structure and the decks were replaced, and the pressure hull (the submarine itself) underwent elementary treatment. In non-destruction tests, cracks were located and reinforcements were added where needed. The crowning achievement was the cutting of the submarine hull to remove the diesel engine.

In the submarine overhauls effected to date, systems that can be dismantled have been removed via openings, while other systems have been overhauled inside the submarine. With the acquisition of a new pressure hull welding technique (which only six shipyards in the entire world are capable of applying), and because of the need to replace the engine, it was decided to weld the submarine as part of its overhaul. Such a circumferential weld, which divides the submarine into two parts, can affect the diving safety of the submarine, whose hull must withstand enormous hydrostatic pressures. The application of the required temperatures and pressures [in the welding process] might damage the metal's crystalline structure, which could change its properties. Even if the metal's properties remain unchanged, changes in the geometric dimensions of the submarine's [cross]-section, which determine the pressure hull's resistance to buckling, could develop. After the submarine was returned to operation, the stress points which could have developed [ma'amatzim mitpathim] were checked in the area of the seam, and the pressure hull was found to be completely normal.

The overhaul of three submarines in the Navy's shipyards has resulted in \$22 million in direct monetary savings, created jobs, and maintained and developed the store of knowledge on the subject.

From a security standpoint, the existence of the project in the Navy's shipyards has helped develop a technological infrastructure for submarines in Israel, and an independent capability to perform work [on submarines] and improve submarine availability.

At the end of the project, the Navy received a reliable combat submarine adapted to the needs of the future theater. "It was natural for submariners in the fleet to be concerned about the scale and unprecedented nature of the work, and the fact that they would be diving in this submarine into depths resulting in a true test of the quality of the shipyard's work. Submariners now have complete trust in the improved submarine and the quality of the work that was performed," writes Commander H, the commander of the submarine fleet, in a letter that recommends granting the Kaplan Prize to the Navy's shipyards, adding that "the fleet has acquired a better, quieter submarine that can provide an excellent response to the new operational needs facing the Navy."

**Socioeconomic Disparity Said Increasing***91AE0269B Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 3 Jan 91 p 7*

[Article by Dani'el Ben-Simon]

[Text] Once again we were stunned to see the National Social Security figures that were published at the beginning of the week. Like every year, the economic situation of the lower strata has deteriorated and that of the upper categories has improved.

The figures show that approximately 450,000 people live below the poverty line. The most important finding is

that the gap between the distribution of disposable income in the economy has widened in spite of a relative improvement in the situation of the low-income population. This widening reflects a greater income disparity between the middle strata (3-6 tenths) and the upper tenths, and a smaller gap between the middle strata and the lower tenths.

Simultaneously, the upper tenth's share of the disposable income increased from 23 percent in 1988 to about 24 percent in 1989. Although it is a matter of only one percent, it has to be remembered that this percentage point translates into hundreds of millions of shekels redistributed in favor of the rich.

Social security remittances are responsible for preventing a total collapse of an even larger number of people below the poverty line. According to the data, had it not been for social security allowances, about 900,000 people would have landed below the red line. It is only thanks to those allowances that the number of the poor fell to 450,000.

It should not be concluded from the social security data that everyone who is above the poverty line has a prosperous life. The poverty line that was established at the beginning of the 1970's reflects relative hardship. Relative hardship was defined as the "situation of people who lack the necessary means to attain the living standard customary in the community to which they belong." According to this definition, poor families in Israel do not suffer hunger or malnutrition. They are called poor only because they do not manage to buy the basic basket of commodities that would allow them to maintain a reasonable standard of living. In 1989 the poverty line was at 461 shekels per individual, 738 per couple, and 1,181 for a couple with two children. In other words, a single person whose income was 500 shekels a month enjoyed a real privilege: life above the poverty line.

To this situation of real hardship we must add the hundreds of thousands of new immigrants who came to Israel in the past year and those who will still come. The percentage of those who were needy among them rose markedly and it is expected that this will place an additional burden on the capability of the National Social Security with regard to coming to their assistance. A few days ago Social Security managers explained that the operational and financial impact of the 'aliya on National Social Security institutions will increase in the future, not only because of the expected increase in the number of newcomers, but also because in the meantime they will become eligible for other social security benefits. Social Security Director General Mordekhay Tzipori warned that the unprecedented growth in appeals by new immigrants may bring its services toppling down, because the steps planned by the Treasury and already approved by the government may erode standard of living improvements which have already been achieved for the needy. Among those steps we cite: minimum wage impairment, lower second child allowances, lower

unemployment relief, and a reduced number of persons entitled to old age pension aid.

The practical effect of those changes is a deep erosion of Israel's image as a welfare state. I asked two Knesset members [MK] from the Knesset social lobby if this was indeed the intention of the Finance Ministry leadership. MK Ely Dayan said, "All the measures presented by the finance minister against the new budget targeted the poor categories. The Treasury is cynically exploiting the 'aliya in order to bring down the welfare state and rob the underprivileged strata. To that end the Treasury intends to destroy the National Social Security, which is the principal means of ensuring social security. What is happening these days in the wake of the Treasury's measures testifies to a conflict of concepts: Will Israel be governed by a free market society, or a society aspiring to grant a measure of equality to all of its citizens?" MK Shim'on Shitrit challenged the finance minister at last week's meeting of the Finance Commission, "Leaving aside the question of your intentions concerning the underprivileged strata, the natural consequence of the package of measures presented to us is unequivocal: the destruction of the welfare state as we have known it for 40 years."

Very serious criticism of the government's intention to cut social security rights was voiced this week at the foundation conference of Social Security Beneficiaries. "We are witnessing overt attempts to eliminate large segments of the National Social Security, which is the central core of the State of Israel," warned Professor Avraham Doron. Other speakers, including former directors of the Social Security Institution such as Nisim Barukh and Danny Uzri'eli sounded the alarm about infringements on the equal rights of each citizen to National Social Security services.

An almost cynical coincidence was the publication of the list of the 12 best paid men on the day on which the data came out regarding the extent of poverty in Israel. It emerged that the monthly salary of the highest paid employee, David Hakhami of the Phoenix Company, is about 70,000 shekels (!), somewhat higher than the monthly income of 60 families living below the poverty line. In an interview for HA'ARETZ, Hakhami explained that the new immigrants coming to Israel can contribute to reducing the scope of poverty: "If we manage to absorb them right they will once again put in motion the wheels of the economy and foster growth, and then everyone will benefit from this prosperity."

Past experience shows that events do not develop according to the logic of the highest paid employee in Israel. The beginning of the fast-paced developments recorded in Israel during the 1950's contributed to widening the inequality. Experts explained that the deepening gap between rich and poor was only temporary and that it would be reduced with better training and by educating workers. Almost 40 years have passed and the gaps refuse to shrink. Currently, Israel takes second place

in the Western world from the standpoint of inequality between the rich and the poor. The United States is still in first place.

### **New Demographic Settlement Plan Detailed**

91AE0269A Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew  
8 Jan 91 p B2

[Article by Yerah Tal]

[Text] A few days after the 200,000th new immigrant arrived in Israel, the Interministerial Steering Committee of the National Master Plan for Construction and Immigration Absorption held its first meeting.

The decision to hammer out a master plan and to establish a steering committee as an accompaniment thereof was taken by the National Planning and Construction Council on 19 June 1990. The Council's instructions to the committee noted that the purpose of the plan was to "establish a policy and provide an immigration absorption framework in keeping with existing and proposed geographical, social, ecological, and economic plans." In other words, the plan was mainly designed to be a collection of already existing plans, such as the population dispersal master plan.

The objective of the immigration absorption master plan is to absorb one million newcomers over the next five years. The plan will examine population settlement alternatives, whereby "emphasis will be placed on beefing up Jerusalem, the Galilee, and the Negev," and will provide guidance to local authorities in preparing detailed 'aliya absorption plans. Ten months from the beginning of its work the Steering Committee is expected to submit the finished master plan to the National Planning and Construction Council, which will submit it to the government for approval. Once the plan is passed by the government and published in official records it acquires a statutory standing as a legal document and every development and building plan must devolve from it.

The National Master Plan on the Population Dispersal in Israel, which was approved by the government in 1985 and was recently updated according to immigration data, envisages settling seven million inhabitants in the State of Israel by the year 2010. The plan was designed to replace a previous plan for five million inhabitants by 1992, whose provisions were not implemented in almost any of the development towns in the Galilee and Negev; the same thing happened with the restrictions placed on settling in the center of the country. Whereas the updated plan was designed to spread the population toward the periphery, most of the immigrants tend to gravitate to the center of the country.

According to the plan for the spread of a population of seven million people, the Jerusalem District is envisaged to grow from 544,200 inhabitants (at the end of 1988) to 700,000 by the end of 2010; the Northern District from 746,500 to 1,473,000, almost double in size; the

Southern District from 533,000 to 1,015,000; Tel Aviv District from 1,032,000 at the end of 1988 to 1,272,000 inhabitants by 2010. The Central District will grow at a higher rate than the Tel Aviv District, but lower than the growth rate envisaged for the Galilee and Negev: from 949,400 to 1,383,000 inhabitants. A lower growth than in the Galilee and Negev rate is envisaged for the Haifa District, too, although higher than for Tel Aviv: from 605,000 to 1,033,000 inhabitants by 2010. The plan envisages a high rate of growth for the Jewish population in Judaea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip: from 66,500 to 250,000 inhabitants. Some of the growth is based on 'aliya, contrary to public statements that new immigrants are not funneled to the territories.

The plan envisages a demographic revolution in the Galilee: for the first time the Jewish population in the Galilee is expected to become equal and perhaps even larger than the Arab population. Thirteen percent of the entire Jewish population (within the Green Line) will live in the Northern District, compared to 9.8 percent today. The growth of the Arab population in the Galilee will be small: by 2010 48.6 percent of all Israeli Arabs will live in the Galilee, compared to 47.3 percent in 1988.

Here are some figures from the population dispersal plan: Bet Shemesh will grow from 14,200 to 40,000 inhabitants; Zefat from 16,500 to 55,000; Yoqne'am (a small town whose livelihood is based on one, floundering company, Soltam) from 5,700 to 26,000. The Jewish population in the Golan Heights will grow from 9,600 to 31,000 of a total of 55,000 inhabitants expected to live in the Golan in another two decades. Dimona will treble its population.

The Achilles heel of both National Master Plans for Population Dispersal, Construction, and Immigration Absorption is employment. Most immigrants gather in the center of the country, and in a poll taken by Dr. Shlomo Hasun of the Hebrew University, even those who found housing in more remote northern or southern areas said they viewed their stay there as something temporary.

Until the immigration absorption plan comes into effect about half of the new immigrants targeted by the master plan will already be here creating faits accomplis that may make it necessary to update the plan even before it is completed. Architect Rafi Lehrman, whose office won the bid for the master plan, expressed that concern when he presented his work to the members of the Steering Committee for the plan, saying that the design team may yet become a "reaction team" under the pressure of events. Dov Qahat, director general of the Interior Ministry, said that the master plan will contribute to identifying and delimitating areas for construction and development. New immigrants will gravitate to places where the plan creates opportunities for housing, employment, prosperity, and education. Qahat stressed that even the facts that are currently being created in the field are not outside the realm of any plan or framework;

they are examined and approved by special housing committees, albeit the process is a hasty one.

Attorney Na'omi Weil, who is involved with those committees, talked about their decisionmaking process. In an address to the annual convention of the Israeli Geographical Society recently held at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Weil said that three out of nine committee members show up for some of the meetings. According to her, decisions are taken within 10-15 minutes without any thorough examination and without any consideration given to public opposition.

As Architect Lehrman pointed out, the planners will have to choose between taking advantage of the existing provisional infrastructure in the center of the country and spreading new immigrants to the periphery according to government objectives, where the infrastructure is unsatisfactory. Localities like Dimona, Hatzor Ha'gelilit, Yeruham, and Netivot are already absorbing masses of immigrants, although their infrastructures don't even meet the needs of the older population from the point of view of both employment and physical conditions such as roadways, sewage, and water.

The director general of the Interior Ministry agreed that in the absence of a plan on industry dispersal, the master plan being worked out for immigration absorption will stay merely on paper. "We at the Interior Ministry are in charge of the planning, while the execution has to be done by others," Yonatan Golani, Interior Ministry planning director and chairman of the Steering Committee for the Immigration Absorption Master Plan, stressed another difficulty: Many ideas and initiatives are currently circulating and it is difficult to absorb all of them. There is no coordination among government agencies. The Master Plan Steering Committee could have served as a focus for coordination, but some of its members are skeptical even about that. One of the committee members, who also attends meetings of the 'aliya cabinet, said at a meeting of the Master Plan working team that the cabinet hears of things by accident, there is no continuity in decisionmaking, and there is no ongoing updating on what goes on in the field. However, Sharon is in a hurry and committee members expressed the view that conflicts can be expected between the committee and the housing minister, who holds the budget strings and has the full support of the prime minister. Such conflicts broke out even before the committee began its work. When it came to placing "mobile homes", a problem arose about shelters. Bat-Yam Mayor Ehud Qinanon refused to sign permission to erect them because no shelter solution was available. Minister Sharon did not wait for permission and ordered the neighborhood to be settled.

The geographical dispersal of the new immigrants of the 1950's established a territorial pattern of socioeconomic imbalance in Israel for years to come. Only now are the finishing touches being put on a rehabilitation project for poor neighborhoods created from the waves of immigration of the 1950's. The planners of the National

Master Plan for Immigration Absorption will have to decide between opposite objectives and, in particular, they will have to overcome one main obstacle: the fact that planning and projects are not exactly a daily concern for Housing Minister Ari'el Sharon. It is even possible that in the final analysis the Master Plan for Immigration Absorption will become nothing but the reflection of a situation in view of the approach governing many government agencies, which first act and then plan.

### **Infrastructure Said Inadequate for 'Aliya Absorption**

91AE0269C Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew  
8 Jan 91 p B2

[Article by Mikha'el Gerti]

[Text] "First housing, then ulpan [intensive Hebrew language school], then work," new immigrants recite on Amidar service broadcasts. This order of priorities may be right from the viewpoint of the new immigrants themselves, but it does not reflect the national order of priorities for immigration absorption. First of all infrastructure!

Roads: The term infrastructure is sometimes used in a broad sense to include employment and housing, but in precise economic terms infrastructure refers to engineering operations such as construction, paving roads, and laying pipes and cables with a view to facilitating other economic activities in the society. Among those operations, building roads is the most prominent example of infrastructure work, because in the absence of an adequate network of roads almost every other economic activity is bound to suffer. A case in point are many third world countries and the Soviet Union which are missing their opportunity for economic development because of lack of proper roads.

From this point of view the situation in Israel is not ideal either, and an examination of the situation regarding roads and investments in that area in recent years shows a steady fall in investments and deterioration of the existing network. Even leaving aside the one million new immigrants expected to arrive in the next few years, the road network requires investments totaling three times more than the tens of millions of shekels allocated to that sector under the state budget for next year. Road repair and paving new roads was always one area in which it was easy to cut funds because the deleterious consequences of the cuts are not immediately noticeable, and thus traffic jams became part and parcel of the Israeli experience and all attempts to protest were silenced. And if this is the present situation today, it is not difficult to imagine what will happen in another five or six years when another million drivers join the morning traffic jams.

Paving, widening, and even repairing existing roads takes a long time (the 11 kilometers of Ayalon highway have been under construction for 20 years). If the state doesn't begin planning and building roads now—

simultaneously with building a railway—by the end of the decade it will become one vast traffic jam, while destitute new immigrants fulfill the capitalist dream and acquire cars.

**Preliminary forecast:** The image of one huge traffic jam from Hadera to Gedera is very real because there is no room in the budget for all these requirements either now or in the near future.

**Electricity:** The second most important area of infrastructure is energy supply—or more precisely, power supply. The addition on one million power consumers running their air conditioners in the middle of a hot day requires the erection of three more large power plants, and right away. Here, too, however, if to go by the testimony of an expert, Energy Minister Professor Yuval Ne'eman, there is no chance that work will begin tomorrow to clear the ground.

In spite of the fact that the Power Company's budget is independent, in the final analysis, its investments in the infrastructure come out of the price of the power used, not the state budget. According to statements by the minister in charge, in the future we can well expect long hours of planned power outages. And the electric infrastructure does not comprise only power plants, but also transformer stations and the network of power lines, which will have to be expanded so that 300,000 new homes can be hooked into it.

**Second forecast:** Once the new homes of one million new immigrants are connected to the power grid, the next four-five years will be characterized by marginal power supply and each power plant malfunction will be followed by long power outages.

**Telephone:** This is another element of the infrastructure that will suffer. Freshly arrived new immigrants now have other priorities, but according to the Bezeq [National Phone Company] staff, the company is already facing a wave of requests for telephone lines from new immigrants who have been here one or more years. Bezeq foresees a considerable increase in requests for telephone lines and it has already begun adapting its development plans to increased demand.

According to those plans Bezeq will not invest in improving existing equipment, but will acquire new equipment which will allow it to increase the rate of connecting new lines. Bezeq's good fortune—or rather, the good fortune of its customers—is that the 'aliya wave is arriving after the company managed to provide with telephones the entire list of customers who had been waiting, which had been in the order of hundreds of thousands six years ago. Thus, it appears that if the company manages to keep up the present rate of telephone installations—more than 100,000 new telephones a year—it will be able to satisfy the entire expected demand. Many customers will have to be content with outdated telephone exchanges, but at least we won't have to go back to the dark years of the "Post Engineering Services."

**Third forecast:** Customers who expected their telephones to be transferred to a new, digital exchange providing additional services and reduced dialing errors to a minimum will have to arm themselves with patience for another few years.

**Ecology:** The one million new immigrants who will probably arrive in the coming few years will require approximately 100 million cubic meters of water (of drinking quality) for home use, in addition to increased industrial water use in the wake of the long awaited economic growth. And once its population has reached 5.5 million inhabitants, Israel will need more than 600 million cubic meters of water just for municipal and industrial consumption, at a time when its water economy reveals empty reservoirs.

Real economic considerations that don't include desalinization projects or plans to import water from Turkey show that an additional supply of 150 million cubic meters of good water for the municipal-industrial sector will have to come at the expense of the agriculture, which is already in line for frightening cuts. The only realistic solution to deal with such volumes requires heavy investments in sewage recycling plants.

The construction of such plants—not only in densely populated areas in the Dan region, but also in smaller towns and even villages—is in itself a vital infrastructure investment even independently from the water shortage. The serious ecological damages caused by ignoring the need for a modern sewage system may yet become a ticking health bomb once one million people join the population centers. Suffice it to remember the polio scare of two years ago in order to realize that this is not a matter of dreaming of rushing rivers instead of sewage canals.

Comprehensive urban planning and slogans about quality of life are not a guarantee for appropriate sewage, as testified by the West Bank settlements, whose sewage spills into wadis and from there seeps into the country's main underground water reservoir. In spite of that, however, it is reasonable to assume that the water crisis will help those who press for allocating funds for sewage plants and water recycling plants for agricultural use.

**Fourth forecast:** By the end of the decade additional sewage plants will be built with the customary Israeli delay. Provided the Ministries of Environmental Quality, Interior, and Health grasp their joint interests, we can assume that all the new neighborhoods for new immigrants will be connected to a modern sewage system.

Also concerning the ecology: The garbage collection system is also part of the population service infrastructure, but it seems that all that is required in this area is to acquire a few more garbage trucks. The number of new immigrants will not have any impact on the establishment of landfills and it is possible that the debate on the evacuation of Hiria will simply be postponed for quieter times.

Health and education: A comprehensive definition of infrastructure includes two major systems of services for the citizenry, namely health and education. The human infrastructure for those two systems is already being palpably beefed up by the new immigrants, but the engineering infrastructure—particularly classrooms—will require considerable investments.

In spite of the fact that some people wish to take advantage of the 'aliya to create a building upsurge in the health care system, it seems that precisely in that area the problem does not lie in the infrastructure, but in its inefficient utilization. What we need is not more hospitals and operating rooms, but full utilization of existing operating rooms, i.e., longer work hours.

In the educational system, on the other hand, the situation is totally different. School classrooms in areas with a dense population of new immigrants are already overcrowded. The addition of another 200,000-300,000 students in the coming years means, among other things, that an equal number of classroom seats will have to be added. In view of the fact that the budget structure leaves the responsibility for building to local authorities that are already collapsing under the burden of the expenses of immigration absorption, classroom construction and school equipment procurement are already falling behind.

In many places, shelters and abandoned spaces will be renovated before the beginning of the next school year, but those renovations and temporary buildings will not solve the problem, considering the fact that the number of additional classrooms required is over 6,000. And since the cost of building one classroom is tens of thousands of dollars, it is difficult to see how the local and municipal councils will deal with it when they're already having trouble paying salaries on time. And that's not even counting the expected cost hikes in the construction sector.

Fifth forecast: In view of the impracticality of the suggestion to eliminate the summer vacation, a second shift will be organized in schools as of next year, especially in areas with a dense population of new immigrants. The large cities will have to develop a complex and expensive transportation system in order to deal with the distance between schools and housing concentrations of students.

One clear rule emerges from the above forecasts, especially from the differences among the level of arrears of the various areas: The longer a given infrastructure was neglected, the more acute the danger that it will collapse under the weight of the 'aliya. The debts incurred for neglect have come due and the terms of payment will be not only the drop expected in living standard because of higher taxes, but also damages—at least temporary—to the quality of life. If the national resources are used right the damage may be small and temporary, but frankly, when did you last encounter efficient management in Israel of the 1990's?

## LEBANON

### Ja'fari Mufti Qabalan on Internal Situation

91AE0195A London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic  
7 Dec 90 p 26

[Interview with Ja'fari Mufti Shaykh 'Abd-al-Amir Qabalan; place and date not given: "Lebanon Moving Toward Stable Peace; Israel Can Not Successfully Prevent Mutual Coexistence"]

[Text] Ja'fari Mufti 'Abd-al-Amir Qabalan considers the borders of Greater Beirut to be an advance security point for a unified Lebanon, and denies that they will face any obstacles.

He said that meetings taking place between some Syrian officials and the Lebanese forces promise a new outlook for Lebanon. He feels the present government should not be changed despite its lack of harmony because it has made major accomplishments, including putting an end to the insurrection, establishing Greater Beirut, and working to unify the army fully.

He added that he supports the agreement reached between the Amal movement and Hizballah with Syrian-Iranian blessing, but that it lacked the participation of a Lebanese government official. He asserted that there is no problem with implementing the Iqlim al-Tuffah peace agreement.

Mufti Qabalan's interview with AL-HAWADITH took the following form.

[AL-HAWADITH] What is your assessment of the map of "Greater Beirut" recently established despite the reservations of some ministers?

[Qabalan] The borders recently drawn up for Greater Beirut begin the establishment of a single united Lebanon. It would have been better to announce a security plan for all Lebanese areas, but this is all the current situation will allow. We cannot ask the state to do something beyond its power. The form laid out for Greater Beirut can be considered a first step for deploying the legitimate army throughout all of Lebanon. The army will not delay in taking charge in areas outside of government control, so that legitimacy can continue to spread sovereign authority throughout the land. We absolutely refuse to allow this tragic situation to continue nationwide, and we bless and support the brave step that has been taken, provided that it is a precursor for all of Lebanon.

[AL-HAWADITH] Is this step going to face obstacles?

[Qabalan] I do not believe there are any obstacles, although some insignificant discord continues to exist. We support the spread of the state and the popular response. This plan will be implemented without any difficulties, but there are no roses without thorns. Once the nation is restored, we will be able to sleep in peace

and security. The country will have returned to its people, and the people will have returned to their mother country.

[AL-HAWADITH] How do you view the meetings between Syrian officials and officials of the Lebanese Forces? What is your comment on this?

[Qabalan] In this area, Syria is acting with leadership and wisdom. Everyone now understands that force will be met with force, and that force does not settle issues unless it is swift and overwhelming. I consider this policy to be a wise one bringing people together and restoring the Lebanese people's fraternal ties with Syria under al-Asad's leadership.

These meetings are the beginning of a new outlook for Lebanon and Syria. I consider them to be successful and beneficial in treating our wounds.

[AL-HAWADITH] How do you compare the Greater Beirut of 1976 with that of today, and what can guarantee that it lasts?

[Qabalan] In 1976 there was a truce, but large forces continued to exist. The Palestinian element had a major impact, and the weight of party chiefs was different. The country and everyone in it has changed, with the result that the facts are no longer the same.

Now due to the gulf crisis, all Lebanese factions and countries in the region seek the international goal of peace.

[AL-HAWADITH] Then you view the peace in Lebanon as stable, not temporary?

[Qabalan] That is correct, but I would like to say that we will oppose confining it to Greater Beirut. We will demand "Greater" Lebanon, because if Beirut is secure while the areas around it are bleeding, it will be exposed to continual security threats. We shall be vigilant for anyone who takes it upon himself to strike at Greater Beirut.

[AL-HAWADITH] How are arms being taken out of Greater Beirut by the militias to be dealt with?

[Qabalan] They should be turned over to the state, since if they are not state property, they are the property of the people. Therefore these weapons—all of these weapons—must be turned over to the state.

[AL-HAWADITH] What about the issue of appointing new deputies from the Shiite sect? Even today they have not been agreed upon, and opinions differ. How do you explain this?

[Qabalan] This matter has not been discussed by Shiite decision makers.

For my part, I oppose continuation of the present Lebanese parliament and support the election of a new one on the basis of a voting card, especially now that Greater Beirut has been established. Inhabitants of the

border strip, Beirut, Mount Lebanon, and North Lebanon could vote in Greater Beirut using a voting card. But this view will not carry the day because there is an agreement which must succeed. We will not be a stumbling block in carrying it out. We hope the right man will be put in the right place, and that it will not be a matter of political favoritism. The interest of the state must be supreme.

[AL-HAWADITH] There are two tendencies, one demanding the formation of a government as soon as Greater Beirut is established, the other wanting to delay. What is your view?

[Qabalan] I oppose changing the government because it has important accomplishments to its credit: the first is ending the insurrection; the second, Greater Beirut; and the third may be sending the Lebanese army to Iqlim al-Tuffah and South Lebanon, in spite of the discord that exists within the government and between some ministers.

[AL-HAWADITH] The Soviet ambassador stated categorically that Israel would make a total withdrawal from South Lebanon. How do you comment on that?

[Qabalan] This matter is in the hands of the Lebanese since Israeli withdrawal requires the existence of a strong, capable, and determined state. When that comes into being, Israel will have to withdraw to implement the resolutions, particularly Security Council Resolution 425, because Israel wants security just as we do.

I agree with the Soviet ambassador. We must move quickly along two tracks to build a strong state which demands support: build a strong state and undertake energetic Lebanese diplomatic action to implement international resolutions.

[AL-HAWADITH] What is your view of the agreement reached between the Amal movement and Hizballah under Syrian-Iranian auspices? Will it succeed, or will it go the same way as previous agreements?

[Qabalan] They should have been joined by a delegation from the State of Lebanon, because we must recognize the Lebanese state. We make this call because it is the state that must negotiate on behalf of the Lebanese people. Since it has demanded that the militias leave Beirut, it must demand the arms of the irregulars in Iqlim al-Tuffah. What belongs to Caesar must be rendered unto Caesar. We are in favor of the agreement, but it did not have Lebanese state participation [even though the state] has the right to decide about auspices and conduct negotiations. Because the state was absent, I feel that these agreements will prove deficient.

If I am to conclude an agreement and ask the state to implement it, why would I not ask the state to be a party to the agreement and state its views.

[AL-HAWADITH] Do you feel the Palestinian side will try to block the agreement in Iqlim al-Tuffah?

[Qabalan] The Palestinians are not a problem. The problem is that when we address a message to the Amal movement and to Hizballah, it is also addressed to the Palestinians in South Lebanon. The punishment directed at a Lebanese in rebellion against the state is the same as that for a Palestinian who does so. When the state looks at its nationals, the Palestinian should not blame it if it looks at him through the same prism. Hizballah and the Amal movement are separate Lebanese parties, yet the prism through which they are viewed is one. We do not object to the Palestinians, and we do not fear them. They will respond when they see that we are serious about this matter.

The Palestinian will not want to block the agreement because he wants the good will of the people, not hatred. He wants to please the Lebanese state, not fight it.

[AL-HAWADITH] However, the Palestinians are demanding a new agreement between themselves and Lebanese authorities. What do you think of that?

[Qabalan] This is a matter for the Lebanese state. I cannot accept that I or anyone else speak on behalf of the state. The state is responsible for the land and the people, and for decisions protecting the people and the land.

[AL-HAWADITH] Do you expect the Lebanese army to enter South Lebanon, and should that happen, will Israel try to block the way?

[Qabalan] I expect the army to enter because these agreements are still taking their course. I am for the agreement, its implementation, the entry of the army, and the exit of armed elements. Israel's only dream is to be a roadblock. Having occupied Palestine, its goal is to prevent the healing of Lebanon, to divide its parts, and to prevent mutual coexistence, but it will not succeed.

## MOROCCO

### Government Policy Blamed for High Unemployment

91AA0175A Casablanca AL-ITTIHAD AL-ISHTIRAKI  
in Arabic 5 Nov 90 p 1

[Article by Nurredine Miftah]

[Text] We have become so accustomed to repeating the words "crisis, options, and deficiencies," that they have almost lost their meaning. However, a moment to stop and reflect will lead us to the meaning of these significant words.

The matter at hand pertains to the destruction of citizens' purchasing power. It concerns an insufferable gap between the income of the weak and the cost of living. However, when we descend to the bottom rung, to the predicates of these harsh words, we find hundreds of thousands of citizens who have neither an income nor

oxygen on their backs and who are being compelled to dive into the murky sea created by [governmental] resolutions.

This is the unemployment crisis. If one could find a sadder qualifier than "crisis," we would place it after "unemployment." A number of countries are experiencing this crisis. However, according to experts, their situation does not compare to ours. Our situation is different, because our workers are exhausted and defeated in the face of the rapidly mounting expenses. As for the unemployed, or more precisely those who have been left without work, they are using wooden swords to fight an enemy equipped with the latest weapons.

The unemployed have lost everything—their livelihoods, the meaning of existence, and their faith in speeches, words, and excuses. They have thus become raw material liable to doing anything to survive. It comes as no surprise that this terrible unemployment situation is becoming steeped in deviant social phenomena, drug deals, prostitution, thievery, and so on.

The Statistics Administration has issued statistics on the unemployment rate in 1989. Despite our reservations regarding the accuracy of these figures, and even though they pertain to a rate to which we bid farewell a year ago, their content shocks an observer accustomed to hearing the "everything is fine" speech.

The specter of unemployment hangs over everyone—the uneducated, those with middle school diplomas, degree holders, and cadres. In order to deduce that the situation is only growing worse and more critical, if we must do so, it is enough to know that there are 115,000 additional unemployed persons each year, and that the urban unemployment rate in 1989 was 16.3 percent.

The language of statistics is harsh, but to speak in real human terms is more painful. Thirty-two of every 100 urban residents are employed or seeking employment. The unemployment rate rose from 13.9 percent to 16.3 percent between 1988 and 1989, or from 476,000 to 591,000 unemployed persons, an increase of 2.4 percent, or 115,519 new unemployed persons.

Socially, this enormous number is moving toward disaster, for it represents tens of thousands of family heads, members of families without incomes, and persons whose providers are unemployed.

These statistics were in my briefcase when I met an unemployed breadwinner in our neighborhood. I confided in him my aspiration. I told him that I wanted a degree. He told me: When we become a dry number in a column in a booklet issued by the Statistics Administration, which conceals the decay of time, you will taste suffering. I awoke one morning to news of the increase, my pocket perforated, my psyche broken down. For nine years, I thought only of emigrating. It has even become impossible to emigrate from a country where the ways of earning a livelihood have become blocked. Now, I have no faith in anything. I am not interested in promises and

economic equations. I have been sentenced to death. I will serve out this sentence by and by.

Young people in the spring of their lives will experience the winter's dinginess under the umbrella of official options, given that the unemployment rate among those in the 15-24 and 24-35 age brackets in 1989 was 30.9 percent and 17.8 percent respectively. In the 15-24 group, we note that the unemployment rate among those lacking any diploma grew from 18.4 percent in 1988 to 20.5 percent in 1989; among primary education diploma holders, it grew from 55.3 percent to 56.2 percent; among secondary school diploma holders, it grew from 66.6 percent to 76.1 percent; among advanced degree holders, it grew from 30.3 percent to 43.5 percent; among intermediate cadre diploma holders, it grew from 51.8 percent to 59.1 percent; and among holders of professional diplomas or certificates, it grew from 48.3 percent to 52.7 percent.

This list, it is noted, is headed by youths with advanced degrees, among whom unemployment increased by 13.2 percent during a one-year period. Thus, unemployed diploma holders increased from 323,877 in 1988 to 255,766 in 1989.

It would be correct to speak of a significant, social development in our country, the development of misery

and desperation. It is inconceivable for a citizen to spend the springtime of his life learning and hoping to use his expertise to serve his country and obtain an honest livelihood to survive, only to discover that his country has no need for his expertise, not because it has absolutely no need for his manpower and expertise, but because its order of needs, investment of sources, and control of resource distribution are marred by a flaw, a flaw which is not recognized by those who created it.

The Statistics Administration's figures concern only the country's urban areas. Knowing that a higher percentage of citizens live in villages, we can conclude that the villages suffer a higher unemployment rate and greater misery.

This is a picture presented by official statistics. It is of course a sad picture. Be it outside what is official, or be it the numbers of reality and the front lines of the provider, it is a gloomy picture. It is felt only by those who experience it and are exposed to its blaze. Only they can pass judgement on the official policy, and only they can see the true color of the excuses and covers.

That was 1989's result. We are bidding farewell to 1990, in which unemployment rates will prove to have flourished and developed. As long as the options continue unchanged, this same social course will continue.

## BANGLADESH

### Officials Say No Change in Hill Tract Policy

91AS0584A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 31 Dec 90 pp 1, 10

[Text] Rangamati, Dec 30—The Acting President, Mr Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed, categorically said here today that his Government would not dissolve the three local government hill district councils of Rangamati, Khagrachhari and Banderban, elected this year, reports BSS.

These councils were elected properly through fair polls. Therefore the question of their dissolution does not arise, he told a meeting of the chairmen and members of hill district councils upazila parishads and other leaders at the Rangamati local government council auditorium.

Mr Gautam Dewan, Chairman of Rangamati Hill District Council, Mr Samiran Dewan, Chairman of Khagrachhari Hill District Council and Mr Hla Ching Mong, a member of Banderban Hill District Council spoke at the meeting, expressing their total support to the interim government to hold free and fair elections of February 27.

Chief of the Army Staff Lt Gen M. Noor Uddin Khan, Defence Secretary Siddiqur Rahman GOC 24 INF. Division Maj Gen Mahmudul Hasan and Secretary, Special Affairs Nazem Ahmed Chowdhury were present.

The Acting President said his government would not bring any change in the policy towards Chittagong Hill Tracts. He assured the tribal people that there would be no interference with their religion and culture.

He said once the Chittagong hill tracts region was neglected area but now lot of development activities were going on there. In this context, he said, a Taka 400-crore development programme had been taken for the uplift of the region.

He said the right of the people in the hill tract region would be protected on the basis of Chittagong Hill Tracts regulation 1900.

The Acting President said those who had crossed over the border would be rehabilitated if they come back and they would not be punished.

He said the Government had taken certain measures to ensure free and fair polls and urged the people of Chittagong Hill Tracts to extend full cooperation in this regard.

Earlier, speaking on the occasion the Chairmen of Rangamati and Khagrachhari Hill District councils rejected the demand made by the Pahari Chhatra Samity to dissolve the councils.

[missing text] for abolition of three local government parishads of Chittagong Hill tracts to what its leader said, ensure full democratic atmosphere in the area.

Addressing a Press conference at the local Press Club this afternoon Mr Bijoy Kethon Chakma, convener of CHTHPC [Chittagong Hill Tracts People's Council] demanded constitution of a high power national committee to evaluate opinions of the hill tracts people on the prevailing situation and suggest recommendations for solution to the problems.

He called for taking appropriate steps to bring back the people of hill tracts from Indian camps and enlist them as voters.

The CHTHPC convener also called for punishment to those who allegedly committed crimes against young women of hill tracts.

He demanded the release of the students, youths, and others of hill tracts who were arrested during the ousted autocratic regime, free access to hill tracts by journalists, tourists and members of Human Rights Commission and Government control on hill tracts quota relief distribution.

General Secretary of Greater Chittagong Hill Tracts Students Union Pratim Roy, Othin Dewan and Mukul Chakma, Joint Conveners of CHTHPC were also present at the conference.

Earlier CHTHPC brought out a procession which paraded through main roads of the city.

### World Bank Reviews Credit Utilization

91AS0585A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 8 Jan 91 p 10

[Text] The World Bank has sought assurance from the caretaker administration that its investment priorities will be honored by the future elected government, sources said on Monday, reports UNB.

The bank's concern was conveyed by its Director Seinji Asanuma during his separate meetings with Planning Adviser Rehman Sobhan, External Relations Division (ERD) Secretary Enam Ahmed Chowdhury and top apolitical leader Begum Khaleda Zia in Dhaka on Monday.

Asanuma, who arrived here Sunday mainly to review with officials Bangladesh's credit utilization, also likely to meet with Sheikh Hasina of Awami League.

The sources said in his meeting with the ERD Secretary Enam Ahmed Chowdhury, the World Bank official pressed forwarding up priorities in the three-year rolling plan so that donors can finalize their assistance.

He warned delay in finalization of the plan may disrupt this year's Aid Consortium meeting, which is held in Paris usually in April.

The ousted government of Ershad initiated the rolling plan to incorporate the core development programmes as an alternative to the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

The rolling plan came at the World Bank suggestion of keeping investment programme within a logical resource envelope.

Asanuma also advised the ERD official to fulfil conditionalities with some on-going IDA [International Development Association] credit programmes to enable the Bank to release its credit timely, the sources said.

A substantial amount of credit in the financial and the energy sectors are in danger of being withheld due to failure in fulfilling the conditionalities.

The ERD Secretary assured the World Bank official that the rolling plan would be finalized in a week.

World Bank lending programmes to Bangladesh as well as difficulties in finalizing some of them were reviewed in details.

In the meeting with the Planning Advisor Prof Rehman Sobhan in the afternoon, various issues ranging from aid utilization, investment prioritization to basic policy issues of the government of Bangladesh in the changed political context were discussed.

Meeting sources said the Planning Advisor told the World Bank official that the care-taker government has initiated strong efforts to get rid of indiscipline in the power and banking sector.

Asanuma will also hold another wide-ranging meeting with ERD before he leaves.

### Commission Announces Election Rules

91AS0500A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 27 Dec 90 pp 1, 10

[Text] Nomination papers for the elections to the Jatiya Sangsad are to be filed with the concerned Returning Officers or with the Assistant Returning Officers or with both on or before 10 January 1991, an Election Commission Press release said in Dhaka Wednesday night, reports BSS.

The Returning Officers and the Assistant Returning Officers will receive the nomination papers at their respective offices during office hours.

The Election Commission has already appointed 66 Returning Officers and 471 Assistant Returning Officers throughout the country.

The Additional Divisional Commissioner (General) of Khulna Division and the Additional Divisional Commissioner-1 of Dhaka Division have been appointed as Returning Officers for the inter district constituencies of 132 Bakerganj-with-Perojpur and 160 Mymensingh-with-Neterokona respectively.

The Deputy Commissioners of the 64 districts will act as Returning Officers for all constituencies under their respective jurisdictions.

Among the 471 Assistant Returning Officers, there are 460 upazila Nirbahi Officers, 10 District election Officers and one Thana Education Officer.

The Press release added, printed nomination forms may be procured from the offices of the Returning Officers and the Assistant Returning Officers free of cost.

In case printed forms are exhausted, typed or hand written copy of the prescribed nomination form will be accepted.

According to Article 66(1) of the Constitution a person is qualified to be elected as and to be a Member of Jatiya Sangsad, if he is a citizen of Bangladesh and he was attained the age of 25 years.

Regarding the disqualifications for candidature, the Press release said, Article 66(2) of the Constitution provides that, a person shall be disqualified for election as, or for being a Member of Jatiya Sangsad, who is declared by a competent court to be of unsound mind or is an undischarged insolvent or acquires the citizenship of or affirms or acknowledge allegiance to a foreign state, or has been, on conviction for a criminal offense involving moral turpitude, sentenced to imprisonment for a term of not less than 2 years, unless a period of 5 years has elapsed since his release, or holds any office of profit in the service of Republic other than an office which is declared by law not to disqualify its holders, or is disqualified for such election by or under any law, the press release said.

In addition to the above disqualifications, the press release mentioned, Section 12(1) of the Representation of the People Order, 1972, also provides that, a person shall be disqualified for election as or for being a Member of Jatiya Sangsad, if he is a person holding any office of profit in the service of the Republic or of a statutory public authority, or whether by himself or any person or body of persons in trust for him or for his benefit or on his account or as a member of a Hindu undivided family, has any share of interest in a contract, not being a contract between a cooperative society and government, for the supply of goods to or for the execution of any contract or the performance of any services undertaken by, government, or is a Chairman of a Upazila Parishad elected under the Local Government (Upazila Parishad and Upazila Administration (Reorganisation) ordinance, 1982, it added.

Moreover, the EC press release noted, Section 2 of the Representation of the People (Supplementary) Order, 1973, provides that, the following persons shall not be disqualified for election as or for being a Member of Jatiya Sangsad by reason only of the fact that they hold any of the following offices, Attorney General, Additional Attorney General, Deputy Attorney General, Assistant Attorney General, Chief Special Prosecutor, Public Prosecutor, Special Prosecutor, Government Pleader or Advocate, Legal Adviser on a retainer basis to any government department or agency, statutory corporation or nationalised enterprise, and Chairman,

Director or Officer of any trust or foundation created by or under any law for the benefit of any class or classes of citizen.

On the question of a proposer or seconder, the press release said any voter of a constituency may propose or second the name of any duly qualified person to be a member of the constituency. That means, the proposer and the seconder must be registered voters of the concerned constituency, the press release said.

A person may, however, be nominated in the same constituency by more than one nomination paper. Only a candidate himself or his proposer or seconder and no other person can file a nomination paper.

No person may at the same time be a candidate for more than five constituencies under Section 13A(1) of the representation of the People Order, 1972 the release added.

A sum of Taka 5 thousand is required to be deposited in respect of each candidate.

The money may be deposited in cash by the candidate or by any person on his behalf at the time of delivery of nomination papers and the Returning Officers or the Assistant Returning Officers shall issue a receipt to the person making the deposit, the EC Press release said.

The amount may also be deposited at a branch of the Bangladesh Bank or any other bank acting as a government treasury or sub-treasury under the head "88-Bibhagiya O Bichar Bibhagiya Jama-(1)-Besamarik Jama-Nirbachan Sangkranta Jama." Not more than one deposit is required in case of a person who has been nominated as a candidate by more than one nomination paper, the press release mentioned.

In case of filing nomination papers with both the Returning Officers and Assistant Returning Officers, the original copy of the bank receipt/treasury chalan/cash receipt of the Returning Officer or the Assistant Returning Officers is to be enclosed with one of the nomination papers and a copy of the original receipt/treasury chalan duly attested by a gazetted officer is to be enclosed with the other nomination paper.

No nomination paper shall be accepted by the Returning Officer or by the Assistant Returning Officer unless it is accompanied with the aforesaid bank receipt/treasury chalan/cash receipt of the Returning Officers or the Assistant Returning Officer, the release added.

### **Repeal of Special Powers Act Denied**

91AS0583A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 30 Dec 90 p 10

[Text] The Government on Saturday said the Special Powers Act, 1974, has never been repealed and it is still in force as an existing law, according to a Press Note issued in Dhaka by the Government, reports BSS.

Clarifying the position of the Special Powers Act, 1974, the Press Note said the Government said the news or information given in a news item published by a daily newspaper on December 23 regarding the publication of any ordinance repealing the Special Powers Act, 1974 is "baseless and motivated".

The Press Note said "attention of the Government has been drawn to a news item published in a daily newspaper on the 8th Poush, 1397, December 23, 1990 stating that controversy has arisen on the validity of the Special Powers Act, 1974, due to its being kept alive notwithstanding its repeal by the former President Ershad. A copy of an ordinance stating the repeal of the above mentioned act has been printed-alongside the news item. It has, therefore, become necessary to let the people know the actual position about the matter.

In accordance with the provisions of the Rules of Business, 1975, the Administrative Ministry is required to send a proposal to the Ministry of Law and Justice for drafting of Ordinance on a legislative measure. On receipt of the proposal, the Ministry of Law and Justice, after necessary scrutiny prepares a draft for the Administrative Ministry. Thereafter, the Administrative Ministry, following the instructions of the Rules of Business, sends the draft along with a self-contained summary, for approval and signature of the President, who approves the proposal putting his signature with date of the summary and also signs the draft. In the instant case, there was no proposal to the Ministry of Law and Justice from the Administrative Ministry, namely, Ministry of Home Affairs for preparing a draft for repeal of the Special Powers Act, nor did the Ministry of Law and Justice prepare any such draft. On the other hand, no summary was sent to the former President for his approval and signature in this connection. No copy of the ordinance said to have been signed by the former President nor any information relating thereto was published through any news media before his making over the charge of office of the President, that is, on the forenoon of 6.12.90.

"It may be mentioned in this connection that, the last Ordinance that was signed by the former President before his making over charge of the Office of the President was the Motor Vehicles (Amendment) Ordinance, 1990 which was approved by him on 29.11.1990. The next Ordinance that was issued is the Educational Institutions (Peace and Discipline) (Repeal) Ordinance, 1990, which was approved and signed by the Acting President on 8.12.1990 and published in the Official Gazette on 9.12.1990. No other Ordinance was promulgated in between the aforementioned two dates. Hence, the news or information regarding the publication of any Ordinance repealing the Special Powers Act is baseless and motivated.

"It may further be mentioned that in the notification that has been published in the said newspaper in the name of the Ministry of Law and Justice the number of the so-called repealed Ordinance has been given as XII

of 1974, which is the number of the Public Servants (Retirement) Act, 1974. Further, as a matter of practice and rule, a publication number (pub. no.) is given in any notification sought to be issued for publication of an ordinance. But in the so-called notification, a space has been left for S.R.O. (Statutory Rules and Order) number, whereas the Ordinance under discussion not being a statutory rule or order, the mention of S.R.O. number is misconceived. As a matter of practice, No S.R.O. number is given for the purpose of publication of an Ordinance. Besides, no saving clause has been kept in the so-called draft of the ordinance about the pending cases under the Special Powers Act. Moreover, it is unbecoming on the part of an outgoing President to take action on a matter which involves policy in the wake of his public announcement of resignation from office.

"Under the circumstances stated above, it is clear that the Ordinance said to have been signed by the former President is not an Ordinance at all. The Special Powers Act (Act XIV of 1974) has never been repealed and it is still in force as an existing law".

### Awami League, BNP Leaders State Aims

#### Begum Zia to JSS

91AS0581A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 28 Dec 90 pp 1, 10

[Text] Bangladesh Nationalist Party [BNP] chief Begum Khaleda Zia Thursday called for electing the Bangladeshi nationalist forces in the coming elections to consolidate the national culture and heritage, reports BSS.

Begum Zia said after killing President Ziaur Rahman the autocracy came into power and destroyed all Bangladesh institutions along with the democracy established by the BNP Government.

The BNP chief was addressing a discussion organised by the Jatiyatabadi Sangskritik Sangstha (JSS) to mark its 12th founding anniversary in Dhaka.

BNP Senior Vice-President Dr Badruddoza Chowdhury, Secretary General Abdus Salam Talukdar, Cultural Secretary Lokman Hossain Fakir, BFUJ [Bangladesh Federal Union of Journalists] President Reazuddin Ahmed, Journalist Gias Kamal Chowdhury, Film Director and Producer Amjad Hossain, among others, spoke on the occasion. JSS President Khurshid Ali presided over the function.

Begum Zia said the autocratic regime during its rule in the last nine years had compelled the nation to remain subservient to other countries by destroying the nationalist institutions in the country.

Begum Zia said the BNP, as it could not tolerate this destruction, always protested against the autocracy and ousted the regime by initiating a mass upsurge.

She said, "We have struggled not only to establish democracy but also for consolidating the Bangladeshi culture and heritage."

Begum Zia said BNP Government was first among the past three governments which initiated production oriented activities. BNP was the first government which felt urgency for ensuring the welfare of the people.

Begum Zia regretted that many of the associates of ousted Ershad was still not being arrested. She called upon the Anti-Corruption Branch to reveal all corruption done by Ershad and his associates and put them on trial. Otherwise, she said, the law enforcing agencies would be accountable to the people.

She said the failure of the law enforcing agencies to arrest the collaborators of autocracy prove the incompetence of the agencies. She also suggested replacement of law enforcing persons if they were proven incompetent.

Begum Zia said, "We must direct all our efforts to make the coming elections free and fair, to elect a people's representative government."

Begum Zia was also critical of the rate of recovery of illegal arms and warned that illegal arms were being smuggled into the country had to be checked at any cost. Otherwise dreams of the millions to hold a free and fair election would be foiled.

She called upon the law enforcing agencies to gear up their activities regarding the recovery of illegal arms and checking their smuggling.

Begum Zia also called upon the care-taker government to remain impartial while handling state craft. She hoped that the care-taker government would not make any move which would create suspicion among the people.

The BNP chief called upon the party workers and Chhatradal workers to go to their respective constituencies to help the holding of free and fair elections.

Dr Bodruddoza Chowdhury said BNP was determined to weed out autocracy from the soil of Bangladesh. He said only the patriotic and nationalist forces could free the country from the grip of autocracy.

Mr Salam Talukdar also cautioned the law enforcing agencies about the infiltration of illegal arms and said the people and students would take the responsibility to recover these arms from the enemies of the country.

#### Hasina to Public Meeting

91AS0581B Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 28 Dec 90 pp 1, 10

[Text] Awami League chief and Eight-Party Alliance leader Sheikh Hasina on Thursday urged the people to vote for her party in the coming parliament elections and said Awami League always stood for justice and truth and protested against injustice, reports BSS.

She was addressing a public meeting at Kachukhet Bazar under Cantonment thana in the city.

Sheikh Hasina said Awami League wanted to prove that people were the source of all powers and not bullets. She said the Government elected by the people would try to provide their basic needs. If it fails it would be changed again by people's votes.

Sheikh Hasina said elected in 1970 Awami League brought independence for the country and in 1986 it could identify that Ershad was a vote dacoit [as published].

Appreciating the role of the Armed forces during the mass movement of 1990 Sheikh Hasina said in future also the people want to see them with this spirit.

Demanding trial of former President Ershad, his ministers and associates, the Awami League chief said this was necessary so that no general could again dare to snatch the power of the people.

Presided over by local Awami League leader M. Abdul Khalek, the meeting was also addressed by Awami League Presidium member Zillur Rahman, General Secretary Sajeda Chowdhury, Organising Secretary Tofayel Ahmed, Agriculture Secretary Motia Chowdhury, General Secretary of Mahila Awami League Advocate Sahara Khatoun, central leader Col (Retd) Shaikat Ali and Awami League leaders Ali Ahmed, Laisuzzaman and Shamsul Alam.

Refuting the allegation of a section of the Press, Sheikh Hasina said "I demanded trial of Ershad" after the killing in the public meeting at Chittagong three years back and "I also demanded Ershad's trial this time." She said I could do this because, I did not accept any pecuniary facility from him though it was due to me as a daughter of a President of the country. She said "I hate to accept such things from any General."

Referring to the Awami League rule after independence, Sheikh Hasina said at the time World Bank had reported that two crore people would die of famine and starvation but Awami League leaders and workers had reached food door to door and did not allow any famine to occur.

Criticising the military regime after the killing of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Awami League chief said "those who are followers of autocracy never believe in democracy."

Pointing to those who criticise Awami League rule she said "ask them who were responsible for this, Awami League government had begun from zero." Uttering a note of warning she said "don't try to create confusion in the minds of the people."

Sheikh Hasina said the Armed Forces were created by Bangabandhu and he did not punish any of their personnel. She said after the killing of Bangabandhu when army was used to hold power, a large number of Armed Forces personnel were killed. We want that army should

protect the country from external aggression and maintain their own dignity and honour instead of being used as an instrument for grabbing power, she added.

Sheikh Hasina said, "We would not allow any more casualties in the Armed Forces. During the last nine years we protested, so there were no casualties."

Referring to Martial Law, she said this time also "many tried for another Martial Law. But we repeatedly advocated for peaceful transfer of power so that no more generals could grab power."

Begum Sajeda Chowdhury alleged that conspiracies were going on to foil the election and so that Awami League could not come to power.

### Communist Party Leader Meets Press

91AS0578A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 28 Dec 91 pp 1, 10

[Text] CPB [Communist Party of Bangladesh] General Secretary Saifuddin Ahmed Manik on Thursday asserted that the three mainstream Alliances would favour parliamentary form of government on the basis of 1972 constitution.

Exchanging views with journalists of newspapers and news media at the CPB office Mr Saifuddin Ahmed Manik said that the Eight-party and Five-party alliances and most of the leaders of BNP [Bangladesh Nationalist Party]-led Seven-party Alliances wanted to restore the parliamentary system abandoning the presidential system of government. Referring to his talks with BNP Chairperson Begum Khaleda Zia on Wednesday said that the BNP chief told him that her party would not oppose any bill for amendment of the constitution in the next parliament for restoring the parliamentary system of government.

The CPB leader stressed the need for maintaining the unity of the three alliances. He demanded to frame a code of conduct by the three alliances to ensure peace and understanding for smooth transition to democracy.

Mr Manik reiterated his call for national government by the three alliances to implement the pledges made to the nation by the three alliances during the democratic movement. He also demanded election alliance among the three mainstream alliances. He said that CPB had been continuing discussions with Awami League, BNP and other parties of the alliances in this regard.

The CPB leader reminded all the parties in three alliances of the joint decision and commitment not to allow any accomplice of ousted President Ershad and his Jatiya Party to join any party under the three alliances. He, however, regretted that a particular party had been violating this commitment and some Jatiya Party men had already taken shelter under that party. He said that he had definite information about such moves. He added that during his meeting with Begum Khaleda Zia he had formally raised this issue and told the BNP chief that

they wondered how some Jatiya Party men could seek nomination from BNP for the parliament election. He observed that if the joint decision was violated by any party of the alliances it would be a betrayal to the blood of the martyrs during the mass movement.

The CPB leader was critical about the loss in some nationalised units. He said that the country could not afford perpetual loss at the cost of state exchequer. He indicated that his party would not go for nationalisation and it would favour private entrepreneurship and foreign investment to build the national economy. He suggested to form a joint economic commission by the three alliances to decide about the economic and industrial policy in the country.

He demanded dissolution of the Upazila system which he said was a drainage and wastage of the state money. He said that the ousted regime of Ershad wanted to go for militarisation of the civil administration. But, he added, such move was resisted by people's movement.

The CPB leaders urged all to demonstrate tolerance and mutual respect during the election campaign. He observed that the enemies of democracy would take advantage of the disruption of the unity of the three alliances.

CPB central leaders Mr Shamsuzzoha and Mr Mujahidul Islam Selim were present at the meeting.

### JSD Leader Urges Hasina, Zia Coalition

91AS0586A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 6 Jan 91 pp 1, 10

[Text] JSD [Jatiya Samajatantrik Dal (Nationalist Socialist Party)] leader Hasanul Huq Inu Saturday urged Sheikh Hasina and Begum Khaleda Zia to agree to form a national Government for three years in the greater interest of giving democracy an institutional shape, says UNB.

To this end he called upon the Awami League and the BNP [Bangladesh Nationalist Party] leaders to take initiative for united participation of the three major alliances in the ensuing parliamentary polls.

It's the only way to overcome the crisis and fulfil the nation's aspiration for transition to democratic rule, he told a discussion meeting at TSC [expansion unknown] on the occasion of founding anniversary of Chhatra League (N-S).

If necessary, Inu told the students, the people would gherao the offices of national leaders to press them to go to the February 27 polls unitedly.

"We want to make laws united in parliament to stop illegal power takeovers, politics and killing and state violence", said the JSD General Secretary, also a leader of the 5-Party Alliance.

Among others who took part in the discussion were Sharif Nurul Ambia, former DUCSU [Dhaka University Central Student Union] GS [General Secretary], Anayet-ur Rahman and Mushtaq Hossain, Mashiur Rahman Dulal, former EUCSU VP [expansion unknown] Munir-uddin Ahmed, Abul Hasib Khan and Shafi Ahmed. Chhatra League President Nazmul Huq Prodhan presided.

Earlier leaders and workers of Chhatra League brought out a colorful procession in the city.

### New Socialist Party Line Marxist-Leninist

91AS0579A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 9 Jan 91 p 1

[Text] A new party "Socialist Party of Bangladesh" was floated Tuesday with a pledge to bring about social changes on the basis of fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles, says UNB.

Announcing its launching at a Press conference the new party's convenor Shamsuzzoha said their aim was to stage a "national democratic revolution through people's movement and uprising."

Shamsuzzoha, a former leader of a faction of outlawed Sarbahara Party, also said a 9-member Central Convening Committee has been formed at a workers' conference held on 3 Jan.

He declared that the party will independently participate in the forthcoming parliamentary elections and nominate about 20-25 candidates from constituencies in Jessore, Khulna, Jhenidah, Mymensingh, Chittagong and Barisal.

But Zoha said, his party was willing to form alliance with other parties on the basis of "real democratic programme free from foreign exploitation."

The leader labelled other left leaning parties like CPB [Communist Party of Bangladesh], Workers Party, UCL [expansion unknown], and Sarbahara Party as either "Right-opportunist Revisionists" or "Left-adventurist terrorists" and stressed that his party is a party of the working class, and will refrain from "tailism of bourgeois parties."

Zoha observed that the past Communist movements in the country failed due to "party-bourgeois compromises" and "lack of proper understanding of Marxist-Leninist doctrines."

### Correspondent Interviews Sheikh Hasina

91AS0479A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
19 Dec 90 p 6

[Ranjit Roy and Sheikh Hasina Wajed speak. Words in italics as published.]

[Text] Q: You have been fighting for democracy in Bangladesh for almost 15 years. Now that your dream is likely

*to come true with the announcement of elections on 2 March, do you think an elected government will last long?*

A: Survival of democracy in Bangladesh now depends on the major political parties. If they act responsibly, then there is no reason why a democratically elected government will not complete its full term.

*Q: But Bangladesh's track record in this matter is none too encouraging. None of the previous parliaments survived their five-year term.*

A: Yes, I share your apprehension. No doubt, there are groups with vested interests who may not like a democratic government functioning in Bangladesh. These people have amassed a huge amount of wealth under the active protection of the military government during the past 15 years. We have to be particularly cautious about them.

*Q: What will your role be in protecting a democratic government in Bangladesh?*

A: The responsibility is not mine alone. The responsibility should be shared by all parties, their leaders and the people in general. Yes, it is the common men and women who have ushered in democracy in Bangladesh. They have sacrificed their lives to remove Ershad from power. I have a list of 45 martyrs, who were killed by Ershad's police before the military dictator was deposed on 6 December.

*Q: There have been bigger agitations in the past, but they failed to topple the military regimes of Bangladesh. Do you think external pressure led Ershad to quit almost at the beginning of the agitation this time?*

A: Two things have helped the people's movement against Ershad's military regime. First, political changes in East Europe following the USSR's liberal policy of glasnost. It had a profound impact on the Bengali intelligentsia, particularly on the student community. They wanted freedom of expression.

Second, donor countries helping Bangladesh were disappointed to find their assistance being utilised by military rulers for their personal gains. Certainly, they also wanted to replace the military government with an elected civilian government. Any real development work can be possible only under a democratic government.

*Q: What if Ershad had not bowed down to the pressure and remained as head of the state?*

A: Then there would have been an unprecedented blood-bath in Bangladesh. We had decided to fight to the last this time. I must thank the saner section of the army personnel which saw reason and decided not to support Ershad in view of the mass upsurge against his misrule. Otherwise, the army had orders to shoot if the people violated curfew orders and the Emergency regulations, but the army did not do that.

*Q: What should the elected government's top priority be?*

A: Revitalisation of the country's economy. It is now in a shambles. People cannot even buy their basic necessities. Rice is 18 takas a kg. Pulses are 35 takas a kg. Even common salt is sold at 9 takas per kg. How can poor people fend for themselves under this kind of inflation? But then, no government can set things right overnight.

*Q: Recently, there were communal riots in and around Dhaka. How far is the minority community safe in Bangladesh?*

A: The communal riots which occurred last month here (in Dhaka) were engineered by the Ershad government to divert the people's attention. Hindus and Muslims in Bangladesh live in peace and harmony. It was the military junta which had always played the communal card to safeguard its vested interest.

*Q: In the 2 March election, will the Awami League go it alone?*

A: We organised the movement against the Ershad government jointly with all political parties. For the survival of democracy, we should continue to work jointly. But I cannot say whether this will be possible during the election. It is too early to predict any poll adjustment now.

*Q: Is there any possibility of adjustments with Begum Khaleda Zia's Bangladesh National Party (BNP)?*

A: There is hardly any similarity in the political thinking of the Awami League and the BNP. The Awami League is a democratic party. The BNP was established by a military ruler who had no faith in democracy. The style of functioning of the two parties is different. I should not make any more comments on this matter with the election just round the corner.

*Q: You are often described as an Indian agent. What is your comment?*

A: I know some people, particularly military rulers, had tried to project me as being pro-India. But I personally do not give much importance to such campaigns. People in Bangladesh know me well. I am neither pro-India nor pro-American or pro-Russia. I am pro-Bangladesh.

*Q: But you do have a leaning towards India?*

A: Why should I not? It is India which had helped Bangladesh free itself from the clutches of Pakistan's military rulers in 1971. How can we forget the sacrifice of 18,000 Indian jawans who had laid their lives for our freedom? How can we forget India's assistance in building our economic infrastructure in the early Seventies? Yes, we have a debt to repay. My party believes in friendly relations with all neighbours of Bangladesh.

### Press Note on Chittagong University Troubles

9IAS0483A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 25 Dec 90 pp 1, 10

[Text] Situation in Chittagong University is under control according to a Press Note issued by the Home Ministry in Dhaka on Monday, reports BSS.

The Press Note said a strong contingent of police has been deployed on the Chittagong University campus at the request of the university authorities to maintain law and order. A case has been registered in connection with the trouble in the university and four persons have been arrested the Press Note added.

The Press Note said a student organisation of Chittagong University backed by some members of the University Teachers Association decided to observe strike in the Chittagong University from 22 December demanding resignation of the Vice-Chancellor. On 22 December at about 12 noon some teachers and general students with a view to attending classes went to the Arts Faculty in a procession and broke open the locks of the class rooms which was resisted by the student group which had given call for the strike.

This led to a clash between the two rival student groups resulting in injuries to a number of students including some teachers of the university. During the clash, lathi, knife and brick bats were used. Police force already deployed at university main gate no 1 and 2 under the command of a DC (General) and Addl SP [Superintendent of Police] rushed there on getting the information and brought the situation under control. Police managed to send the injured persons to Chittagong Medical College Hospital for treatment. Twenty two students were admitted to the CMCH.

In the evening Chittagong University Syndicate declared the closure of the university sine-die and asked the students to vacate halls by 22.00 hours, many students left the halls by that night availing themselves to the train arranged by the district administrations. The remaining students left the hall on Sunday.

A strong contingent of police has been deployed inside the university campus to maintain law and order at the request of Chittagong University authority. Police are patrolling inside the university campus. Situation is under control. A case has been registered in this respect and four persons have been arrested from the spot."

The Ministry further said on 24 December 1990 at about 03.00 hours one student named Farukuzzman (Faruk) 22, out of the 22 students admitted in Chittagong Medical College Hospital, succumbed to his injuries.

"Since morning a large number of teachers and students of various educational institutions assembled in Chittagong Medical College Hospital premises to pay homage to the deceased.

"The dead body after post mortem was taken to Chittagong Varsity Officers Club at Askar Dighi in a big procession.

"Five students received stab injury which were inflicted on them by some unknown persons. Of the injured two were released after first-aid and three were admitted in the CMCH for treatment.

"After namaz-e-janaja at Lal Dighi Maidan, the dead-body was taken to his village home in Sarail under Brahmanbaria by his relations.

A large number of processions were brought out by Chhatra Olkya Parishad at different places of Chittagong city protesting the death of the deceased student.

The demonstrators caused Damage to a book-stall. Two small shops and the Islamic Samaj Kalyan Parishad officer.

The Minister said at about 12:00 hrs one Shoeb Ahmed Chowdhury 45, an officer of Lever Brothers, Chittagong was stabbed by unknown assailants near New Market, Chittagong.

Subsequently, he succumbed to his injuries at the CMCH. The dead body was handed over to his relations after observing legal formalities, a regular case has been instituted in this connection.

"In the interest of maintaining law and order, Chittagong Government College, Haji Mohammad Mohsin College and Darul Ulum Madrasha have been closed sine-die and resident students have been asked to vacate the halls and college premises.

"A total of 103 students belonging to Islamic Chhatra Shibir were arrested from Sholashahar Railway station and were sent to Chittagong jail.

"Police Commissioner CMP held different meetings with political and student leaders at his office and urged upon them to render assistance in maintaining law and order in the CMP. The leaders gave their assurances in this regard.

"Situation is under control. Intensive police patrol is continuing."

### Chittagong Student Council's Demands Rejected

9IAS0499A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 26 Dec 90 p 10

[Text] Three elected members of Khagrachhari District Local Government Council on Tuesday rejected the five-point demands of the greater Chittagong Hill Tracts Hill Students' Council saying these were not in the interest of the people but detrimental to peace prevailing among both tribals and non-tribals in the region, reports BSS.

Addressing a press conference at the National Press Club, the members said the Hill Students' Council in

league with Parbatta Chattagram Janashanghati Parishad were out to destroy the existing amity in the region through demanding, among other things, abolition of three elected Local Government Councils.

The members who addressed the press conference were Abdul Wadud Bhuiyan, Naskkhatra Lal Devbarman Tripura and Mahbulul Alam. Maniruddin Ahmad, vice president of Rangamati Degree College Chhatra Sangsad, was also present in the press conference.

"We cannot submit to the illegal demands of a section of tribal students," Abdul Wadud Bhuiyan said and adding only an elected parliament would decide as to what would be the fate of these three bodies in the hill region.

He strongly advocated for the increased activities of the army in the hill region for the sake of security of the fellow tribals and non-tribals who were always prone to attacks by the members of the outlawed Shantibahini from across the border.

He said the settlers of the security base areas in the region cannot go to their corn fields for lack of adequate security in the face of Shantibahani attacks which rendered them workless.

Mr Naskkhatra Lal Devbarman Tripura and Mr Mahbulul Alam urged the government to provide increased rationing for these Bengali settlers to save them from near starvation.

The three members also rejected the demand for ouster of the Bengali settlers from the hill areas and said both tribals and non-tribals were living there in a peaceful manner for long.

About the demand for reservation of three parliamentary seats only for the tribals, the members of the Khagrachhari District Local Government Council said that they would not support it as the people there would never accept the representation of a particular section.

"All the citizens of the country are equal in the eye of the constitution and the demand for special voting right is not at all desirable," Mr Wadud told the press conference.

The three members alleged that some tribal youths studying in colleges and universities were collaborating with an anarchist party called "Parbatta Chattagram Janashanghai Parishad," who together produced such demands as part of a conspiracy against the country's independence.

Earlier, Chairman of Rangamati District Local Government Council, Babu Goutam Dewan in a statement said that the demands of the Hill Students' Council would create confusion and frustration among the people of the hill region.

He said the demands of the Hill Students' Council were completely against the will of the people of the region as these were detrimental to the country's sovereignty.

Mr Dewan also said, "Chittagong Hill Tracts is an inseparable part of whole Bangladesh and we are also party to any success out of positive political change in the country."

He resented the demand for abolition of the three existing local government councils and asked them to join the all-out development work of the hill region.

Referring to last Saturday's strike in protest against the demands of the Hill Students' Council, the three members said the programme was fully a spontaneous one participated in by people of all strata against the evil design of a section of tribal students.

The Hill Students' Council in a press statement, on Monday said the three Hill District Local Government Councils were established by the fallen Ershad regime through farcical elections to suppress the interest of the hill people.

The Hill Students' Council identified these three administrations as collaborators of the Ershad regime and called for building an all-out resistance in the interest of the hill district people.

The hill students, in the statement, claimed to have the support of All-Party Students Unity in favour of their demands and said their formulate would help open up a way for real political settlement of the Hill Tracts problems.

## INDIA

### Shekhar Addresses Defense Parliamentary Panel

91AS0463A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 19 Dec 90 p 17

[Text] New Delhi, 18 Dec (PTI)—The Prime Minister, Mr Chandra Shekhar, today expressed concern at Pakistan's nuclear programme and hoped that it would not risk the "terrible consequences" of a nuclear misadventure.

Addressing the parliamentary consultative committee of the defence ministry here, the Prime Minister said the government was fully aware of the developments in this regard adding that, "there need be no apprehension in the minds of the people."

During his entire 45 minute address to the members, the Prime Minister dwelt at length at the situation on the Indo-Pakistan border and internal security matters.

He said that in the western as well as eastern sectors—which encompass Punjab and Assam, the security forces had been successful in putting pressure on extremist activities.

The Prime Minister said there was no tension on Indo-Pak border except the problem caused by the extremist elements. "The recent talks between the Prime Ministers

of the two countries would hopefully lead to better understanding of each others point of view," Mr Chandra Shekhar said.

He said the ongoing official level talks to be followed by ministerial level discussions between the two countries would further this trend.

Turning to the Sino-Indian border problem, the Prime Minister said there were "hopeful indications" that the problem would be resolved through dialogue.

Though the subject under discussion in the consultative committee meeting was the performances of the defence public sector undertakings, the meeting spent almost half the time discussing the militancy problems in Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and Assam.

The Parliament members attached to the committee from different parties wanted the government to take effective steps to curb the spurt in militant activities in Punjab and Kashmir. At the same time, they stressed that an atmosphere for a political dialogue with "reasonable elements" should be created.

Turning to the working of the defence public sector undertakings, the Prime Minister assured the members that the country's major projects involving manufacture of infantry combat vehicles, tanks, missiles and light combat aircraft were progressing well.

The Prime Minister informed the members that the HAL [Hindustan Aeronautics Limited] had started detailed design and development phase of the LCA [light combat aircraft]. "The fabrication of the prototypes would start by the end of 1995 and production of this futuristic aircraft would start by the end of this century," he said.

Responding to members queries, the Prime Minister said efforts were being made to bring down the cost of production to the international level. He also said that other major projects like the MBT [main battle tank] and the missiles ones were also at advanced stages.

Mr Chandra Shekhar stressed on the need of having a very high standard of quality control of defence products so that defence exports could be further boosted. He said equal importance was also being given to inventory and resources management and to improve workers productivity.

The Prime Minister informed the committee members that defence public sector undertakings were not only meeting the defence needs but also supplying vital equipment for communications, meteorology, space and railways.

He said these units had been advised to increase their capacities as well as side by side to create a strong and diverse production base for supply of most modern weapons to the country's armed forces.

Besides the Prime Minister, the meeting was also attended by the minister of state for defence, Mr Lalit

Vijoy Singh, the defence secretary, Mr N.N. Vohra, secretary defence production and scientific adviser to the defence ministry, Dr V.S. Arunachalam.

## Shekhar Meets Press in Pune, New Delhi

### Conference Near Pune

91AS0493A Madras THE HINDU in English  
24 Dec 90 p 9

[Text] Pune, Dec. 23—The Prime Minister, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, today said the Punjab border with Pakistan would be sealed by March next year.

Addressing a press conference at Parandwadi, about 30 km from here, he said the Government would take "some measures on Punjab next week and I hope there will be positive response from the other side."

Asked if the Government had received some positive response from the militants, the Prime Minister said "so far the response is not positive. I hoped the issue would be resolved through mutual discussion and if talks failed to materialise, some other measures would have to be adopted."

Mr. Chandra Shekhar, who is on a day's visit to Maharashtra, earlier addressed public meetings at Shahada and Parandwadi after laying the foundation stone of a pulp and paper factory and library building.

The Prime Minister was accompanied by the Maharashtra Chief Minister, Mr. Sharad Pawar, the Janata Dal(S) General Secretary, Mr. Om Prakash Chautala, the Planning Commission Deputy Chairman, Mr. Mohan Dhar and senior Congress(I) and Janata Dal(S) leaders.

Anything except secession: Mr. Chandra Shekhar made it clear that barring any move to secede, any proposal including giving more powers to Punjab would be considered. "But we will not concede the abrogation of the Constitution," he said.

Asked about India's nuclear policy in the wake of the report that Pakistan had a nuclear bomb, the Prime Minister said, "There is no need to review India's nuclear policy. We are ready to meet any eventuality whatever it may be. I hope that even if Pakistan has a nuclear weapon it will not use it."

There was no move at present to "instal Dr. Farooq Abdullah" as Chief Minister in Kashmir. When his attention was drawn to reports that an agitation had been launched for removal of the U.P. [Uttar Pradesh] Chief Minister, Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav, the Prime Minister said, "The movement is uncalled for and the Congress(I) is not represented by the people behind an agitation if any."

Asked if Mr. Yadav was indispensable, he said "nobody is indispensable." However, he said the U.P. Government was not lacking in any manner in controlling the

communal situation in the State and the problem there could not be compared with those in Punjab, Assam and Jammu and Kashmir.

The Prime Minister dispelled reports that the disputed structure at Ayodhya would be handed over to the Hindus and stressed that no step would be taken till an agreement was reached among the contending parties. The meeting is already fixed for January 10, he added.

He also discounted a statement issued by an archaeologist that he (Mr. Chandra Shekhar) was satisfied that a mosque had been built over a Hindu temple at Ayodhya.

Privatisation of power sector: On privatisation of the power sector, he said the Government was yet to take any decision as "those in the private sector are not willing to take responsibility for transmitting and distributing electricity."

Noting that there could be a "design by foreign forces" to whip up communal sentiments in the country, he said although people were not divided on communal lines they were not giving adequate protection to their neighbours in the areas affected by such disturbances.

Not an SI [sub-inspector]: On persistent demands by the non-Congress(I) parties to institute an inquiry into the alleged Vasai-Virar land scam involving the Maharashtra Chief Minister, Mr. Sharad Pawar, he said so far "nothing" against Mr. Pawar had come before him.

"I am a Prime Minister and not a police sub-inspector to enquire into such issues," he added.

He said some of the Kashmiri militants had taken a positive view and wanted to bring peace in the Valley.

The levy of petrol will continue till the Gulf crisis was over, he said and also called for curtailing the consumption of petrol in the domestic market.

V.P. Singh criticised: Addressing a meeting of Janata Dal(S) workers at Shahada, Mr. Chandra Shekhar accused the former Prime Minister, Mr. V.P. Singh of having indulged in double talk and of having tried to cling to his chair even after his Government lost majority in the Lok Sabha.

Mr. Chandra Shekhar said he had not played any role in bringing about the fall of the V.P. Singh Government, whose fate, he said, had been decided the day the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] had withdrawn support to it on the Ayodhya issue.

He said he had accepted the challenge of heading the Government at a difficult time, when the country faced problems on the communal and economic fronts.

In the six weeks since he had assumed office, the situation in the country had improved and the confidence of the people had been restored, Mr. Chandra Shekhar said.

On the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute, he had been able to get the Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] and the Babri Masjid Action Committee [BMAC] together for talks, the Prime Minister said and hoped a solution would emerge soon.

Stress on negotiations: He said he would try to solve all problems through negotiations without compromising on the basic principles of national unity and integrity, the dignity of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the security of the minorities.

"The Government will only heed to needs of the people and will not tolerate any more violating the country's Constitution."

The Centre would not interfere in the working of State Governments but it would also not be pressured by State Governments.—UNI, PTI

### Questions on Pakistan

91AS0493B Madras THE HINDU in English  
23 Dec 90 p 1

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Dec. 22—The Prime Minister, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, today sought to assure the people "in all seriousness" not to be "scared" of the Pakistani nuclear weapon even if that country possessed the bomb as India was ready for all eventualities. Going further, Mr. Chandra Shekhar ventured to say that Pakistan would "not use" nuclear arms against India. He said he had a "certain amount of confidence about strength also and I think nobody in this world today will misadventure into using atomic energy for destruction."

Answering questions on Pakistan at a "meet the press" programme here, Mr. Chandra Shekhar said he thought there was "every possibility to improve our relations" and that he was impressed by the talk and behaviour of the Prime Minister of Pakistan. Mr. Chandra Shekhar said he continued to hold this view in spite of words of caution and warnings from many quarters.

It is difficult to think of a time when an Indian Prime Minister has had such generous remarks to make about the leader of a country with which animosities have rarely, if ever, left the surface. "I got the impression in Male (during the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] summit) that the Pakistani Prime Minister wants to improve relations with India," Mr. Chandra Shekhar said and added that he did not change this view "in spite of caution from people who know about Pakistan more and know about Nawaz Sharif better than I know."

### 'Talks Cordial'

The Prime Minister also described as "cordial and (being) in a very positive direction" the recent talks in Islamabad between the Foreign Secretaries of India and Pakistan. He said some people were concerned about

this, but felt there was no need for such reaction. Punjab was the only irritant between the two countries, the Prime Minister said. "I only hope the Pakistan Government will do something to dispel this apprehension from the minds of the Indian people."

When a questioner suggested that there was a problem vis-a-vis Pakistan in Kashmir also, the Prime Minister agreed but said Kashmir was a "known factor" (of concern from the beginning). It created problems, "psychological problems at least," if the "impression goes that even in Punjab the Pakistan government is taking some special interest."

On Pakistan possessing the bomb, Mr. Chandra Shekhar said, "I do not know if they have got it or not. The report is coming from other sides. Even if they have got it, we have no reason to be worried about it."

He said the Pakistani Prime Minister had contacted him twice on the newly established hotline between the two leaders. He meant to reciprocate in a day or two. On the contents of these frequent high-level contacts, he said, "You know on hotlines you do not discuss matters in detail, or matters of great substance." When a correspondent asked if the hotline was not 'hot,' Mr. Chandra Shekhar replied, "It is getting as cool as possible. So many people want to make it hot, but I assure you that this will not happen."

#### 'No Warning'

Mr. Chandra Shekhar told a Pakistani correspondent that he had issued no warning to Pakistan on the nuclear weapons issue. The reference was to a reported statement of the Prime Minister at a meeting of the consultative committee of Parliament attached to the Defence Ministry. Mr. Chandra Shekhar said he had not stated anything suo motu, but when some MPs [Members of Parliament] raised the issue of a Pakistani nuclear weapon he expressed the hope that Pakistan would not embark on a 'misadventure.' This was reported in the press as a 'warning', though he saw it only as "a friendly advice, a caution."

The Prime Minister said he wanted relations between India and Pakistan to improve because there was a "wave of change" in the world situation today. If the two countries had to play "any meaningful role," they should solve their problems "by mutual discussion," he said.

On increasing contacts between the people of India and Pakistan, the Prime Minister said that at Male, India had taken the initiative on this matter. After some discussion the SAARC summit agreed to scrap visas for Supreme Court Judges, MPs and heads of national academic institutions. But some had objections ("I do not say Pakistan") on ending visas for journalists, Mr. Chandra Shekhar recalled, saying he personally wanted visas in the SAARC region scrapped for all citizens.

Mr. Chandra Shekhar did not rule out a summit between himself and his Pakistani counterpart, but said, "We will have to wait for some time. Do not be in a great hurry."

Reacting to insistent questions on the Bofors investigation, Mr. Chandra Shekhar at one stage raised his voice to say "Let me have my opinion (on the importance of the Bofors controversy), you are free to have yours." But even before finishing the sentence he broke into a grin.

A little later, a question about the IMF and World Bank conditionalities appeared to irk him and he bristled: "If you want to see a ghost everywhere, I cannot help it." A comment about his "ashram" in Bhondsi, near Gurgaon, met with an invitation to the "ashram" and a sharp retort. "You can come to the ashram and see it for yourself; I cannot help if some people suffer from illusions."

The "slip" came somewhere between the two "Bs"—Bofors and Bhondsi—and he was quick to apologise. Asked when he proposed to expand his ministry next, he said, "Maybe after elections." That had the entire gathering roaring, and a visibly embarrassed Prime Minister hastened to add: "I am sorry, after the Parliament session."

#### Other Matters Discussed

91AS0493C Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
23 Dec 90 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Dec. 22—The Prime Minister, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, today indicated the government's support to the Rajiv Gandhi formula on the Ayodhya dispute and said he would discuss with the Chief Justice of India the suggestion that a reference be made to the Supreme Court to ascertain whether a temple existed where the Babri Masjid now stands. He said he was consulting legal experts and religious leaders of both communities who were not "averse to the suggestion."

Addressing a packed press conference hosted by the Press Club of India here this morning, Mr Chandra Shekhar reiterated his offer to hold unconditional talks with the militants in Punjab and said he was even willing to discuss the demand for amending the Constitution but not its abrogation.

Answering a wide range of questions on the internal situation, economic crisis and international relations at the hour-long press conference, Mr Chandra Shekhar said there was no proposal to hold mid-term elections and said the next Cabinet expansion would take place after the winter session of Parliament.

He confirmed that President's rule in Jammu and Kashmir would be extended because the situation did not warrant holding of elections. The Prime Minister did not agree that his government lacked "legitimacy" and pointed out that legitimacy did not come from numbers alone but also from the way a government performed. He said his government had achieved some success in many

fronts, including price rise and it was for the people to judge the government's legitimacy.

Ayodhya: In reply to a question on the government's approach to the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute, Mr Chandra Shekhar clarified that the Congress(I) president, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, had not stated that the site should be handed over to the Hindus if it were archaeologically proved that a temple had been demolished to build the mosque. He said sections of the minority community had themselves suggested this as a way out.

He went on to say that he would ask the Chief Justice whether the Supreme Court could decide the question, "I have been in touch with legal experts. I am also taking the opinion of Hindu and Muslim leaders. None of them is making a comment on it but they are not averse to the suggestion," he said.

Punjab: Asked if he had received any positive response to the offer of talks with militants, Mr Chandra Shekhar said, "some initial steps" had been taken by the other side but the response in Kashmir was more positive than in Punjab.

On the government's approach to the Punjab problem, the Prime Minister said, "Violence is no answer. I am ready to discuss anything with anyone as long as he is Indian. There is no embargo on discussions, not just with political parties but also with those who are alienated. I am humbly begging them to come to the negotiating table but if they do not come, we will have to do our constitutional duty."

Asserting that the government would not do anything in a "clandestine manner," he said he was attaching no conditions to the offer of talks. When a newsman pointed out that the Centre had come to an agreement even with the MNF [Mizo National Front] leader, Mr Laldenga, who had indulged in years of violence, the Prime Minister said, "We are ready to discuss the amendment to the Constitution but not to abrogating the Constitution."

On the recent changes made in the Punjab administration, Mr Chandra Shekhar said they had been made to "tone up the administration" and should not be seen as "coercive measures." He said the law of the land should be applied to deal with the guilty in the November 1984 riots and the courts should proceed on the basis of the evidence furnished before them. "I don't know why the Prime Minister should keep on proclaiming that the guilty will be punished...the law should take its course."

Mandal report: Regarding the Mandal Commission report, Mr Chandra Shekhar said the matter was before the court and one should await the decision of the Supreme Court.

He agreed that economic and educational backwardness should also be addressed but added that in the Indian context, the role of caste in determining backwardness

could not be ignored. Any policy to ameliorate backwardness should be a "synthesis" of both these criteria, he added.

Communal situation: Though there were a spate of questions on the deteriorating communal situation in the country, Mr Chandra Shekhar preferred to speak in generalities.

He said communalism was an "ongoing problem" which was "embedded in our history" and was being kept alive by "some elements." He said communalism divided the people and diverted their energies from the urgent task of fighting poverty and disease and said only "people's consciousness and awareness" could meet the challenge.

In reply to another question on the blatant mixing of religion with politics, Mr Chandra Shekhar said while it was unfortunate, the government could not do much in the matter. He said when people did not see a future before them, they tended to cling to "old identities of caste and religion." It was, therefore, necessary to tackle developmental problems to ensure that people were not swayed by religion for political purposes.

He also declared that the government had no intention of banning communal parties because such curbs did not help.

### Reportage on Activities, Members of Planning Panel

#### First Full Meeting

91AS0492A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
25 Dec 90 p 8

[Text] New Delhi, Dec 24—The first full meeting of the Planning Commission, chaired by the Prime Minister, Mr Chandra Shekhar, decided to form a three-member committee to finalise the outlay for 1991-92 as well as the whole of the Eighth Plan. The three-member committee will include the Prime Minister, the deputy chairman of the commission, Mr Mohan Dharia and the Union finance minister, Mr Yashwant Sinha.

Mr Dharia did not specify when the outlays would be finalised but said, "We are determined that the country should not go without a plan for the second consecutive year." The commission is to begin discussions with the state governments to finalise their plans from Wednesday. Mr Dharia said, "We shall take an early view and will not delay discussions with the states."

Public sector criticised: The panel members severely criticised the performance of the public sector. Mr Dharia said the meeting had agreed that a machinery should be evolved to review the working of public sector undertakings (PSUs). Earlier, the Prime Minister in his address, had also said that a methodology should be evolved so that PSUs could start working efficiently. In

this context the Prime Minister said he was not interested in a "doctrinal approach," as he was "not wedded to any ideology except removal of hunger and poverty."

The Union commerce minister, Dr Subramanian Swamy, was of the opinion that the public sector should be made accountable. Mr Yashwant Sinha said the private sector should also be involved in projects concerning housing, road construction and electricity generation.

Mr Chandra Shekhar reiterated that a plan holiday this year was out of the question. He said the planning process would instead be further strengthened. He said the country was facing an unprecedented economic situation, but it had adequate strength, resilience and manpower to face the situation. He said the prime concern now should be to make optimum use of available resources.

When it was pointed out to Mr Dharia that the Chandra Shekhar government had not shifted emphasis from areas determined by the previous government, he said poverty eradication was the prime concern of government.

### Dharia Press Conference

91AS0492B New Delhi PATRIOT in English  
12 Dec 90 p 1

[Text] Planning Commission Deputy Chairman Mohan Dharia on Tuesday hinted at a possible cut in the Eighth Plan outlay of Rs [rupees] 6,10,000 [as printed] crore visualised by the previous government but ruled out a Plan holiday and said the Plan document would be ready by March-end next year, reports UNI.

The approach to the Eighth Plan (1990-95) finalised in June last had projected the public sector outlay at Rs 335,000 crore out of the total proposed investment.

Addressing a press conference soon after assuming office, Mr Dharia said even with a cut in the Plan size, the projected three percent growth in employment and 5.5 percent annual growth rate in gross domestic product could be maintained.

Mr Dharia said a fresh look at the approach to the Eighth Plan, already approved by the National Development Council (NDC) was warranted by various recent developments, particularly the impact of the Gulf crisis and the difficult balance of payments and budgetary deficit positions.

While there would be no change in the basic postulates and objectives outlined in the approach paper, priorities would have to be redrawn taking into account the financial constraints and the realities that had emerged of late, he stated.

The new Deputy Chairman identified rising prices and inadequate supplies of essential commodities as two of

the main problems that required immediate attention, with stress on supply management.

Expressing serious concern over the recent political and social developments, Mr Dharia said the present economic situation was far more serious than was apparent.

He said the budget deficit this year could be around Rs 15,000 crore against the projected figure of Rs 9,000 crore and the Eighth Plan would have to be drawn up against this background.

Mr Dharia said the full-time members of the Commission were expected to be appointed by the end of the week and all efforts would be made to complete the Plan exercise on schedule.

As far as the annual plans for 1991-92 are concerned, he said discussions with Chief Ministers of States would be completed by January 15.

Gulf impact: Referring to the impact of the Gulf crisis, Mr Dharia called for efforts to make the country self-reliant, especially in the area of conventional and non-conventional sources of energy.

He said rising unemployment was another area that demanded top priority and was hopeful that more jobs could be generated through projects with lower investments and shorter gestation periods.

In the process, he said, durable assets and capital formation could also be ensured. As an example, he said there were nearly 150 million hectares of wasteland in the country, of which 125 million hectares were culturable land.

Mr Dharia said it was a question of proper management of water, land, natural resources and manpower.

He also stressed the need for restoring the confidence of the people in the Planning process, which was vital for the successful implementation of various programmes.

To a question, Mr Dharia said there was no question of totally discarding the existing approach paper inasmuch as it contained valuable ideas on many aspects of the Planning process, particularly decentralisation.

About the changes that would be warranted in the new circumstances, he said a final view could be taken only when the full Commission is reconstituted.

He said he would not adopt a dogmatic approach to development and would draw from recent experiences the world over.

He said special stress would have to be laid on conservation of energy and resources and better utilisation of existing assets.

Mr Dharia said the NDC would meet to finalise the Plan document before March 31 next year.

He also spoke at some length on his recent experiences with afforestation and rural development projects in Maharashtra and hoped these would stand him in good stead in the Planning Commission.

#### Members Named

91AS0492C Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 13 Dec 90 p 13

[Text] New Delhi, Dec 12 (UNI)—The former minister of state, Mr Sher Singh, and the eminent scientist, Mr C.N.R. Rao, are among the six full-time members of the planning commission appointed by the President today, completing the reconstitution of the body.

The other new members are Prof G.S. Bhalla, Prof S.R. Hashim, Dr D. Swaminathan and Ms Jyotsnaben Shah.

With this, the reconstituted commission has seven full-time members, including the member-secretary, Mr A.N. Verma, in addition to the deputy chairperson, Mr Mohan Dharia. The Prime Minister is the chairperson of the commission.

Prof Sher Singh had served as minister of state for rural development, education and defence production at various times in the Indira Gandhi government.

Prof Rao is at present the director of the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore. He was earlier the chairperson of the scientific advisory council to then Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi. He also worked as the director of the Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur.

Prof Bhalla is a well-known agricultural economist and is now a professor of economics at Jawaharlal Nehru University.

He has also served as a member of the agricultural prices commission.

Prof Hashim is at present working as an advisor in the planning commission dealing with perspective planning. He was earlier a professor in the department of economics at Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda.

Dr Swaminathan is the vice-chancellor of Jawaharlal Nehru University of Technology at Hyderabad.

Ms Shah is a former professor in the department of education and psychology of Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda. After retirement from the university in 1970, she took up social work, especially for women and children.

She has also worked for the welfare of tribal women. Among other things, she is the founder of the Lalita Devi women's sahayak industrial co-operative society in Baroda.

Prof Hashim, Prof Sher Singh and Prof G.S. Bhalla assumed office today.

They had a brief meeting with Mr Dharia.

Mr Verma is expected to take over tomorrow.

#### Shekhar Meets With Punjab Sikh Leader Mann

##### 28 Dec Meeting

91AS0464A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 29 Dec 90 pp 1, 11

[Text] New Delhi, 28 Dec (The Times of India News Service)—The Centre's efforts for the solution of the Punjab imbroglio made some headway tonight when the Prime Minister, Mr Chandra Shekhar, agreed to hold talks directly with militants following a 90-minute closed-door meeting with Mr Simranjit Singh Mann. Mr Mann had come here as a representative of the three major Akali factions in the state.

What exactly transpired in the face-to-face parleys between the Prime Minister and the Akali leader is not known, but an official spokesman later said the talks were held in a relaxed and "conciliatory atmosphere." It marked a "step forward" in the government's search for a solution to the Punjab problem. The very fact that Mr Mann, who until recently spouted fire, had come forward for a dialogue indicated an improvement in the situation.

Mr Mann, who is president of the Siromani Akali Dal, reportedly asked the Prime Minister whether he would agree to meet the militants. The Prime Minister responded by saying that if the militants expressed desire for talks, the government would consider the offer. The modalities for these discussions could be decided when the militants approached the government for the purpose.

The Akali leader was accompanied by a 12-member delegation. He presented a memorandum containing various demands made by the Akalis and militants from time to time in the past.

According to well-informed sources, the withdrawal of the troops recently inducted in border areas with a view to checking the movement of terrorists from Pakistan was one of the demands made in the memorandum.

The Prime Minister spent about 20 minutes exchanging pleasantries with members of the delegation. Later, he and Mr Mann were closeted for a free and frank discussion of the Punjab problem.

##### PTI and UNI Add:

Mr Mann's meeting with the Prime Minister, which came within 48 hours of the Fatehgarh Sahib convention authorising him to hold talks on behalf of the Akali Dals and the SGPC [Sikh Temple Management Committee], marks resumption of a dialogue with the Centre after a gap of five years.

Talking about the Rajiv-Longowal accord of 1985, Mr Mann said it was hammered out "in secrecy."

"Now we are not doing anything clandestinely. It's all open," said Mr Mann.

Mr Mann said no date had been fixed for the Prime Minister's talks with the militants.

Replying to a question, he said he found the attitude of Mr Chandra Shekhar to be "positive and I hope for the best."

Mr Mann said he submitted a memorandum to Mr Chandra Shekhar which contained the demand for self-determination for the people of Punjab under Article 51 of the Indian constitution.

He described his meeting with the Prime Minister as "exploratory" in nature.

Mr Mann quipped: "We want peace, the Prime Minister wants peace, the whole world wants peace."

Earlier before entering the Prime Minister's residence, Mr Mann, wearing a blue suit and carrying his "kirpan" (religious sword), said: "My mandate is self-determination for the state of Punjab. It is our right and we are fighting for it."

Mr Mann drove in at 8 pm, accompanied by a dozen of other Sikh leaders.

Meanwhile, the Panthic Committee (Zaffarwal) has extended conditional support to the talks with the Prime Minister. It wants that such parleys should be held in the presence of the United Nations or other "impartial observers," UNI reports from Jalandhar.

A three-page handwritten statement in Punjabi received by UNI today said an emergency meeting of the committee held at an undisclosed place yesterday, appreciated the "belated" decision of an "irrelevant Akali leadership" fixing the right of self-determination as the goal of Sikhs at their joint conference at Fatehgarh Sahib on Wednesday.

The Panthic Committee (Dr Sohan Singh) also has expressed its willingness to enter into a dialogue with the Prime Minister.

The statement of the Committee said the Akali leadership like the "Delhi Takht" had "led Sikhs up the garden path" in the past but harmed the interests of the Panth by ultimately settling for an office of power. "But we assure Simranjit Singh Mann that if he continues his struggle to achieve the objective of right to self-determination he should consider us his allies," the statement added.

The statement said the Panthic Committee fully realised that doors for talks should be kept open while waging armed struggle so that the opposite side could not malign the "Marjivras" (those who are ready to sacrifice for a cause) by resorting to falsehoods. "We, therefore, want

that no talks be held with the communal Delhi government without the presence of representatives of the United Nations organisation."

"It will be much better if representatives of democratic and impartial powers also took part in these talks so that the Delhi Takht could not get an opportunity to back out," the statement said.

The statement was signed by Bhai Wassan Singh Zaffarwal, Bhai Jarnail Singh Hoshiarpur, Bhai Subegh Singh, Bhai Sukhwinder Gora, Sukhbir Singh advocate, Bhai Ranjodh Singh, Bhai Jagir Singh Dilli and Bhai Jaswant Singh Ahluwalia.

Meanwhile, in Delhi, the Sikh Forum president, Lt Gen (Retd) Jagjit Singh Arora, welcomed the meeting between the Prime Minister and Mr Mann. "The Prime Minister has opened door of negotiations in a manner which shows both realism and courage. The various Akali groups are to be complimented on having designated Mann as their representative and this shows degree of unanimity which had not been witnessed for quite some time. Both these developments are promising and deserve support," he said.

Meanwhile, in Chandigarh the Punjab governor, Gen O.P. Malhotra, today took steps to streamline the administrative structure to look into public complaints regarding the functioning of law and order machinery in the state.

A state-level committee has been constituted for monitoring public complaints regarding the functioning of the law and order machinery.

The committee, which consists of financial commissioner (Home), director general of police and inspector general (Internal Vigilance), will ensure proper inquiry and prompt action regarding public grievances.

Besides the normal police officers who are responsible for inquiring into the redressal of grievances, the district empowered committee in each district consisting of the deputy commissioner and the senior superintendent of police will look into complaints at the district level.

Similarly, the divisional empowered committees, headed by the divisional commissioners, will function at the division level.

In a related development the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC) president, Mr Baldev Singh Sibia, and its former chief, Mr Gurcharan Singh Tohra, today condemned the reported arrest of the takht Sri Hazoor Sahib head, Granthi Giani Pratap Singh, by the Rajasthan government and demanded his immediate release.

In a joint statement here they said the state government had, by the "unwarranted" arrest, deliberately tried to "rub salt on the wounds" of the Sikhs.

**Memo to Shekhar**

91AS0464B Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 1 Jan 91 pp 1, 3

[Text] New Delhi, 31 Dec (UNI)—The Akali Dal (Mann) president, Mr Simranjit Singh Mann in his memorandum to the Prime Minister, Mr Chandra Shekhar, has stated that, "Sikhs have no choice but to safeguard their religion, political and other interests" which was possible only by invoking their right to self-determination.

The memorandum handed over to Mr Chandra Shekhar by Mr Mann last Friday said "after being subjected for years to state repression and discrimination, the people of Punjab wish to invoke the right on which basis the Sikhs joined the Indian union."

The memorandum, which has been a subject of intense speculation and apprehension among all major political parties including the Congress, the Bharatiya Janata Party and Janata Dal was made available to UNI today.

The memorandum said the safeguarding of Sikh rights was possible only "if they invoke the right to self-determination permitted by international law recognised by India."

"In any case, by framing different laws for Punjab, the nation has accepted Punjab as a separate legal entity. Moreover, the Sikhs had joined the Union on the basis of a cabinet mission plan which gave the right to provinces to change their constitutions after ten years. Even if the format of the province has changed, the principle remains," the memorandum said.

On these lines, various Sikh parties and religious bodies including Shiromani Gurudwara Parabandhak Committee passed a "historic" resolution at Fatehgarh Sahib on 26 December 1990 demanding the right to self-determination.

The memorandum said Mr Mann's mandate for holding parleys with Mr Chandra Shekhar "is to discuss the right to self-determination which is our historic and constitutional right."

The memorandum said that "the Sikhs, though a small minority, have played an important role to secure the rights and freedom of the Indian people."

"They dream of a peaceful, prosperous and democratic Indian sub-continent and they extend a hand of friendship to all people and communities of India. Our hope is that the government and the people of India will in turn honour our constitutional, political, democratic, regional and economic rights."

Recalling pre-independence events, the memorandum said the British, Hindus, Muslims and the Sikhs were the four signatories to the freedom of India. "The Sikhs, who opted for the Indian union, are today demanding the right to self-determination," it said.

The Sikhs only agreed to join India after securing the most solemn guarantees from the Congress and ratified by the British government, the memorandum said. It quoted the Indian Independence Act of 1947 to state "power is being transferred to Indian hands on the clear understanding that the future constitution of India shall provide for special rights and privileges to the Sikhs."

It regretted that "the record of the Indian state in its dealings with the Sikhs and Punjab is one of broken promises, blatant discrimination and brutal state repression in gross violation of the constitution and India's international treaties."

The memorandum quoted the Congress resolution adopted at Lahore in 1929 assuring the Sikhs that no constitution would be framed unless it was acceptable to Sikhs. It also cited the "statement" of Mahatma Gandhi while addressing a congregation of Sikhs at Gurudwara Sis Ganj in Delhi in 1931 that "Sikh friends have no reason to fear that the Congress would betray them."

Terming Operation Blue Star as a "watershed" in Indo-Sikh affairs, the memorandum said so great was the trauma, that the Sikhs, to "safeguard their existence, are not prepared to accept any political system which does not concede the right of self-determination, while the youth, we call the militants, are shedding their blood daily for a sovereign Sikh state."

The memorandum said that "these are hard realities we must face to find a correct solution. As militants are an important component in the situation, a formal invitation for talks must also be extended to them," it added.

Stating that Punjab today was under the "shadow of army bayonets" it asked the Prime Minister not to commit the "mistake" of his predecessors. It said "if our meeting results in a humane, realistic and constructive approach on Sikh and Punjab issues, then we will have taken an important step towards an amicable settlement."

"Discrimination against Punjab forced the Sikhs to agitate for their constitutional, democratic, political, regional and economic rights. Not only draconian laws were enacted to suppress peaceful movements, thousands of Sikhs were massacred in Delhi and elsewhere in the country in 1984."

The memorandum said that "in effect India stands constitutionally partitioned between Punjab and India with 65th and 76th amendment bills passed by Parliament reducing Punjab to a colony and the Sikhs to colonial subjects. Different laws apply to Punjab than the rest of the country, while the people of the state are denied any legal or administrative redress. Thus, while in Punjab people can be shot by the police on the vaguest suspicion without any process of law, those guilty of killing Sikhs in 1984, freely roam the streets of Delhi."

Punjab has been denied an elected government for the past 44 months while the government justified it "on the grounds of Pakistan's interference in the state."

"Thus, elections in Punjab do not depend on the constitution and principle of democracy, but on the goodwill of Pakistan. Therefore, the Sikhs and the people of Punjab demand that if the government was so helpless, elections should be held under the supervision of the United Nations." The memorandum pointed out that Pakistan, which had a serious law and order problem in Sindh, was able to conduct both national and state elections in the province.

Referring to various Hindu organisations launching the doctrine of Hindutva which made India synonymous with Hinduism and Hindu rashtra, the memorandum "shuddered too at the consequences awaiting the minorities when this doctrine which has wide acceptance, is enforced." Nor is this a distant vision as the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] president, Mr L.K. Advani, is the leader of the opposition in Parliament.

"Today the VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad] and BJP are demanding the demolition of the Babri mosque. Tomorrow they will demand the destruction of the Golden Temple because it is said that Lord Rama buried the casket of nectar from Sri Lanka on the site of the temple.

The memorandum said the meeting between Mr Mann and the Prime Minister took place at a time "when Punjab and the nation stand at crossroads of history. The faulty political and economic system evolved by the country after independence has collapsed and the inevitable unrest is being exploited by Hindu fundamentalism." Tracing the history of "discrimination" against the Sikhs in the ten page document, it recalled that the Centre opposed the formation of a Punjabi speaking state even after linguistic states had been formed in the rest of the country. A Punjabi suba was eventually conceded after agitations in Punjab had gained momentum leading to great bitterness," it added.

"The new state was formed on the basis of the 1961 census accepted as false by many leaders including the then Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, as many Punjabi Hindus were incited to record Hindi as their mother tongue. Consequently, the state capital, Chandigarh and areas which from time immemorial were an integral part of Punjab, were transferred to other states," the memorandum said.

"Therefore, Punjab was reorganised and partitioned on communal lines and not on linguistic basis, making it the second religious partition in 20 years," it pointed out.

Similarly, the Punjab river waters were transferred to other states in "violation of fact, constitutional law and precedence adopted by India and international conventions on sharing of river water," the document said.

On the "economic discrimination against the state, Mr Mann said "Punjab has the smallest per capita share of Central industrial projects. A large proportion of the money deposited in banks in Punjab is transferred for investment in industrialisation of other states."

No foreign investment in the state was possible without the permission of the Union government. The policy was detrimental to the interest of Punjab which has many expatriates in the United States, Britain and Canada," it said.

The memorandum also talks of what it called "clear and continuing discrimination" against the Sikhs in recruitment in traditional institutions like the armed forces." This situation has led to large-scale forced unemployment and consequent restlessness amongst the youth," it said.

The memorandum contended that the Indian constitution has become "thinly disguised unitary document conferring all powers to a Central authority. Inbred were all the evils we witness today in crumbling centralised political and economic system in the world."

The system was bound to end in anarchy or fascism or both, the signs of which are all too visible today, the memorandum said.

### Sikh Politics Discussed

91AS0464C Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
28 Dec 90 p 9

[Text] Chandigarh, 27 Dec—The political climate in Punjab has undergone a sea-change in the wake of the warring Akali factions unanimously nominating Mr Simranjit Singh Mann to hold talks with the Prime Minister, Mr Chandra Shekhar, tomorrow at 4 pm in New Delhi.

The Sikh politics in the State had not seen such activity lately as the meeting at Fatehgarh Sahib in Patiala district yesterday on the occasion of the Jor Mela, the annual fair in remembrance of the bricking alive of two young sons of Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth Sikh Guru in the early 18th century.

For the first time in several years all the top Panthic politicians shared the stage and demanded with one voice the "right of self-determination for Sikhs as enshrined in the Constitution."

The presence of Baba Thakar Singh, the aging head of the Damdami Taksal, which serves as the seminary for fundamental Sikhism, lent the political meet a religious hue. The conference was held just outside the gurdwara and ended without rival sloganeering usually seen on such occasions.

Simultaneously, the All-India Sikh Students Federation [AISSF] (Manjit group) held a separate conference of militant outfits inside the Todarmal hall of the gurdwara. It adopted several resolutions but its main demand was the militants should be invited for talk by the Prime

Minister. They wanted a written invitation for the talks which they wanted to be held at the Akal Takht after declaring Amritsar city neutral or a peace zone to enable the militants to come and go without hindrance.

A resolution received from the chief of the Babbar Khalsa International, Bhai Sukhdev Singh Babbar, and read out at the militants meet, said the struggle for attainment of "Khalistan" would continue but promised a non-aggressive Khalistan where in Hindus, Muslims, Jains and Christians would be free to profess their faith and propagate it. It would be a state without social evils such as dowry and use of intoxicants.

The militants conference described the Akali meet as "a drama to forge unity" and warned that if they discussed with the Prime Minister, anything short of Khalistan they would meet Sant Longowal's fate. Demanding withdrawal of the Army from the border districts it warned that the Government would be given "a fitting reply" very shortly.

#### "Buffer State"

At the main Akali conference, Mr Mann clarified that the Sikh State of his conception would be a buffer State between India and Pakistan. It would thereby avert a war between the traditional enemies. He spoke of a balance of power in the sub-continent with the Sikh State acting as the balancing power.

Mr Mann said his party had first demanded the right of self-determination for the Sikhs on the last Baisakhi day at its conference at Damdama Sahib. Since India had ratified the 1979 UN convention on the right of self-determination for dependencies, the country was bound to honour its international commitments according to the Supreme Court's verdict. Mr Mann said he was committed to the ideology of Sant Bhindranwala and had taken the militants dream further.

#### Praise for P.M.

All the speakers at the Akali conference, who included Mr Prakash Singh Badal and Mr G.S. Tohra, praised Mr Chandra Shekhar as an able statesman and a friend of the Sikhs. They said the hand preferred by Mr Chandra Shekhar should not be spurned lest Hindu fundamentalists ridicule his initiative in the matter. They urged militants too to join the process of negotiations and said that if the talks with the Government failed the Akalis would leave the field free for the militant struggle.

The Akalis warned, through a resolution, that if the Army units freshly inducted in Punjab were not withdrawn immediately, they would hold a rally on Republic Day in Ludhiana to decide the next course of the Sikh struggle.

Before the Akali conference, Mr Mann has said in a press interview in his native village of Talania that he had received the Prime Minister's formal invitation through an emissary who had said that the militants were more

than welcome to the talks and that in fact, the current moves were directed to that end.

The mood at both the conferences, according to observers, was belligerent. A constant refrain of the speeches was to extend support to the militants to give them respectability.

#### BBC Interview With Shekhar Reported

91AS0538A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 31 Dec 90 p 11

[Text] London, 30 Dec (PTI)—The Prime Minister, Mr Chandra Shekhar, has defended his decision to initiate a dialogue with the Sikh militants in Punjab and expressed optimism that a solution to the problem could be found in an atmosphere of understanding and within the framework of the Indian constitution.

In an interview with the BBC Hindi service, Mr Chandra Shekhar said he was willing to negotiate the grievances of the Sikh community within the parameters of the Indian constitution. He said he is Prime Minister under the constitutional provisions and, therefore, could not go beyond it to resolve any problem. This has been made clear to Mr Simranjit Singh Mann, he added.

The Prime Minister said the constitution no doubt could be amended to accommodate the Sikh demands, but this would require the support of other parties in Parliament.

Asked to comment on the nature of the constitutional amendment he has in mind, the Prime Minister said he could not elaborate without any firm proposal in this regard.

He, however, ruled out the provisions under article 370 to be extended to Punjab. The provision was made with respect to Jammu and Kashmir under special circumstances which, he felt should continue.

The Prime Minister said he is willing to initiate a dialogue with the Jammu and Kashmir militants but asserted that any solution to the problem in the sensitive border state has to be within the framework of the constitution.

"There can be no compromise on the unity and integrity of the country and the militants who come for the talks must remember that I am totally opposed to separatism."

Mr Chandra Shekhar said there was nothing wrong in talking to people with all shades of opinions in different parts of the country listening to their views and demands and then trying to resolve their grievances across the table.

He said a contact has been established with some people in Kashmir, and there are positive indications as well. But there were some difficulties and one could not be definite about the results.

Asked about the Sikh militants' demand for the right of self-determination and independence, he said he was for every Indian's independence. "India is a democracy and in a democracy every one should be independent. If the Sikhs feel that their independence has been curbed, it is our duty to remove that feeling," the Prime Minister said.

The terms used in the memorandum submitted to him by Mr Mann could have different interpretations, he said.

The Prime Minister said he was hopeful of a solution to the current impasse because all factions of the Akalis have accepted Mr Mann as their leader for talks with the government in an atmosphere of goodwill.

Commenting on the Ayodhya dispute, Mr Chandra Shekhar said he was trying to bring the conflicting parties together and hoped that a solution to the problem could be found. He did not accept that minorities were feeling unsafe in India and said all necessary steps were being taken to protect them.

### Shekhar, Gandhi at National Peace Conference

9IAS0558A Madras THE HINDU in English  
6 Jan 91 p 2

[Words in boldface as published; quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 5 January: The Prime Minister, Mr Chandra Shekhar, today said that his Government was making all efforts to solve the 'Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid' issue. It was considering 'certain' formulae including the one suggested by the former Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, in this regard.

Inaugurating a national convention on peace and integration here, Mr Chandra Shekhar said that Mr Krishna Iyer, retired judge of the Supreme Court, and Swami Agnivesh had aired similar views as those expressed by Mr Gandhi. His Government was committed to a negotiated settlement of the dispute, he said. Suggestions from various quarters could be considered if they led to a solution.

While expressing happiness at the talks between the two major communities, Mr Chandra Shekhar said finding a solution to the complicated issue would not be easy. He said the talks between the two communities had provided an opportunity to seek a solution and also to ease the communal tension.

**Court verdict as final option:** The Prime Minister said in case the matter was not resolved by sitting together, the Government would be left with no option but to accept the verdict of the Court. The Government would not allow any confrontation between the majority and the minority communities or allow people to create fear on the issue.

Mr Chandra Shekhar asserted that his Government was committed to preserving the secular fabric of the nation and would not allow the country to be divided on the basis of caste, creed or religion.

He reminded the people that Ram resided everywhere and not only in a temple or a mosque. Killing each in the name of God was against the basic tenets of any religion. He cautioned the people against the growing virus of communalism and urged them to fight these tendencies so that the country could progress on the path of development.

Mr Chandra Shekhar assured that the media, particularly the electronic, would not be allowed to be misused by people spreading communalism. It would be used to propagate secular ideals.

**Real issues:** The former Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, said the real issues facing the country today were two—the removal of poverty and preserving the cultural heritage of the country. But some political parties were not ready to utilise their energies towards the removal of poverty and unemployment. These were rather interested in diverting the attention of the people elsewhere say for instance the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid issue or other communal issues.

Mr Gandhi accused the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and other like-minded parties of using religion to attain their political goals. The 'Toyota Rath' had led to the outbreak of communal violence in various parts of the country. Did Rama ever need publicity that a Rath be taken out in his name, he asked.

He emphasised the need to preserve the social and secular fabric of the country and said the people should rather concentrate on achieving economic and industrial progress. The fissiparous tendencies and casteism should be left behind and those talking of Rama should try to live up to the ideals of the most secular man that ever trod the globe.

**Exploitation of people's sentiments:** The former Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister, Dr Farooq Abdullah, said that the communal and other parties were exploiting the people's sentiments in the name of religion to grab 'power.' Despite all the communal trouble, the links between Hindus and Muslims and Hindus and Sikhs were still very strong. Decrying the tendency amongst militants in Kashmir to secure votes in the name of Allah, he said that God or Allah never required votes.

Welcoming the mixed gathering of religious leaders and politicians, Maulana Syed Musawi, Shia leader and president of the National Forum for Peace and Integration, suggested the setting up of a "communal harmony commission" on the lines of the Planning Commission to recommend measures to promote harmony. Eminent leaders from various communities should be members of the commission. He also stressed that the educational system was to be blamed for the vitiation of the atmosphere. He suggested that the educational system should

become secular-oriented. He announced that the Forum would launch a movement for communal harmony.

Swami Agnivesh, Arya Samaj activist, suggested that a Ram Rahim Hospital be constructed at Ayodhya.

Among others who spoke at the convention were Jathedar Racchpal Singh and Khawja Hassan Nizamai. The Union Law and Justice Minister, Dr Subramaniam Swamy, AICC-I [All-India Congress(I) Committee] General Secretary, Mr H.K.L. Bhagat and Satpalji Maharaj attended the meeting.

### Summary Revision of Electoral Rolls Announced

91AS0504A New Delhi PATRIOT in English  
7 Dec 90 p 5

[Text] The Election Commission on Thursday announced a summary revision of the electoral rolls as part of its annual exercise, reports PTI.

Announcing the programme for the summary revision Chief Election Commissioner V.S. Rama Devi told newsmen that the draft rolls would be published on 17 December and the last date for filing of claims and objections and preparation of supplementary rolls would be 31 January 1991.

Mr Rama Devi said the rolls would be printed on 6 February and finally published on 7 February to avoid clash of working being carried out by the census authorities scheduled to start on 9 February. [sentenced as received]

Our special correspondent adds: Introduction identity cards and voting machines should be seriously considered electronic to check malpractices in the elections. Mrs Rama Devi told the 2-day conference of the state chief electoral officers in New Delhi.

These were two vital aspects, she felt, in not only conducting the elections in a smooth manner but to minimise chances of malpractices.

The use of voting machines, she felt, was essential since the country had incurred a huge amount of Rs75 [rupees] crore on the procurement of them.

The identity cards would help in reducing the chances of impersonation, she added.

The Election Commission, she said, was of the view that the candidates belonging to backward classes and weaker sections would not lose on account of large number of invalid votes if voting machines were used.

Mrs Rama Devi agreed that the use of electronic machines were possible only with the cooperation of political parties, though their apprehensions about the use of machines were well known, she said.

Such fears would have to be alleged, she cautioned. For this the Election Commissioner should arrange a demonstration to show the effective working of these machines, and thus establish the credibility of the system, she added.

### Investigation, Intelligence Bureau Chiefs Named

91AS0503A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
12 Dec 90 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 11 December—The government today announced another round of top-level administrative changes at the Centre, and appointed Mr Vijay Karan and Mr M.K. Narayanan as directors of the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) and the Intelligence Bureau (IB) respectively.

The Planning Commission member, Mr T.N. Seshan, has been appointed as the new Chief Election Commissioner (CEC).

The present CBI director, Mr Rajendra Shekhar, is being sent back to Rajasthan as director-general of police at the request of the state government. Mr Vijay Karan, who takes over as the new CBI director, is now commissioner of the Delhi police. Mr Arun Bagat, a 1961-batch IPS [Indian Police Service] officer who is currently a joint director in the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), will succeed Mr Vijay Karan as commissioner of the Delhi police.

Mr R.P. Joshi, the present Intelligence Bureau chief, will be exchanging his position with his replacement, Mr M.K. Narayanan, currently secretary of both the Joint Intelligence Commission as well as the National Security Council (NSC).

Mr Seshan, who was cabinet secretary during Mr Rajiv Gandhi's tenure as prime minister takes over as the CEC succeeding R.V. Peri Sastri, who died late last month. Mr Rajendra Shekhar, a distinguished police officer of the Rajasthan cadre, had been supervising the investigation into the controversial Bofors kickback case and his transfer was almost a certainty the day the new government took over.

Mr Joshi, brother-in-law of the former cabinet secretary, Mr Vinod Pande, enjoys an equally good reputation as a police officer but was shifted at the insistence of the Uttar Pradesh chief minister, Mr Mulayam Singh Yadav. Mr Joshi has just 3 months left to retire.

The Rajasthan chief minister, Mr Bhairon Singh Shekhawat, had personally requested the prime minister, Mr Chandra Shekhar, to revert the services of Mr Rajendra Shekhar back to the state government. According to information available, Mr Rajendra Shekhar preferred the director-generalship of the Rajasthan police to heading the Bureau of Police Research.

Mrs Rama Devi, who was secretary in the Legislative Department of the Law Ministry, had been officiating as

the chief election commissioner after Peri Sastri proceeded on leave for his treatment. Mr Seshan will be taking over charge from Mrs Rama Devi tomorrow afternoon.

### National Front, Left Panel Meets

91AS0559A Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
6 Jan 91 p 2

[Text] New Delhi, 5 January: The first meeting of the Coordination Committee of the National Front and the Left parties here today hit a discordant note and after two sessions spread over several hours it was decided to reduce the strength of the committee as a compromise.

Consequently, the panel will now have instead of nine members only four, with only the National Front and the two Communist parties finding representation on it. The Janata Dal, the DMK [Dravidian Progressive Foundation] and the two other Left parties—the RSP [Revolutionary Socialist Party] and the Forward Bloc—among others have been dropped to mollify the Congress (S) and the Assam Gana Parishad (AGP) who had been kept out of the committee because of inter-party tensions.

Neither the Left nor the Janata Dal wanted to associate themselves with the AGP because of their none-too-happy equations in Assam where the AGP calls the shots.

At today's meeting, the Congress (S) is understood to have protested sharply against its exclusion from the committee provoking a prolonged discussion because of which the committee met again in the afternoon.

Eventually, it was decided that the Janata Dal, the DMK and the two Left parties would also be excluded restricting the Committee's composition to the National Front and the two Communist parties—the CPI [Communist Party of India] and the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist].

The reconstituted committee comprises Mr N.T. Rama Rao, chairman of the National Front; Mr V.P. Singh, convener National Front; Mr Indrajit Gupta, CPI; and Mr Harkishan Singh Surjeet (CPI-M).

The meeting decided to set up State-level coordination committees soon. It discussed the domestic situation and expressed concern over the communal flare-up in several parts of the country.

### Shukla Tells Stand on Pakistan Camps

91AS0546A Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English  
3 Jan 91 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, 2 Jan—The government will not internationalise the issue of Pakistan-based training camps for Indian terrorists because such a move would go against national interests, the external affairs minister, Mr V.C. Shukla, informed the Rajya Sabha today.

He was replying to a supplementary by Mr Gurudas Dasgupta (CPI) [Communist Party of India] during Question Hour.

In course of a question on the meeting of foreign secretaries of India and Pakistan in Islamabad recently, Mr Dasgupta wanted to know whether the question of continued Pakistani training for Khalistani and Kashmiri terrorists had been taken up by the Indian side.

Mr Shukla replied that Pakistan denied the existence of any such training camps but India maintained that it had "overwhelming evidence" on the question and insisted that such training should be stopped forthwith.

Mr Dasgupta said in view of Pakistan's persistent denials, the issue should be taken up at international fora, including the United Nations. He said while bilateral issues were normally not internationalised, this was a special case and international pressure should be brought upon Pakistan to desist from such blatant anti-India activity.

While agreeing that it was a serious issue and all efforts should be made at the bilateral level to pressure Pakistan to stop such training, Mr Shukla however, said: "But making it an international issue will not be helpful to us...If we make the mistake of taking it to the United Nations, rather than serving any good, it will go against our interests."

### Minister Meets Press on Return From GATT

91AS0469A Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
11 Dec 90 p 9

[Article: "GATT Talks Provided Breathing Space"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Dec. 10—The Union Commerce, Law and Justice Minister, Dr. Subramanian Swamy today described the failure of GATT talks in Brussels as a 'success for India in damage limitation and providing the country with breathing space to renegotiate its undermined position.'

Addressing a news conference here this evening, Dr. Swamy said 'had the Brussels talks ended in an agreement and the draft agreement on GATT adopted, India would have been reduced to an impotent republic.' Training his guns on the previous Government especially on the former Prime Minister, Mr. V.P. Singh and his Commerce Minister, Mr. Arun Nehru, Dr. Swamy charged that at the Punta del Este (Uruguay) meeting in 1986, the then Commerce Minister, Mr. V.P. Singh had 'surrounded India's interests by agreeing to review all our national rights available under the GATT rules to frame independent economic policies as well as to adopt a sovereign patent law.' He said the agreement to 'review' led to a draft GATT formulation under TRIMS [Trade-Related Investment Measures] and TRIPS [Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights], which if it

had been adopted in Brussels would have undermined India's hard won freedom and its policy of self-reliance.

Friendless and isolated: According to Dr. Swamy, during the 11 months rule of the National Front Government, despite 18 foreign trips by the then Commerce Minister Mr. Arun Nehru, he did not have even one single bilateral discussion with any developing or developed country to safeguard India's interests at the then forthcoming Brussels talks. Because of it he found India virtually friendless and isolated when he reached Brussels. Dr. Swamy, however, said India's senior officials and diplomats proved to be tough negotiators and had they been given 'proper political direction earlier' India's position would have been much sounder today.

In view of India's performance at the recently ended inconclusive GATT talks, many of the developing countries have reportedly expressed a desire that the developing countries should themselves get together probably in India to work out a joint strategy.

More or less disassociating himself from the 'commitment for a review' given by his predecessors, Dr. Swamy declared 'We don't accept TRIPS can be a part of the GATT and it would be necessary to have a separate machinery for it.' 'Having it within the GATT framework would otherwise invite cross-retaliation' he said and remarked in this context that the relations between the Indian delegation and the U.S. delegation to the GATT talks were very cordial and he was hopeful that the two countries could certainly do business. At a time when many countries were going to the U.S. including the Soviet Union which had sought \$8 billion aid, 'we should not be saying we should not go to the U.S.'

Dr. Swamy said while he had no objection to have discussions on TRIPS, he was not at the same time ready for any compromise on it. When asked what would be India's position in case TRIPS also became part of GATT arrangement, he said 'we will walk out of GATT and have bilateral agreement on TRIPS as we are a big country with a skilled labour force and a massive market.' He said there would be no going back on India's position on subjects relating to pharmaceuticals, chemicals and biotech which formed the basic bone of contention in TRIPS. At the same time, Dr. Swamy, was hopeful that the U.S. would review its stand at least on those three projects. On Trade Related Investment Matters (TRIMS), he was of the view that if the U.S. and its Western allies believed in export of capital, then they should also accept import of labour as India was beneficially placed in that. He was hopeful that the breather received following the failure of Brussels talks would help India in shaping its policy on Multi-Fibre Agreement and possibly lead to doubling of its textiles exports to \$4 billion in the next eight to ten years.

Similarity of view: However, he felt that there was similarity of view between India and the U.S. on cutting down of agricultural subsidies which was opposed by the European Community as the latter subsidised its farm

products while India did not. In case the U.S. had its way and subsidies were withdrawn by the EEC members, then India would be in a better position to export its agricultural products, because they would be comparatively cheaper. Soon after his return from Brussels, Dr. Swamy said he had detailed discussions with the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Devi Lal who also held the agriculture portfolio. He suggested to Mr. Devi Lal that this was the right time to form an Indian Agricultural Export Corporation.

With Hong Kong phenomenon disappearing from the Pacific, the Commerce Minister saw no reason why India should not take advantage of it and asserted 'we will take a decision soon on the subject.' While a clear picture may be available at the time of winter session of Parliament as the Government was at present preparing a position paper on the subject, Dr. Swamy said in response to a specific question that a Hong Kong like free port could be situated in any of the port cities like Madras or Goa or even Andaman and Nicobar Islands though no final decision had been taken till now. The matter required an indepth analysis as creation of a free port would require certain fiscal adjustments, he said.

On the decision to wind up BBIL [expansion not given], Dr. Swamy said he was not in favour of any super corporation and both STC [State Trading Corporation] and MMTC [Minerals and Metals Trading Corporation] should be left to handle their own business. In case any coordination was required, it will be provided by his ministry and himself. A proposal for winding up BBIL would be sent to the Union Cabinet shortly as the creation of BBIL was also through a Cabinet decision, Dr. Swamy said.

### **BJP Leader Advani States Policy on Ayodhya**

91AS1582A Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English  
23 Nov 90 p 1

[Article from Saritha Rai]

[Text] Bangalore, Nov 22: The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] president, Mr L. K. Advani, today asserted that the BJP's mind was made up—the Ram temple would be constructed at the controversial Ayodhya site only.

"Let the Babri Masjid be relocated to a site five or 10 km away. In Andhra Pradesh over 20 temples were successfully relocated to make way for a dam. Why can't there be a similar approach to the Babri mosque? This way the structure can be preserved and nothing can be more fair, reasonable or feasible," Mr Advani said at a huge public meeting here today.

Overwhelming response: Mr Advani arrived at Bangalore this evening from Cochin on the second leg of his southern tour. The public meeting held at the National College grounds received a tremendous response. Nearly a lakh people had gathered to listen to Mr Advani today, perhaps the largest crowd at this favorite venue for political meetings in recent times.

Hindus adamant: Speaking alternatively in Hindi and English, Mr Advani said, "The Hindus" mind is made up. The Ram temple shall be built at the Janmabhoomi and nowhere else. If the Ram temple cannot be built in Ayodhya, should it be built in London or New York?" He said the BJP was not for the demolition of the mosque and if the young members of the party advocated this, they would only weaken the Ayodhya movement. "Many mosques have been constructed in this country after demolishing temples, but no temples have been built by demolishing mosques. That is why the Babri masjid cannot be demolished," Mr Advani said.

VP government failed: Mr Advani said the BJP had been forced to withdraw support to the V.P. Singh government because it had failed on all points. The "sins" of the Janata Dal had been piling up and had proved detrimental for the country and suicidal for the BJP.

In August itself, the BJP had told Mr V.P. Singh categorically not to take the party's support to the government for granted. "If V.P. Singh had resigned after the withdrawal of BJP support and sat in the Opposition benches, two things could have been averted—the split in the Janata Dal and the October 30 violence in Ayodhya", Mr Advani said.

'Remote control government: The Chandra Shekhar government at the Center could not last very long, Mr Advani predicted. "It is a government by remote control. The controls are not in the hands of Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar but in the hands of the Congress(I)," he said. The government was on the horns of a perpetual dilemma—if Mr Chandra Shekhar acted like a puppet, the credibility of his government would suffer. If he did not, his government would fall.

Call for polls: Mr Advani said the people's mandate given in November last year had expired and it was time for the country to go to polls again. The Chandra shekhar government was not favored by the Janata Dal and the Communists and not even by the Congress(I). "But no one wants to face an election because they want to wait till the people forget Ayodhya. But to me there is only one way in which people can forget Ayodhya and that is by allowing a temple to come up at the janmasthan."

Babri Masjid: The BJP leader said that since 1936 no "namaaz" (prayers) were being offered at the Babri Masjid. The site was a defected temple where there was a Ram idol and poojas were being offered daily following the verdict of a court. "The dispute is not a temple-mosque dispute. It is a dispute between a temple and a non-mosque" Mr Advani felt.

Muslims should not be inspired by the Pseudo-secularism of political parties which were only interested in minority votes. There was no need for Muslims in the country to feel insecure.

## CPI Leader Answers Questions on Left Policy

91AS0427A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 24 Nov 90 p 7

[Article by Seema Guha]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 23. The stand of the left parties since the last elections, when the National Front government of Mr V. P. Singh came to power, has puzzled many people. Never before has the traditional left allied itself to a centrist party with the exception of the CPI's [Communist Party of India] honeymoon with Mrs Indira Gandhi's Congress during 1964-1977.

After the emergency, the CPI acknowledged it's mistake and has since been more in tune with the CPM [Marxist Communist Party]. However, this is the first time that the left parties, the CPI, the CPM, the RSP [Revolutionary Socialist Party] and the Forward Bloc have chosen to work so closely with Mr V. P. Singh not only during his brief 11-month rule, but even today. Why has Mr V. P. Singh become so important to the left?

The general secretary of the CPI, Mr Indrajit Gupta, answers wideranging questions on the left's perspective of the current political situation.

Why has the left (the CPI, the CPM, the RSP and the Forward Bloc) decided to align themselves so closely with Mr V. P. Singh's Janata Dal? What advantage do you hope to gain from such an alliance?

We are with Mr V. P. Singh not in the hope of any gain or loss but because we feel that, in the present critical juncture, Mr Singh took a principled stand on secularism and was willing to sacrifice his chair for his conviction. India is not Bangladesh or Pakistan where a theocratic state can flourish. We are a country with different ethnic groups, various cultures and religions. We cannot afford to impose any one religion or a uniform way of life here. If this happens, the country will crack up. Mr V. P. Singh stood for this and our support to him should not surprise anyone.

But could the left parties not have taken an independent secular stand? why do they have to hang onto a centrist party?

We have no illusions about our overall strength in the country. We are willing to take the help of all democratic and secular forces to combat the fundamentalist onslaught and cool the anti-minority fervour whipped up by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] and the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]. We are not hanging on to anybody. We have certainly not given up mobilizing our own forces for the rallies that we will be holding. But for the campaign that we jointly launched with the Janata Dal before Mr Advani's rathayatra to Ayodhya, much more harm would have been done.

At that time the left was with the U.P. [Uttar Pradesh] chief minister, Mr Mulayam Singh Yadav, and projected

him as the champion of secularism. Now he is on the other side. What are your views on him now?

He does not cease to be a secularist because he has changed sides. He has tarnished his image. However, we will have to wait and watch to see what he does when the kar seva begins again on December 6. The BJP and the VHP are determined to build the temple on the site of the mosque where Ram is claimed to have been born. Our legislators in the U.P. assembly have already asked the chief minister of the steps he proposes to take to meet this challenge. He will have to take firm action.

How do you view the current situation in the country?

There is a deadlock and things cannot continue this way.

Where is the deadlock?

There is a deadlock in the parliamentary system. A government like this of a small group, without the mandate of the people, and supported by a party three times bigger (the Congress) is surely not normal. There is no other way of coming out of this deadlock but to have elections.

Do the left parties want elections immediately?

Elections just now will spark off communal and casteist violence. The situation will have to cool down before polls can be held. The BJP wants elections right away precisely for this, they feel they will gain if polls are held in such a surcharged atmosphere.

Before the last elections, the Congress was identified as the main enemy of the left. Which party today poses the greatest threat to the country?

The main enemy of the country is anybody or any party which is against secularism and national unity. At the moment, the BJP is the most aggressive force in this respect. Others like the Congress are not so aggressive but are always ready to compromise for short-term political benefits. Remember how the Congress government allowed the shilyanas before the elections last year? However, the plans, programmes and policies of the Congress are secular, it is not a communal party, though on occasions the Congress do all kinds of things.

In the Hindi region, at least we (the left) would like the Congress to be involved in our anti-communal campaign. There are many Congressmen who are secular. In fact, when vote of confidence against the V. P. Singh ministry was taken, the party whip had directed all MPs [Members of Parliament] to vote against the government. Yet so many Congressmen who are secular came to us and said they would have voted differently if they had the freedom of choice.

We were against the Congress because they had been in power for too long and were generally messing up things. We had wanted a change, the people also voted for a change.

The CPI had already burnt its fingers in the past by identifying with the Congress during the emergency. Are you not repeating the same mistakes by aligning so closely with Mr V. P. Singh and the Janata Dal?

No, I don't think we have made a mistake. V. P. Singh is not authoritarian. We (the CPI) were not wrong in supporting Mrs Indira Gandhi, after all she did many things right. Our mistake was to continue supporting her when she went wrong.

Will the left refuse to give constructive support to Mr Chandra Shekhar even on crucial issues?

We can give or withhold support only when we know the policy and programme of the party. So far the Prime Minister has not come out with a single policy-statement. Let him at least spell these out before we take a decision.

Why is the left so much against the Prime Minister? After all, he is no better or worse than other centrist leaders. In fact, with his socialist background, his arrest during the emergency he should be acceptable to the left.

Mr Chandra Shekhar must explain why being anti-Congress and going to jail was right then and wrong now. Chandra Shekhar and his men won the mandate of the people through the election manifestoes of the National Front. He has betrayed the people, dislodged Mr V. P. Singh, and played into the hands of the Congress.

How would you rate the performance of Mr V. P. Singh during his 11-month rule? Do you agree with Mr Advani who said in a recent interview that the V. P. Singh government committed blunder after blunder?

Mr Singh's chief blunder was not to arrest Mr Advani at the start of his rathayatra. On the positive side, the government was not corrupt, implementing the Mandal commission report was courageous, his stand on Ayodhya was admirable and he has proved his commitment to secularism. On the negative side, he had no policy on Punjab or Kashmir. We have already criticized his economic policy. He cannot be blamed for not doing more, plagued as he was with dissidents right from day one.

There is a feeling among certain sections of left sympathizers, that the CPI is being led by the CPM in its vehement anti-Congress stand because the Congress is the main enemy of the CPM in West Bengal. Also, the left movement as a whole would have gained if the Indian people's front could act with the rest of the left parties. But the CPM is said to be against the inclusion of the IPF [India People's Front], while the CPI was willing to have close cooperation. Comment.

Remember we were once one party and both the CPI and the CPM are opposed to the Congress. We regard them as the exploiters, pro-big business and pro-rich. There is no difference between us on this. In fact, it was Mr Harkishan Singh Surjeet who made it clear during one of the left party meetings that we must also take the help of

secular and progressive elements in the Congress to fight the communalists in the Hindi belt. Yes, the CPM has a problem with the IPF. We believe in the unity of the left forces.

If there are mid-term elections, will the left parties and the Janata Dal go together to the people.

It is too early to say anything just yet. The situation is still fluid. Let's see if V. P. Singh still has a party with him and that there are no more splits. If V. P. Singh sticks to his present position, there is a likelihood of an understanding with him. We have to wait and watch what happens in the meantime.

### Paper Interviews Gorkha Supremo Ghisingh

91AS0472A Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English  
22 Dec 90 p 12

[Article by Indranath Datta: "State's Apathy Behind Hill Council's Failure"]

[Text] Darjeeling, Dec. 21—Breaking the studied silence he has lately maintained, the Chairman of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council [DGHC] and the GNLFF [Gurkha National Liberation Front] supremo, Mr. Subash Ghisingh, lashed out at the West Bengal Government's "non-cooperative and dismissive attitude" towards the council. This has brought it to its DGHC deathbed," he declared.

In an exclusive interview to *THE STATESMAN* at his party headquarters here, Mr. Ghisingh held the State Government solely responsible for the failure of the DGHC. The Left Front's "baseless party politics" had spoiled the chances of the Hill Council to make its programmes a success, he alleged. The Centre had fulfilled all its obligations, however, Mr. Ghisingh said. "It is for them now to administer the remedy after deciding who are guilty—politicians or the bureaucrats," he added.

As for his own party's alleged poor performance, the GNLFF president claimed that the people were happy with the development the party had "managed to push through in spite of the lack of supplies, shortage of staff in the departments which were transferred to the council and the absence of proper procedures and financial rules." He and the 25 other elected GNLFF councillors—the other two elected belong to the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] while 14 were nominated—have steadfastly worked for two years actually running the Hill Council and initiating extensive developmental projects for Darjeeling's long-term benefit. Regarding the degradation of the DGHC, the GNLFF chief complained that even a key council office-bearer such as the DGHC secretary had neither worth nor power, the chief controller of finance had no authority and the superintending engineer did not have the wherewithal to even sanction the purchase of much-required water. The DGHC, as it has been rendered now, is not even equal in purview to a panchayat or zilla parishad, he said. "We

have been telling those concerned in Calcutta about this sorry state of affairs for so long that we are tired now and realize that it is futile." Reverting to the threatening rhetoric he employed during the Gorkhaland agitation, Mr. Ghisingh warned that "the politics and policies of the State will boomerang."

Responding to a question on the allegations of non-performance and misuse of council funds levelled against him by the local CPI(M) and, more recently, by the fledgling GNLFF (Opposition) of Mr. Surya Narayan Pradhan, the GNLFF chief replied: "Why should we take any notice of people who only bark but do not bite?" That is why, he added, he had not even bothered to answer or counter their allegations. As for their criticism of the council's functioning, Mr. Ghisingh said: "What is the point of others criticizing the council when not one of my elected councillors is happy with the provisions of the DGHC? They have all been critical of the conditions under which they have to work, most notably Mr. C. K. Pradhan of Kalimpong, but have publicly remained tight-lipped because of their discipline. But they are all frustrated. How long can they remain quiet?" he wondered.

Explaining the reasons for the "frustration" of his councillors Mr. Ghisingh reiterated the long-standing demand for the transfer of the Home Department to the Hill Council.

According to the GNLFF, the State Government has engineered politically-motivated raids and arrests in different pockets of the DGHC area hoping to make place for the CPI(M) in those areas. After ousting the GNLFF by using the police, Mr. Ghisingh warned that the CPI(M) would not be able to tighten its hold in this manner. The GNLFF chief accused the State of needlessly reopening old cases dating from the agitation period because of which a number of GNLFF councillors were now out of custody only on bail. "How can the council function if the councillors themselves feel insecure?"

Declaring that he had no knowledge as to why the Chief Minister was coming to Darjeeling, the GNLFF chief repeatedly warned that the political games being played by the State Government would prove to be counter-productive.

Mr. Ghisingh seems to be in a particularly combative mood. Especially so because, with Mr. Chhatre Subba's GLO [Gorkha Liberation Organization] and its new-found allies—the Pranta Parishad, the Akhil Bharatiya Gorkha League and Mr. Kanu Sanyal's COI(ML) [Communist Organization of India (Marxist-Leninist)]—having declared the formation of a united front to achieve the political separation of the Darjeeling Hills and Dooars region from West Bengal, it is Mr. Ghisingh and his mainstream GNLFF who are being perceived as the best bet for peace and stability in these hills.

## Papers Report Developments in Assam

### AASU Demands

91AS0506A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
17 Dec 90 p 5

[Article by Wasbir Hussain: "AASU Demands Dual Citizenship"]

[Text] Guwahati, 16 December—In a major policy decision, the All Assam Students' Union (AASU) has resolved to seek "true implementation" of the country's "federal principles" so that the people of Assam are vested with the "right to self-determination."

The AASU has sought extension of the provisions of article 370, in line with Jammu and Kashmir, and dual citizenship for the people of the state.

In an interview with THE TELEGRAPH, the AASU general secretary, Mr Samujjal Bhattacharya, said: "We want that all the grievances of the people of Assam and the resultant problems arising out of the Centre's exploitation should be solved within India's geographical limits. As such, the federal structure should be implemented in reality and the people should be given their right to self-determination."

While maintaining that "the AASU does not believe in or support violence," Mr Bhattacharya said: "The people are beginning to lose faith in the democratic process because 11 years after the anti-foreigner agitation was launched, the objective of freeing Assam from foreign influx has not been achieved. It is the duty of the government to restore people's faith in democracy."

The AASU leader said that economic self-dependence would be a major step towards self-determination of the Assamese people. "The state's resources be utilised within the state," he emphasised.

Mr Bhattacharya said the AASU had submitted its suggestions on dual citizenship for the people of Assam by taking into consideration the relevant features on dual citizenship in the Constitutions of the United States, Soviet Union and Switzerland. "The V.P. Singh government had accepted in principle our suggestion for dual citizenship. The Front government wanted a back-ground paper on the issue which we submitted, but later it backed out of its commitment to hold a national seminar to arrive at a consensus on the subject," he said. Until a national consensus was arrived on the issue, the Centre should concentrate on implementing the suggestions put forward by the AASU for special safeguards of the Assamese language, culture and land in accordance with Clause Six and of the Assam Accord, he said.

Republic Day boycott: The AASU has decided to boycott official Republic Day functions throughout the state if the Army is not withdrawn from Assam by 25 January. "We have already informed the state chief secretary of

our decision to boycott official Republic Day celebrations if the black acts (Armed Forces Special Powers Act, and Assam Disturbed Areas Act) are not withdrawn," Mr Bhattacharya said.

Asked how the AASU want the ULFA [United Liberation Front of Assam] problem to be solved, Mr Bhattacharya said: "In a democratic country, all problems can be solved through dialogues. When the prime minister is ready for talks with militants in Punjab, why not in Assam?"

The Centre's decision to impose President's Rule and deploy the army against the ULFA was wrong, he claimed. "The first step should have been a right analysis of the reasons leading to the problem of militancy in Assam. By just calling out the army and killing the youth at random, the ULFA issue cannot be solved. We strongly oppose the army's killing spree and atrocities on the people in the name of operations against the ULFA."

Replying to a question on the AASU's role in the coming elections, Mr Bhattacharya said: "We shall maintain our non-political character at all costs and we shall not give protection to any political party. But we shall publicly expose those parties who are opposed or putting obstacles in the implementation of the Assam Accord." Asked whether the Congress(I) may come back to power, the AASU leader said: "The Assamese people will never elect the Congress(I) because it is a party which has always betrayed the people in the state."

### Importance of ULFA

91AS0506B Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 27 Dec 90 p 13

[Article by Praful Bidwai: "ULFA, a Formidable Force in Assam"]

[Text] New Delhi, 26 December—In 1980, the Assam agitation was at its peak, and they were teaching children to hate, malign and despise. Today, some of those children, nourished on a diet of hatred, have grown into adults—and ULFA [United Liberation Front of Assam] cadres. The target then was bahiragatas (outside), which was soon sanitised to "foreigners." Today it is India itself.

Ten years ago, the dominant force in Assamese society, AASU [All-Assam Students' Union], was demanding the "3Ds" (detection, disenfranchisement and deportation of "foreigners"), besides a better economic deal for Assam. Today's dominant force, ULFA, wants Assam to secede from India, no less.

ULFA has no ideology except a sort of militarised and perverse nationalism, which is so crude that even the gloss of a particularly vulgar form of Maoism—the staple of the Northeast's guerrillas—does not work on it. But, ironically, ULFA has grown into a formidable force in

what until recently was one of the relatively "soft," quiet, gentle and not particularly crime-prone states of the country.

Nearly everyone is afraid of ULFA, and in awe of it. Or so I found on my recent visit to Assam. ULFA's strength has been variously estimated at between 500 and 2,000 cadres. Probably 300 to 800 of them have had rigorous weapons training. And perhaps a slightly smaller number have automatic and semi-automatic firearms, although there are 2,000 or so shotguns—enough to strike terror.

Arms are not terror's sole source, though. Equally important is the awe-inspiring, fanatically disciplined, ruthless Pol Pot Mental make-up of the group, as well as its numerous links with powerful people in government, business, politics and crime.

The ordinary Assamese is scared. None of the 20-odd people this reporter spoke to in proximity of the two large ULFA camps he visited at Lakhipathar and Saraipung in Dibrugarh and Tinsukia districts of upper Assam would give an answer when asked if they know of the camps' existence or faced harassment from ULFA. However, since president's rule was imposed on 28 November, more than 20 people from different parts of Assam have registered FIRs (first information reports) of past instances of harassment and extortion. "This in itself is encouraging," a senior official says. "But my worry is that government employees, not the people, will take a long time to open their mouths. They are scared."

The camps explain to some extent why people are afraid: "Lakhipathar had mass graves of people killed for petty reasons or on mere suspicion. Here young men were buried alive. And Saraipung is nothing if not a formidable, near-professionally run facility for training the likes of the ruthless cadres who sat in judgment on those young men.

Saraipung is the size of a football field, a plateau evenly flattened and cleared of all vegetation, atop a thickly forested hill which is only accessible by a rough jungle trail about 40 minutes from the nearest road. Surrounded by 120 feet-tall hollung trees, and well protected by a virgin forest, the camp could house 250 trainees at a time.

Going by the tell-tale signs left behind by ULFA cadres before they moved out, the camp imparted training through an extremely demanding 4-to-6 week schedule which apparently left the participants so exhausted that many had to be frequently put on a dextrose and electrolyte drip.

The training emphasised absolute obedience to leaders, a fanatical commitment to ULFA's programme and an obsessively militaristic approach to all political, social and organisational questions. The camps probably housed some 40 women trainees. Some of the documents the army recovered suggest that several trainees may

have been educated in convent schools. The truth, however chilling, is that ULFA is not a collection of rejects, lumpens and youth from the fringe of society.

But what is ULFA's peculiarity? Put simply, it is the first organised separatist group that belongs to the geographical-cultural mainstream of Indian, and to boot Hindu, society. No one can pretend that ULFA's secessionism is rooted in religious or linguistic distinctiveness, as in Punjab, Kashmir, Nagaland, Mizoram, Tripura or Manipur. Secondly, unlike in Punjab and some other states, there is according to military and civilian intelligence sources, no evidence of state-level foreign involvement in Assam. But the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] and the Kachin Independence Army [KIA] of Burma have certainly been involved in training and possible supply of arms. (Of late, however, the KIA has come under heavy domestic pressure. As a result it has reportedly pruned the training programme—for which, incidentally, it apparently charges ULFA Rs [rupees] 25,000 or so per guerrilla over a 6-week period or so.)

Thirdly, ULFA is probably the best-funded secessionist guerrilla group in the country, barring the Khalistanis. Although the much-touted figure of Rs 400-500 crores is a gross exaggeration, ULFA's fund collection certainly runs into several crores, probably in the 9-digit range. Fourthly, it is considerably better armed than its counterparts in the rest of the northeast who have a 1:5 or 1:10 ratio of weapons to men. It can, therefore, sustain a prolonged fight and not just in one corner of Assam.

Finally, ULFA has reached the peak of its growth just at a time when centrist politics in Assam is going through a phase of decay and fragmentation. The AGP's [Assam People's Council] base has progressively shrunk, and the Congress' yet remains confined to the minorities. There is no bridge between the different communities. This means that ULFA can, unless quickly confronted, grow rapidly within the unique space available to it.

Already ULFA's presence looms larger than life in Assam. Many people attribute almost magical qualities to the group. They really believe that ULFA is in some fundamental sense invincible; that it has actually scored a victory over the army. Some even go as far as convincing themselves that it possesses high-technology devices that will prevent the army even from detecting its presence!

Many Assamese find it hard to think ill of ULFA, they told me. An affluent professional, for instance, says he really believes ULFA's claim that it has killed as many as 150 army jawans. "It must be true."

Touching as this faith is, it is at times revolting. The vast majority of Assamese papers has refused to condemn ULFA's self-professed barbarity as reflected in the mass grave phenomenon. Nor has the severity of the punishment it meted out for such heinous crimes such as living off prostitution come in for much criticism. Indeed, Mr Nagen Saikia, a writer, one-time office-bearer of the

Assam Sahitya Sabha and now AGP MP [Member of Parliament], has gone so far as to argue that the collection of highly decomposed bodies found in Lakhpathar was really the work of the army which had treated the corpses with chemicals.

The discovery of the graves has been overshadowed in the press by highly colourful and improbable-sounding stories of army atrocities. This reporter failed to find any confirmation of a single one of these. To take another instance, less than a fortnight ago. Ajir Assam, an important daily, carried a lurid account in its front-page lead of a "monkey brigade" of the army, which it reported as having been sighted near Digboi in upper Assam. The monkeys apparently went into a teashop and ate there. They were all in uniform and some even smoked!

This was clearly an attempt to mock and malign the army. But some people chose to believe that the report was true, that the army was probably raising a monkey squad like a dog squad, to be used for reconnaissance and telecommunications.

Evidently a strange kind of inversion in logic and perception has occurred in Assam. This has to do with the siege mentality that the Assamese, especially of the middle class, have developed. But it also has something to do with the unhappy experience they have had of president's rule in the past. After all, Nellie and other horrifying massacres and atrocities of the early 80s happened during president's rule, not under a popular, elected state government.

This obviously means that a prolonged spell of president's rule will be undesirable. But a pre-condition for a swift end to the present, also undesirable, situation is the weakening of ULFA to a point where it ceases to matter as a secessionist guerrilla force with a degree of popular appeal. An onerous responsibility devolves here on the Indian state, in particular the army and Assam's civil administration.

"But the Assamese people have a special obligation too," says a member of the newly-formed Assam Democratic Citizens' Organization. They cannot let their obsession with their self-image as victims take precedence over their duty to condemn ULFA's extremism and secessionism, its barbarity and inhumanity. Ordinary citizens, in particular intellectuals must repudiate ULFA's politics as anti-democratic. It is clear that a failure to take a strong stand against ULFA, and the temptation to condone its terror tactics and to appease it, will cost Assam and its citizens dear.

#### Report on Phukan Interview

91AS0506C Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 20 Dec 90 p 1

[Text] Guwahati, 19 December—Far from being cowed down by the military crackdown on its cadres, the outlawed United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) has

made a belligerent call for an "armed response to the violence unleashed by the state."

"ULFA is not a small band of 3,000 armed youths as Mr Chandra Shekhar believes. It is a state of mind that encompasses all classes of Assamese society," according to Siddharta Phukan, the central council spokesman of the secessionist organisation.

In an interview given to the widely-circulated Assamese weekly, BOODHBAR, Phukan said that his organisation had "total confidence in the revolutionary resolve of the people of Assam."

"New Delhi's plans of trying to crush ULFA by deploying the army has been foiled by the people," he claimed.

The publication of the interview, said to have been taken in an interior village of Dibrugarh district, is considered significant because it is an indication of the presence of top ULFA leaders within the boundaries of Assam. Though it has been 3 weeks since the much publicised Operation Bajrang began, the security forces have not been able to nab a single ULFA leader or any hardcore activist of importance so far.

Asked for his assessment of the army action in Assam, Phukan quoted Mr Henry Kissinger to say that "an insurgent movement is winning until it loses, and the government facing it is losing until it finally wins."

"We may not have the might of the Indian army, but we have the support of the countless people of Assam," the ULFA leader said. Besides, he added, "tactics and strategies are far more important than numerical strength in a guerilla war." The army, he claimed, could recover only 300 wooden rifles at the cost of the lives of 150 jawans.

When questioned if it would not be suicidal to declare war against the mighty Indian army, Phukan said that the army would lose its foundations once the soldiers drawn from different parts of the country realised the exploitative nature of New Delhi. "When the soldiers recognise who the real exploiters are, they will not take up arms against the oppressed masses," he said.

When asked if the discovery of the mass graves at the Lakhimpur camp did not unveil the dark side of the organisation, Mr Phukan replied that "most of the bodies found in the camp were of those accused of making a living off prostitution. These people had lured innocent girls from villages in upper Assam with promises of jobs and then forced them into prostitution.

"After receiving complaints from the girls, we rounded up the culprits and tried them in the presence of the victims. While those with minor offences were let off, the major offenders were given the death sentence."

When attention was drawn to the criticism of some well known intellectuals about the activities of ULFA, Phukan said there was a "very thin dividing line between

a terrorist and a freedom fighter." "One person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter," he said and added that while "some intellectuals sitting in the secure precincts of Guwahati University chose to call the ULFA cadres terrorists on the basis of rumours, the same ULFA activists were revered as freedom fighters by the poor peasants in the villages."

Asked if the discovery of secret and classified documents in ULFA camps established the organisation's links with the AGP [Assam People's Council] that ruled the state till recently, the ULFA leader said that his organisation was opposed to the Indian constitution and there was no question of any ideological links with parties like the AGP that functioned under the constitution. "The AGP government was only an agent of Indian colonialism," he said.

### Rival Groups Submit Documents on Ayodhya

91AS0485A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 24 Dec 90 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 23 December—The leaders of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and the Babri Masjid Action Committee (BMAC) today submitted documents to the government on their respective claims over the disputed structure in Ayodhya.

The papers will now be studied by the government and exchanged between the two parties on 26 December. The two parties will then give replies or make additions and submit the papers back to the government of 6 January.

On 9 January, the documents will be scrutinised by the government before they are placed at the crucial third round of meeting of the two parties on 10 January. Archaeological and historical experts from both the sides are also likely to attend the 10 January meeting.

The documents of the two parties were received here by the officer on special duty to the minister of state for home. Sources said that the minister, Mr Subodh Kant Sahay, could not be present today because of his engagements in Ranchi.

The VHP delegation, which included Mr Moropant Pingle, Mr Surya Krishan, Mr Bhanu Pratap Sukl and Mr Ramavtar Dhanuka, gave an ultimatum to the government that if no solution was reached by 14 January, the Dharamsthan Mukti Samiti and the VHP would be forced to take steps to get back all the temples which were converted into mosques instead of only demanding Ram Janambhoomi (Ayodhya), Krishna Janmabhoomi (Mathura) and the Kashi Vishwanath temple (Varanasi).

These leaders also made it clear to the government that the documents submitted by the VHP should not be used in any court of law. The documents consists of the 21-page report with 129 annexures besides 6 maps of the site and 20 photographs showing archaeological evidences.

The BMAC delegation which included Mr Javed Habib, Mr Nawabuddin Naqshbandi, and Mr M.A. Siddique, submitted documents running into 80 pages.

The VHP leaders also told the government that there was no question of any negotiations after what happened in Ayodhya on 30 October and 2 November, but only because of the appeal made by the present Prime Minister, Mr Chandra Shekhar, for solving the issue amicably had they decided to take part in the talks, which for them were definitely final.

Claiming that the Ram Janambhoomi movement had become a people's movement, the leaders said that now it was not possible for any government or administration to stop it.

### UNI and PTI Add:

The VHP senior vice-president, Mr Sirish Chandra Dikshit, who was also present at the press conference, said the VHP was all for holding of negotiations and for sorting out the matter through negotiations, but it certainly could not go on negotiating indefinitely.

Mr Krishan said the government had also been informed about the VHP's stand for a speedy settlement through the covering letter appended to the documents submitted today.

The letter also urged the government to make available relevant documents in its possession to the VHP so that the situation could become clear.

It warned the government against using the materials provided by the VHP in a court of law as this issue according to the VHP did not fall in the purview of a court, though the Hindus had full faith in the judiciary.

Mr Dikshit said by inference the Rajiv Gandhi government by allowing shilanyas, had accepted the claim of the VHP, but the V.P. Singh government had declared the same shilanyas site as "disputed."

On the Rajiv Gandhi formula, Mr Dikshit said it was very "confusing" and nothing much could come out of it other than delay.

Both Mr Dikshit and Mr Krishna however, welcomed the initiative taken by the Prime Minister and said he had taken a step further at least by saying yesterday that he would consult the chief justice of India on the Rajiv Gandhi formula.

They also said the government should also come out with the facts regarding the issue of a notification by the V.P. Singh government which was later withdrawn.

The VHP agreed to answer any issue raised by the AIBMAC [All-India Babri Masjid Action Committee] even if it was left out in the rejoinder.

### Andhra Pradesh: 1990 Called 'Year of Killings'

91AS0407E Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English  
1 Jan 91 p 8

[Article by R. Akhileshwari]

[Text] Mention of the year 1990 will for a good many in Andhra Pradesh bring back memories of horrors that are best forgotten.

Many a precious life was snuffed out, many a house destroyed, many a family wiped out, and many a psyche deeply wounded in the name of religion. It may take many years for the hatred to subside, the anger aroused to ebb and the mistrust and suspicion between Hindus and Muslims to disappear. The communal carnage that gripped Hyderabad in December claimed 140 lives while four times that number were injured. Hundreds left their houses in fear while several thousands spent days on end haunted by the thought of what could befall them.

All this apart, a powerful cyclone struck the coastal areas of the State on 9 May, leaving over 1,000 dead and laying waste vast tracts of land and flattening hundreds of houses.

Politically, the State saw the removal of Dr M. Channa Reddy and the installation of Mr N. Janardhana Reddy in his place following the communal killings in Hyderabad. Dr Reddy joined the august company of Mr Veerendra Patil of Karnataka who had been similarly removed following the communal riots in parts of that State.

Dr Channa Reddy is considered a jinx for the State by the person-in-the-street because his very presence in the Chief Minister's position seemed to trigger off communal violence. For the second time in a decade Dr Reddy not only ascended the CM's [Chief Minister's] gaddi in remarkably identical political conditions but also left it without completing his term, when he seemed to have outlived his utility.

In 1978, Dr Reddy steered the newly-formed Congress(I) to victory in the State, and with Indira Gandhi's blessings, became the Chief Minister.

Within two years, the partymen revolted against him and demanded his removal. Besides, charges of corruption were levelled against Dr Reddy. Communal riots broke out following what has come to be known as the Rameeza Bee case. Rameeza Bee was allegedly raped in a city police station after her husband was beaten to death.

### Like a Phoenix

Dr Reddy rose like a phoenix when he was pulled out of retirement in 1988 to take on the Telugu Desam Party which had seemed invincible under Mr N.T. Rama Rao [NTR].

As PCC-I [Pradesh Congress Committee-India] President, Dr Reddy instilled confidence in the party, organised the workers and led the party to power in 1989 after trouncing NTR and his party resoundingly. He was rewarded with the Chief Ministership.

Before long, however, Dr Reddy alienated almost every group in the party and, through a series of decisions, alienated the people as well. He failed to live up to expectations as a seasoned administrator. Even as the party high command hesitated to replace him communal riots broke out in Hyderabad in November, following Ayodhya. His fate was sealed when for the second time within a month, communal killings began on 7 December. Within a week they had claimed about 140 lives.

It is commonly believed that the riots were sustained, if not triggered off, deliberately to get Dr Reddy removed from his post. The killings stopped the day Dr Reddy announced his decision to resign.

The year began with high expectations from a people who were tired of the gimmicks and the rhetoric of Mr N.T. Rama Rao. However, the new Government's lack of a clear policy on the subsidised rice scheme, weeding out of green ration cards and the entrenching of extremists in the entire Telangana region as a result of the liberal policy of the new Government, made the people disenchanted with the Congress(I). The constant bickering within Congress(I), the long absence of the Chief Minister in the U.S. on health grounds and the long-rising dissidence took a toll of party's popularity.

At least one survey found that NTR had regained the people's favour to such an extent that an election if held would have seen him back in power.

Some controversy or the other was thrown up throughout the year. The extremists had a fair share of it by holding Praja Courts, distributing hundreds of acres of Government land to the landless as also land belonging to ruling party members, and extremist spokesman such as Mr Gadar openly challenging the police from public platforms.

The alleged theft of Rs [rupees] 1.7 crore from NTR's studio in the city, the bringing of all as many as 41 suitcases from the U.S. by the Chief Minister and his family members, the en masse suspension of 45 TDP [Telugu Desam Party] legislators from the Legislative Assembly and the role of Dr Channa Reddy's second son, Mr M. Shashidhar Reddy, in Governmental and party affairs were also subjects of controversy.

Political violence and crime reached new heights in the State. The beginning of the year saw increased attacks on women. As many as 14 women were raped, assaulted or molested. At least 5 of them were victims of policemen. Political violence spread throughout the State. More than 300 persons were killed by their political opponents.

**Gang War**

In Vijayawada, a gang war took a serious turn and as many as 47 persons were killed during the year in attacks by two rival groups each headed by an MLA [Member of Legislative Assembly] belonging to the TDP and the Congress(I). The number of killings in two of the State's most populous districts, Krishna and Guntur, during the year, was 258. The extremists, who had lain low initially, unleashed unprecedented violence, killing 200 persons and kidnapping 170 persons all over the State. Twenty-eight extremists were killed in encounters with police.

In two major accidents in the State 85 persons died. A tragedy of another kind struck on 10 March when the world's largest monolithic statue of the Buddha fell into the Hussainsagar lake while being transported to be installed in the middle of the lake. Eight persons went down with the statue.

On the brighter side, the largest steel plant of the country was commissioned at Visakhapatnam in May. Also the first 33 MW unit of the gas-based power station was commissioned at Vijeswaram near Machilipatnam. This Rs 134-crore plant, set up jointly by the State Electricity Board and the State Gas Power Corporation, is the first of its kind in South India.

The fall of the National Front Government at the Centre has seen a political realignment in the State. The TDP has parted ways with the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] much to the latter's regret as it sees a soul-mate in NTR. The Left parties have decided to join hands with the TDP to keep the BJP at bay. Meanwhile, NTR has activated himself for the inevitable mid-term elections to the Parliament. The response he evoked during his day-long fast for communal peace recently would have doubtless cheered him immensely.

Even his staunchest critics have admitted that, whatever his faults, NTR had kept the communal elements under control. With NTR waiting in the wings, it will take all of the Congress leaders' collective cunning to keep him from snatching a place in the people's affections.

**CPI Issues Statement on Punjab Talks**

91AS0542A New Delhi PATRIOT in English  
2 Jan 91 p 1

[Text] The CPI [Communist Party of India] on Tuesday extended its support to Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar for his talks with Mr Simranjit Singh Mann to find a solution to the Punjab problem.

In a statement, the central secretariat of the CPI however, made it clear that the Prime Minister should consult all the political parties before making any commitment. The CPI stressed that Mr Mann and other militant groups must know that no Prime Minister had any right to barter off any part of the country.

Referring to Mr Mann's allegation of killing of innocent Sikhs by the security forces, the CPI said that Sikh

militants had killed more innocent people, including Sikhs than the security forces. The killings were started first by the militants, in the name of religion, the CPI asserted.

If Mr Mann was at all honest in saving the lives of Sikhs, let him declare a ceasefire and the Government would immediately respond, the statement said. It was totally wrong to say that the Sikhs were being discriminated against in the country, according to the statement.

Sikh refugees from Pakistan were welcomed all over India and Mr Mann could find this if he compared Sikh refugees from Pakistan to those coming from Bangladesh, the statement said.

Mr Mann was enamoured of Pakistani democracy and hence he should also compare Sikh refugees in India with Muhajirs of Karachi, the statement said. The Government had taken up Bhakra Nangal as the first project after Independence and not Ganga or Godavari or Brahmaputra which made green revolution possible in Punjab, the statement said.

Similarly the per capita investment for electricity in Punjab was more than four times that in the eastern zone, the statement observes. The railway freight equalisation policy made steel cheaper in Punjab than Bihar where steel was being produced.

Sikh religion was given special protection under the Constitution and under the Gurdwara Act. "We have no Hindu Mandir or Masjid Act," the statement said.

Despite this, the CPI was of the view that the restructuring of Centre-State relations was overdue and the States should be given more autonomy.

The CPI asked Mr Mann and his militant friends to formulate their demand within the framework of Centre-State relations and not that of "self-determination" or "buffer-state," etc.

**Karunanidhi Said 'Guarded' in Response to LTTE Truce**

91AS0407D Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English  
1 Jan 91 p 7

[Text] Madras, 31 December—Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Karunanidhi, who is facing a threat of dismissal of his Government for its alleged patronage of the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam], today gave a guarded welcome to the unilateral cease-fire announced by the Tigers.

Reacting to the first-ever truce announced by the Tigers since the outbreak of hostilities between them and the Sri Lankan forces on 11 June last, Mr Karunanidhi said it had always been his desire and the desire of the people of the State that there should be an amicable settlement of the ethnic problem, which could guarantee to the hapless

Tamils their just rights and lead to enduring peace in the island's north and east. He hoped that peace would dawn in the New Year.

Mr Karunanidhi described as a blatant lie AIADMK [All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] General Secretary Jayalalitha's charge that thanks to Government patronage, the Tigers had gained control of three coastal districts and people in these areas were living in fear. "Even the layman knows that it is not true," Mr Karunanidhi said.

The Chief Minister also pointed out that as recently as 23 December last, Ms Jayalalitha issued a statement calling for moral and financial support to the LTTE in their struggle in Sri Lanka. In the same breath, she had complained to New Delhi that the DMK [Dravidian Progressive Foundation] Government was supporting the Tigers.

Replying to a question, Mr Karunanidhi said that during his visit to New Delhi on 3 January, he would take up with the Centre Tamil Nadu's request for the deployment of BSF [Border Security Force] along the coast to check the infiltration of militants.

He said that so far 1,286 Sri Lankan Tamil militants, including 418 LTTE men, had been detained in special camps. Besides, 675 family members of various groups had also been detained along with them.

Meanwhile, TNCC(I) [Tamil Nadu Congress-I Committee] Chief K. Ramamurthi, while welcoming the LTTE's unilateral ceasefire, expressed the view that the Tigers might have taken this decision in order to take the heat off the DMK Government.

Cong(I) Memo: He told newsmen that Congress(I) MPs [Members of Parliament] from Tamil Nadu would present a 120-page memorandum to Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar and Congress(I) President Rajiv Gandhi, to substantiate the case for the dismissal of the DMK Government. The memorandum, he said, would show the nexus between the DMK leaders and the LTTE, the help extended to the tigers in gun-running and drug trafficking, how police performed their role, the misuse of official machinery, the "corrupt" practices of the Chief Minister and other leaders, the "abuse of position" by the family members of the Chief Minister and so on.

He said a meeting of party functionaries, held here on Sunday, had authorised him to hold talks with leaders of fraternal parties on the plan to launch a joint agitation to press the case for dismissal of the DMK Government.

Asked about the demand made by Congress(I) MP and former Union Minister P. Chidambaram for a visit by a team of central officials to key villages in his Sivaganga constituency to look into the activities of militants, Mr Ramamurthi said "The stage for a visit by a Central team is past."

Reacting to the charge made by Mr Karunanidhi that the villages mentioned by Mr Chidambaram had been the

haven of smuggling by prominent Congress leaders for the past 100 years, Mr Ramamurthi said the chief Minister should disclose the names of the Congressmen or withdraw the charge.

#### **Article Records First Attack of Karunanidhi by LTTE**

91AS0407F Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English  
2 Jan 91 p 7

[Words in boldface as published]

[Text] Madras, 1 January—The LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] on Monday accused the Tamil Nadu Government of having betrayed the trust of people of "Tamil Eelam" by arresting the wounded and the infirm militants who had sought refuge in the State.

A statement issued by the Peoples Front of Liberation Tigers, the political party of the LTTE, in Jaffna on Monday and made available here, said that the Tigers who were seriously wounded in the war with the Sri Lankan Government were allowed to come to Tamil Nadu for treatment only after obtaining clearance from the Centre.

It said these militants had been arrested from their hospital beds on the specious plea that they posed a threat to law and order in Tamil Nadu and put in jail.

Describing the action as anti-Tamil and inhuman, the LTTE said the State Government had chosen to collude with the "racist Sinhala regime."

It said the majority of the LTTE men arrested recently were those who had lost their limbs. One had been paralysed below the waist and another had lost his vision. The arrested included a woman Tiger. The LTTE alleged that the State police had even attacked those who were protecting the wounded Tigers.

It said the condition of 2 of the 16 Tigers arrested in the first phase had become critical owing to lack of proper medicare. The LTTE said it offered to treat these militants and said they could be in police custody but this request was turned down by the State Government. Later, 10 more LTTE men were arrested on a baseless charge of fuel smuggling.

**Ancestral Home:** Describing Tamil Nadu as the ancestral home of the people of "Tamil Eelam" the statement said: "We are bound by common blood. The people of Tamil Nadu had for long given moral support to the struggle of their brethren and had risen as one man whenever they faced genocidal attacks. This had acted as a morale booster for those engaged in the liberation struggle."

The recent malicious propaganda in Tamil Nadu, aimed at tarnishing the just struggle and confusing the people would only help the enemy, the statement said.

The statement is the first attack by the LTTE on the Karunanidhi Government which is facing a threat to its existence for its alleged patronage of the Tigers.

### Muslim League Asks Constitution Amendment

91AS0560A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 7 Jan 91 p 13

[Text] Kanpur, 6 January: The Indian Muslim League president, Mr Sulaiman Seth, and the general secretary, Mr G.M. Banatwala, yesterday called for an amendment in the Constitution to include the "welfare and protection of the minority community" in the concurrent list, as it would be a vital step towards support for the minority community, if the government was seriously concerned about it.

They said if the protection and welfare of the minority community was included in the concurrent list, the Central government would not shy away from the move with the plea that it would make Central forces available during riots only when the state government asked for it.

In a joint press conference they squarely blamed the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), the Bajrang Dal, the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh] and other allied organisations for inciting communal trouble throughout the state and said: "These communal fascist forces conspired communal conflagration and law enforcing agents executed it to crush the minority community."

They also demanded a ban on the armed constabulary all over the country and labelled it a criminal communal force which, according to them, had a jaundiced eye towards the minority community.

They said instead of armed constabulary there should be an anti-riot force in the country with adequate representation from minority community in it so that nobody could blame that a section of force had oppressed them in the guise of containing the magnitude of violence during riots.

They said they would meet the U.P. [Uttar Pradesh] chief minister, Mr Mulayam Singh Yadav and would press him for the formation of an anti-riot force of such nature. Mr Seth said he would also demand immediate removal of the city police chief, Dr Vikram Singh for his "biased" role during the recent riots in the metropolis.

He said it seems that the communal poison has infected the administration which has forced them to adopt "inhuman behaviour towards Muslims" throughout the state.

Commenting on the demand for immediate dissolution of the state government for its failure to control the law and order in the state, the Muslim leaders said a section of parties were trying to politically weaken the chief minister, Mr Mulayam Singh Yadav, who according to them, had adopted "a democratic and right attitude" during the agitation for construction of Ram Temple in Ayodhya.

The two leaders have come here to visit the riot affected areas of the metropolis and left the city in the evening for Lucknow to apprise the chief minister of their demands.

### Janata Dal National Executive Reorganized

91AS0554A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 22 Jan 91 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, 21 January (PTI)—A 73-member national executive of the Janata Dal was announced by the party president, Mr S.R. Bommai today competing the reorganisation of important party setups. [sentence as received]

The former prime minister, Mr V.P. Singh, Mr Ajit Singh, Mr Arif Mohd Khan, Mufti Mohd Sayeed, Mr Arun Nehru, Mr Ram Vilas Paswan, Mr Sharad Yadav, Mr I.K. Gujral and Mr George Fernandes are among the important members of the erstwhile National Front Government who figure in the list.

Mr Ramakrishna Hegde, Mr Jaipal Reddy, Mr Chimanbhai Mehta, Mr Hari Kishor Singh, Dr Rafiq Zakaria, Mr N.K. Tirpude, Mr Raj Mohan Gandhi are among the M.P.s [Members of Parliament] party leaders who have been included in the executive.

A party press release said that the veteran socialist leader, Mr N.G. Goray, Mr Surendra Mohan, Mr Shanti Bhushan and Mama Baleswar Dayal will be special invitees.

All state unit presidents, leaders of Janata Dal in both houses of parliament and state legislatures will be permanent invitees to the national executive.

An important inclusion in the executive is Mr Gurdial Singh Saini, who resigned the Kurukshetra Lok Sabha seat after voting against Mr V.P. Singh's motion of confidence on 7 November.

### Concern Over Human Rights in India

91AS0536A Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN  
in English 30 Dec 90 p 7

[Text] 29 Dec—Amnesty International has once again expressed serious concern over the human rights situation in India. In a summary report for 1990, it has reiterated its charge that thousands of political prisoners, including "prisoners of conscience," were being detained without trial and that torture and ill-treatment in custody was still widespread in the country. Significantly, the organization has asserted that more than 100 peaceful demonstrators had been "extra-judicially executed" during the past year. The summary statement, which is essentially an update of the annual report for 1990, seeks clarification from the Government about the "disappearance" of dozens of prisoners in Punjab.

The human rights group seems especially alarmed about detentions under the so-called "anti-terrorist" laws and the Arms Act and, in this context, has referred to the

arrest of 250 political leaders and human rights activists in Punjab last month. The report wonders how peaceful critics in Gujarat could be arrested under the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Act.

According to the study, several hundred cases of "extra-judicial executions" have been reported. In this connection, it mentioned Kashmir where more than 110 unarmed civilians were "deliberately" shot during January to September this year, under cover of the Armed Force Special Powers Act, which provides immunity from prosecution to "security forces that kill." Amnesty International has received similar reports from Punjab where security forces continue to hold "staged encounters." Such cases have been reported from Andhra Pradesh, too. What is more, the report states that three persons could have been "extra-judicially executed" in Uttar Pradesh during October and November. In this context, court orders issued to security forces to produce missing detainees have been flouted, says the report.

Drawing attention to instances of torture and ill-treatment in custody, the study claims that released prisoners in Kashmir and Punjab complained that they had been beaten up, given "electric shocks" and burnt with cigarettes while in prison. Torture was also prevalent in Assam, Nagaland and Manipur, where the victims included separatists and insurgents from rural areas. A disturbing conclusion of the report is that many of the prisoners who had died of torture were from the lower castes.

The report has pointed out that investigations into allegations of human rights violations had been often withheld, and, in this context, mentioned the Gian Prakash Committee that had inquired into "extra-judicial executions" in Meerut in May 1987.

While recognizing that separatist groups in some parts of the country were indulging in "systematic" violence, the report nevertheless maintains that this could not justify human rights violations.

Earlier, Amnesty International came out with a report describing arbitrary arrests, detention and torture in the Oinam village of Manipur. Some time ago, it had published its findings on the existing legal safeguards in India.

### **Progress Seen in Talks With Pakistan**

91AS0498A Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
21 Dec 90 p 1

[Article by Kesava Menon]

[Text] Islamabad, Dec. 20—The Indian and Pakistani Foreign Secretaries today concluded their third round of talks with some progress made, largely of a procedural nature in the relatively peripheral areas and little more than a clearing of some rhetorical debris on the core issues.

However even this forward movement has been an improvement on the rut into which bilateral relations had fallen and the outlook for the fourth round, to be held in late February 1991 in New Delhi, appears more positive than it did for the just concluded one.

On the positive side the two Foreign Secretaries, Mr Muchkund Dubey and Mr. Sharyar M. Khan have decided to exchange papers (the instruments of ratification) and thus put into effect the agreement prohibiting attacks on each other's nuclear installations and facilities in January 1991. This agreement, described as complete and containing necessary information on locations of nuclear installations in both the countries, was signed in December 1988 and subsequently ratified by both countries but could not be put into effect because of the strain in bilateral relations.

The two Foreign Secretaries also agreed that the Surveyors-General of both countries would meet in New Delhi by early February 1991 to take up the demarcation of the land boundary in Sir Creek (Kutch).

Though the Indian side had favoured a simultaneous discussion on the dispute with regard to the Wular barrage/Tulbul navigation project, the issue is to be taken up after the Sir Creek affair. The Pakistani side considers the project in the Kashmir Valley a barrage while India envisages it as a navigation project and would like to proceed with it at the earliest since substantial investments have already been made. The issue is likely to be discussed within the framework of the Indus Water Treaty. Meetings of sub-commissions are also to be resumed.

### **Hot-Line Contacts**

Moving closer to the core issues, both sides have agreed that the hot-line contacts between the Directors-General of Military Operations (DGMO) of both the countries, which had so far proceeded on an ad hoc basis, and which the Pakistanis claim had petered out in the last three months, would henceforth take place on a weekly basis.

This constant communication, even when there is no significant military activity on either side would, it is hoped, reduce tensions along the borders. Before the next foreign secretary level meeting, military experts from both countries would meet in Islamabad to finalise the pending drafts of the agreement on advance notice of military exercise and manoeuvres and the agreement on prevention of air space violation by military aircraft. Discussions on the Siachen glacier might also be taken up in the next round.

While the contacts between the DGMOs, sharing of information on military exercises and the agreements on air space violation form part of the package of proposed measures to build confidence between the two countries, put forward by India, Pakistan has somewhat hardened its stand on the rest of the package. The really substantial parts of the package were with regard to the agreement

on the joint border patrolling (with provision for hot pursuit) and on the closure of training camps and cutting off of arms and other supplies to terrorist groups.

In the last round in New Delhi the then Pakistan Foreign Secretary Dr. Tanvir Ahmed Khan had said the proposals would be considered, but Pakistan has now preferred to maintain that no such activity was being encouraged from its side of the border and hence there was no need for agreements on these lines.

From the Indian side the main thrust was on Pakistan's support for terrorism and subversion in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir with Mr. Muchkund Dubey emphasising that normalisation depended critically on the stoppage of such activity. Such support was a violation of the Shimla Agreement, the United Nations Charter and the universally accepted norms of conducting relations between nations.

While India was not putting forward the demand that Pakistan desist from such activity as a condition to be satisfied before the process of normalisation could be carried forward, the ground reality was that normalisation could hardly proceed when Pakistan was involved in such activity as undermined the very foundation of the Indian polity. Briefing the press before the departure, Mr. Dubey pointed out that while Pakistan's refusal to address this issue acted as a constraint on the normalisation, it did not preclude continuation of talks on other issues. In this respect the just concluded round was an improvement on previous rounds and he hoped that the next round would be better.

Mr. Dubey pointed out that Pakistan's acceptance of the package of confidence building measures would be considered a test of Pakistan's claims that they were not involved in subversive activities. The answers he received, he explained, were however mixed with Mr. Sharyar M. Khan emphatic that Pakistan was not intervening in India's internal affairs, proceeding from this assertion to deny the need for the rest of the package rather than accepting it as a measure of their true intentions. What they did offer, Mr. Dubey said, was a revival of the proposal to have international surveillance of the borders.

The Kashmir issue was raised in all the meetings Mr. Dubey had with the Foreign Secretary as well as the President and the Prime Minister of Pakistan. Neither side made any change in its position with India maintaining that Jammu and Kashmir was an integral part of the country and that accession of the State was irrevocable. There could be no question of reviving the central issue of accession even during discussions held within the scope of the Shimla Agreement.

Mr. Sharyar Khan who briefed the press later (and separately) stressed his country's position that the issue needed to be settled on the basis of U.N. resolutions. A settlement of the issue would usher in a new era of peace and cooperation in the region. Further he maintained that the issue was an international one and that the

present uprising was an indigenous one as a party to the dispute Pakistan would continue to give moral and political support to what he described as the "Kashmiris right to self-determination free from duress and repression," but insisted that no military or material support was being extended. Bilateral discussions on the issue could take place within the Shimla Agreement which, in his view, did not preclude an examination of the accession question.

### Pakistan's Demand

Related to the Kashmir and Punjab issues, Pakistan put forward their demand for redeployment of troops to their peacetime locations. Mr. Dubey pointed out that the deployment was for law and order purposes and that the two sides should discuss the core (that of Pakistan's support for subversion) rather than the symptoms which the deployment amounted to. The Pakistani view as put forward by Mr. Khan was that India's deployment in these two States was far in excess of the requirements for law and order purposes.

Again, while Pakistan once again favoured a regional approach towards nuclear non-proliferation, citing the recent agreement between Brazil and Argentina, Mr. Dubey put forward the Indian view that nuclear non-proliferation could only be discussed within a global context. Hinting at the current difficulties being experienced by Pakistan on account of the U.S. suspending aid due to suspicions of Pakistan's nuclear intentions, Mr. Dubey pointed out that a regional arrangement carried with it the danger of interference by external powers into other technological and industrial areas. Mr. Khan in his briefing said that while Mr. Dubey had ruled out India eventually favouring this regional approach he had held out a promise to consider it.

### India, Afghanistan To Expand Trade

91AS0567A New Delhi PATRIOT in English  
3 Jan 91 p 7

[Text] Kabul, Jan 2 (PTI)—India and Afghanistan have decided to set up a joint trade advisory committee to expand bilateral trade and increase economic cooperation.

A memorandum of consultation to this effect was signed by visiting Indian Commerce Minister, Subramanian Swamy, and his Afghan counterpart, Mr Zakir Shah on Monday.

The memorandum envisages a periodic review of the proposals contained in it. The two countries also agreed to remove trade constraints and expand bilateral trade.

The Indian side expressed its willingness to offer its expertise for the manufacture of items like window glasses, caustic soda, cement and HDP [expansion unknown] bags.

In a brief chat with reporters at the Kabul International Airport, both Mr Swamy and Mr Zakir Shah expressed

satisfaction with the progress achieved in furthering economic relations between the two countries during the Commerce Ministry's visit.

Dr Swamy said he offered to the Afghans to start an exclusive air freight service between Delhi and Kabul to remove transportation bottle-necks.

He said the Indian side also impressed upon Afghan authorities to improve telecommunication facilities between the two countries.

Earlier, addressing a meeting of national traders here, Dr Swamy said his Ministry would consider reducing the customs duty in dry fruits—a major item of export from Afghanistan to India. He also assured the traders to look into their difficulties in banking services.

The Commerce Minister suggested that India could open a branch of its bank in Kabul and felt that a branch of Afghan bank could be opened in Delhi to help trading communities in both the countries.

The Commerce Minister who held wide-ranging trade talks with the Afghan authorities, including the Afghan Chamber of Commerce, emphasised the need for increased economic cooperation for mutual benefit.

Dr Swamy identified the areas of possible economic cooperation between the two countries. These are: trade, joint ventures, consultancy services, training of technical manpower, exchange of private sector delegations to explore new areas of cooperation and assistance in medical services and building of roads.

The Commerce Minister referred to the transport bottle-necks and communication problems between the two countries and felt that these could be done away with to facilitate free exchange of views.

Dr Swamy offered to introduce an air freight service exclusively between the two countries to deal with the transport hurdles.

### **Progress Seen in Military Weapons, Other Matters**

#### **Indigenous Missile Fired**

91AS0423A Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
30 Nov 90 p 1

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 29. India's first indigenous third generation anti-tank missile, 'Nag' was successfully test-fired today.

According to Defence Ministry officials, the missile was successfully tested at the Interim Test Range at Chandipur in Orissa at 8:07 a.m.

Defence scientists said the missile was monitored successfully during its controlled flight. "It has fully met the objective of the trials," they said.

The scientists were overjoyed in achieving yet another success after the successful test firing of country's intermediate range missile "Akash" and surface-to-surface missile "Prithvi".

They said more tests would be carried out before the induction of the missiles in the armed forces by early 1994.

The scientific adviser to the Defence Ministry, Dr V.S. Arunachalam, has described "Nag" as more than matching any comparable missile in the armory of the NATO or the Warsaw Pact.

Capability: The "Nag", according to DRDO [Defense Research Development Organization] sources has a "fire and forget and top attack capability". They said it would overcome the present disadvantages and was designed to pierce all futuristic armor including reactive armor.

The missile which can be launched both from land-based missile carriers as well as helicopters has a range of 4 km. Its target acquisition system includes thermal sight operating, carbon dioxide ranger-finder with range accuracy and day sight and other vision aids for the crew.

The DRDO has simultaneously developed a dedicated carrier for the missile. The carrier, mounted on a tracked vehicle, allows for deployment of four missiles in a "ready to fire" state on the launcher and in addition spare missiles can be stowed and loaded on the turret from within the vehicle without exposing the crew to enemy fire or shell splinters.

The DRDO has also developed Imaging Infrared (IIR) seeker head and Millimetric Wave (MMW) seeker system for the missile. The missile uses a high-energy smokeless propellant called nitramine to avoid detection of launcher platform.—PTI

#### **More on 'Nag'**

91AS0423B Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English  
30 Nov 90 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 29 (UNI, PTI): The indigenously-built third generation anti-tank missile, Nag, was successfully fired from the interim test range at Chandipur in Orissa today.

According to defence ministry sources, the missile was maneuvered successfully during its controlled flight path. The test firing of this sophisticated missile has fully met the objectives of the present trials, the sources said.

Further tests would be conducted from the same range before it is given operational status in the defence services.

The Nag missile was launched from its pad at Chandipur at exactly 8:07 am in the presence of top scientists of the Defence Research and Development Organization (DRDO).

The ground radars have recorded the full flight path of the missile. DRDO scientists will now conduct an in-depth study of the path right from the missile launch to its touch-down.

Defence scientists were overjoyed in achieving yet another success after the satisfactory firing of the indigenous intermediate range missile, Akash, and the surface-to-surface missile, Prithvi. All the missiles are expected to be inducted into the armed forces by early 1994.

The scientific adviser to the defence ministry, Dr V.S. Arunachalam, has described Nag as more than matching any comparable missile NATO or the Warsaw Pact armory had.

**Fire-and-forget capacity:** According to DRDO sources, the Nag has a "fire-and-forget and top-attack capability." They said the missile would overcome the present disadvantages and was designed to pierce all futuristic armor, including reactive armor.

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### Naval Missile Display

91AS0423C Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 29 Nov 90 p 6

[Article by Yogendra Bali]

Nov. 28: It was a memorable night-at-sea on board this flagship of the western naval fleet with the chief of naval staff, Admiral J.G. Nadkarni, the fleet commander, Rear Admiral Kailash Kohli, and the master of "Viraat", Captain Arun Prakash and a small group of visiting defence correspondents from New Delhi and Bombay watching an impressive exercise demonstrating the missile punch of the Indian Navy.

A blue-water missile encounter was on. Of course it was an exercise, just a simulation, but every meticulous detail, check, radar reading, pre-missile attack and counter-attack drill, was carefully planned and worked. The main participants were the missile boat "Chapal" and warships "Godavari" and "Ran Vijay".

There was no moon in the sky. It was the night of "amavasya," dark as dark can be with nothing visible in the sky and the stretching expanse of the Arabian sea. Out on the quarter deck the admirals and defence correspondents sat or stood in the dark as all lights were put out, a sort of blackout preceding the "little Naval war."

Suddenly, a salvo of missiles was fired from the battle-ship "Ran Vijay", just behind the missile frigate "Godavari"—Indian designed and built. In the dark the twin missiles were seen flying, illuminating their track across the sea. Like the battle scenes in the popular TV serial "Ramayana," within seconds a counter-salvo of missiles was fired from the "Chapal". Some 23 nautical miles away from "viraat", which was itself about three miles away from "Godavari". We could see the twin missiles from "Chapal" shooting forward to face those fired from "Ran Vijay". At the same time the guns of "Godavari" opened up sending a shower of flames up in the night sky. The missiles from "Chapal" met the missiles fired from "Ran Vijay". Almost halfway through their flight in the dark sky, they looked into one another and then plunged into the sea followed by a resounding bang. There was dark again.

Naval officers, monitoring the missile battle on their communication network and radars announced in hushed voices that the "missile attack" had been successfully beaten back. Slowly, the lights on "Viraat" flickered back to life one after another. Admiral Nadkarni told the defence correspondents, "now you have seen the missile punch of your Navy". It was a blue-water engagement indeed, for the rare naval exercise was held about 250 km off the Bombay coast demonstrating that the Navy today had come a long way from the days when its role, governed by its size and capability, was confined to coastal defence. Today it was big enough to engage the enemy miles away from the coast, long before it could get anywhere near the country's visible coastline.

Earlier, during the day the destroyers, missile frigates, missile boats and the submarine killer naval aircraft like Sea Kings, taking off from and landing on the "Viraat", had demonstrated all the three-dimensions of the Indian Navy in the presence of Admiral Nadkarni, the C-in-C of the Western Naval Command, Vice-Admiral S. Jain and the commander of the western fleet, Rear Admiral Kailash Kohli.

Among the participants in these exercises were Indian Navy ships and boats "Ran Vijay", "Ranvir", "Godavari", "Kuthar", "Sukanya" et al.

### Details on AEW Aircraft

91AS0423D Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 29 Nov 90 p 7

[Text] Bombay, November 28. In major boost to India's air defence capabilities, the country's first Airborne Early Warning (AEW) aircraft made its maiden flight at Bangalore on November 5.

The technology demonstrator aircraft was flown by air vice-marshal A.S. Lamba, commandant of the Aircraft Safety and Test Establishment (ASTE), Bangalore, and Group Captain Ravish Malhotra, chief test pilot, of the ASTE. Group Captain Malhotra was part of the stand-by crew of the historical Indo-Soviet space flight in April 1984.

The development of this aircraft at the ASTE assumes significance in view of Pakistan's decision to acquire the P3E Orion airborne warning aircraft equipped with Harpoon missiles. For quite some time Pakistan has been trying to acquire the Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) Aircraft—a Boeing 707—from the United States.

Defence Research and Development Organization (DRDO) initiated this programme in 1985 and set up a special group to handle "Airborne Surveillance and Warning Control System (ASWAC)" project. The former chief of the project was Air Marshal C.V. Gole and now it is headed by Dr K. Ramchand, an aerospace expert.

In July, 1988 a panel headed by the former scientific adviser to the Prime Minister, Prof M.G.K. Menon, did not accord much priority to this project saying it would be difficult to build an aircraft with an airborne warning system within the specified time frame of the Indian Air Force (IAF).

However, with Pakistan's firm decision to acquire such a type of aircraft which would have large-scale implications on India's security environment, the scheme received a boost and the first indigenously-made ASWAC aircraft took to the air on November 5, marking a significant breakthrough in India's aerospace technology.

Details made available to THE TIMES OF INDIA indicate that the aircraft, with a saucer shaped rotodome, covered the entire flight regime conforming to the earlier computer simulations. The rotodome with a 4.8 diameter, rises 90 cm on either side of the aircraft's fuselage.

ASWAC had contracted the building of the rotodome to Hindustan Aeronautics Limited which further sub-contracted to MBB in West Germany. MBB was reported to have designed and fabricated the rotodome and flown it to Bangalore where it was fixed in the airframe.

The modification of the aircraft, which is basically an HS-748, including the struts for the rotodome, was done by HAL's [Hindustan Aeronautics] Kanpur division.

The AEW system would be data linked to a ground-based air defence radar network. It is believed that ASWAC is examining the possibility of giving the specific technology areas for the radar to three companies in Sweden, the U.K. and France.

The first test in Bangalore on November 5 mainly concentrated on the airframe. Some more tests in the next couple of weeks have been scheduled to evaluate other areas. The warning system's electronic heart is being designed by the Electronics and Radar Development Establishment (ERDE) and will be fabricated by Bharat Electronics Limited, Bangalore.

### New Naval Air Squadron

91AS0423E Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 24 Nov 90 p 3

[Text] Bombay, Nov. 23: The new Indian naval air squadron which was commissioned today will contribute significantly to the offensive and defensive capability of the Indian Navy and cater for a more meaningful protection to the installations in the exclusive economic zone, said the Flag Officer Commander-in-chief, Western Naval Command, Vice-Admiral S. Jain.

The new squadron known as "INAS 339" comprises Sea King Mk 42B helicopters which are considered the most capable anti-submarine and anti-surface vessel helicopters in the world.

The helicopters are equipped with sophisticated sensors and can carry a variety of weapons. They are flown by two pilots and two observers and can operate from aircraft carriers or small ships.

Vice-Admiral Jain said that when the helicopters are embarked on our frontline ships they would add teeth to the fleet and would be more than a match for the lurking enemy on the surface or under water.

### AWACS Test Flight

91AS0423F Madras THE HINDU in English  
16 Nov 90 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 15. The first Airborne Early Warning Technology Demonstrator (AEW-TD) aircraft of the Airborne Surveillance and Warning Control system Project is being test-flown in Bangalore for the past week-and-a-half. The E-2C Hawkeye look-alike aircraft with its distinctive saucer-shaped rotodome was flown first on November 5 by pilots of the Aircraft Safety and Test Establishment (ASTE) Bangalore. The first test flight was piloted by the Air Vice Marshal, Mr A.S. Lamba, Commandant of the ASTE, and the Group Captain, Mr Ravish Malhotra, Chief Test Pilot at ASTE.

The second flight of the aircraft which will be the test-bed for the ASWACS [Airborne Surveillance and Warning Control System], the Indian term for an Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) aircraft, lasted one and a half hours and according to information available the aircraft, flown through all the required portions of the flight envelope behaved "beautifully," and exactly as predicted by computer simulation and wind-tunnel testing.

Sophisticated technology: The AEW-TD is basically an Avro HS-748 aircraft of the IAF [Indian Air Force] on which the characteristic rotodome is mounted. Though it looks simple, the design and mounting of the structure requires some sophistication in aeronautical technology. The rotodome has a diameter of 4.8 meters and juts out 90 cm on either side of the Avro fuselage. As such the aircraft is slightly bigger than the E-2C Hawkeye platform.

The program was initiated in 1985 under the Defense Research and Development Organization [DRDO] which created a program management organization called the ASWAC organization to run it. The organization was initially headed by Air Marshal, Mr C.V. Gole and now its head is Dr K. Ramchand. The initial project for configuring two Avros is funded at approximately Rs [rupees] 200 crores at 1985 prices.

The ASWAC organization had contracted the construction of the rotodome to HAL which further subcontracted it to the MBB-Deutsche Aerospace which designed and fabricated the assembly in Germany and integrated it to the airframe at the ASTE in Bangalore. The aircraft modification including the struts for the rotodome were modified in the Kanpur HAL facility.

**Airborne radar:** The test-flight of the AEW-TD is the first stage in constructing a fully configured ASWAC aircraft. AEW aircraft are essentially an airborne radar with data-links to the ground-based air defence radar networks. The AWACS however are complete command-posts that do not just detect targets but manage their interceptions. For this reason, AWACS are configured in larger aircraft like the Boeing-707, or in the soviet case, the II-76.

The tests in Bangalore currently involve just the airframe. The electronic heart of the AEW or ASWACS system is being designed by the Electronics and Radar Development Establishment (ERDE) in Bangalore and will be fabricated by the Bharat Electronics Limited. Currently the ASWAC Organization is examining the possibility of farming out specific technology areas for the radar to three companies in Sweden, the U.K. and France.

**Some way to go:** Knowledgeable sources say that the initial program using AEW systems will link the aircraft's surveillance capabilities with the Indian Air Defence Ground Environment System (ADGES) which looks after the air defence of the western borders. Subsequently the ASWACS, which is a stand-alone system, will be configured on an II-76 aircraft. At one time the Airbus A-320 was also a potential platform for the ASWACS, however with the current problems with the A-320, it is not clear whether the aircraft still figures in the short-list.

There is considerable interest in the Navy and Air Force for AEW and AWACS type aircraft. Air defence at sea has emerged as a problem area for the Navy following the acquisition of long-range maritime surveillance P-3C Orion aircraft by Pakistan as well as by the acquisition of Harpoon missiles. However the Indian program has some way to go before a usable product is ready.

## Reportage on Planned Riot Police Force

### Minister Gives Details

91AS0465A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 13 Dec 90 p 11

[Article by Janak Singh]

[Text] New Delhi, 12 Dec (The Times of India News Service)—The government has decided to raise a "composite strike force" comprising crack shooters and trained personnel, free from religious or other bias, to deal with communal riots or confronting terrorists.

The new force will be quite dissimilar from the existing police or para-military units, now frequently deployed in the areas stalked by terrorists or faced with eruptions of communal violence, such as in Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir, Assam, Andhra Pradesh and U.P [Uttar Pradesh]. Jawans for the new outfit will be recruited afresh or drawn from the existing units.

Giving details of the new scheme, the minister of state for home, Mr Subodh Kant Sahay, says frequently the deployment of army or para-military units for dealing with communal riots or similar situations has not proved a happy experience. For instance, thanks to its involvement in Blue Star Operation, the army instead of inspiring hope and confidence provokes fear and panic in Punjab.

"For this very reason, the government is not inclined to deploy troops in Punjab, although the situation in certain districts of this border state is indeed alarming now. We do not want the people to feel panicky or scared. Similarly, the PAC [Provincial Armed Constabulary] units wherever they are deployed often tend to carry their human temple with them for offering prayers to the god they worship. Unfortunately, the religious bias of the force makes its suspect in the eyes of people belonging to other religions," says Mr Sahay.

According to Mr Sahay the largest number of complaints from any town or area caught in communal frenzy relate to the allegations against members of the force. Most of these allegations are often baseless. "But the fact is that the force instead of being regarded as a saviour is often thought of as persecutor. Because of these reasons and increasing number of communal riots, the government has decided to raise a special strike force which will comprise members of all communities and will be so trained as to contain trouble quickly. Every year so many lives are lost in riots. Maybe the new force will help us evolve a mechanism to reduce the incidence of blood-letting," the minister says.

Communalism is much more dangerous and difficult to deal with than terrorism, according to the home minister. Unfortunately, every politician tries to exploit the situation created by communal riots. "I am saying so on the basis of reports we get. The law enforcement agencies are called upon not only to deal with perpetrators of

violence, but also the real sources of trouble, which frequently enough happens to be politicians. No one thinks of the harm he does to the country. What can the government do in such a situation?"

The home minister says that the problem is accentuated by the media. Frequently, there are reports in small papers which can only inflame passions. "Why don't the journalists who write such stories realise the damage they do to the society. No one wants to suppress facts. But there should be no licence to sell fiction as facts. Unless the responsible persons in the media realise the danger, the government howsoever tough it may be cannot set things right."

In the context of the Babrimasjid-Ram Janambhoomi agitation and the riots in several states now, the government has decided to send an urgent communication to states to also raise special units of strongly motivated and determined personnel for ensuring communal peace in the country.

Mr Sahay, who is also minister for information and broadcasting, has convened a meeting of editors and senior journalists for evolving some sort of guidelines ensuring a check on sensationalism in newspapers, especially in reporting communal flare-ups.

In view of increasing threats to communal peace, the government has decided to launch through the state-controlled electronic media an offensive for communal harmony and peace.

#### Requests for Central Forces

91AS0465B Madras THE HINDU in English  
28 Dec 90 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, 27 Dec—Law and order problems in the country have "stretched" Central police forces to a situation where, as of now, there are three disturbed States under President's rule and requests for deployment in areas affected by communal riots continue to pour in.

The main "casualty" has been training of the personnel, which has had to take a backseat owing to the pressure on the security forces in recent times. At present 250 battalions of the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) and Border Security Force (BSF) were available to the Centre. In other words, about 250,000 men were in the employ of these two Central forces.

Each battalion has a strength of six companies of which one is supposed to be "on training" at any given point of time. This training aspect, on which so much stress is being laid, cannot be fulfilled owing to the "heavy demand."

Apart from the CRPF and the BSF, men of the Indo-Tibetan Border Police (ITBP), the Central Industrial Security Force (CISF), the National Security Guard (NSG) and the Railway Protection Force (RPF) were deployed for law and order duties.

Of all the above named forces, only the CRPF is a "riot control" force. All others were raised for specific tasks but were doing work which they were not intended to do.

Talk of a "special riot control force" has been doing the rounds for some time owing to the unprecedented outbreak of communal violence in the country, where the role of the police, too, has come under fire. In this context, one might recall the criticism of the Provincial Armed Constabulary (PAC) in Uttar Pradesh.

#### Proposal

The Home Ministry is considering a proposal that State Governments with "endemic communal problems" add a new component to their armed police units. These men would be specially trained to deal with communal violence and riots.

Since law and order was a State subject, this problem had to be tackled at the State level, with the Centre chipping in with additional forces when needed. This was the "ideal" which did not exist at the moment.

Admitting that some State police forces had been found to be "partisan" in dealing with riots, the sources said in raising the new "force" special care would be taken to ensure that people "free from bias" were recruited.

This is, however, easier said than done. "Our attempt is to go in for fair representation." According to the sources, if a Central crack force was created to deal with communal violence, the expenditure on it would be "massive."

"Already we have the CRPF, which is a Central force raised to assist the State police forces in dealing with law and order situations. Quite apart from the expenditure on such a force, there can be no "continuous" expansion of the Central police forces, it is pointed out.

There has been a massive expansion of Central forces. In the 1980s, with Punjab "leading the way" more and more States are in a situation where Central forces are being deployed in a more or less "permanent" basis.

The latest addition to Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir and Assam is Tamil Nadu, where the Centre has agreed to a "request" made by the State Government for deploying Central forces. This has been done to combat the activities of Sri Lankan militants in Tamil Nadu. No forces have, however, been sent yet.

Rather than creating a new force at the Central level, the States should be allowed to raise the special riot forces. Also, special emphasis must be laid on the training of the existing forces which, as of now has been relegated to the background.

### India's Light Combat Aircraft to Fly in 1995

91AS0551A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 7 Jan 91 p 13

[Text] Indore, 6 January—India's indigenous light combat aircraft (LCA), now under development, will be ready for its first test-flight in 1995, according to Dr V.S. Arunachalam, adviser to the defence minister and director-general of the defence research and development organisation.

"The aircraft will be ready for induction into the air force, on schedule, by 2000 A.D.," he disclosed during his platinum jubilee lecture on "materials—harbinger of new technology" at the 78th session of the Indian science congress here yesterday.

The LCA project was initiated in 1983. Several aviation and defence experts had last year expressed fears that the project may not be completed in time.

"Some people have been saying that we have been talking about the LCA for the last 3 years, but where is it? To them my answer is that we may have to talk about it for 15 years," he remarked.

"From 1983, when the project started, to 2000, when the aircraft will be ready for induction, it is actually 17 years," he stressed.

Dr Arunachalam recalled that when INSAT-1A [Indian Satellite System-1A] was launched, the solar panel had failed to open in space due to a snag. People would ask every few minutes whether it had opened or not "as if it was like Gavaskar hitting boundaries in a one-day cricket match."

Dr Arunachalam said advance technology posed some problems and the experience of solving these was invaluable whatever the time spent.

He asserted that the country had adequate amounts of crucial materials which should be used as much as possible. The quality of civilisation is judged by the materials used by it, he noted.

The municipal corporation was directed to clear snow from all roads under its jurisdiction in the town and provide water supply to hospitals on a priority basis.

The civil supplies department was instructed to make available, in sufficient quantity, kerosene to all fair price shops and also to open more outlets.

Noting that there were reports in newspapers about blackmarketing of essential commodities the chief minister appealed to businessmen not to take advantage of human misery. He also asked the civil supplies department to remain vigilant.

However, there were non directives to the electricity department whose failure to expeditiously restore power

supply had kept more than half the state shivering during the severest winter HP [Himachal Pradesh] has experienced in 30 years.

### 1990 Inflation Rate Breaks Records

91AS0540A New Delhi PATRIOT in English  
31 Dec 90 p 5

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] The annual inflation rate has jumped to the new peaks in 1990, leaving all marks of the last decade far behind, as is being acknowledged by the official wholesale price index (base: 1981-82 = 100 base).

The wholesale price index reached 11.4 percent for the latest week ending on 15 December, as official statistics show. It was the highest compared to the last decade.

The rate of inflation, if computed on a point-to-point basis, would, in fact, show a marked acceleration in the last few weeks, when it jumped from 10.3 percent on 24 November to 10.6 percent in the week that followed and then to 10.9 percent in the first week of December.

The 'all commodities' index, however, presents marginal increase. It rose from 185.1 to 185.3 in the previous week—exhibiting a rise of 0.1 percent. It was on account of both, primary articles and also the manufactured articles.

In the grade of primary articles, prices of the food articles were higher by 0.2 percent, and those of non-food articles was lower by the same margin.

Within the sub-group of food articles, price of foodgrains continued to rise—particularly of cereals (0.9 percent)—up by a hefty 0.9 percent in the latest week and those of condiments and spices by 1.1 percent, while those of fruits and vegetables were lower by 0.6 percent.

Under non-food articles, prices of fibres was lower by 0.1 percent and of oilseeds by 0.7 percent.

The group of manufactured products, the largest in the index, saw a rise in the index of textiles and machinery and machine tools by 0.1 percent each, of basic metals, alloys and metal products by 0.2 percent, of paper and paper products by 0.3 percent, of non-metallic mineral products by 0.4 percent, of leather and leather products by 0.7 percent and of transport equipment and parts by 0.9 percent, while that of food products remained unchanged.

Significantly, under the sub-group of food products, the decline in prices of sugar, khandsari and gur by 0.3 percent and of oil cakes by 2.2 percent completely offset the rise in prices of dairy products by 0.3 percent, or grain mill products and canning and preservation of fruits and vegetables by 0.7 percent each and manufacture of common salt by 0.3 percent.

Hike in prices of barley, rice, bajra, arhar, condiments, spices and tea pushed up the index for food articles. But the prices of coffee, masur, gram, jowar, urad, fruits and vegetables came down.

An increase in price of cotton yarn made the index for textiles look up. But the prices of viscose filament yarn and art silk cloth declined.

Higher price of broad gauge diesel locomotives pulled up the index for transport equipment and parts.

Decline in price of copra, ground nut and castor seed made the index for non-food articles fall. But the prices of sunflower seed, gingelly seed, raw tobacco, raw wool, rape and mustard seed and fodder moved up.

Decline in prices of mahua oil, khandsari, oil cakes, gur and coconut oil neutralised the increase in prices of skimmed milk powder, gingelly oil, canned juices, atta, kardi, oil, cotton seed oil and poultry seed with the result the index for food products remained unchanged.

The indices for minerals, fuel, power, light and lubricants, beverages, tobacco and tobacco products, wood and wood products, rubber and plastic products, chemicals and chemical products, other miscellaneous manufacturing industries remained unchanged.

### ONGC Oil Prospecting, 1990 Successes Reviewed

91AS0488A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 3 Jan 91 p 16

[Text] The year 1990 was an eventful year for ONGC [Oil and Natural Gas Commission] which took the initiative in formulating specific schemes for enhancing oil and gas production, improving the utilisation of gas, drawing out a time-bound programme for improving the recovery of oil and ventures into some of the least explored areas.

The organisation's efforts were rewarded with success with the discovery of 14 new oil and gas prospects. Major oil and gas discoveries were made in the Bombay offshore, Krishan-Godavari basin (onland and offshore), the Cambay basin and Rajasthan.

The pennar onland basin and off-shore Kakinada areas were taken up for the first time for exploratory surveys. Some of the least explored basins like the Vindhyan in the Western and Pranhita Godavari basin in Southern Region were also taken up for drilling for the first time.

Production of oil started from seven new prospects—onland and offshore. Two of these—Neelam and Mukta are considered very significant from the point of view of enhancing production in the Eighth Plan. Meanwhile oil flow also started from the Heera to Uran through the 81 km long Heera-Uran Trunk pipeline (HUT). This pipeline with a handling capacity of 3 million tonnes per annum of oil and 1.5 million cubic metres per day of gas has eliminated the use of oil tankers and increased the utilisation of gas from Bombay Offshore.

Gas supplies to the extent of 6.5 lakh cubic metres per day were started to various consumers in Gujarat, Maharashtra, southern and north-east areas. Domestic gas supplies were also started in Nazira and Tripura. A major landmark was the commissioning of the gas based Ethane-Propane Recovery Plant at Uran. The plant has an annual capacity of 4.5 lakh tonnes of ethane-propane for supply to the Maharashtra Gas Cracker Complex (MGCC) at Nagothane. At Hazira, ONGC also successfully commissioned its Phase-II of gas sweetening plant.

A crash programme was also drawn to reactivate 191 oil wells in Gujarat over a six month period. This time bound target oriented plan has the potential to produce about 1.3 million tonnes of crude.

### Major Projects

ONGC obtained PIB [Public Investment Board?] clearance for its Neelam, Mukta, L-II/L-III projects in Bombay offshore. The government also gave the green signal to the ONGC's scheme for development of Panna field in Bombay offshore. During the year the HRG and ICG process platforms in Heera and Bombay High fields in Western Offshore were also brought on stream. The commissioning of these oil and gas processing complexes would contribute to an additional oil production of 74.75 million tonnes and 2.59 billion cubic metres of gas up to 2005-06.

ONGC's global ventures gained momentum with the drilling of the first well in Vietnam offshore. Consultancy assignments worth US\$1.46 million for the Abu Dhabi National Oil Corporation and Petronas, Malaysia were also completed.

On the R&D front, Asia's first Insitu Combustion Pilot Project was commissioned at Halol in Gujarat. The enhanced oil recovery project will result in enhancing oil recovery from heavy oil fields in north Gujarat. Meanwhile, chemicals developed and patented by ONGC would now fetch a 3 percent royalty on sales.

The first contract for commercial production of Ferro chrome ligno sulphonate was signed during the year. Five new service areas—cementing, wireline, mud-engineering, tubular inspection and Geotechnical services were offered to the Indian companies.

### New Findings on Cosmic Rays Announced

91AS0507A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 27 Dec 90 p 5

[Text] Bombay, 26 December—A group of Indian scientists has made the first detailed and direct measurements of ionisation states of "anomalous" cosmic rays which shows that these rays are singly ionised.

Dr Sukumar Biswas, principal investigator of the group, told newsmen here on Monday that this "very difficult experiment" had for the first time used the earth's magnetic field as a filter and momentum analyser.

The anomalous cosmic rays were recorded by the Indian cosmic ray instrument, ANURADHA, which was integrated on board the American space shuttle, Challenger, launched from the Kennedy Space Centre in Florida on 29 April 1985.

According to Dr Biswas, who is professor emeritus of TIFR [Tata Institute of Fundamental Research], 30 percent of the data collected by the Spacelab-3 has been so far analysed.

The instrument data were telemetered to the ground through the command and data management system of Spacelab. After a week's highly successful mission in space, Challenger with Spacelab in its cargo bay, returned on 6 May 1985.

The objective of the ANURADHA experiment is to study the recently discovered anomalous component of low energy cosmic ray ions.

The experiment was also undertaken to study the ionisation states of low-energy heavy ions of carbon to iron in solar cosmic rays emitted during large solar events.

During the flight of spacelab-3 mission the sun was extremely quiet and the solar activity was close to the minimum level. Therefore, this epoch was ideal for studies of low-energy cosmic rays whose intensities would be close to the maximum.

Cosmic rays are energetic atomic nuclei of practically all elements of the periodic table that are bombarding the earth and the solar system with speeds close to that of the velocity of light.

While travelling from the source region to the vicinity of the solar system, these cosmic ray nuclei follow a tortuous trajectory in the interplanetary medium for a long period as a result of which the particle completely loses "memory" of its original direction and time of the commencement of its journey.

Cosmic ray nuclei reaching the earth bring with them the signatures of the source or sources from which they originated as well as of the properties of vast stretches of interstellar medium through which they travelled for about a few million years.

During the past few decades many new properties of cosmic rays have been revealed by experiments with balloons, satellites and space probes, but their origin and acceleration remains elusive.

In 1974, the Pioneer space probe detected a new type of cosmic rays in deep space called "anomalous cosmic rays."

To measure the ionisation states of heavy ions, the group adopted a method by which the earth's magnetic field is used as filter or momentum analyser for each of the ions and combined this information with other properties measured in the detector to determine the ionisation state.

The group's study has firmly established the origin of anomalous cosmic rays as a composition from interstellar neutral atoms, drifting into the solar system and ionised by solar ultra-violet rays and then accelerated in the heliosphere boundaries by some process not fully understood.

They also observed a surprisingly new phenomena on the low energy galactic cosmic rays: whereas 80 percent of the galactic cosmic rays of the iron group nuclei were found to be fully ionised, about 20 percent of the ions were found to be partially ionised.

Dr Biswas said this is a major finding and its implications are not fully understood.

The findings of the anomalous cosmic rays were presented and discussed at the International Cosmic Ray Conference at Adelaide and several of the participants had appreciated the work of Indian scientists. Dr Biswas has written a monograph on the subject which will be published in the *ASTROPHYSICAL JOURNAL* in June next year.

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