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Near East & South Asia

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New Organization, Publication Reported
46050006b Beirut AZTAG in Armenian
14 Oct 88 pp 4, 6

[Excerpts] [Editorial note] Several movements and organizations have been formed in Soviet Armenia as a result of the birth of the Artsakh movement and political awareness in that country. One of those organizations is the "Association for the Defense of the Armenian Cause." The official press organ of this organization is the HAY DAT [Armenian Cause], a small-circulation mimeographed publication. In its fourth issue, HAY DAT publishes the organization's bylaws and program.

It appears that the Association is made up of individuals and cells operating in various institutions, creative unions and urban areas. The organization has a pyramid-shaped hierarchy; it has regional and central councils which elect the presidium.

The principal goals of the Association are to work for the reunification of Armenian territories within the Soviet Union with Soviet Armenia, to demand from the Soviet government to recognize the Armenian genocide and to put that issue before the UN and to work for the return of Western Armenia to the Armenian people.

In these pages and in coming issues we will be reprinting excerpts from the fourth issue of HAY DAT. We begin the series with two speeches made at a popular rally held in front of Matenadaran on July 20. Karabakh Committee member Hambartzum Galstyan focuses on the principal requirement of preserving the Armenian nation, which has recently become one of the most prominent issues on the agenda of popular rallies. Soviet Armenian writer Sero Ghanzadyan conveys the Armenian people's anger with regard to the USSR Supreme Soviet's 18 July decision.

[Hambartzoum Galstyan's speech] [Passage omitted] If we want to survive in the next millenium as a national and ethnic entity, we must implement a certain program of political, cultural and economic action. Of course this issue cannot be completely examined in one speech or even over one year. Today, I would like to speak about a problem that has been raised numerous times: the Armenian language.

I do not want to be too dramatic, but the situation is truly serious. We are losing the Armenian language.

[passage omitted] Today, in Yerevan every fourth Armenian child is educated in a foreign language. The same situation exists in higher education. It is time that the government of Armenia—if it is truly the government of Armenia entrusted with the duty of defending the interests of the Armenian nation—feel obligated to protect and to develop the Armenian language which has been declared the official language of our Republic. We are working on publishing a program on this issue, but it appears that the taboos on this subject have not been completely discarded and that our medicine men are still afraid to talk about it.

An atmosphere of general intolerance must be created with respect to people who do not have a good command of the mother tongue. [passage omitted]

[Sero Ghanzadyan's speech] [passage omitted] The 18 July meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet showed that our supreme state authority which has been created with the blood and sweat of the Armenian people and which was saved with the blood of Armenian soldiers is not the democrat we expected. It became evident that most of the members of the Presidium are full of indifference and even hostility toward the most ancient and the most mistreated piece of Armenia, the Nagorno-Karabakh, which has been enslaved by the Azerbaijani SSR for 65 years. It became clear that the Armenian people do not have the protection of the supreme state authority, namely the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

I was proud of the posture of the Armenian delegates at the Presidium's meeting. They spoke on behalf of human conscience and justice. I was also pleased with the speeches of a few foreign comrades. However, they remained a minority before the obstacles raised by the majority.

My dear friends, the government of our Republic is finally on our side, on the side of the people, alas after an inexcusable delay. I believe that our leadership is spearheading our just struggle. Therefore let us support the stance of the present leadership of our Republic. I must also state proudly that Henrik Pokhosyan, who is physically small but sublime and indomitable like Karabakh, overwhelmed the anti-Armenian fanatics and the "Vozhdiks" who are completely unaware of the Karabakh problem. [passage omitted]

Karabakh Committee Members Identified
46050006a Athens AZAT OR in Armenian 7 Oct 88 p 1

[Text] Below are names and occupations of the 11 members of the Karabakh Committee:

Rafayel Avetisi Khazaryan: Doctor and professor of technical sciences; director of the physics institute of the Armenian Academy of Sciences.

Vano Sembati Serateryan: Writer; member of the Armenian Writers' Union.

Hambartzum Paylaki Galstyan: Doctoral candidate of history; scientific consultant.

Vazgen Minasi Manukyan: Doctoral candidate of physics and mathematics; lecturer in Yerevan University.

Davit Manuki Vardanyan: Doctoral candidate of physics and mathematics; director of laboratories in Yerevan University.

Samson Seryozhayi Khazaryan: History teacher in Middle School 183.

Babgen Gurgeni Ararktzyan: Doctoral candidate of physics and mathematics; member of the faculty of Yerevan University.

Aleksan Hakobi Hakobian: Doctoral candidate of history; research associate in the orientology department of the Armenian Academy of Sciences.

Ashot Garniki Manucharyan: Deputy principal of Middle School 183.

Samuel Vlatimiri Gevorgyan: Radio and television commentator.

Levon Hakobi Ter-Petrosyan: Doctor of literature; senior researcher in the Matenadaran [Armenian state library].

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

The Territories: Economic Scenario

44000150 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in
English 23 Nov 88 p 7

[Article by David Rosenberg]

[Text] The Palestinian declaration of statehood, whether or not it brings the Palestinians closer to achieving their goal, has certainly generated renewed debate on the matter. The discussion, unfortunately, has been confined almost exclusively to the issue of security. But the politicians and generals would do well to give over some of the debate time to economists and businessmen.

Israel's security, not to mention its economic well-being, would be closely tied to a Palestinian state's ability to build and sustain a sound and, ideally, prosperous economy. And, from Israel's point of view, that should be as much a consideration as whether Tel Aviv will be threatened by Katyushas. This is for two reasons.

After 21 years of occupation, the economies of Israel and the territories have become closely intertwined, to the extent that an immediate severing of ties would do substantial damage to both. More important, a Palestinian state that is in chronic economic distress is likely to be in political distress as well, and could easily become a breeding ground for renewed terrorism. This is especially likely to be the case since so many Palestinian hopes and expectations have centered on the notion of an independent state. A Palestinian who finds that his standard of living in the long-sought state is no better than it was in a Lebanese refugee camp is going to look for someone to blame.

No one can predict with any confidence what the economic prospects for a Palestinian state would be. There are a number of tiny, resource-poor states, as the future Palestine would be, that have prospered by dint of able political leadership and a strong entrepreneurial bent. But for every Singapore and Hong Kong, there are many more others with far more potential that have become economic basket-cases. Much, of course, would depend on the new state's leaders and their ability to steer a pragmatic course, given their limited resources. They will have a difficult job ahead of them.

Since 1948, the West Bank and Gaza have in effect been the colonies of the country in control, providing their resources—chiefly labour—to the mother country at the expense of their own economic development. Nineteen years of Jordanian rule succeeded in moving the industrial centre of the kingdom from the West Bank to the East Bank by Amman's policy of allocating development money to areas within its pre-1948 borders.

By 1967, industrial value-added on the East Bank was nearly triple that of the West Bank's. Egypt, which never formally annexed Gaza, practised a policy of benign neglect.

Israeli Policy since 1967 is far more complicated. On the surface, the territories have undergone a period of remarkable growth: In the first 10 years of Israeli rule the economy of the territories expanded by 13 percent a year, nearly double the Israeli rate. The level has since fallen off, grinding down to nearly zero in the 1980s.

Still, Israel can boast that the standard of living in the territories has improved dramatically under Israeli rule, not only in terms of income, but measured by such things as the level of education and a host of other statistics.

All this conceals the basic fact of the economic life in the territories today. The great engine of growth in the territories has been tens of thousands of Palestinian labourers crossing the Green Line day after day to jobs in Israel. By some estimates there are 90,000 Palestinians working in Israel, equal to about 40 percent of the territories' working population.

Agricultural production has improved substantially in the territories but industrial expansion has been cramped by Israeli administrative controls and by a lack of money for investment.

The territories' dependence on the Israeli economy doesn't end there. The great majority of the territories' foreign trade (the West Bank and Gaza are still treated as foreign countries for statistical purposes) goes through Israel, and the rest ends up in Jordan. In fact, the territories run a huge trade deficit with Israel that is largely funded by the earnings of its labourers this side of the Green Line. Much of West Bank electricity is bought from Israel. All told, Israel, by one estimate, earns some \$1 billion a year from the territories in cheap labour captive export markets, taxes, and other income.

All this points to the chief problem that would face a Palestinian state: the territories simply do not constitute a self-sustaining economic entity.

The second problem relates to population. For one thing, it is growing at one of the world's fastest rates. Between 1980 and 1986, population increased by 19 percent, a far faster rate than did the economy, meaning that the standard of living declined.

Stanley Maron, a researcher at Yad Tabenkin, estimates that the territories' economy would have to grow by 250 percent by the year 2000 just to bring the living standard in the Gaza Strip up to the much higher level of the West Bank and keep the West Bank's standard intact. That is not an impossible goal, he says, but it will be difficult to achieve and in the end will only enable a fledgling state to maintain its current living standard, not improve it.

The other half of the problem is the nature of the population in the projected state. Much is made of the high level of education of Palestinians both in the territories and abroad. But the kind of education they are getting is another matter. The big farm sector and the atrophied industrial base of a new state would not be in need of managers, technicians and professionals, but that is in fact what educated Palestinians tend to be.

As in Jordan, where the Palestinian population's desire for higher education is just as strong, the economy simply can't absorb the skills that are being offered by university graduates. The result is a lot of unemployed doctors and a shortage of production workers.

On the other side of the socio-economic scale would be the influx of Palestinian refugees. Predicting the number who would choose to come is highly speculative; even the number of Palestinians in the world is a pretty elusive figure. Simha Bahiri, who put together for the West Bank Data Project several economic scenarios for the territories, including some that envisage independence, says that 600,000 Palestinians would choose to immigrate to a new state, but he concedes that he could be wrong by a margin of 200,000 in either direction.

Throughout the Middle East, there are some 400,000 Palestinians living in refugee camps, and they are the most likely candidates to return. They are also the ones who can offer the fewest skills to a Palestinian state's economy, while adding a huge burden to its limited resources.

One solution, politically unpalatable though the Palestinian leadership might find it, would be to form a common market with Israel, and perhaps with Jordan as well, which would allow goods and workers to travel freely across borders between the three countries. That would force the Palestinians to give up a good deal of their economic independence, but it would save them the inevitable collapse that would come from a complete severing of economic ties with Israel.

Maron says, in fact, that a free-trade area offers the only hope for a Palestinian state. In a common market arrangement, the more dynamic Israeli economy could act as a locomotive, pulling the Palestinian and Jordanian economies with it. A common market, with Israel as its leading member, should appeal to Israel, which would maintain a Palestinian state as a ready export market and a source of labour.

It's for this very reason that Bahiri maintains that everyone would be better off without it, at least for a new state's first decade. He admits that Israel and Palestine would have to maintain close economic ties—Palestine would need a corridor between the West Bank and Gaza, for instance—and clearly the new state couldn't suddenly ban its workers from crossing the Green Line. But a common-market arrangement, he says, would block development of the new state by keeping the old colonial system with

Israel, unaltered. Palestinians would continue to accept higher-paid work in Israel and infant Palestinian industries would be overwhelmed by their Israeli competitors.

A new state would in any case be highly dependent in its first years on outside assistance, the bulk of it presumably coming from the Arab world. Its exact aid requirements would no doubt depend on the level of immigration and the state's ability to attract investment from the private sector. But it is fair to assume that, after years of proclaiming their support for Palestinian self-determination, they would not fail to put up money to get a new state launched. Jordan, which has roughly the same population as a Palestinian state and certainly less claim to aid money, gets even in this era of low oil prices \$360 million annually from Saudi Arabia. When the Gulf economies were stronger it got more. In a negotiated settlement sponsored by superpowers. The U.S., Europe, and perhaps the Soviet Union, could be counted on for added assistance.

Even with this largesse, the leaders of a new Palestinian state would be walking a thin line, much as Israel did in its early years. On the one side would be the pressures of developing an economy rapidly with few resources to work with, while absorbing hundreds of thousands of immigrants. On the other would be the huge cost of frittering away whatever the new state gets.

The state's ability to survive would hinge on the character of its leadership, which is perhaps the most difficult part of the equation to predict. Between the two extremes of a Palestinian Singapore and a Palestinian Burundi, lies the most likely prospect: a Palestinian state mildly prosperous but largely reliant on Israel. This, no doubt, is something less than what most Palestinians envision but it is certainly no worse than the condition of much of the world's nations.

Hamas Versus the Shabab: Standoff at Noon
44000151 Jerusalem *THE JERUSALEM POST* in
English 30 Nov 88 p 1

[Article by Joel Greenberg]

[Text] Bethlehem—The masked youth ran towards the stores, brandishing a bottle of petrol, as shop doors quickly swung shut. A column of teenagers met him head on, driving him off.

The ideological changes in the PLO were played out yesterday on the streets of Bethlehem as youths blocked attempts by Islamic radicals to enforce a strike on the anniversary of the 1947 UN partition resolution.

The PLO grudgingly accepted partition at this month's meeting of the Palestine National Council. As a result, its youthful followers (shabab) defended shopowners who opened for business on a day traditionally marked for protest strikes against the UN resolution.

The Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), which rejects partition and preaches "liberation of all Palestine," called a strike in defiance of the PLO-backed Unified National Leadership of the Uprising. Hamas graffiti warned: "General strike, or else."

At Bethlehem's Madbasah neighbourhood, Hamas was represented by the three swaggering toughs holding rocks, their faces hidden by black bags with eyeholes. The youths shouted slogans and tried to intimidate shopkeepers into closing. Occasionally, they would move menacingly towards the stores, only to be chased back by groups of teenagers who formed a human wall. "Stay open," the teenagers told merchants.

Anxious shopkeepers gazed down the street at the confrontation—a tense standoff that was never allowed to degenerate into a brawl. "A comedy," said a middle-aged man.

The Hamas youths loitered on a corner, rocks at the ready; the shabab facing them kept a watch as their leader, in whispered consultations, planned the next moves. Children ignited a tire on the road and, incredibly, shoppers strolled by, conducting business as usual.

The two sides traded slogans: "Revolution against the occupier, no solution without the Qur'an," shouted the Islamic activists. "National unity—yes to the Palestinian state," answered the local youths.

Troops were nowhere to be seen. Onlookers said the army was deliberately turning a blind eye to Hamas provocations, in order to encourage internal dissent among Palestinians.

The shabab held off their response until noon, to avoid clashes which would force shops to shut before the closing time set by the Unified Leadership.

At 12 o'clock, on a hidden cue, dozens of teenagers armed with stones and masked with sheets and stockings moved out of the alleyways. The Hamas toughs melted away.

Youths began to chant slogans and soldiers arrived, sending the crowd stampeding into sidestreets. The reservists gave chase, firing rubber bullets, but returned empty handed.

EGYPT

Defense Minister on Armored Vehicle Production
JN11D070088 Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic
9 Dec 88 pp 1, 18

[Excerpt] Field Marshal Muhammad 'Abd-al-Halim Abu-Ghazalah, deputy prime minister and minister of defense, has affirmed that we should be prepared to fight if we want to maintain peace. We also have to maintain the fighting power of our Armed Forces because we live

in an eventful region. There are many things threatening our nation. He said: Due to their experience, our Armed Forces have succeeded in developing Saqir 80 missiles with an increase in range and power. He pointed out that 45 km of the road that links Rafah and Tabah have been paved. He described this road as a main one linking the south with northern Sinai.

This came in the celebrations for the day of honoring outstanding graduates of the II Army Corps and handing out the prizes for the training year 1987-1988. The field marshal praised the excellence of the winners in the various military and physical exercise domains.

On the possibility of manufacturing track armored vehicles in Egypt, the field marshal affirmed that the new armored vehicles' factory which we have nearly finished constructing and which will be producing the American tank M-1 E-1 has the capacity to produce this type of armored vehicle which is going to be tested as soon as the necessary finances are provided. This vehicle would have the capacity to function in our natural and climatic conditions. [passage omitted]

ISRAEL

Peace Now To Meet PLO
44000152 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in
English 1 Dec 88 p 1

[Article by Andy Court]

[Text] Peace Now activists are seeking to arrange meetings abroad with members of the Palestine National Council, one of the movement's founders said last night.

Yuli Tamir, the moderator of a Peace Now forum held in Jerusalem last night, told THE JERUSALEM POST that the first meeting was tentatively planned for late January.

The meetings would probably take place in Europe and America. They are just one aspect of the movement's decision 10 days ago to call, for the first time, for direct talks with the PLO, Tamir said.

Peace Now launched its "Talk Peace with the PLO Now" campaign in Jerusalem last night. Two Palestinian academics and three Israelis addressed a crowd of about 300 in the Knesset Towers Hotel.

The speakers all agreed that the recent PNC declarations in Algiers showed new signs of moderation and pragmatism which should be encouraged by Israeli citizens even if Israeli officials dismissed their significance.

"The Palestinian people have basically developed, through the uprising in general and the PNC meeting in particular, a message of peace," said Bi'r Zayt University professor Sari Nusaybah. "You never found in the

leaflets [of the uprising's underground leadership] any reference to the destruction of Israel, any reference to throwing Jews into the sea."

Professor Shaul Friedlander, a historian, said that the uprising may be fundamentally changing Israeli perceptions. The television images on Tuesday of a Palestinian's house being demolished and of an Israeli soldier whose face was severely burned by a petrol bomb "may create mixed and antagonistic reactions, but they also raise the idea that this cannot go on," he said.

Sharon Interviewed on Coalition Politics, Defense
44000124 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in
English 11 Nov 88 p 4

[Article by Yehuda Litani and Menachem Shalev]

[Text] Ari'el Sharon is right in the thick of things, where he likes to be. At noon yesterday, he hosted Agudat Yisrael leader Rabbi Moshe Feldman for an informal meeting which included a briefing, complete with maps and diagrams, on Israel's strategic concerns, as seen by the former minister of defence.

"They have learned a lot about these matters since they joined the government 11 years ago," Sharon says. He is trying to put together a coalition which will make Yitzhaq Shamir prime minister, and, Sharon still hopes, will also bring him a little closer to recapturing the defence portfolio.

Sharon has no doubts whatsoever who the next defence minister should be. "In the current situation, with its serious deterioration in security, with the fear that exists between Jews, the thing that I am duty-bound to do, that I should do, that I must do, is be minister of defence.

"Although it is a thankless task, in the present situation, the position must be filled by the man who can do it better than others. And I believe that I can do it better than others. In other, more normal times, I would be happy to be foreign minister, or finance minister. I am sure that I could do that very well."

Sharon also thinks that he is highly-qualified to deal with the haredi parties. He is known to have a special relationship with haredi leaders, and he ascribes his status to his special concern for Jewish religion and heritage.

"The haredim are the guardians of Israel's Tora. Who will guard it, me or you? They know that I am not a religious man. My advantage lies in my attitude towards the Jewish question. I am a Jew before anything else, and I want to state clearly that I know that Israel has very difficult security and diplomatic problems and complex economic problems, but these are all solvable. What I am really worried about is the Jewish question.

"As a member of a people which has existed for 3,800 years, I am concerned about what we must do so that it will continue to exist for another 3,000 years, at least. This might be the link between me and them."

Sharon's concern for the continued existence of the Jewish people brings him to a surprising statement on the drafting of yeshiva students, the main obstacle to understanding between Zionist and haredi parties.

"It does not anger me, it bothers me. As a Jew, I do not feel that I can determine whether any changes in this matter won't damage the continued existence of the Jewish people, as Jews.

"I see an imminent danger all the time, the physical danger, which we all face continuously, to the Jewish people and to the state of Israel, and at the same time, I can also see the long-range danger to the Jewish people.

"Saying what I really feel, I am incapable of balancing one against the other. Therefore I think that the status quo should remain intact. I think about our boys at the front, and I must also consider their continuous concern for the Jewish character of the Jewish people."

Sharon, in fact, does not hide his preference for a narrow coalition with the haredi parties to one with Labour. He states that one of the main advantages is that the haredim "didn't operate behind the government's back."

Sharon recounts that he was the "driving force" behind the outgoing national unity government set up in 1984. But now he thinks otherwise.

"We had a very bad experience. The purpose of the government was to achieve unity, but the activities of Shimon Peres and the Labour Party resulted in disunity. It is impossible to keep on working like that. I know the Labour Party well, and there are some exceptional people there. But their influence on what happens in the top echelons is virtually nonexistent."

The national unity government yielded what Sharon terms "very serious damage" to Israel—"political damage, damage to Israel's image, the deterioration of its deterrent capabilities, a lessening of the fear of Israel, which is a central component of our security conception.

"I would say that this is an intolerable situation. Therefore at this point, I don't believe that we should go back to that situation. The public had a choice between Labour, together with the pro-PLO Arab parties and the Communist Party, or the national camp and the religious parties. The people have made their choice. From this point a government should be set up which will do what has to be done. And if it fails to carry out its missions, then in four years the public will choose a different government.

"We now have a chance to act, and to go back to what I would call Jewish-Zionist sanity. We have to set up a government—but not at any price. There is a limit to our concessions."

Sharon's criticism is not limited to his left-wing rivals. He is clearly unhappy with the Likud's election campaign—in which he didn't star—and its results: "The Likud was only partially successful in the elections. Labour went down, and the Likud went down by less. We achieved much less than what was possible. I believe that conditions were ideal for a real success. I would definitely not call it a victory."

The main problem, as far as Sharon is concerned, is the votes lost by the Likud to the right and to parties such as Shas. "I warned about this many times. I appeared over 100 times in the election campaign. I was out in the field all the time, and I saw this erosion."

"I think a basic mistake was made in our propaganda campaign. The campaign managers tried, by speaking unclearly, to catch some theoretical floating vote which supposedly existed on Labour's flanks, and ignored the deep erosion to the Likud's right and to the religious parties."

"The lack of understanding of this issue was shown in the attempt to make the Likud into some sort of 'beautiful' party, in which curly-haired, blue-eyed boys will present the party's positions and get the floating vote."

Sharon believes that he holds the key to solving the problem of the uprising in the territories. He believes that the defence establishment has failed to crush the uprising, and he advocates firm and unorthodox measures which would be applied immediately.

"Three steps have to be taken: one, in the political realm, we should stop talking about the territories being a burden, and about withdrawal, and about who needs Gaza—even if somebody thinks that we don't need Gaza, you should at least exact a price for it. Stop all this talk."

"And we should make clear, in an unequivocal way, that in any solution, both internal and external security will remain in Israel's hands, and the IDF will be free to move and act everywhere."

"Second, we should act against the political-operational leaders, who are located mainly in East Jerusalem, against those who are behind all the riots. We know a lot about who they are. All these front-organizations, those that enable the transfer of funds, that enable the activities, all these operational systems. They operate in East Jerusalem and exploit our democracy."

"I do not propose that we do anything which is contrary to international law, but a country has the right to defend

its own democracy. Let's take the United States: If there were such activities inside Washington, they would wipe them out within a day."

"We have to legislate appropriately. The degradation of IDF soldiers cannot be allowed to continue. And it is inconceivable that soldiers not have the necessary legal backing to do whatever is necessary."

"Third, in the operational field, I believe that we should change our *modus operandi*: we should act in much smaller forces, avoiding, as far as possible, the deployment of reserve units. We should use specialized, professional IDF units together with the Border Police and the police. And we must use unconventional methods, to confront them, day in and day out, with a new reality."

Referring to his past experience as OC Southern Command in the early Seventies, Sharon thinks that the best example of dealing with Palestinian riots and terror can be found in his successful battle in the Gaza Strip.

"In Gaza we have an exceptional example of how the terrorists were wiped out. The civilian population was active there as well, in demonstrations and riots. But we drew a clear line between the population which actively supported terror, and that which didn't like us but wanted to live quietly. That was a big success. In order to deal with this problem, we have to go back to that conception. It's difficult after 11 months of *intifadah*, but it's possible."

Taking a thinly veiled swipe at the heads of the security establishment, Sharon says: "In the past 11 months there has been a serious deterioration in security, and no one has taken responsibility for it. Everyone says 'I am responsible,' but what does this mean in practice? Our 'analysts' explain: 'It's really nothing, they were just playing cards, and then they just acted.' We get explanations all the time, or explanations that only a political solution is possible."

"Whoever sees what's going on: the charred bus with the mother and her three children, the soldier who was murdered, the Jewish woman whose head was bashed in with a stone—everything had an explanation according to our analysts. And I suggest that instead of being our analysts they should be our commanders—understand that this grave situation should be dealt with immediately, and this should be the main consideration."

In addition to the operational scheme against the uprising, Sharon has a political blueprint for counteracting the expected declaration of Palestinian independence in the territories. For several months, he has put forth a plan that purports to combine elements of the Allon plan with the autonomy agreements.

Sharon would have Israel annex some parts of the West Bank, leaving populated enclaves for self-rule.

"We should warn that this is our plan and that we will carry it out in order to prevent the establishment of a second Palestinian state, west of the Jordan River."

At first, Sharon says, somewhat vaguely, that his plan is not really a breach of Camp David, because "the other side has already broken it." Pressed, however, he admits that "there is a certain deviation here, but I believe it is necessary because of the new reality. Israel cannot sit idly by without doing anything, without even analyzing the situation."

Sharon rules out foreign sovereignty in any part of the territories "because I do not believe that one country can maintain security activities within the territory of another sovereign state."

Referring derisively to Labour's so-called "generals' programme," Sharon says: "All this idea of early warning stations, which they showed us on television, was totally groundless."

Sharon says that "there is some tension" in his relations today with Defence Minister Rabin, but adds that "we did have a proper relationship for many years."

Deflecting Rabin's reminder on Sunday that the Kahan Commission, which investigated the 1982 Sabra and Shatilla massacres, had disqualified him as defence minister, Sharon says: "I was not disqualified for serving as defence minister for evermore. What was I really held responsible for? The fact that Christians killed Palestinians didn't make me any less of an expert on security matters, and didn't make someone else any more of an expert. I paid heavily because Christians killed Palestinians, but it should be mentioned that Palestinians kill and injure Jews throughout Israel every day, and for that, no one in the top echelons of the defence establishment has paid to this day. I would call this situation the responsibility of those who shirk responsibility."

"The prime minister is the one who will determine whether I should be appointed as defence minister. What is preventing my appointment? I don't know. It is up to the prime minister."

Bethlehem Mayor Discusses Post-Election Politics

44000123 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 11 Nov 88 p 5

[Interview with Ilyas Furayj, mayor of Bethlehem, by Joel Greenberg; date and place not given]

[Text] Ilyas Furayj, the 68-year-old mayor of Bethlehem, is something of a man in the middle. Representing a class of moderate, pro-Jordanian Palestinians caught up in the youthful tide of the uprising in the territories, he has maintained contacts with leading Israeli government officials and politicians throughout his 17-year tenure of office.

This week, between the Israeli elections and the forthcoming meeting of the Palestine National Council, Furayj was in a unique position to reflect on the results of the Israeli vote, and consider the prospective response of the PNC. He spoke as an observer, on the sidelines of both the Israeli and Palestinian political arenas, but close enough to their major actors to speak about them with knowledgeable familiarity.

[THE JERUSALEM POST] What is your feeling about the result of the Israeli elections, and what does it mean politically, and for the intifada?

[Furayj] The Arab population was shocked. I myself had anticipated that the Likud, its right-wing allies, and the religious parties would have more representatives than the Labour and moderate parties, though no one expected the religious parties to gain so many seats. In fact, I was saying that Labour and Likud would be equal, with about 40 seats.

I was not surprised by the elections. I was sure "Gandhi" would make it, I was sure General Rafael Eitan would make it. The only surprise was the number of seats won by the religious parties, and the failure of the Israeli Arabs to get more seats.

I believe Mr Shamir will form the next government. And I think Israel will now face internal difficulties, Israelis amongst themselves.

Maybe the election results could be a blessing in disguise for the Arabs, in that the image and reputation of Israel in the United States, Europe and elsewhere will now be different from what it used to be. And nobody will believe any longer that Israel is the David of the Middle East.

I don't think the new American administration will give the new government in Israel a blank cheque, politically or otherwise. I believe a major part of the Jewish organizations in America were not happy with the results.

Mr Shamir still talks about the Camp David accords. Does Camp David allow unlimited Jewish settlement in the occupied territories? Would he really find a partner to talk to?

The Camp David accords for autonomy are no longer really effective. It was stipulated in those accords that the Americans, Israelis and Egyptians would have to sit and work out a formula, and then present the formula to the Palestinians and Jordanians.

The Egyptians and Americans never agreed with the Israeli formula. If they reject it, who in Israel expects the Palestinian Arabs to accept it?

Whether they are playing with words, autonomy or whatever, Camp David has partners. So Israel had best satisfy its partners, the Americans and the Egyptians, and get their approval.

[THE JERUSALEM POST] What are the prospects for Israeli-Palestinian dialogue in the wake of the Israeli election results?

[Furayj] There is not going to be any dialogue. I don't expect any dialogue, as long as the new government is going to reject the international peace conference, which has been endorsed almost unanimously by all European governments, the United States, and all the Arab countries.

Of course there are differences about how it is going to be, but at least there is unanimity that there should be negotiations between the Israelis and the Arabs under the auspices of an international peace conference. I think this option is dead, for the time being.

Secondly, I'm very concerned that they will now initiate more settlements. I believe they will do so.

We don't know who is going to be the next defence minister, but I believe they will now start to adopt tougher measures against the Arab population, including economic restrictions, travel restrictions, indefinite closures of universities and schools. And the situation is going to get worse. And I'm afraid that some of the settlers will treat us like the Indians in the Wild West. So who is going to restrain them?

[THE JERUSALEM POST] You said you have little hope for dialogue and progress with the next Israeli government. But you have kept lines open, even to Prime Minister Shamir.

[Furayj] I met with him in his office. I have met with every Israeli prime minister since 1967.

[THE JERUSALEM POST] You don't see any way a man like yourself and Mr Shamir can have any exchange of views? Is it impossible?

[Furayj] My formula is this:

Both Arabs and Israelis are destined to live in this country, and we will always live together, forever. Both people have the right to live in peace and security, as good neighbours, free neighbours and equal neighbours. And we should work as neighbours to improve the quality of life for everybody, and replace hatred and grudges and adventurism with real peace.

Israel, the West Bank and Jordan ought to form some kind of Benelux system, or mini-common market, and I believe such a solution would serve the genuine interest of all people in this region. On this basis I'm willing to talk to any Israeli leader who is willing to talk to me. But to talk is one thing; to negotiate is another.

I'm sorry to say that since 1967, all Israeli governments, without exception, have failed to offer our people in the occupied territories an acceptable formula for peace.

What have Labour governments offered us since 1967? What has the Likud offered us? What is the Israeli option for peace? Is there an Israeli formula for a comprehensive peace settlement with the Palestinian Arabs, with the Jordanians, the Syrians and the Lebanese?

[THE JERUSALEM POST] The Likud has a plan for autonomy, self-rule, that they may be willing to institute unilaterally...

[Furayj] It won't work.

[THE JERUSALEM POST] You cannot see yourself as part of such an arrangement?

[Furayj] If the Likud wants to use Camp David as a cover, or a fig-leaf, they should first consult with their American and Egyptian partners, and get their endorsement and agreement. And they will not agree, because Israel has rejected the Reagan and Shultz peace plans. Has Israel ever accepted any peace initiative from the United States?

[THE JERUSALEM POST] Is there any hope that the Likud will be able to come around to a position more acceptable to you?

[Furayj] Yes, I don't discount that. I think some of the Likud leaders, who I know are very intelligent, cannot detach themselves from the whole world. They are aware of this. Even Prime Minister Shamir has indicated this by his adherence to the Camp David accords. There is a proverb which says that one should never say "never" in politics. What seems today to be impossible, or difficult, or bleak, will change.

[THE JERUSALEM POST] What should Palestinians do now, in light of the Israeli election results?

[Furayj] The Palestinians are now watching the coming meeting of the PNC. People in the street, the shabab, have high expectations that something dramatic will come out of it. I'm glad the PLO is now adopting a more moderate attitude. They fully support participation in peace negotiations, which means negotiations between the Palestinians and Israel.

What I would like the PNC to do is to draw up a crystal-clear plan for peace with Israel, that would win the support of the major powers, the Western governments in Europe and elsewhere. I want the PNC to make a statement to convince the people in Israel of our sincerity as Palestinians to make true peace. To convince the American people and government, and Europe, that now is the right time for talks.

This will increase Israel's isolation, will put more political pressure on Israel to compromise.

That would be the best way for the PNC to succeed. We should convince the world, and I want the PNC to announce an "atomic" peace plan, to shake the world, to shake Israel, the people in Israel. And it might work.

[THE JERUSALEM POST] What elements would you like to see in such a plan?

[Furayj] First of all, acceptance of peaceful coexistence between the Palestinian state and the State of Israel. Second, to accept the principle that both Arabs and Jews should live in peace and security, as good neighbours. Third, I would suggest that by Christmas time, a truce should be agreed upon between Israel and the Palestinians, for a period of six months to a year, to facilitate the peace process.

[THE JERUSALEM POST] Getting more specific, what about accepting UN Resolution 242, recognizing Israel and renouncing terrorism?

[Furayj] It is our national duty as Palestinians to establish an effective dialogue with the new U.S. administration. The Americans have been adamantly stubborn in demanding that the PLO should accept 242 and 338, and recognize the right of Israel to exist.

When we accept negotiations with Israel, that means we actually recognize the right of Israel to exist. When we accept participation in an international peace conference, that effectively means that we accept 338, which calls for such a conference, and 338 is based on 242. Indirectly we are accepting these resolutions, so why not say so publicly, clearly, and see whether the Americans will talk to our representatives or not?

When I saw Mr Shultz and other American officials, they always told me, the PLO has to do this and that. Now we accept two states in Palestine. We accept participation in an international peace conference.

I believe that when the secretary-general of the United Nations sends invitations to the international conference, he will base them on Security Council Resolution 242, and as long as we agree to participate in this conference, and demand that we be invited as an equal partner, then let us accept 242 directly.

It is in our national interest as Palestinians to start a political dialogue with the U.S. Government, and through the United States we will be able to start a dialogue with the Israeli government, and not vice versa.

I think it will help us if we recognize the right of Israel to exist as a sovereign and independent state within internationally defined borders, on a mutual and reciprocal basis.

[THE JERUSALEM POST] Shouldn't the PNC clearly renounce terrorism?

[Furayj] I believe the PLO can renounce such things. All attacks against civilians, whether Arabs or Jews, must be denounced.

[THE JERUSALEM POST] Do you think the new U.S. administration will be able to pressure the Shamir government to the point where meaningful negotiations can begin?

[Furayj] I don't like the word "pressure." I prefer "convince." I think the American government has many ways and means to convince Israel to modify its position and come around.

But we have to help the Americans to help us. The Americans are not our enemies. The American public does not know much about our case, our difficulties, our aspirations. So now, with the new Congress and President coming into office, this is the right time for us to convince America of our truly peaceful intentions, and win its support. We have to convince it beyond any shadow of doubt of the sincerity of our statements to make peace with Israel.

America can really play a very constructive role, if we meet its requirements and establish a political dialogue with it.

Kollek's One Jerusalem in the Balance
44000121 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 11 Nov 88 p 11

[Article by Andy Court]

[Text] The doomsday humour now common in secular circles, the jokes about buying a black hat before it's too late, can be heard in Jerusalem City Hall these days as well. But in the corridors where Mayor Teddy Kollek has decisively ruled for years, the religious parties' new political strength has particularly ominous overtones: could Kollek lose his city council majority in municipal elections this February?

The success of the religious parties in Knesset elections a week-and-a-half ago has no doubt created this impression, though a number of political observers believe it is unfounded, or at least overblown.

Jerusalem is indeed home for many religious-party supporters, and the focus of some of their key demands. Yet Kollek's One Jerusalem Party now holds 17 of the 31 city council seats, thus giving the mayor the political clout to force all the other factions to be, as he likes to put it, "tolerant."

For the past five years, the typical city council meeting has been a cross between a debate and a tag-team professional wrestling match, but there has never been any suspense about the decisions to be made. The One Jerusalem delegation works it all out beforehand; the city council is just a noisy stage.

All this could change if One Jerusalem loses two city council seats—the equivalent of 8,320 votes in the 1983 municipal election. That scenario is not so unlikely when one considers that the city's Arab voters gave Kollek two mandates last time around in what represented the highest turn-out ever in the Arab sector (about 18 percent).

The continuing uprising in the city will most likely diminish the Arab turn-out. The angry young men of Jerusalem's Arab areas may even try to intimidate potential voters by issuing threats, blocking roads and stoning any vehicle that moves on election day.

Meanwhile, the religious parties are on a roll. In the 1981 Knesset elections, they won 20 percent of the city's vote. In 1984, it was 23 percent. A week-and-a-half ago, it was 31 percent (including Mima). In seven years, they have boosted their voting power in the city by 11 per cent.

Municipal elections are an entirely different story. Far fewer voters generally come to the polls, and voter allegiances often differ from the pattern in national elections. In '78 and '83, the religious parties captured 30 percent of the vote. They did this by bringing a much higher percentage of their people to the polls than the general public. The overall turn-out in the '83 city elections was 49 percent. Among the religious parties, it was 75 percent.

What does this mean for the delicate secular-religious power balance in the city?

Agudat Yisrael city councillor Meir Porush points out that the religious parties received 42,000 votes in the '83 municipal elections and about 51,000 votes in the most recent Knesset elections.

"In five years, we grew 9,000 votes," Porush said. "I think the secular people are far too afraid. The truth is that the public expects far more than what is happening in reality.

"On the other hand, 8,200 votes was enough to give Kollek a decisive majority in the last municipal election. The number of votes required for one city council seat in the upcoming elections will not be the same (it depends on how many people vote). Still, the growth of the religious parties' constituency appears to be approaching the narrow margin that has given Kollek the edge.

A lot depends on voter turnout, particularly among secular and masorati (those who identify themselves as "traditional" rather than as "religious") voters.

"The religious parties brought the sick, the old, in some cases even the unborn, to the polls," one of Kollek's advisers said. "They exploited all of their potential and other people didn't. One thing is clear: there has to be a movement to bring out the secular votes.

"And here is where psychology and social perceptions will be far more important than political arithmetic. Some observers predict a "secular backlash" now that the public has seen its two major party leaders, the prime minister and foreign minister, begging the bearded rabbis for their support.

"The secular public is pretty panicked, and that's very good for Teddy Kollek," said Boris Krasny, a former Labour campaign official who now runs his own political consulting company, Policy. "Teddy will receive more support from the secular public than he has ever received before, because of the ultra-Orthodox.

"Krasny foresees more secular voters coming to the polls and more Likud supporters coming to Kollek's aid, too. But there's another possible scenario. Call it the "Malmillian factor."

Uri Malmillian, the Betar-Jerusalem soccer star, caused something of a stir when he let it be known that he voted Shas in the Knesset elections. In doing so, he was voting for the party that blocked the construction of his team's new soccer stadium in Manahat.

The Katamonim quarter and other poor neighbourhoods of Jerusalem are full of secular or traditional Sephardi Jews who could be lured away from Likud by Shas's ethnic appeal, or by the Lubavitcher's endorsement of Agudat Yisrael. The voter turn-out in the '83 city elections was lowest in the poor neighbourhoods that have a high percentage of Likud voters. Labour polls have shown that some of those voters like Kollek but don't go to the polls because they don't want to betray their allegiance to Likud, Kollek's aide said.

In any event, the potential voting power is there. The question is whether anyone will be able to tap it.

The fortunes of the religious parties will also depend upon their rivalries among themselves. The animosity between Rabbi Eliaazer Shakh (Degel Hatora) and the Lubavitcher Rebbe Menahem Mendel Schneerson (Agudat Yisrael) proved to be an energizing factor that brought out more voters for the Knesset. But in the '83 city elections, the religious parties splintered in such a way that they lost at least one city council seat. Some of the smaller religious parties, like Tami and Tali, did not get enough votes to put a representative in city hall.

Shas activist Moshe Nimli believes that the religious parties "could sent [as published] Teddy Kollek into retirement for life" if they could only agree on a joint candidate for mayor. Jerusalem residents cast one vote for mayor and a separate vote for a city council list. Nimli proposes that the religious parties retain their own lists of city councillors while unifying to elect a religious mayor.

The only problem is that a religious Zionist like David Bergman of the National Religious Party is not likely to support an ultra-Orthodox mayoral candidate. Agudat Yisrael supporters won't vote for a Degel Hatora candidate, and vice versa.

The Habad Hasidim's involvement in Jerusalem elections could also prove crucial. Porush says that the issue has not yet been discussed with the Lubavitcher Rebbe and his followers. "For the moment, we're concentrating on forming the government," he said. Yet given Degel Hatora's impressive first-time showing in Jerusalem (6.7 per cent of the city's Knesset vote), it would be surprising if the party did not decide to run in municipal elections as well. The entrance of Degel into the municipal arena could draw the Lubavitcher Rebbe's forces into the fray.

Common sense suggests that Kollek is bound to lose support in the Arab sector. In the past year, two of the city's Arab areas have been put under curfew. East Jerusalem merchants have been on a commercial strike for 10 months. Clashes with the police are a regular feature of life in some of the city's Arab neighbourhoods, and residents have innumerable complaints about what they say is collective punishment for the deeds of a few youths.

At least two young Jerusalem Arabs were killed during the uprising (one of them just over the city limits), and a third reportedly committed suicide in the city's main jail. More than 2,000 Arabs have been arrested in the capital over the past 10 months. The families of the detainees can be seen most of the day in the lot between the jail and courthouse, waiting for the groups of handcuffed boys and young men to be brought to court.

If all this has not led to more political extremism among Jerusalem's Arabs, nothing will. The whole point of the municipal uprising has been to prove that Jerusalem, despite Israel's annexation, is part of the territories. Voting in municipal elections will not be the best way to win friends in Silwan or Sur Bahir.

If Kollek does have a look beyond One Jerusalem to maintain his majority, Likud would suddenly become the swing-vote. The party would be in a position to do to One Jerusalem and the religious parties exactly what the religious parties are doing to Likud right now: name the price.

The local Likud leadership is divided about how to play its cards. The party's candidate for mayor, Shmuel Pressburger, believes that Likud should enter into a coalition with the religious parties to knock Kollek out of office. But local Herut leader Ruby Rivlin, who hopes to someday slip his toes into Kollek's big shoes, believes such a strategy is suicidal.

"If we move in the direction of the ultra-Orthodox, we won't get a single additional ultra-Orthodox vote because they will inevitably vote for their parties," Rivlin said. At the same time, secular people concerned about religious coercion will leave Likud and move towards Kollek.

Rivlin doesn't believe that it pays to run a Likud mayoral candidate against a living legend. "I don't think that Teddy today is like Teddy 10 years ago, but for all that, Teddy is capable of running the city," he said. "Teddy has a record."

A recent party poll supports his view, suggesting that Likud would capture more seats in the city council if it didn't run a candidate for mayor, he said. Next month, the local Likud council will meet to decide whether to stick with Pressburger, replace him with someone else or stay out of the mayoral race entirely, Rivlin said.

Over the course of the years, Kollek has included Shas, Agudat Yisrael, Mifdal and Likud in his coalitions even though he was not always dependent on their votes. But the uprising and the opening of cinemas on Friday nights have hardened positions on all sides, and this wouldV-make coalition-forming a much more difficult task. "There's a big difference between making a coalition out of good will and making one out of blackmail," Kollek's adviser said. One question underlying so much of the political speculation is what the city would be like without Teddy Kollek. The 77-year-old mayor has still not announced his intention to run, though his aides talk as if he will.

In times of increasing tension on both the Arab-Jewish and secular-religious fronts, Kollek has not offered any bold new solutions, possibly because few exist. But he has remained a sane and stable voice for mutual tolerance, a binding force in a city constantly stress-tested at the seams.

"The fear of a city without Teddy will affect [the voting behaviour of] Arabs, secular people, religious Zionists and even some ultra-Orthodox," Kollek's adviser predicted. "We [the campaign staff] have to remind people that Teddy without a majority isn't Teddy at all."

NRP Minister Says Religious Affairs Picture Distorted

44000111 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 18 Nov 88 pp 11, 19

[Article by Sarah Honig: "A Litmus Test for the Religious"]

[Text] Those secular citizens who are alarmed about the unexpected surge in religious power reflected in the election haven't got a leg to stand on, according to Religious Affairs Minister Zvulun Hamer.

One must look at school registration figures as the yardstick for the strength and composition of the country's religious community, the minister suggests, "not shifting voting patterns which are often more like a reflection in a distorting 'crazy-mirror' than a realistic picture."

"The religious population," he asserts, "did not increase. If its size were to be realistically reflected in the Knesset, then the religious bloc would not be sending 18 MKs to the House but close to 40.

"Some 23 percent of the country's youngsters are being educated at religious public schools, and a further seven percent in the independent haredi system. To judge by that, observant Jews comprise nearly one-third of the population. There is a gap between the factual situation and what the electoral results indicate: life and the ballot box do not always tell the same story.

"Thus, though the NRP's share of the vote was considerably lower than that of the haredi bloc, the vast majority of religious families in this country prefer to send their children to national-religious schools rather than to haredi schools," Hamer notes.

Furthermore, it is his contention that there are more religious Jews in this country than the electoral returns indicate and that many more of them are Zionists in the national-religious tradition than the size of the new NRP Knesset contingent reflects.

But, if so, then why is it that the NRP—the only segment in the religious spectrum to struggle rationally with so-called "secular" issues—failed, according to Hamer's assertion, to realize its full electoral potential?

Not that the NRP did not make an effort. Besides the long-protracted agonies of internal rehabilitation and the return of the militant nationalist MATZAD faction to the fold, all the NRP managed to do was to maintain its strength. It entered the House with four seats in 1984 and its representation increased to five when MATZAD's Hayim Druqman rejoined the NRP Knesset faction. In the just-concluded elections, the NRP again won five Knesset seats.

The "full half" of the cup from the NRP point of view is the fact that it seemed to have stemmed the distinct downward trend which reduced it from 12 seats in 1977 to six in 1981 and cut it by a further two in 1984. Some of the loss then was attributed to the alienation of the Oriental communities' voters; and this time indeed the NRP did put four Sephardim in its first six slots, with Hamer and Hanan Porat being the lone Ashkenazim at the top.

Moreover, an upset in the party's internal balance of power left the leadership in the hands of Sephardi Avner Shaqi. Still, he did not seem to have managed to do what Rabbi Yitzhaq Peretz of SHAS did, nor did he attract Sephardi votes as the Ashkenazi Lubavicher Rebbe or the ghost of the Baba Sali did for Aguda.

Indeed, according to one school of thought, were not the very hawkish Shaqi at the helm, the NRP would have increased its strength slightly to six MKs, because, in that case, the dovish MIMAD might not have fielded a

separate ticket. Had Hamer remained in the number-one slot, the argument goes, MIMAD would not have spoiled a mandate for the national-religious sector.

The other side, however, counters that had it not been for the very clear hawkish posture provided by Shaqi and Porat the NRP could have been almost wiped out. It would not have made gains at the expense of Tehiya and would have lost those voters who support the territorial integrity of Eretz Yisra'el, as they would not have felt that it was "safe" to vote for the NRP and would not have been sure of it as a natural ally of the Likud. The NRP-MIMAD contest clearly showed the NRP electorate to be leaning rightward and ignoring this would-be suicidal approach for the NRP, it is contended.

But Hamer does not subscribe to the notion that while his party was hurt by the ultra-Orthodox it bit into Tehiya's support; and that while the religious community may be in the process of haredization the NRP is becoming increasingly nationalistic.

"I don't agree that we brought about the decrease in Tehiya support. I don't even think the Tehiya necessarily lost. With Tzomet they had five seats previously, and that remains their combined strength—only it's now under two banners. The appearance of Moledet too had impact. No one can tell for sure where votes meander," he stresses.

He admits that this time the NRP did come out top of the heap in the beyond-the-Green-Line settlements. "But that, at most, brought us 4,000 votes, about half of what we got in the Arab and Druze sector—where, incidentally, our strength did not diminish. Four years ago, MATZAD's walkout cost us 15,000 votes; and now, when MIMAD on the other side of the spectrum bolted, it too cost us about 15,000. What MATZAD brought back, MIMAD took out.

"The rest of the NRP is not extreme and remains pluralistic. It's not a homogeneous bloc of nationalistic hawks," Hamer argues. "The fact that we opted for a Likud coalition does not indicate otherwise. We did so in Burg's day as well," he points out. "We are a group with a deep love and commitment to Eretz Yisra'el and our vanguard is Gush Emunim, but that doesn't make us rightwingers. In the NRP we are not rightists or leftists but religious Zionists. Those who set up MIMAD really have representatives in me and Yig'al Bibi."

The dwarfing of the NRP may stem from an increasing turn towards the haredi brand of Judaism within the religious community. In the past, it should be recalled, the combined strength of the religious parties was not lower but the proportions were reversed with the Zionist NRP garnering two-thirds of the support.

But Hamer doesn't believe that the Zionists are losing the battle in the religious camp. He cautions us "not to interpret electoral returns too hastily. It's still premature

to draw conclusions. Off-the-cuff analysis may be totally misleading. We don't know, and no one at this juncture can possibly pretend to know, how deep the trends run and how much that has just happened at the polls will affect real trends within the religious community; how much the vote reflected the actual makeup of the community; and how much it will shape its structure in future."

Hamer is convinced that "the success of the haredi lists must be seen against the background of the paradoxical ferocious holy war waged within that community over seats in what many there regard as the 'unholy' Knesset. So ferocious was the fight, that these parties started going after non-religious support; and I would hazard a guess that at least half of their 13 Knesset seats came from non-haredi voters.

"The entry into the political arena of a giant like the Lubavicher, who is venerated by many non-haredi people and who mobilized his considerable organizational infrastructure, certainly improved the fortunes of Aguda whose natural size, together with breakaway Degel Ha-Tora, is some four MKs. Three of the five which Aguda won are certainly thanks to the Lubavicher (and I see a great source of frustration here for his Habad court: not only does it have no voice in the Aguda Knesset faction, but its entry into politics may close before it doors that were hitherto open)."

Hamer sees the results of similar charismatic intervention for SHAS. "The fact that Rabbi Ovadia Yosef resigned from the rabbinical court to pursue the campaign trail by helicopter is not to be discounted. Among Oriental Jews especially, the reverence for a charismatic leader cannot be understated. SHAS went a step further than what the Likud did in offering the Orientals an opportunity for a political protest vote against the Labour establishment. SHAS also offered a cultural-religious protest. The NRP, when all is said and done, was unprepared to battle such charismatic personalities, their blessings and curses. Possibly we were judged as being too 'establishment' despite all the NRP's internal upheavals."

Hamer argues that "the fact that SHAS clearly made a pitch for the non-religious vote created a weird phenomenon of a party, many of whose voters are at most traditional, but whose leadership is ultra-Orthodox. Of 130 soccer players polled before elections, nine said they support SHAS; those who play on Shabbat would actually appear to be the most unlikely SHAS voters!

"But while the non-religious voted SHAS, many in the Zionist-religious camp, being so involved with issues of defence and territories, just simply cast their ballots for the large [secular] party of their preference. It may be a measure of our success that ours is no longer an insular population. You find hospital department heads and high-ranking army officers with a national-religious background, but this openness also means voting for other parties.

"In fact, I often hear young people in our milieu say they wish they could cast two ballots each, one for the secular party which most closely mirrors their political convictions, and a second for the NRP because it would ensure the fine Zionist-religious education they want for their youngsters," Hamer reports.

He sees the long-term implications of the haredi blitz as "far from clear. There is the question of whether a party like SHAS won't meet Tami's end. Like Tami, SHAS presented itself as a Likud ally and, as such, carved into Likud support. Its very threat to 'go it' with Labour may have convinced some of its supporters already that it's safer to vote directly for the Likud. In the past few days, indeed, SHAS people talked about great grassroots pressure to go with the Likud. They cannot overrule their electorate. It remains to be seen whether an ultra-Orthodox leadership for traditional voters can hold on to its support and render actual sociological-conceptual changes in this group," Hamer says.

He suggests that it may well be that "the SHAS supporters will stop half-way and next time vote NRP." Hamer further maintains that both Aguda and SHAS "engage in double-speak as they address very Orthodox and secular segments of the population simultaneously. Perhaps these parties' very growth will paradoxically be what changes them and what will bring about moderation. Such parties can no longer remain intolerant if they want to keep their following. Consideration of who supports them may result in a much milder line. Surely, Aguda with a Habad backbone is not the same because its attitude to military service, for example, cannot remain unaltered when Habad members serve in the IDF."

The NRP leader is aware that many of today's haredi camp leaders are graduates of the school system cultivated by the NRP. Among them is SHAS's Peretz, a number of other SHAS MKs and even Degel Ha-Tora's Rabbi Avraham Ravitz, a fact which perhaps explains his sabra slang. Is the NRP, which produces such ultra-Orthodox figures, perhaps becoming more haredi itself, possibly in reaction to ultra-Orthodox competition?

Hamer thinks not; he explains that "there have always been (and still are today) three types of graduates from our educational institutions. Most continue on the straight path of religious Zionism. Others remove the kipa and become secular. Still others take their religiosity all the way back into the haredi world."

He suggests we not confuse "the trend which exists in NRP circles to place a greater accent on closer religious observance, with haredization. Ever since we set up high-school yeshivot alongside ordinary religious secondary schools, we have been producing more Tora scholars and rabbis. I am aware of the charge that many of the teachers at these yeshivot, as in state religious schools, are increasingly drawn from the haredi world, possibly accounting for what is seen as haredization. Once it was so because, when we first set up our

high-school yeshivot, we did not have enough of a rabbinical teaching reservoir of our own. But now that our yeshivot are producing rabbis, we are drawing on our own excellent cadre," he says.

Many parents want more of this deeper religious education, Hamer admits; but he emphasizes that "the test is not whether this education is more Tora-oriented but whether it's Zionist. There is even a move against co-ed state religious schools, but that doesn't make our people less Zionist, just as the fact that voting for haredi lists doesn't make people less Zionist but may bring the haredim closer to Zionism.

"The real test is whether the religious population aspires to greater cooperation with the secular population in the building and defence of this country. I think 90 percent of our public desires this wholeheartedly and this is the real political litmus test."

Ofeq-1 and International Law

44000122 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST
17 Nov 88 p 7

[Article by Michel A. Calvo and N. K. Goller-Calvo. The writers are the authors of the SALT Agreements and are international law experts who live in Paris.]

[Text] The successful launching of the Shavit III rocket and the putting into orbit of the Ofeq-1 satellite on 30 September may well create important psychological problems, political difficulties, and some legal questions.

The Arab world is calling for "urgent meetings at all levels" to confront the new Israeli "threat" and the "new challenge to the Arab nations by the Zionist enemy." The Arabs are conveniently ignoring the existence of their "Arabsat" organization and its satellites. And the Soviet Union maintains that, technically, the launching of Ofeq-1 is similar to the introduction of nuclear payload on a satellite.

Ignoring the prohibition in the 1967 Outer Space Treaty against putting nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction into orbit, and forgetting its own considerable arsenal of intercontinental missiles, bombers, and cruise missiles, the Soviets are implying that Israel is threatening the world order.

The aims of Ofeq-1 are scientific research and exploration. And the treaty provides that outer space "shall be free for exploration and use by all states without discrimination...on a basis of equality."

According to Paul Doty, director of Harvard University's Centre of Science and International Affairs, nine nations had placed satellites in orbit by 1981. There were about 1,000 units in space and 4,000 pieces of scattered debris, 98 percent being of American or Soviet origin. About half of the U.S. space activities and practically all

of those of the Soviets are of a military nature: surveillance on land and sea, early alerting, missile guidance systems, and more recently anti-satellite activities.

It is foreseeable that Israel will eventually launch a reconnaissance and surveillance satellite of a military nature. Also that a future Ofeq could be a meteorological satellite, which also has strategic implications.

It has been established that surveillance and reconnaissance equipment deployed in the air, at sea, and on land may not penetrate another state's airspace, territorial waters, or land territory without that state's authorization. The 1982 Convention of the Law of the Sea fixes the maximum width of the territorial sea at 12 nautical miles (22.224 km).

As for airspace, it has been said that this is without limits, extending as far as a state's individual interests, which end only at the extreme upper limits of the atmosphere. In the absence of agreement on precise definitions and lines of demarcation, the only certain limits would seem to be those set unilaterally by the states themselves, according to their interests and power. But such a conclusion is in conflict with international law.

Under the terms of two international agreements outer space, as distinct from air space, cannot be appropriated by a proclamation of national sovereignty, by use or occupation, or by any other means.

The agreements are the 1962 Declaration of Legal Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, and the aforementioned 1967 Treaty on the Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies.

If outer space begins where air space ends, it could be deduced that the outer space limit, in relation to the earth, indicates the altitude at which air space ends. Neither of the two agreements gives an indication as to the demarcation of outer space. To this day the Committee on the Peaceful Use of Outer Space of the UN General Assembly has not reached a definition, nor have the treaties concluded since 1967.

Would satellites orbiting the earth violate the state's sovereignty over its territorial space?

On the one hand, any object orbiting the earth could be considered as passing through air space in spite of the reduced amount of air. The flight over territory by such objects without the consent of the state below the flight path would thus violate the underlying state's sovereignty over air space. On the other hand, it could be argued that all objects orbiting around the earth penetrate and travel in outer space and that consequently the flight over other territories without their authorization does not violate the underlying state's sovereignty.

This argument is supported by two texts adopted by the UN member states. General Assembly Resolution 1721 (xvi) (1961) invited states launching objects into orbit or into another trajectory outside the atmosphere to so inform the committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. Article XI of the 1967 Outer Space Treaty extends this invitation to the provision of information on the nature, conduct, location, and result of such launches.

There is nothing compulsory here: a launching state may refuse to provide data it does not wish to disclose.

The convention on the Registration of Objects Launched in Outer Space uses the terms "objects launched in outer space" in its preamble and the term "space objects" in several articles.

Article IV of this convention requires that the basic orbital parameters of orbit, including the nodal period, inclination, apogee, and perigee be furnished to the UN Secretary General. These terms indicate that artificial satellites revolving around the earth are to be considered space objects in outer space.

It should be noted that no state has ever requested authorization from another state to fly over its territory with a satellite before placing the satellite in earth orbit. No state has ever maintained that the 1957 flight of the first satellite, the Soviet Sputnik, was illegal, though it flew over most of the world's nations. Nor has any state claimed since that its territorial sovereignty was violated by a satellite's flight overhead. Thus, the deployment of any satellite, even Ofeq-1 passing around the earth, does not, according to international law, violate the territorial sovereignty of the subjacent states.

In fact the only problem raised by Ofeq-1 concerns the world surveillance community. This is the first and only satellite in the world orbiting westward.

KUWAIT

CBK Tries To Enhance Economic Activity *44000125 Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English* 19 Nov 88 p 14

[Text] During the fiscal year 1987/88 the Central Bank of Kuwait has exerted intensive efforts to enhance domestic economic activity and to restore stability to the banking and financial system. These efforts were represented by several procedures, mainly the effective implementation of the "Difficult Credit Facilities Settlement Programme," the issuance of public debt instruments by the CBK, on behalf of the Ministry of Finance, amending the discount rate of commercial papers and determining the maximum contractual interest rates on consumer loans. Added to this were CBK efforts to regulate liquidity levels in the banking system, maintain a stable KD

exchange rate and other measures regarding its supervision over the banking and financial system, according to CBK annual report.

The fiscal year 1987/88 witnessed the effective implementation of the "Difficult Credit Facilities Programme," which was announced on 10 August 1986 as a comprehensive scheme offering a suitable solution for this problem.

During 1987 and the first half of 1988 the Kuwaiti banks were able to implement technically the settlement of most of their difficult credit facilities to residents whose financial positions showed deficits. During this period 1007 out of 1083 settlements (93 percent) already delivered to debtors were authenticated at the Ministry of Justice.

Efforts

The results of implementing this programme reflect the CBK efforts manifested in supervising the settlement process and in ensuring that banks are abiding by the Programme's rules and regulations. The CBK efforts meant to provide protection for the banking system and enhance confidence in it, while maintaining sound positions for main economic institutions in the country.

During the fiscal year 1987/88, the Central Bank of Kuwait, on behalf of the Ministry of Finance, issued public debt instruments, pursuant to Law Decree No. 50 of 1987 authorising the Government, within a period of not more than ten years to have a public loan with a value not exceeding KD 1400 million, by issuing bearer treasury bills and bonds, or by direct borrowing from financial institutions.

Instruments

With the issuance of these instruments, the Central Bank of Kuwait was able to realise several monetary objectives, mainly its possession of a new financial instrument by which it can effectively exercise open market operations and thereby regulate the levels of domestic liquidity.

This instrument can also influence interest rates to maintain stability in the money market and develop the structure of these rates according to the variation in maturity dates of public debt instruments which cover maturities ranging between three months and several years.

It is important to note in this respect that the Central Bank of Kuwait has exerted intensive efforts to use public debt instruments in open market operations. The size of its intervention in the secondary market for treasury bills—buying and selling—during the last three months of the fiscal year 1987/88 totalled KD 623.1 million for 172 transactions, 98 of them (KD 343.5 million) selling transactions, and 74 buying transactions (KD 279.6 million).

Furthermore, these instruments—in addition to other financial instruments—provided the banking and financial institutions and the private sector with new guaranteed investment outlets which will help both the money and capital markets in the country to intensify and develop their activities.

By having public debt instruments, these institutions were provided with good financial instruments giving reasonable yields, to use in managing their monetary flows and thereby diversifying the uses of their financial resources and improving the quality of their investment portfolios.

This was clearly manifested by the secondary market activity of treasury bills among local banks. Excluding the CBK intervention, the value of trading in that market during the last three months of the fiscal year 1987/88 totalled KD 641.2 million distributed over 402 transactions.

From 25 November 1987, to the end of the fiscal year 1987/88, the Central Bank of Kuwait has offered 16 issues of public debt instruments, totalling KD 2327.51 million; the total value of treasury bills was KD 1703 million (KD 933 million for matured bills), while the total value of treasury bonds was KD 624.51 million.

The balance of public debt instruments as of 30 June 1988 totalled KD 1394.51 million (KD 770 million treasury bills and KD 624.51 million for treasury bonds).

Foreign Financial Institutions Must Observe Kuwaiti Rules

44000147 Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English
23 Nov 88 p 9

[Text] Kuwait, 22 November, (KUNA): Foreign banking and financial corporations operating in Kuwait were told to observe the country's standing rules governing banking and financial activities.

An appeal in this respect was made by the Kuwait's Finance Minister Jasim Muhammad al-khurafi and the Kuwait Central Bank Governor Shaykh Salim 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Sabah.

Responding to a question by KUNA on a recent announcement published in the local press by a foreign bank that it was ready to carry out, in Kuwait, banking operations for the interest of the father bank it represents, Finance Minister al-khurafi said that Kuwait has standing regulations governing the work of the banking profession.

Regulations

"These regulations are aimed at the protection of banking activities for the interests of the national economy and depositors," he said. "For this reason we demand foreign banking and financial institutions to observe the existing rules so as to avoid any problems," al-khurafi added.

The finance minister stressed that his ministry will not hesitate to take all necessary measures to enforce the law.

The Central Bank Governor Shaykh Salim said Article 59 of the 1968 Law No. 32 which governs banking activities in Kuwait, banned any foreign banking or financial establishment or its representative for practising any banking activities inside Kuwait in favour of those establishments.

He said the Central Bank of Kuwait would not allow any foreign party, whatsoever, to practise any direct or indirect banking activity for its own interests, hence violating the Kuwaiti rules of the banking profession.

Violation

He said the recent announcement in the local press by a foreign bank was a clear violation of Article 59 of the law governing the banking activities in Kuwait.

The Central Bank governor said that he made contacts with the interior ministry which had already taken necessary measures stopping the illegal activity.

Kuwaitis Shun Technical Jobs, Says Rector

44000146 Kuwait ARAB TIMES in Arabic
22 Nov 88 p 1

[Text] Kuwait, 21 November, (KUNA): The number of male applicants for science colleges is dropping to an alarming level and many of science college students are flunking, according to Kuwait University Rector Dr 'Abd al-Muhsin al-'Abd al-Razzaq.

In his annual report on the 1987-88 academic year, al-Razzaq said many Kuwaiti students in science colleges are failing their courses or are transferring to commerce and art colleges.

The situation is turning into a crisis which is becoming a national catastrophe created by both the Kuwaiti government and society, he said.

Skilled

The university is trying to attract Kuwaiti students to science, but 70 percent of them prefer art courses. He described Kuwaitis as non-producers who keep away from technical and skilled jobs that are necessary to the national economy.

The state generously provides all public services without any return from the people, the rector pointed out in the report.

Since jobs are guaranteed by the government to all citizens and the pay scale is nearly the same for all, it is no surprise to see the majority of Kuwaitis seek administrative and clerical jobs that require less effort, he said.

Most of the Kuwaitis accepted in the science colleges this year are women, except in the Faculty of Medicine, in which 70 percent of the graduates are men.

The rector urged the government to adopt a clear national policy to encourage students to choose careers in the sciences. He suggested granting bonuses to those who choose to study the sciences.

Dr al-Razzaq also expressed his deep concern about the quality of education graduates.

Commenting on the nine-point scale system which the university abolished last year, he said: "The previous system (based on nine points) helped the below-average students to pass and is rarely used in the world."

He added that the courses system paved the way for most students to register the lowest number of credits, extending their stay in the university for a longer period than required.

The university rector stressed that the probation system is not strict enough as some students continue on the probation list through their senior year.

Revision

"After the recent revision of the courses, the least number of credits to be registered was set at 15-16 and the evaluation system was changed to the four-point scale," he said.

Dr al-Razzaq noted that the courses system regulations specifies that a student be put on probation if his average falls below 2.0, saying that a number of faculties have implemented new examination systems and imposed harsh penalties against cheaters.

Since these steps increased the number of flunking students and those put on probation, students called for going back to the old system, he said.

He added that the University Council has endorsed some amendments on the current system, under which students are allowed to make up for the first five courses.

Probation

Dr al-Razzaq also said that the probation system reduced the minimum average to below 1.67 points for less than 60 earned credits and less than 2.0 points for over 60 earned credits.

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Chamber of Commerce Warns Against New Taxes, Fees

44000126 Abu Dhabi EMIRATES NEWS in English
9 Nov 88 p 3

[Article: "AD Chamber Warns Against Taxes, Government Fees"; first two paragraphs are EMIRATES NEWS introduction]

[Text] The Abu Dhabi Chamber of Commerce and Industry has warned that the raising of fees for Government services or the imposition of taxation would damage the economic revival, without solving the underlying problems of the Federal Budget.

The warning is contained in a powerful editorial in this month's issue of the Chamber's magazine, the text of which follows.

For how long will our national economy, our fiscal policies and our budgets remain dependent on the oil market, in all of the latter's linkages, fluctuations and sensitivity to international political and economic factors?

This is an old question and it is just as old as our problems but it will remain conspicuous as long as we remain unable to put an end to local factors which make it a renewable, incessant and insistent question.

Around the end of 1986, calls for increasing Government revenues through the imposition of new taxes and fees in order to compensate for the dwindling oil income increased. Consequently, the Ministry of Finance and Industry in accordance with a Council-of-Ministers' resolution, to collect new fees for some public services rendered by the Government Ministries. Moreover, during this year the same intention appeared again with the recent deterioration in oil prices.

However, it was said this time that it was "a strong intention" and that there were studies being prepared by the Ministry of Finance and Industry to increase the "self-created revenues" in a way which helps the Federal Government to depend more on itself.

Last month, this intention was crowned with success by the announcement of some proposals in this regard which will be submitted by the Ministry to the Council of Ministers in the very near future for reviewing them and issuing necessary resolution.

This Ministerial announcement at first sight makes anyone who hears it or reads it feel two contradictory feelings as he conceives two possible interpretations: the first interpretation is that these "self-created revenues" will come from Government investments, with their returns in the short or long run leading to the cure of the current and chronic problem in financing and issuing the Federal Budget. In this case, the "self-created revenues" will save our public and private sectors from running after finances for urgent expenditures, delayed salaries or dues which are not paid to the private sector though they are overdue.

The second interpretation, which as we know and believe is the preponderant interpretation, is that the Ministry of Finance and Industry may be in the process of launching a fee campaign or even a tax campaign—God forbid!—in order to save the Federal Budget from chronic deficit and delay.

Hence, inasmuch as the first possibility gives us a feeling of satisfaction and delight, the second causes us frustration and dejection particularly in this current phase.

Unfortunately, it is evident that the first is quite improbable due to a simple rational principle—the fact that no party can give anything which it does not have. The Ministry of Finance and Industry has been confused in the subject of handling the financial revenues for many years since the deficit started to creep into the Federal Budget and the financing problem has become a distinct feature of that budget and of our Federal Agencies, and the delay in its issuance has become the general principle which does not accept any exceptions!

Accordingly, the consideration of Government investments which may achieve a permanent income is quite improbable except by dreams for the elimination of the causes which have led the budget—as a fiscal plan for a future year—to its bitter status quo.

However, as such dreams are currently beyond us, it is necessary to turn our true attention to the treatment of the second probability in the light of the national economy's actualities.

As the private sector, we believe that our economic interests cannot be achieved except in the light of our national economy's general and broad interest. However, our national economy cannot enjoy tranquility, equilibrium and stability if these are not also enjoyed by the Government's revenues and expenditures.

Moreover, as long as the increasing of fees or perhaps imposing taxes is only guided—and its size and nature are only determined—by oil market fluctuations, then an action of this kind will not be positively reflected on the national economy or on the early stages of, and hopes for, the economic recovery which emanated from numerous factors such as the discontinuation of war trade and the start of peace trade in the region.

However, any new deductions from income—regardless of their form and amount—which will only be directed for covering the deficit in financing serious expenditures in the first place will have their negative impact on the volume of consumption, saving and investment as long as we do not achieve yet a strong link between income and production and on the other hand do not think of directing the revenues from the new deductions to establish the productive bases to ensure the continuity of revenues as an urgent option inasmuch as we thought—as an easy option—of resorting to fees and taxes for facing current expenditure.

No one can claim that increasing fees or imposing taxes hurts the national economy if it was adopted as a fiscal tool which serves a general economic purpose such as protecting a local product, prohibiting waste in a public facility or controlling liquidity to the advantage of national currency and fighting inflation.

Moreover, evading fees or taxes in this case becomes a crime which is punished by law. On the other hand, if there were administrative hindrances and financing obstacles behind such imposition which we could not solve or overcome, then this will mean burying the newborn recovery alive to varying depths according to different sizes and nature of the fees without leading at the same time to radical solution for the financing problem.

Our various economic sectors were able to overcome past obstacles which emanated from the economic recession, and these sectors were able to adapt themselves to the post-boom era and their conditions were adjusted to suit the characteristics of the following era which witnessed a decline in both public and private expenditures.

Moreover, our sectors were able to overcome the negative features which characterised their procedures and to adjust their conditions to become more compatible with normal growth rates and strong competition circumstances, and these sectors have gained the experience and readiness which qualify them to deal with the early stages of recovery. Hence, would it not be more appropriate for the Government authorities at least to take the means and measures which solve the Federal financing problems without destroying the private sector's benefits, as long as such benefits are consistent with the national economy's interests and are not incompatible with them?

In our opinion, a quiet review by the finance authorities with the intention of increasing "self-created revenues," particularly if such review was made in the light of national economy's interests, should not lead to an increase in fees or imposition of taxes inasmuch as it leads to the economic recovery's support and pulling out sticks from its wheels.

However, if the financing problem has originally emanated from reasons which are not related at all to the deficiency of "self-created revenues," as the latter did not originally exist, then the solution of the problem by increasing fee revenues is some kind of ploughing in the sea!

Dugas, C. Itoh To Sign New Deal Soon
44000127 Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English
29 Oct 88 p 11

[Article by Raman Kapoor]

[Text] Dubayy Natural Gas Co (Dugas) is to produce 600,000 tonnes of liquid gas (NGL) this year, besides some quantities of dry gas. A new gas sale agreement is being signed by Dugas with C. Itoh of Japan which has been the sole buyer of Dubayy gas until now.

Mirza Husayn al-Sayigh, deputy chairman of Dugas, told KHALEEJ TIMES yesterday the new agreement is to be signed next month for which he will be leaving for Tokyo shortly.

The new agreement also will cover the supply of condensates. The last concluded agreement was for five years which expires in 1990. Mr al-Sayigh said the duration of the new contract had not yet been decided.

Most of the gas that the giant Dugas onland fractionation plant receives from the offshore wells of Dubayy Petroleum Co (DPC) is being split at Jabal 'Ali for exports to Japan. A part of the dry gas is being routed for the Dubayy Aluminum smelter and the power plant of the Dubayy Electricity Co. (DEC) at Jabal 'Ali.

Dubayy is planning a number of new projects which will be gas-based, Mr al-Sayigh revealed.

At present, he said, Dubayy is self sufficient in gas. He was happy with Dubayy's relations with the neighbours-especially al-Shariqah and Qatar-which are "very cordial and friendly." Therefore, if there is any further gas requirements in the emirate for the fresh projects, Dubayy will first "look at its own resources" and then to the neighbours for supplies.

Valuable Neighbour

"Enough" quantities of gas are coming from al-Shariqah and "we're very happy at being in agreement with our valuable neighbour." Mr al-Sayigh said: "We hold His Highness Shaykh Sultan Ibn-Muhammad al-Qasimi, Member of Supreme Council and Ruler of al-Shariqah, and his administration in very high esteem. They are our

valuable neighbours and a gas deal between Dubayy and al-Shariqah will further enhance the good contacts between the two government."

Dubayy at the moment is receiving supplies of gas in the range of 220 million cubic feet of gas a day from al-Shariqah.

Qatar has recently made a huge gas find, and "I'm sure that it will be one of the sources if we require any more gas." Dubayy is making a fresh assessment of its gas requirements, and "if we need any further dry gas, then al-Shariqah and Qatar will be the most valuable suppliers."

Mr al-Sayigh said any further Dugas expansion will depend on more gas coming to Dubayy. "It's up to the government to tell us where and when the gas is coming to Dugas so that we can be ready for it." But already there is a surplus capacity of 100 million cubic feet a day at Dugas. "What we need now is to fill that capacity before we talk of further expansion," he said.

Asked whether any new gas resources are being added in Dubayy by fresh exploratory activity, he said "It's up to the DPC to decide on how many wells they should drill."

At Talking Stage

Besides the new Jabal 'Ali power station E, which may be commissioned shortly, a number of new projects are proposed utilising gas. There is also talk of a new "F" station that could be located close to the existing DEC complex, but no decision has been taken so far on this, Mr al-Sayigh stated. The F-station, subject to approval, could take up to five years to complete from the zero date, but the whole matter is at the "talking stage." The E station, has a capacity of 220 Mw and will produce 24 million gallons of water a day.

Many new companies will like to start operations in the Jabal 'Ali Free Zone utilising gas. "It's up to the administration in Jabal 'Ali to determine how much gas the new applicants will require, so that we can fill them into our plans."

Dugas and Dubayy Supplies Co (Dusup) are holding weekly meetings to review the gas requirements of the projects-both existing and those in the pipeline. Many of the existing projects in Dubayy such as the cement plant and others which will have to switch to gas and "we are looking into their requirements very sympathetically," he stated.

AFGHANISTAN

Afghan Mujahideen Receive Satellite-Controlled Mortars

46000032 Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 8 Nov 88 p 8

[Text] Kandahar, Afghanistan (Dispatches—Anti-government rebels say they have acquired U.S. mortars positioned by satellite but that their supply of Stinger anti-aircraft missiles is drying up just as the Soviets are introducing advanced new weapons into Afghanistan.

Gul Lalai, a rebel commander, said he examined the four-barrel, satellite-controlled 120 mm mortars at a base belonging to Gulbaddin Hekmatyar's hardline Hezb-e-Islami rebel group near the contested southern city of Kandahar.

Distribution of the sophisticated mortars to the rebels was also confirmed by non-guerrilla sources in Pakistan. The United States has refused to publicly acknowledge their existence.

Details of the mortar's operation were not known, but rebels said a U.S. satellite sends coordinates to the launcher, which is equipped with a screen and a small receiver.

However, the insurgents, known as Mujahideen, say supplies are limited and that two of the mortars were destroyed when new Soviet MiG-27s blasted rebel positions east of Kandahar airport late last month. The sophisticated U.S.-supplied Stingers, which once sent fighter jets fleeing to higher altitudes, are in short supply and jealously hoarded, said guerrillas in the area.

"The air is the only trouble for Mujahideen," not military installations on the ground, said Abdul Wali, a rebel commander in the area.

Kandahar, Afghanistan's second-largest city, sits in the middle of an arid plain that offers little protection from marauding aircraft that have leveled the city's southern suburb, Mahalajat.

The MiG-27s, first supplied by Moscow around 23 October, fly unchallenged over their targets, dropping their payloads before heading west, presumably to the Soviet-Afghan airbase at Shindand in western Afghanistan.

Absent are the decoy flares enemy planes used to drop before a bombing raid.

"They must know they have nothing to fear anymore," said a western diplomat in Islamabad, who spoke on condition he not be identified.

Rebels in the Kandahar area said there were fewer than a dozen Stinger missiles there. They claimed they also possessed British-made, radar-guided blowpipe anti-aircraft missiles, but had no estimates of how many.

U.S.-backed rebels are reluctant to talk about their supply of Stingers. Despite independent witness confirmation, Hekmatyar insists he has not received any.

The Hezb-e-Islami leader refuses to acknowledge receipt of any foreign military assistance, despite corroborating reports from rebels of moderate and fundamentalist groups that Hekmatyar is the biggest recipient of such aid.

INDIA

Gandhi, Farooq Abdullah Discuss Kashmir Problems

46001134 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 7 Oct 88 p 1

[Article: "Centre-J&K Plan To Curb Pak Saboteurs"]

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 6 (PTI):—The Centre and the Jammu and Kashmir government have evolved an action plan to deal with Pakistan-trained saboteurs and communal forces in the sensitive border state.

It was drawn after the Centre impressed upon the state government to act firmly with subversive elements, official sources said.

Earlier in the day state chief minister Dr Farooq Abdullah, had meetings with the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, and the Union home minister, Mr Buta Singh, here.

The Centre promised all help including the despatch of more paramilitary forces to the state to deal with reported infiltration of trained personnel from across the border.

The home minister impressed upon Dr Abdullah for closer coordination between the central and the state agencies for implementing the action plan and to work on measures on the security aspect, the sources said.

Pak Told of Concern

The government today also conveyed to Pakistan at the highest level its "concern and indignation" at the continuing infiltration of Pak-trained terrorists into Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir.

Replying to a query on the infiltration of 100 fully trained armed men from across the border into Kashmir, an external affairs spokesman said: "This appears to be part of an overall plan (to destabilise the country)."

The spokesman said the infiltrators were "armed, supported and trained by Pakistani agencies." Initial interrogation of the infiltrators by the state government led to this clear conclusion, he said.

Replying to a specific question, the spokesman said he did not come across any report linking the infiltrators to the Afghan Mujahideen.

He said India had taken up the issue with Pakistan on several occasions at the home secretaries level, foreign secretaries level and at the highest level. The spokesman said that many of the infiltrators taken into custody had assault rifles and Chinese guns.

The spokesman made it clear that India did not want to underestimate the threats posed to its security by the latest infiltrations. The government is expected to lodge a formal protest after getting full details the spokesman said.

Our correspondent adds: Dr Abdullah had urged the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, during their 45-minute meeting today to take up the matter with the Pakistan government.

Dr Abdullah also discussed the political situation and the working of the National Conference-Congress(I) alliance. It is learnt that Dr Abdullah has been given the green signal to make changes in his Cabinet and to drop a few "seasoned" Congress(I) leaders.

Dr Abdullah told the centre that over 100 armed infiltrators had entered the valley from Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, where 12 centres had been set up to train them. Some of the arrested saboteurs also named the Pakistani officials who were training them.

The Centre feels that Pakistan is now trying to create a Punjab-like situation in the sensitive border state. In the past eight weeks there were a number of incidents of sabotage in which pro-Pakistan elements were used by the saboteurs. During Muharram there was an attempt to create tension between the Shias and the Sunnis.

The Centre recently rushed a few battalions of the Border Security Force for deployment in the internal areas of the state.

Gandhi Proposes Changes in Panchayat Statute
46001139 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH in English*
9 Oct 88 p 4

[Article: "PM Proposes Panchayat Statute Changes"]

[Text] Kashipur, (Uttar Pradesh), Oct. 8 (UNI):—The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, today said the government was prepared to amend the Constitution to make the panchayati raj system the most important link between the administration and the people.

Addressing public meetings at various places during his day-long tour of Kashipur, Mr Gandhi said the government's effort would be to make the system the real representative of the people. It would be responsible and accountable for funds.

Mr Gandhi said it was the right of the people to be represented on the panchayati raj bodies. This was the only way of making democracy meaningful and link it with development.

He regretted that after a good start about 25 years ago, the panchayati raj system simply withered in most parts of the country.

In the absence of a representative administration at the district level and below it, there was no possibility of having sound planning, the Prime Minister said.

Mr Gandhi said the government had initiated action towards tailoring planning to developmental needs. "We need to smoothen the planning process at the village, block and district level."

He said planning was not a mere technical exercise but was a political exercise. Though the technical experts prepared different options of planning, the choice of action must be left to the people's representatives, he said.

Earlier, addressing workers of the Congress Seva Dal, at the national training camp, now under way here, Mr Gandhi advised them to apprise the planners of the developmental needs of people. He said the Seva Dal has an important role to play in strengthening Congress policies and programmes.

Speaking at a largely-attended public meeting at the Udairaj Inter College here, the Prime Minister stressed the protection of environment while launching development schemes.

Our Correspondent adds: The Prime Minister said West Bengal was poised for a green revolution. "Our agriculture will be revitalised by this second green revolution. The revolution will sweep the eastern states, Bihar, West Bengal and eastern Uttar Pradesh."

He said decentralisation of the planning process, administration and government would eradicate corruption from all walks of public life. "When I review the progress of rural development, I keep hearing the story of how a buffalo was sold three times and how a bridge never built. The development funds often do not percolate down to the beneficiaries. This can only happen when we can plan development at the district level."

Criticising the Opposition, he said all they did was to keep everyone entertained with their antics. "I do not know what they are up to from hour to hour. Things change so fast," he said.

Concern Over Nepalese Import of PRC Arms Told
46001147 Calcutta *THE SUNDAY STATESMAN* in
English 16 Oct 88 p 7

[Article: "No News of Arms Deployment Along India-Nepal Border"]

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 15—Nepal has bought anti-aircraft guns and other arms from China, but there is no information suggesting these arms have been deployed near the India-Nepal border, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, the External Affairs Minister, is understood to have informed in a letter to Mr Kapil Verma, a Congress(I) member of Parliament.

The Minister's letter is in response to a special mention Mr Verma had made in the Rajya Sabha of the import of arms by Nepal from China.

The External Affairs Minister said the Government would continue to remain vigilant against any transfer of arms from across Nepal's borders with India to terrorists operating in this country.

He said when Mr Natwar Singh, the Minister of State for external affairs, visited Kathmandu, he had discussed with the King of Nepal all important aspects of Indo-Nepal bilateral relations, including security.

Mr Verma had, in his "special mention" in the Rajya Sabha on September 5 last, raised the issue of India's security in view of "recent import of huge quantities of Chinese arms by Nepal". He had stated these imports had caused great concern to India as "it is in blatant violation of the spirit of the 1950 Indo-Nepal treaty of friendship and peace which enjoins on the two countries to have closer consultations in the matter of security and share security perceptions."

Mr Verma had said Nepal had not informed India of its plans to secure Chinese arms as Nepal did a couple of years ago when it bought American and British defence equipment. "Thus Nepal has turned to the Chinese for the defence supplies to it so far catered to exclusively by India, mostly on an ex-gratia basis."

He said, according to authoritative reports from Kathmandu, the arms were brought by a convoy of 300 Chinese trucks from the border town of Kodari. When the Kodari-Kathmandu highway was constructed years ago, India had expressed its unhappiness in view of the impact it would have on its own defence. The arms imported included AK-47-assault rifles, missiles and anti-aircraft guns.

"The availability of Chinese arms in Nepal with which Bihar, U.P. and West Bengal share a common and unimpeded border, should make it clear to us that there are new threats from the Chinese side across the Nepalese borders. Strangely enough, Nepal has deployed these arms on our long borders. The liberal availability of Chinese arms in

the hands of Nepalese security personnel opens the prospects of these being clandestinely spilling over to the hotter spots in India.

"We know the Punjab terrorists can get supplies of arms and also refuge from migrants in Lakhimpur and Gonda districts of Uttar Pradesh which are contiguous to the West Nepal Terai border, which is open. The Chinese AK-47 rifles and shoulder-fired missiles are already in the hands of terrorists. We are naturally anxious about the possibility of these arms finding their way into the hands of Naxalites in northern Bihar and extremists in Darjeeling. The situation is aggravated by the fact that there are certain anti-Indian and pro-Chinese elements who are very active in the Nepalese border area, Mr Verma had stated.

Panel Set Up To Cut Down Government Spending
46001128 Madras *THE HINDU* in English
5 Oct 88 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 4 October—A high level committee under the chairmanship of the Cabinet Secretary, Mr B. G. Deshmukh, has been set up to review the expenditure of some of the high spending ministries. The decision to set up such a body was taken recently by the Cabinet Committee on Expenditure, presided over by the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

The Union Finance Minister, Mr S. B. Chavan, gave this information and said that Mr Deshmukh would decide which of the ministries should be taken up for review. But it was expected that intensive exercise would initially be limited to some four or five ministries. This was being done to bring down the Government expenditure and also as an alternative to the plan to introduce zero-based budgeting in various departments.

According to Mr Chavan, zero-based budgeting was not favoured as it would have lead to cut-back in employment. Consequently, it had now been decided to review the expenditure of some of the high spending ministries to delete some of the schemes which were low on their priority lists. The first round of review was expected to be completed well before the formulation of the next year's budget, the Minister said.

Commenting on the rising prices of some of the major industrial products, Mr Chavan said an inter-ministerial secretaries committee, headed by the Finance Secretary, Mr S. Venkitaramanan, would soon take a fresh look at the price trend of some of these products.

Explaining the background to the review, Mr Venkitaramanan said that immediately after the Union Budget for 1988-89 was presented, there had been sharp increases in the international prices of some of the imported raw materials. The option before the Government was to reduce the import duty but revenue considerations ruled this out.

Consequently, it was decided to allow them to increase their end-prices. As six months had now passed and

international prices were tending to stabilise, the Government was planning to review a number of industrial products afresh.

A beginning had already been made in the case of zinc and aluminium where some duty reductions had been announced, the Secretary said. However, the issue was being approached with caution, given the Government's revenue position.

Domestic Inflation

Referring to the domestic price situation, the Finance Minister was optimistic that the inflation rate would be around 4 to 5 percent this year. This would be creditable compared to the near 10 percent inflation recorded last year.

In this context, Mr. Chavan clarified that the World Bank-IMF figure of around 10 percent inflation in the Indian economy referred to 1987-88 and not to the current financial year as was originally thought.

The normal index, however, showed an inflation rate of 4 to 5 percent and the expectation was that the year would end with an inflation around this rate. This compared favourably with any other developing economy aiming for a high growth rate, the Minister said.

NRI Funds Needed

Asked about his recent visit abroad where he met some non-resident Indians interested in investing here, Mr Chavan said a number of issues were brought to his notice which were being taken up with the ministries concerned.

"We need the NRI investment and if necessary some procedural changes would be made to facilitate such investments here," the Minister added. He referred to the clause stipulating personal guarantees by foreign investors, which was proving to be a hindrance. This might be removed for NRI investors, he said.

About the 'fast track' mechanism for clearing foreign investment proposals, the Minister said the committee had looked into many of the stipulations which needed a change. While no major policy change was visualised, major liberalisation in procedures was being considered. This would yield results in the next few months, Mr Chavan averred.

S&T Department Issues 1986-87 Statistical Report

46001151 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
3 Oct 88 p 6

[Article: "Defence Draws 32 Percent of R&D Outlay"]

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 2 (PTI):—One-third of India's expenditure on scientific research is defence-related, according to the "Research and development statistics"

report for 1986-87 just released by the department of science and technology.

The report has also exploded the myth about India having the third largest scientific manpower.

It says the country with 800 million people has just 85,309 persons engaged directly in research and development activity. Of them, only 4,375 are women.

The report's manpower statistics implies that a very large number of science and engineering degree holders coming out of colleges are deflected away from a scientific career.

Although 241,000 persons are on the staff of scientific institutions in the country, only 35 per cent of them are engaged in actual research, the report notes. The rest are performing auxiliary activities or providing administrative support.

The report says the country as a whole invested Rs 28,660 million in scientific research in 1986-87, an increase of 29 per cent over the previous year.

About 80 per cent of the money came from the government, and the rest from the 960 in-house industrial units in the public and private sectors.

The share of the industrial sector increased from Rs 404 crores in 1984-85 to Rs 555 crores in 1986-87, and more than one-fourth of research scientists are with the industries, the report said.

The report that uses patent applications as a yardstick for measuring the performance of science establishments, said that "the number of patents sealed in the name of foreigners was almost two to three times those sealed for Indians."

According to the report, the number of patents in force during the year 1985-86 was almost four times the number held by Indians.

Classifying research expenditure on the basis of "objectives", the report said that defence received the highest priority (32 per cent), followed by industrial promotion (12 per cent) and space (11 per cent). Transport and communications got the lowest priority (four per cent).

The state governments spent Rs 258 crores on science and technology activities representing nine per cent of the total national expenditure on science.

"In relation to population, the stock of scientific personnel for India is not high as compared to that for developed countries", the report said.

India spent 1.03 per cent of its gross national product on research as compared to more than two per cent for developed countries. "India's per capita expenditure on research was only a mere \$2.78 whereas this was between \$100 and 400 for most of the developed countries."

The report noted that India's figure of 1.03 per cent was no doubt higher than many of the developing countries. "Yet the country needs to upscale its research and development efforts manifold if it is to reach the level of two to three per cent by the end of the century", it said.

CPM Wooing Rural Rich, Says CPI

46001120 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
3 Oct 88 p 5

[Text] The CPI has strongly criticised the CPI(M) for allowing the rural rich into its fold and for letting it dominate the panchayat bodies. There was consequently loss of image of the Left Front as well as, suspicion about the front among the rural poor, the party said.

The CPI's criticism of its major Left Front partner appeared in the secretarial report of the Paschim Banga Rajya Khetmajoor Union, land-labourers' wing of the CPI. Expressing dissatisfaction with the relief measures extended to land-labourers during the front regime, the report said without naming the CPI(M) directly, at lower levels, some forces, which were so long against the front, are making their entry into it. If they had joined the front by changing their outlook, everybody would have welcomed them. But it is they who are trying to impose their views on it (the Left Front). They are now representing panchayat and government bodies."

The report was placed at the state conference of the union at Belda in Midnapore during 24-26 September. The conference was a prelude to the all-India conference of the Bharatiya Khetmajoor Union to be held at Palghat, Kerala, from 4 to 7 October.

The Union has also attacked the CPI(M) for not having a wing exclusively for land-labourers. The party has a frontal organisation, the Sara Bharat Krishak Sabha, which looks after the interests of land-labourers as well as farmers who own small plots of land themselves. "This retards the unfettered development of the agricultural workers' movement and what is more important, retards the shift in the balance of social forces in favour of agricultural workers and toiling peasants in the rural areas," the press note issued in connection with the conference said. It argued that it was impossible for the Krishak Sabha to build up aggressive movements for they could harm the interests of small farmers.

Interestingly, the conference of the Union demanded that the state government immediately start a scheme for providing a cheaper ration of foodgrains for agricultural workers and enact laws for stricter implementation of the minimum wages Act, till the Union government did so. The office-bearers of the union felt that the Left Front government, which has a scheme for cheaper ration for policemen in the state, should prove that it was sympathetic to the problems of agricultural workers by granting these demands.

The secretarial note at the conference reminded the state government that "the establishment of the Left Front government in the state had provided enough moral courage and encouragement to the land-labourers." Stressing that the labourers too had reciprocated it amply, it has warned the front that "it will be wrong to think that this reciprocity is ever-lasting."

CPI-M General Secretary Addresses Party Workers

46001142 New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English
14 Oct 88 p 5

[Article: "Formation of Janata Dal a Turning Point: EMS"]

[Text] Trivandrum, Oct 13 (PTI)—CPI-M general secretary E. M. S. Namboodiripad has described the formation of the Janata Dal as "a turning point in Indian politics".

Addressing the party workers here yesterday in connection with the formation of the reception committee for the forthcoming Marxist Party congress, Mr Namboodiripad said the birth of the Janata Dal was significant in two aspects—that a major sector of the opposition could come together to defeat the Congress in elections and the BJP could be isolated.

The basic policy of the Dal that it would not enter into any truck with the communal-divisive forces was the victory of the left parties too, since the role played by the CPI-M in effecting this polarisation was significant, he said.

Mr Namboodiripad said in the next Parliament elections, the Congress would be on one side, the BJP on another and the Janata Dal and the left parties would form a third front.

The Janata Dal differed from the BJP on two basic issues—while the latter had demanded disbanding the Minority Commission and abrogation of Art. 370 of the Constitution giving special status to Jammu and Kashmir, the former stood for their retention, he said.

Mr Namboodiripad said if Marxism was to be carried forward, a 'restructuring' was necessary in the politics and style of functioning of the Communist Parties (CPs).

Such a restructuring was taking place not only in the Soviet and Chinese parties, but also in all CPs in other socialist countries and even in those in capitalist ones. The quintessence of the reforms being carried out in the Soviet Union was "a going back to Leninism" after a period of departure from the basic tenets Lenin propounded, Mr Namboodiripad added.

Meanwhile, BJP's Kerala unit president, K. Raman Pillai has dismissed as "absurd" the observation of Mr Namboodiripad that the formation of the combine of secular opposition parties, excluding the BJP, was a "turning point in Indian politics".

Mr Pillai told newsmen here that "no one had actually excluded the BJP. The party had itself decided to keep aloof. He said Mr Namboodiripad "who felt elated at the coming together of some persons whose habit is to break and make parties from time to time", was actually against national democratic forces uniting on a firm basis.

Rejecting Mr Namboodiripad's criticism that the BJP's demand for abolition of the Minority Commission amounted to an anti-minority stance, Mr Pillai said the BJP stand was that the Minority Commission should be turned into a human rights commission.

Mr Pillai also dismissed Mr Namboodiripad's comment that the BJP's demand for abrogation of Clause 370 of the Constitution conferring special status on Jammu and Kashmir was 'reactionary'.

The BJP leader accused the ruling party of the Centre and the CPI-M-led Government in Kerala of burdening the people with more taxes.

He said a massive rally would be organised at Kozhikode on 30 October to expose the policies of those ruling the Centre and the State.

CPI-M Organ Comments on Janata Dal, BJP
46001143 *Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English*
14 Oct 88 p 1

[Article by Manini Chatterjee: "CPM Cautions Janata Dal on Ties With BJP"]

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 13:—Furthering its aim of driving a wedge between the BJP and the rest of the centrist Opposition parties, the CPM has highlighted the sharp difference in approach by the Janata Dal on one hand and the BJP on the other.

In an editorial entitled the Centrist Party versus the BJP in the forthcoming issue of the CPM organ PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY, the party points out that the Chandra Shekhar committee, which is in charge of formulating the policies of the Janata Dal, has openly espoused the cause of the minorities. But the BJP rejected it wholly at the national executive meeting in Ahmedabad last week. The centrist party has said that not only should the Minorities Commission continue but should have a "statutory status" in the Constitution. Without mentioning Article 370, the centrist parties are also learnt to be in favour of the continuance of the article in Jammu and Kashmir.

On the other hand, the BJP president, Mr L. K. Advani, made it clear in Ahmedabad that his party would fight on the basis of its own programmes and emphasised that it wanted the Minorities Commission to be scrapped and Article 370 to be abolished.

There are also other differences between the two parties, the CPM editorials says. The Janata Dal document states: "Planning will be reoriented to give priority to the task of raising the living standards and status of the poorest and weaker sections. It will level down as much as level up and redistribute incomes and wealth to build a just society in which austerity and sharing will replace pomp, ostentatious consumption and waste." On foreign policy, the centrist party notes that it will be "guided by strict nonalignment."

The editorial points out that "there is no such policy declaration either on planning or on foreign affairs in the resolution of the BJP executive or its explanation by President Advani."

The CPM says that "going by earlier pronouncements of its leaders, it is clear that the BJP will have nothing basically different from the Congress(I) on questions of planning while on questions of foreign policy, its approach will be basically opposed to the nonalignment and anti-imperialism to which Congress governments have more or less adhered while showing vacillations on this very issue and adopting anti-democratic policies internally."

The crux of the CPM argument, however, is that the documents which have so far appeared show that "while the centrists can have common grounds with the left on many issues, they stand on opposite sides with the BJP on many national issues, including the minorities question."

"It is therefore unrealistic to hope that the centrist formation, when it comes into being, can have adjustments with the BJP. They will have to fight the BJP at least on the question of minorities if nothing else. The BJP is entering the elections as a frankly anti-minority Hindu party," according to the CPM.

Promoting the concept of a left democratic secular alliance, the editorial adds, "On the other hand, the centrists can have adjustments with the left who, though differing with the centrists in some important aspects, have much in common with them. Any concessions made by the centrists to the BJP in the name of fighting the Congress(I), will be a retreat from the secular democratic stand from which they want to fight and defeat the Congress(I)."

In a clear appeal to the centrist parties to realise the folly of going with the BJP, the editorial states: "On the other hand, adjustments with the left will be a carrying forward

of the consensus on some policy issues at the 1983-84 conclaves and of the unity forged in organising the Bharat bandh on March 15, 1988."

CPI-M Leader on 'Myth' of Opposition United Front

46001145 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
15 Oct 88 p 6

[Article by E. M. S. Namboodiripad, general secretary of the CPI(M) general secretary and author of: "The Right and the Left Can Never Come Together"]

[Text] Nineteen eighty-eight will go down in history as the year in which a widely current myth was exploded—the myth that the entire Opposition from the extreme Left to the extreme Right should be united in a single combination if the Congress is to be defeated. It is being increasingly recognised that there cannot be a single Opposition in which the Right and the Left segments are united.

As late as a year ago, the Left was under attack (from the centrist political leaders and from the most influential media organs) for "blocking" the project of uniting the Opposition forces. Some of those who mounted the attack went to the extent of alleging that the Left was adopting this position under "instructions" from the Soviet leadership which is interested in keeping the Rajiv government in place. Enemies of the Left were gloating over the "discomfiture" and isolation of the Left. Braving these assaults on it, the united Left made itself felt as a force to reckon with in national politics, organised the classical cross-country march—the Bharat Jatha culminating in the Delhi rally of December 9.

Having thus made itself felt as an independent political force, the Left proceeded, in cooperation with the non-BJP Opposition parties, to organise the successful Bharat Bandh of March 15, 1988. Never before did the Left succeed to such an extent in developing united action with all the secular democratic forces in the country, even while preserving its own independent identity. The result is that we do not hear any more of a single Opposition in which the Left and the Right would participate in equal measure. The effort of the non-BJP national Opposition parties today is to unite the centrists political forces—either merging them into a single party (SJD) or forming a National Front—which will then proceed to have electoral understandings or adjustments with the Left on one hand, and with the BJP on the other, for defeating the Rajiv Gandhi Congress.

Is this a practicable proposition? Will it be possible for the centrists to be "equidistant" from the Left and the BJP? Would they agree that the BJP will participate in the government to be formed after the Congress is defeated? If they do not, will the BJP agree to cooperate with the centrists to make them win an electoral victory? If, on the other hand, the BJP is allowed to have a share

in the government, will it not make the centrists combination a purely rightist outfit, rather than "equidistant" from the Left and the Right?

These are questions of a speculative nature, matters of the post-election setup, into which we need not enter here. There is, however, a far more important, an immediately relevant question: what will be the political programme of the centrist combination? Will it be of such a nature that the centrist formation can really remain "equidistant"? After all, the political and programmatic approaches of the Left and a political party like the BJP are in such mutual conflict that a choice will have to be made. Which of the two—the Left or the Right—will be chosen?

It is necessary in this context to note that, while the Right and the Left in this Opposition—the BJP and the Communists in particular—are irreconcilably opposed to each other on a number of programmatic and policy issues, there are greater points of convergence of the leftist and the centrist positions. That is why it has been possible, on many occasions, for the leftists and the centrists to unite. Hence the proposal for developing a broad platform on the basis of which the Left and secular Opposition forces can fight jointly.

What are the issues on which the Right and the Left are irreconcilably opposed to each other, while joint action is possible between the Left and the centrists?

Firstly, the major forces of the Left are committed to proletarian internationalism. They, therefore, are interested in carrying forward the best anti-imperialist traditions of India's foreign policy. Although differing with the Left in some important respects, most of the secular Opposition parties also set their face against those anti-Soviet, anti-China and anti-communist postures which are characteristic of the BJP's approach to international relations. Would it be possible for the centrists parties to be "equidistant" in relation to these two approaches?

Secondly, in relation to the internal economy, the Left is committed to anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, anti-monopoly and democratic changes. Here again, the major components of the centrist Opposition agree with the Left in some important aspects of the national economy. That was why it was possible for the non-BJP Opposition parties (including the Left and those parties which now propose to constitute themselves into the centrist combination) to agree on a consensus document on economic policies. The reference is to the Calcutta conference of January 1984 where a consensus document was adopted.

Thirdly, the Left parties do not confine themselves to some socio-economic policies of which they agree with the centrist parties, but give these policies flesh and blood by rallying the mass of working people in struggle for these policies. It was the Left-led mass organisations of the industrial and agricultural workers, middle class

employees and intellectuals, the mass of working peasantry, the students, the youth and the women who organised the Bharat Jatha in November, 1987 which culminated in the Delhi rally on December 9. It is again the Left-led trade union movement which is now trying to build the unity of trade unions and organising the struggle against the offensive on the trade union movement. The Left-led kisan and agricultural workers' organisations are now organising an all-India struggle. It is on the basis of these struggles at the mass level that the Left is making its distinctive contribution to the emerging Opposition unity.

Fourthly, there is the question of Centre-state relations on which the Congress and the BJP virtually agree; they demand that Indian polity should be based on a "strong Centre," riding roughshod over state autonomy. As opposed to them are the Left and the centrist Opposition parties which agreed on a consensus document at Srinagar in October 1983. That document made a serious attempt to integrate the two concepts of Indian unity and state autonomy. It is significant that, in their memoranda submitted to the Sarkaria Commission, all other (Left and centrist) Opposition parties pleaded for the retention of Article 370 of the Constitution (special provisions for Kashmir), while the BJP demanded the abrogation of that article. The philosophy of a "strong Centre" is what unites the Congress and the BJP and divides both of them from the Left and secular Opposition parties.

Fifthly, the Left parties are as opposed to the "strong Centre" thesis of the Congress and the BJP as to the virtual denial of the need for a Centre capable of preserving national unity and co-ordinating the developmental activities of state government. It is well-known that some of the regional parties in the country are inclined to stretch the idea of state autonomy to the point of so weakening the Centre as to make it impossible for it to discharge its duties in preserving national unity and coordinating national development. Some of the secular Opposition parties in their zeal for anti-Congress unity are inclined to compromise with such forces of regionalism. The Left is firmly fighting these tendencies.

Sixthly, on the question of secularism, the rights of the majority and minority religious communities, the BJP charges the Congress with "appeasing" the minorities and harming the interests of the majority. The Left and centrist secular Opposition parties, on the other hand, stand for national unity, protection of the religious minorities, opposition to separatism and fundamentalism shown by some minority leaders and, above all, for complete separation of religion from the state. Our charge against the Congress is that it makes opportunist compromises with the majority as well as the minority communal forces which has become a danger to national unity.

The differences between the centrist and a party like the BJP may for the time being be papered over in the interests of the electoral unity of the Opposition. They would, however, come up prominently during the election campaign and particularly after the campaign ends

in success. The question will then come: what policies will be pursued by the new government? The Left will press for policies based on the principles of secularism and radical democracy. The BJP for its part will fight for its own approaches and policies. Will this not result in the same type of conflict in and come to the same end as the Janata government of 1977-79?

Political developments of the period that began with the fall of the Indira Gandhi government in 1977 have made it clear that those who oppose and fight the Congress are of different categories—Left and Right, secular and communal, those who stand for an oppose national unity on the basis of state autonomy, etc. It is idle for anybody to hope that all these can be brought under one omnibus united front, or that a centrist force can pursue a policy of "equidistance."

CPI 13th Congress To Be Held in Calcutta in March

46001150 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN in English*
18 Oct 88 p 3

[Article: "CPI Congress in City After 41 Years"]

[Text] After a lapse of 41 years the CPI will be holding its party congress in Calcutta from March 6 to 12 next year. This was decided at the just concluded national council meeting of the CPI held in Delhi. The last congress held in the city was in 1948 when Mr B. T. Ranadive became the general secretary of the Communist Party of India replacing P. C. Joshi.

According to the leaders of the CPI the 13th party congress will be "an important event" because for the first time since the adoption of the party programme in 1964 (soon after the split in the party) amendments to the programme would be discussed and adopted by 1,200 delegates who are expected to attend the congress.

While the congress in all probability will be held at the Yubabharati Krirangan its open session will be held at Brigade Parade ground on March 12. "Fraternal" delegates from all the East-European countries, besides China, will participate in the 13th CPI congress.

Opposition Leader Swamy Profiled

46000036 Calcutta *SUNDAY in English*
13-19 Nov 88 p 89

[Article by Vir Sanghvi]

[Text] There is a famous anecdote about a professor of economics who set the same exam paper every year. It was not necessary to change the questions, he would explain. In economics, it was the answers that changed.

As a former full professor of economics at Harvard, it is only fitting that Subramaniam Swamy should use a similar justification for the apparent shifts in his political alignment. When Swamy first joined politics, it was

as the blue-eyed boy of the RSS, then as a Jan Sangh ideologue and Emergency-era Khaki Pimpernel till Janata won the 1977 election, when he became one of the new party's most vocal members. When Janata split in 1979, he switched loyalties from the RSS clique (which became the BJP) and remained in the party. He was expelled in 1984 and joined Charan Singh in the Lok Dal. Next, it was back to Janata when the Lok Dal(A) merged with Chandra Shekhar's party. And now, it is the newly formed Janata Dal.

All of this may suggest a man who switches parties with the dexterity of a Bahuguna or a George Fernandes, but Swamy argues, quite convincingly, that it is the political scene that has changed, not his political ideology. After all, he only joined Janata in 1977 when the Jan Sangh merged with it. He remained with the new party (though the Lok Dal and BJP walked out) till he was thrown out. Then, he had no choice but to find a new home (the Lok Dal). And, he has remained with that grouping since 1984: it is not his fault that the Dal first split, then joined Janata and finally ended up as part of the Janata Dal.

Moreover, he has remained remarkably true to his political beliefs. Shortly after he returned from Harvard, he used what he calls the "Parsi network" (his wife is a Parsi) to write three articles for BLITZ. The first argued that India should make the bomb; the second pleaded for better relations with China; and the third tore into the license-permit-quota raj. Twenty years later, these three issues still form the central planks of his ideology.

So, why then do Swamy's detractors persist in portraying him as a rootless gadfly who flits from party to party, making up his policies as he goes along? One reason, unfortunately, is that his views are not as widely understood as they should be. In a political scene peopled by economic illiterates, his conception of a market economy makes no sense to his contemporaries. And few Indian politicians care about foreign policy. Thus, Swamy finds himself in the bizarre situation where, despite being the one politician with a well thought-out body of beliefs, he is regarded as a gadfly.

The other reason, of course, is that Swamy rejects many of the rules of Indian politics: among them the twin notions of party discipline and feudalism. Tradition has it that even if somebody in your party does something terrible, you can only conspire against him: to actually criticise him publicly is close to sacrilege. And that it is wrong to openly display any ambition.

Swamy's unwillingness to play by these rules has made him extremely unpopular with his colleagues. When he announced that he would stand against Chandra Shekhar for the presidentship of the Janata Party, this was regarded as blasphemy. (On the other hand, Hegde, who is content to stab Chandra Shekhar in the back, is something of a media hero.) Nor does his plain-speaking endear him to other politicians. Everybody in the Jan Sangh knew that A. B. Vajpayee was not quite the brahmacharya he claimed to be: he liked his drink and

functioned as a normal red-blooded male. But nobody was prepared to tolerate Swamy's saying this in public.

Since he parted company with the RSS/Jan Sangh/BJP, Swamy has continued to shock colleagues. While he was in Janata, he took to attacking Hegde ("snake" was one of his milder epithets) and regarding George Fernandes as a contemptible has-been. When he shifted to the Lok Dal, Bahuguna received the full treatment ("Russian stooge"). And once he returned to Janata, he launched the telephone tapping investigation that toppled Hegde ("hypocrite and crook"). All of this has appalled those who believe that all Opposition members must stick together with the iron-clad discipline of an SS regiment.

Swamy has never cared. While he was one of the first Opposition politicians to tear into Rajiv Gandhi (in early 1985, in a monthly column for IMPRINT at a time when Hegde was praising the Prime Minister), he refused to join the Goenka/Chandra Swami/Nusli Wadia coup in 1987. After Ram Jethmalani began asking his ten questions, Swamy demolished him ("not a barking dog but a hovering vulture") in a SUNDAY column. Rajiv was probably corrupt, he suggested, but Jethmalani's own affairs did not bear too close an inspection.

His friends, while supporting his right to tell it like it is, sometimes feel that he goes too far. They fear that the abuse detracts from the policies and suspect that he is too unforgiving when it comes to attacks on himself. For instance, when Jethmalani's son Mahesh ("Mongoloid idiot") replied to the SUNDAY attack on his father, Swamy went into a deep sulk. ("There is no dynastic right to reply," he argued with some justification.) But Swamy's personality is such that take away the outspokenness, and you lose most of the charisma as well.

Where he goes from here is anybody's guess. In 1979, he gave me an interview in which he declared that he would be Prime Minister by 1989. It seems unlikely that he will keep to that deadline but equally, there's no denying that he is the only man in Indian politics to have survived the most determined assaults from such heavyweights as Vajpayee, Chandra Shekhar, Bahuguna and Hegde. He has done so on his own terms, without bothering (until recently, when he turned to Tamil Nadu) to build up a regional base, without mouthing the cliches of Indian political discourse, and without becoming a chamcha of the mighty.

Janata Dal Foundation Conference Held in Bangalore

Report on Proceedings

46001140 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English
12 Oct 88 pp 1, 9

[Article: "V.P. Leads Janata Dal; Congress (S) Pulls Out of Combine"]

[Text] Bangalore, October 11—The Janata Dal, the new centrist party projected by its leaders as an effective

national alternative to the Congress, was formally launched today at a well-attended foundation conference held at the sprawling Palace Grounds here.

Mr V. P. Singh, Jan Morcha leader, who emerged as the key figure in the merger parleys among the Janata, the Lok Dal (B), the Jan Morcha and the Congress (S), was elected president of the party.

Mr Singh's name was proposed by Mr Ramakrishna Hegde, former Karnataka chief minister, and seconded by Mr Madhu Dandavate, Janata leader in parliament.

The new party, its leaders claimed, comes into existence right away and the uniting parties will function as one unit but technically remain to exist on paper until legal formalities of the merger are completed. "The conference resolved that the legal process of merger should be completed in a month.

As agreed to earlier by the steering committee the symbol of the party will be "haldar within wheel" (the existing Janta symbol) and its flag will be green with the symbol superimposed in white.

The Congress (S), which kept away from the foundation conference of the Janata Dal, has decided not to join the new party.

Mr Sharatachandra Sinha, party's president and Mr K. P. Unnikrishnan, general secretary, announced this decision at a news conference this evening.

The Congress (S) leaders said the party had come to the "regrettable decision" that it could not associate itself with the unilateral decision of the four-party steering committee to name the new party as Janata Dal and to adopt the Janata party's constitution as the basis for the new party's constitution.

According to these leaders, they were not invited for the meeting of the steering committee last night, though one of them, Mr Sinha, was in Bangalore.

Mr Unnikrishnan said the steering committee had decided on October 8 that the name of the new party would be Socialist Janata Party and that a new constitution would be adopted. However, last night, the name was changed and the Janata party constitution was adopted. In his view it appeared as if the parties which were trying to form a new opposition force had merged into the Janata.

"It is old wine in new bottle," he said when asked about the deadline of one month set by the foundation convention for completing the legal formalities of merger. "Politics of dadagiri will not work. We cannot be bulldozed."

The Congress (S) leader said it looked as if the name of the party was changed because of pressure and bitter differences among the constituents. This was precisely what the Congress (S) has wanted to avoid, they said.

Like the Congress (S) representatives, Mr H. N. Bahuguna, Lok Dal (B) president, and Mr Ram Dhan, Jan Morcha leader, were notable by their absence.

The conference authorised Mr V. P. Singh to constitute the national executive of the new party and appoint its office-bearers. It also accepted the Janata party constitution as the basis of its own and endorsed the setting up of a three-member sub-committee consisting of Mr Singh, Mr Devi Lal and Mr Chandra Shekhar to make suitable changes.

Though the turn-out was quite impressive, it fell far short of the expectations of the organisers who had predicted that a record 500,000 people from different parts of the country would take part in the rally. According to conservative estimates, the attendance was around 150,000.

While Mr V. P. Singh was undoubtedly the star attraction, the former Karnataka chief minister, Mr Ramakrishna Hegde, stole much of the limelight.

The crowd started to disperse immediately after Mr Hegde's speech. He had to appeal to the people to wait till the other speakers made their speeches.

The Haryana chief minister, Mr Devi Lal, who spoke in Hindi, had to shout to make himself heard, as the audience started jeering at him for speaking in Hindi.

Mrs Premila Dandavate and Mr Chandra Shekhar were also subjected to booing by the crowd for speaking in Hindi.

On the other hand, Mr George Fernandes, who fluently spoke in Kannada, was given a patient hearing. In fact, when Mr V. P. Singh rose to speak towards the fag-end of the rally, the majority of the audience had left the place.

The foundation conference took place in a tastefully decorated pandal. Huge cut-outs of Mahatma Gandhi and Jayaprakash Narayan, whose birth anniversary fell today, were prominently displayed on the dais.

PTI adds: Mr V. P. Singh refused to comment on the Congress (S) decision to pull out of the new party within seven hours of its formation.

He said Mr K. P. Unnikrishnan was scheduled to meet him this evening, but had not turned up so far. He would meet Mr Unnikrishnan on his return to New Delhi, he added.

The Congress (S) announcement came even as the leaders of the three other parties were addressing a rally of the workers of the new party.

New Delhi (UNI): The Lok Dal president, Mr H. N. Bahuguna, said he was not against opposition unity and would go by the decision of his party.

Mr Bahuguna, who stayed away from the Bangalore convention, made it clear that he was in no way a stumbling block to opposition unity.

Asked what was the reason for his staying away from the convention, he said when there was no 'marriage' where was the need to go to 'a marriage party.'

Policy, Program Highlights

46001140 Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
10 Oct 88 p 9

[Article: "Proposed Unified Party To Introduce Poll Reforms"]

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 9—The proposed unified Opposition party will introduce major electoral reforms that include State funding of elections, lowering the voting age to 18, shifting the present emphasis from urban and industrial development to rural and agricultural development and creating a literacy army to combat illiteracy and a land army for land development.

At least one person in every family will be assured a job. All States will be persuaded to enact a Rural Workers' Protection and Organization Act. A national water grid will be formed to deal with the problem of drought and floods and exploit under resources.

Other highlights of the policies and programmes, enunciated in a 16-page document, of the new party include statutory guarantee for regular and periodic elections to local bodies for which a fourth list (after Centre, State and Concurrent Lists) would be incorporated in the Constitution.

Inquiries will be made into all foreign accounts held illegally by Indian nationals and investigations held into deals where kick-backs are suspected. If the charges are proved, the guilty will be punished and contracts terminated.

The document was released to the Press today by Mr Chandra Shekhar who headed an eight-man sub-committee on policy and programme, appointed by the chairman of the 18-member steering committee of four parties, Mr V. P. Singh. Mr Chandra Shekhar had submitted the report to the steering committee yesterday where it was accepted and approved yesterday itself.

The new party will introduce legislation for workers' participation in management at all levels. It will also

promote the earmarking of a prescribed percentage of new shares issued by companies to be offered first to workers of the company and to be released for public subscription only if workers do not accept the shares.

Child labour and bonded labour will be abolished as will be the practice of carrying of human soil by human being.

While the three-language formula has been found to serve the country well, Nepali will be included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. More attention will be paid to the development and teaching of Urdu and the recommendations of the Gujral Committee on Urdu will be implemented.

Minorities will be assured all help for sharing the fruits of development and all discriminations based on caste, creed, sex and religion would be eliminated. The Minorities Commission will have statutory status in the Constitution. A specially trained riot police force will be organized consisting of all sections. The Mandal Commission recommendations will be implemented "forthwith".

Reforms in education will be taken up immediately and jobs delinked from university degrees. The Directive Principle on prohibition will be "sincerely" implemented in phases. The State radio and television network will enjoy autonomy.

The document on policy and programme has decried the "rapid growth of multi-national corporations with the sanction of the Government," and said it was linked to the phenomenon of declining economic power of the country in the world system. It described the public sector as the "sheet anchor" in the development of the economy and steps would be taken to make it more efficient and to ensure that it remained only in the priority areas of development. Maximum autonomy will be given to public sector enterprises, consistent with accountability to Parliament, and reduced administrative interference. Heavy industry like power, steel and fertilizer will be expanded with full use of modern technology. The industrial policy laid down in 1956 and modified by the Janata Government in 1977 will be continued. The present textile policy will be reviewed to ensure more employment of labour and remunerative prices for cotton.

While reiterating the four constituents' belief in the freedom of judiciary and the Press and the commitment to preserve democracy and involvement of the people, the document also stated that the fight against "dynastic rule and the despotism of a personality cult will have to be accelerated to defeat the forces of authoritarianism at all levels". Federalism will have to be truly established with adequate devolution of powers to the States.

A law will be enacted which will require every member of Parliament and State legislature to file an annual declaration of their assets. Radical changes will be made in administrative processes as they were at the root cause of favouritism and corruption.

The cooperative movement will be extended to various spheres and will include agriculture cooperatives, weavers' and artisans' cooperatives, agro-processing, housing and consumers. Necessary statutory provision will be made in the Constitution to ensure proper functioning of cooperatives.

The document also touched on foreign policy and spoke of the need to pay special attention to the development of mutually beneficial ties with all developing countries, especially in East Asia and also the need to strengthen bilateral ties with neighbours. It extended its support to the efforts at finding a democratic solution to the ethnic strife in Sri Lanka and called for immediate cessation of hostilities and starting of a fresh dialogue.

International Astronautic Congress Meets in Bangalore

Gandhi Addresses Meeting

46001144 *Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English*
11 Oct 88 p 5

[Article: "PM for Sharing Space Technology"]

[Text] Bangalore, Oct. 10 (UNI, PTI):—The 39th International Astronautical Congress commenced here today with a call by the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, for concerned international efforts to enable developing countries to have full access to the benefits of space technology.

International cooperation in space could go a long way towards ensuring a better life for mankind, Mr Gandhi said in his inaugural address, read out by the minister of state for science and technology, Mr K. R. Narayan, in his absence.

"Having derived considerable benefits from international cooperation, we have regarded it our moral obligation to initiate a new programme on sharing of experiences in space," he said. India had already trained several scientists from developing countries, he pointed out.

Mr Gandhi reiterated India's unequivocal commitment to "international cooperation in the peaceful exploration and utilisation of outer space for the development of humanity."

He said the recent attempt to introduce weapons in space "are an ominous development of great concern to humanity."

He said, "More than ever today, human survival depends upon concerted action and immediate negotiations to usher in a world free of nuclear weapons and rooted in non-violence."

He said with this in view, India had submitted an action plan to the third special session on disarmament of the UN General Assembly, calling for a binding commitment to the total elimination of all nuclear weapons by 2010.

Lauding the efforts of the scientists of the International Astronautical Federation, Mr Gandhi said, "You work in an area often referred to as the heavens. The heavens must remain serene, tranquil and peaceful. While expanding the frontiers of science and technology, you must also provide a new vision of humanity. Your work must serve as a bridge between the east and the west, the south and the north, the developing and the developed, the deprived and the affluent."

Pointing out that the congress coincided with the birth centenaries of two of the country's greatest scientists, C. V. Raman and mathematical genius Srinivasa Ramanujan, he said the theme of the congress, "space and humanity," reflected their deep belief in the development of society through science and technology.

Outlining the country's space programme, Mr Gandhi said during the last two decades, 11 application satellites, eight of which were built indigenously, were launched.

The International Astronautical Federation president, Dr Johannes Ortner, said 1992 would be observed as the International Space Year to bring together all nations under a programme "Mission to the Planet Earth."

Soviet Scientists Speak

46001144 *Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English*
14 Oct 88 p 7

[Article by L. K. Sharma: "Indo-Soviet Space Pact Soon"]

[Text] Bangalore, October 13—India and the Soviet Union may soon sign an agreement on bilateral co-operation in the field of space, an area in which the two countries have worked together for some years.

The agreement is expected to be signed during Mr Gorbachov's forthcoming visit to India in a few weeks. It will be an umbrella agreement and separate documents will be signed on specific projects, including one on the launching of the next Indian remote sensing satellite (IRS B-I).

Dr Alexander I. Dunaev, chairman of Glavkosmos, who replied to a wide range of questions by this correspondent, also indicated that the Soviet Union was now having a fresh look at the proposal for establishing an international space centre in India.

The proposal was made by Mr Gorbachov during his last visit to New Delhi, but the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, was unable to give a definite response then in the absence of a detailed concept of the centre. As it turned out, the Soviet Union found that other developed countries were not interested in such a venture and developing countries did not have the resources for it.

There are many other Soviet offers in the area of space research and technology that India has to consider. Dr Dunaev said India could have its scientific experiment in a module for the "Mir" permanent manned orbital complex.

His colleague, Dr Victor Legostayev, who gave a presentation on the results of the "Mir" complex operations, said there was no problem in taking an Indian to the "Mir".

Dr Dunaev said the Soviet Union was willing to collaborate with India in the field of microwave remote sensing. A proposal under discussion envisages the integration of an Indian-designed sensor payload with a Soviet remote sensing satellite to be launched by the Soviet Union.

While Dr Dunaev was very optimistic about the fate of this joint project, India is finding it hard to finalise it because of the large costs involved, which include the payments to be made to the Soviet Union.

Informed Indian sources said no decision could be taken under the present terms since the immediate use of microwave remote sensing will have to be assessed if the costs involved are very high.

The Soviet space agency has now gone commercial and India has to pay enhanced charges even for the launch of the next remote sensing satellite (ISR B-1), they said.

Dr Dunaev said that under the new policy, no free launches could be provided, but India could pay for the space services through any kind of goods required in the Soviet Union.

With regard to the Soviet space programme in the coming years, Dr Dunaev said one of its objectives was to increase the use of the new powerful launcher, "Energia".

He said Soviet launchers, predecessors to "Energia", were available for service, but the U.S. restriction on the transfer of satellites with American components had restricted the demand for the Soviet ones.

The other objective of the Soviet programme was the continuation of manned flights while increasing the capabilities of the space station, "Mir". A new type of space station was now being designed and it would be bigger and assembled in space.

It was also proposed to develop a new generation of spacecraft for carrying on experiments. The manned flight to Mars was an important proposal and the U.S. had been invited to join in the project.

Dr Dunaev said the Soviet Union was willing to co-operate with the U.S. in the field of space and referred to the Soviet invitation to the U.S. to send a scientific experiment module to "Mir".

New Launch Vehicle Reported

46001144 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English
11 Oct 88 p 15

[Article: "Scientists Design New Launcher"]

[Text] Bangalore, October 10 (PTI)—A new launch vehicle that will produce its own fuel for rocketing into space has been "conceptually designed" by the Hyderabad-based defence scientists working closely with Bharat Dynamics Limited, a defence undertaking.

The scientists said the air-breathing hypersonic lifting vehicle is based on a new principle "with payload capabilities one order of magnitude higher than even the most advanced rocket launchers".

The launcher that is said to be a hybrid between a jet aircraft and a rocket, is described in their report to be presented at the International Astronautics Federation conference that opened here today.

The new launcher is a single stage vehicle. It will take off and climb like an aircraft collecting air while cruising at eight times the speed of sound.

During its flight it will collect and liquify the ambient air, separate the liquid oxygen, and store it on on-board tanks. At the outer edge of the atmosphere, the vehicle will turn into a rocket using the stored liquid oxygen as its propellant.

The highlight of the present design is that the oxygen required for the rocket phase is collected during flight in the air-breathing ascent phase, the scientists said. The wings of the "hyperplane" are designed to support this mass addition in hypersonic flight.

The Indian design is still in the conceptual stage and its feasibility will be discussed in the conference attended by leading space technology experts.

Describing the operation of the launch vehicle, Indian scientists said it would take off from a conventional runway.

A fan scramjet engine will assist its take-off and climb to cruise altitude. A scramjet engine will then accelerate it to eight times the speed of sound. Thereafter, the liquid hydrogen and liquid oxygen produced during flight will burn in a rocket engine and shoot the vehicle into orbit.

In conclusion, the scientists said that "the hyperplane concept presents new class of space launch vehicle whose performance and costs are more than one order of magnitude superior to any of the current or proposed rocket launchers of the world".

IAF's Indigenisation a Must: Air Chief
46001125 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English
10 Oct 88 p 4

[Article by L. K. Sharma]

[Text] If we do not commit ourselves to indigenisation, the Indian Air Force would cease to exist after the turn of the century," asserts Air Chief Marshal S. K. Mehra, chief of the air staff, while talking of the challenge of modernising his force.

Q: Could you comment on the doctrine of your force in the face of any new or emerging strategic challenges? How do you rate the operational capability of the force and what is being done to maximise it?

A: The doctrine of the Indian Air Force is to maintain a balanced force, which means that we have at appropriate strength a suitable mix of combat airplanes both in the air defence role and with strike capability, multi-role aircraft, special role aircraft, transport fleet as well as the helicopters and then, of course, missiles and radars. The objective is to control in war-time air space as quickly as possible.

We try to get the maximum out of the man-machine combination. We are trying to maximise operational efficiency by updating our methods of functioning. We have recently computerised our maintenance and logistics functions.

Q: Equipment-wise, you have now reached the top-of-the-line league. This leaves little scope for further major acquisitions for the next five years, but makes it even more necessary to optimise operational capability through training, tactics and operational efficiency. Your comments?

A: The modernisation of any air force is a continuous process. We have top-of-the-line equipment but at the same time, we have the older type which will come up for retirement in the near future and will call for replacement. Efforts will be to replace these through indigenous sources to the extent possible.

Q: Some sceptics keep asking whether the Light Combat Aircraft LCA would ever fly? What is your assessment and what is the air force looking for in an ideal indigenous LCA and in what time-frame?

A: It is asking a very pessimistic question. The LCA would, indeed, fly. The project is a very challenging assignment for R and D and production agencies.

We look at the LCA as the workhorse of the Indian Air Force, like we are using MiG-21 and its large number of variants today. We are confident the LCA would have good manoeuvrability and operational characteristics, appropriate radars and weapons and high availability on the flight line.

The project definition phase of the LCA is about to be completed. The picture would be clear then.

Q: Why is it that the procurement of the advanced jet trainer (AJT), a vital piece of equipment, has been delayed so long? What is the importance of having an advanced jet trainer?

The AJT is not an operational fighter. It has to be acquired since currently we are using the Hunter as an AJT.

The AJT has been talked about for three years now, but our requirement for it is still about two to three years away. The Hunters fleet is still operating. We can't afford to throw away any machines these days.

Q: Which is the main area of concern with regard to flight safety?

A: Considering the quantum of flying, the size of the force, the variety of equipment handled over a variety of terrain with large temperature variations and heavy monsoons, the record in flight safety is not alarming as it is made out to be.

No accident is taken casually and every detail is examined with great care to ascertain and study the causes of failure or factors such as bird menace. We have found that nearly 30 per cent of the accidents could be attributed to this. Committees have gone into the problem, the state and local authorities have been approached repeatedly in this regard during the last 10 to 15 years but things have not moved. You know, we had to cancel the Republic Day fly-past because of this.

Q: Why is the air force not adequately pushing the case for the acquisition of AWACS either through indigenous development or through outright import.

A: AWACS is a tremendous force multiplier. We are doing whatever is necessary to face such a threat. I would not like to go into details whether we would seek to neutralise the threat with tactics or with new equipment.

Q: Why have we failed to build the mid-air refuelling capability even when Pakistan and China have acquired it?

A: The question of mid-air refueling is related to mission requirements and overall strategic plans. We do not enter an area just because some other country has acquired the capability.

IAF Proves Its Mettle in Mastering MIG 29
46001126 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
4 Oct 88 p 7

[Article by Keith Flory]

[Text] If proof were required of the capability of the Indian Air Force to absorb technology of the highest order, the answer could be provided with the speed of lubricated lightning—the MIG 29. Within less than a year of its induction, the IAF has demonstrated its skill in operating the latest in combat aircraft.

A month ago, the Western world's aviation experts were agog when the MIG 29 made its debut at the biennial festival at Farnborough. More recently, the IAF used its forthcoming anniversary celebrations to unveil the MIG 29 to the media at an air base in the South-Western sector.

Perhaps the veil was only partially lifted. "Security" considerations bound the service from disclosing all its features. To save those gentlemen from embarrassment, one refrains from quoting Jane's and other published information about the aircraft's potential.

Still, what the IAF did show was enough to convince the layman that the MIG 29 is something special. For underlying a superb display of aerobatics at high speed, was evidence of a very high performance aircraft being flown most professionally.

The IAF will utilize the MIG 29 as an air-superiority weapon system. The first "plus" point in that direction is its STOL (short takeoff and landing) quality—a few hundred metres is all that is required for it to be airborne. Which would make it almost impossible for an adversary to keep the plane grounded by attacking the field from which it operates.

The outstanding feature of the "Baaz"—as the IAF has named it—is its power-to-weight ratio. "Always more than one," said an officer with pride. Powered by two mighty turbofans, the MIG 29 generally has thrust to spare. Thus her pilots were able to climb vertically within seconds of getting "unstuck" and cut a figure of eight in the most limited of space.

Nothing proved its efficiency more than one manoeuvre in which it appeared all set to land, undercart down, nose angled high, at virtually stall speed. Then in a moment the scene was reversed, and the aircraft went straight into looping the loop. Something like an undrugged Ben Johnson off the blocks.

Today it is not just speed and manoeuvrability that matters; there will never be another Red Baron or Douglas Badar. Technology has made the fighter pilot more of a manager of systems than a gusty gladiator. And so the MIG 29 boasts of some of the most sophisticated radars, missiles, electronic counter-measures and so on.

Its large Pulse Doppler lookdown shootdown radar gives it an all weather capability against low-flying targets. The range of its radar is such that it is relatively free of dependence on ground controllers to be directed to the target. The system also makes it virtually impossible for the aircraft to come under undetected attack.

Equipped with a pair of "beyond visual range" missiles, the MIG 29 can engage an enemy aircraft from long distances. Then it has a pack of close combat missiles and finally a machine cannon. The great advantage of its missiles is that it does not have to first get behind the enemy's tail to unleash its firepower.

Unlike the more recent products of Western origin—the F-16 and the Mirage 2,000 for example—the MIG 29 does not have a fly-by-wire control system. Is that a disadvantage? One experienced fighter pilot's assessment was that "the fly-by-wire prevents the pilot from error, but it also prevents him from stretching the aircraft and himself to the ultimate limits. The computer override of the fly-by-wire can prove a constraint in critical situations."

Comparisons of this nature can never generate hard and fast answers. Another pilot who ventured to suggest that the MIG 29 was more than a match for the F-16 said he was entering such turbulent zones only because "the Defamation Bill has been withdrawn." In the final analysis what matters is the efficiency with which a system is used.

That is the IAF's strong point. Not only do its pilots fly the MIG 29 to perfection, but they are also in the process of developing their own battle doctrines and tactics. The same holds true of the technicians who keep the aircraft in operational condition. They have gone beyond what the manufacturers supplied and even worked out their own computer programme for a more comprehensive analysis of what the flight data recorder (the 'black box') has monitored.

These capabilities were not acquired overnight. If the MIG 29 and Mirage 2,000 are deemed "frontline" today, it was earlier the Mystere, Vampire or Spitfire. Pilots at this base are reminded of that every day, as they wait for an obsolete Canberra labour to get airborne before their chance comes. There are no anabolic steroids to build up the muscle of an Air Force: it is a painstaking process, one step at a time. But each step is one of the excitement and challenge.

India May Export Defence Equipment: Pant
46001130 New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English 6 Oct 88 p 6

[Text] Pune, 5 October (PTI)—India was considering export of defence equipment to the neighbouring countries like Nepal and Sri Lanka, Defence Minister K. D. Pant said today.

Mr Pant made this observation here while talking to reporters after opening the DEFEX-88 exhibition displaying 30,000 imported defence equipment spares, a venture aimed at seeking Indian industry's participation in import substitution.

The Defence Minister, in his speech, said India had been getting "encouraging enquiries" from a number of countries, asking for weapons, defence equipment and aircraft.

"From now onwards, it would be our endeavour to expand defence exports and the civil sector should participate in this process in a positive fashion," the Minister said.

The Defence Minister said "we as a nation, wish to preserve our freedom of action in international relations. Our status as a non-aligned country is explained by this concern for independence in foreign relations."

The Minister cited example of countries which had got some advantages by joining military blocs, and added that "it was at the cost of losing independence in foreign relations."

"If we want to remain non-aligned, it is necessary that we should be economically self-reliant," he said adding that it was particularly important in defence sector because we cannot afford to be dependant on some other country for essential weapons and equipment needed by our armed forces in the event of war.

The Defence Minister said though there was every reason to be happy at what we have achieved, we still depended on imports to a very considerable extent.

He said defence imports were to be reduced for a variety of reasons. Firstly, the most advanced weapons and equipment were not easy to procure and secondly, their prices were high and they will have to be paid for in hard currency, which was always in short supply.

"The country's balance of payments position was almost always unsatisfactory with large trade deficits and therefore, import substitution and indigenisation was essential," he said.

Pant Says Decision on Baliapal Test Range Unchanged
46001133 Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
7 Oct 88 p 9

[Article: "Test Range at Baliapal To Stay: Pant"]

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 6.—The Defence Minister, Mr K. C. Pant, has said the decision to locate the national missile testing range at Baliapal in Balasore district of Orissa stood despite opposition to the move by the Janata and other Opposition parties, reports PTI.

Mr Pant said there was a general consensus that a firing range was needed but the location was causing a problem. Many committees had studied the case and suggested the Andaman and Nicobar islands as an alternative location.

But the islands had two major drawbacks. First, there was no Indian territory to their south. Thus a rocket fired from there could not be traced. Secondly, more than 200 days in a year on the islands were cloudy, which was a big disadvantage, the Minister said.

Mr Pant was responding to reporters, queries aboard the aircraft on his way to the capital from Pune yesterday, where he inaugurated the "Defex-88" exhibition.

Mr Pant said Sriharikota had been found unsuitable as was a range to the south of Baliapal in which case the Paradip port would come in the middle, Mr Pant said.

The Defence Minister did not give any date for the withdrawal of the IPKF. He said the IPKF had been called at the instance of the Sri Lankan Government to safeguard its unity and protect the interests of the Tamils. the IPKF would stay there to help implement the India-Sri Lanka accord.

Protocol on Railroad Cooperation Signed With USSR

46001148 New Delhi PATRIOT in English
15 Oct 88 p 5

[Article: "Indo-Soviet Agreement on Railways"]

[Text] India and the Soviet Union have signed a protocol for cooperation in the railway sector, reports PTI.

The agreement, signed on Thursday in Moscow by the Minister of State for Railways Madhavrao Scindia and his Soviet counterpart, Mr N. S. Konarev includes procurement of 20 high HP electric locomotives and a set of track-laying equipment from USSR.

It also includes Soviet assistance in improving heavy haul freight operations, wagon repairs and maintenance facilities.

As part of the agreement, the Soviet Union has offered to assist in initiating cooperation in the construction of metro-system in India on a turn-key basis. This includes a financial package, and cooperation in the construction of metro-system in India on a turn-key basis. This includes a financial package, an official spokesman disclosed in New Delhi on Friday.

The agreement provides for procurement of equipment and instruments for railway electrification and maintenance of electric traction and development of ground-train radio communication system in India based on its extensive use by the Soviet railways.

The Soviet Union has agreed to impart training to 130 Indian Railway specialists in its various training establishments.

It is envisaged to develop a detailed programme for exchange of experts and scientists, publications and joint research projects, the spokesman said.

Besides the Railway Minister, the Indian delegation included the chairman of the Railway Board R. K. Jain and member (electrical) V. C. V. Chenalu.

Papers Report Bharatiya Janata Executive Meeting

Advani Opening Speech

46001137 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English
8 Oct 88 p 9

[Article: "Credibility First, Unity Next"]

[Text] Ahmedabad, October 7—The national executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party, which began its three-day session, here today, will keep its options open for forging an alliance or making electoral adjustments with the proposed Samajvadi Janata Dal, to be formed by four opposition parties.

A majority of the members of the executive committee are of the view that the "so-called" SJD might not be formed because of the way in which internal bickerings had surfaced among the constituent units.

The tone of the discussion on the vital issue was set by the party president, Mr L. K. Advani, who while inaugurating the three-day conclave this afternoon castigated the entire process for unity.

Firstly, he described the process as "the unseemly goings-on in the opposition camp in the name of opposition unity." Secondly, at another stage of his inaugural speech Mr Advani remarked: "The BJP regrets to note that these so-called unity exercises have occasioned so much of wrangling, mutual mud-slinging and bitter back-biting that some of Mr Rajiv Gandhi's advisors had been advising him to go in for an early snap poll." He advised his partymen to remain alert in case there was an early snap poll.

Again referring to opposition unity moves, Mr Advani said the BJP had always been of the view that mere aggregation of disparate groups, without a coherent set of policies and programmes to hold them together, could not inspire confidence in the people. According to him, more important than opposition unity was opposition credibility. The BJP workers should concentrate on organisational activities at the grassroots to gain credibility, he said.

However, the BJP secretary, Mr J. P. Mathur, while briefing newsmen about the proceedings of the meeting, said his party had not closed its doors against the opposition parties. It would wait and watch before deciding its attitude towards the proposed Samajvadi Janata Dal. The BJP leaders were clear in their minds that if necessary they would make electoral adjustments with opposition parties to dislodge the Congress government, which had "not only encouraged but even institutionalised corruption" in the country.

Mr Advani told the executive members that the government's decision not to convert the defamation bill into law must be taken only as a tactical retreat in the face of the tremendous opposition to it. However, the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, kept on affirming that the bill was a step in the right direction.

He said the Congress government at the Centre swore by democracy and freedom of the press and yet went on harping that the postal bill, the 59th amendment to the constitution and the defamation bill were steps in the right direction. It was this mentality which was dangerous and a perpetual threat to democracy, he added.

Mr Advani said the documentary evidence now available clearly indicated that there was a clear nexus between Bofors, the Bachchan brothers and the defamation bill.

Mr Mathur said the three-day conclave would discuss the political and economic situation, the Punjab problem and the inviting of multi-nationals into the country. He said indications were available that the Prime Minister was wooing the Akali Dal for winning elections in Punjab. The BJP executive committee would also discuss the problems of Indians in Fiji and other countries, he added.

Meanwhile, the BJP has made it clear that it would not have any truck with the DMK-led alliance or the Congress-Jayalalitha group in the forthcoming assembly elections in Tamil Nadu.

Resolutions Reported

46001137 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
9 Oct 88 p 5

[Article: "BJP Demands Protection for Hindus in Bangla"]

[Text] Ahmedabad, Oct. 8:—On the second day of its national executive committee meeting, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) adopted a resolution demanding that the Union government take immediate steps to guarantee the rights of Hindu minorities coming under attack in Bangladesh and Fiji.

The resolution said that though the Hindu minorities in these countries, were subjected to gross atrocities and were not accorded their basic human rights, the Indian government was watching like a silent spectator.

"The 350,000 people of Indian origin who form the majority of the Fijian population were, under Rabuka's regime, forced to live either as the slaves of the state and practise their religious rites or convert to Christianity," claimed the BJP vice-president, Mr S. S. Bhandari, while briefing the Press.

The situation was similar in Bangladesh, and some 50,000 Hindus had crossed over into West Bengal seeking refugee status due to the recent declaration of Islamisation, he said.

The resolution attacked the government for not even discussing the issue with the Bangladesh President, Lieutenant General H. M. Ershad, during his recent visit to India. It asked the government to take immediate steps to secure guarantees for the protection of the civic and cultural rights of minorities. It also called for a visit by an Indo-Bangladesh team to the rural areas to formulate a report and wanted the issue to be raised in international fora.

The party did not include in its resolution its parent body the Jan Sangh's demand for a piece of land from Bangladesh for the refugees' rehabilitation. This idea has been mooted at the earlier briefing.

In reply to a question, Mr Bhandari denied that the BJP stood for the idea of a Hindu state and claimed that a "Hindu state is actually a cultural entity and not an administrative entity." He said even if a Hindu state was created, it would be a secular state.

Mr Bhandari said that though the BJP's relations with the RSS were strong, the RSS was a cultural organisation which stood on its own as a separate entity.

Another resolution was passed on the government's decision to allow the re-entry of Pepsi Cola into India. It said the re-entry of Pepsi, which had a "dubious reputation", would hamper the country's economy and security.

Political Resolution Summarized

46001137 New Delhi PATRIOT in English
10 Oct 88 p 1

[Article: "BJP To Back All Democratic Parties for Rajiv's Ouster"]

[Text] Ahmedabad, Oct 9—The Bharatiya Janata Party today charged the Rajiv Gandhi government with "total failure on every front" and said it was prepared to cooperate with "all the democratic parties for the ouster of his corrupt regime".

It also demanded the resignation of Mr Gandhi and urged for fresh elections immediately.

The political resolution passed on the last day of the three-day national executive of the party here said "the ouster of this corrupt and worthless government is the number one issue before the people and should take precedence before everything else". It also said that "the BJP was prepared to cooperate with all democratic and nationalist parties on this issue".

However, despite the talk of cooperation with opposition parties, the political resolution was so lop-sided that it said nothing about the current exercise of unity of opposition parties.

However, the party president L. K. Advani was forthright while talking to newsmen later on this issue. He said that "what was going on in the name of the opposition unity was nothing but a clash of personal egos and a struggle for power only". Lashing out at the opposition, Mr Advani said that "a race was going on between Mr Rajiv Gandhi and a section of the opposition as to who was more foolish. This itself had kept Rajiv Gandhi in power till now", he added.

Even while agreeing for electoral adjustments with opposition parties, Mr Advani clarified that it would be only on the basis of reciprocity. He also made it clear that the adjustments would not mean that the party would automatically support any government formed by the opposition.

The national executive meeting did not adopt resolutions on either economic policy or on international affairs. Even the political resolution was more in a nature of a chargesheet against the Rajiv Gandhi government wherein it said that "this government had not only turned out to be corrupt and callous but totally incompetent and worthless".

The resolution said that the huge mandate that Mr Gandhi secured in the last Lok Sabha poll "had been dissipated through acts of omission and commission on the part of a brash and arrogant bunch of people with an extremely narrow and self-centred view of the world and nation. It is beyond their capacity to hold this vast and complex country together and unless they go or thrown out, the very survival of India as a free nation is in peril", it added.

PTI adds: The resolution demanded that the government immediately bring out a white paper on the "training camps" allegedly run by Pakistan to train Punjab terrorists.

It cautioned the government against the 'monumental blunder' that it may commit by holding talks with Akalis in respect of granting exclusive political or economic

privileges to a religious community as envisaged in the "Anandpur Sahib resolution". It said "it would be like entering a maze with no exit in sight".

Asserting that the nation can not permit a "theocratic sub-state" within a secular Indian state, the BJP warned that any talks with the "boys" (as suggested by Prof Darshan Singh Ragi without elaborating who the 'boys' were) will be disastrous and "amounts to capitulation before the insurgents" whose declared objective was to break the country, and carve out a separate 'Khalistan' for themselves.

Replying to questions, Mr Advani said his party will decide on participating in a dialogue with the government for resolving the Punjab tangle "in consultation with other political parties". He said it is not yet clear whether the recently constituted eight-member Cabinet sub-committee, headed by External Affairs Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao, will invite national leaders or those belonging to Punjab for consultation.

He alleged that the only consideration for all such initiatives by the government has "political expediency and electoral gains" in view. And whenever a solution was in sight, it was the government which backed out.

"If the proposed opposition parties meeting is to be viewed with the same intention of making the Punjab issue a pawn on the political chessboard to serve partisan interests, the conclusions are foregone", the resolution observed.

Burmese Students Ask for Safe Sanctuary in India
46001129 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
6 Oct 88 p 1

[Article by Wasbir Hussain]

[Text] Moreh (Indo-Burma border), 5 October: With the Burmese Army under General Saw Maung tightening its noose on the agitating students, the unprecedented pro-democracy movement in the country is fast spreading to the interior areas along the international borders. The impact of the turbulence is now being felt in the Moreh sector of the Indo-Burma border with Burmese student leaders of the Sagaing division trying to obtain safe sanctuary here.

Moreh, in the Chandel district of Manipur, is a cosmopolitan township with a population of about 15,000, 80 percent of whom are Burmese expatriates. Just about 10 steps ahead starts the Burmese territory manned by the country's immigration officials who are also vested with operational powers. There is no Army presence in the immediate vicinity on either side. The Indian side is manned by the BSF.

Moreh lies on what was once known as the Great Asian Highway or the Stillwell Road and leads up to the Burmese capital, Rangoon. Now it is called the National Highway 39 and it ends about a kilometre from here towards the nearest Burmese township of Tamu.

Anti-government demonstrations gained momentum in Tamu, which is in the Sagaing division, towards the end of August. But it was only after the military coup on 18 September that the students really took to the streets and three days later, about 10,080 students and local people launched a strike against the military government. The demonstrators gathered in Tamu's central square and pledged to achieve "true democracy with the help of the independent parties."

Student leaders from across the border told this correspondent that three senior members of the much-hated Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP), at the Tamu meeting, announced their decision to resign from the party and join the student's movement for democracy. The demonstrators prayed for the eternal peace of those who died for the cause of "liberating their country from the anti-people rulers, in power for the last 25 years."

This open show of strength by the students in this border township led the Army against them. Across the border sources said the Army arrested some of the top leaders of the Tamu area on 23 September and launched house-to-house searches for these anti-government agitators. This is when the students, some of them from the interior parts of the Sagaing division, began to turn their attention towards India.

The first batch of 37 top student leaders from the Tamu area entered Moreh on 24 September through one of the two entry points guarded by the BSF. There were eight girls in the group. They contacted a few local businessmen and youth leaders. The Burmese primarily wanted an assurance from the people on the Indian side that they would be given "safe sanctuary."

On 25 September, the Burmese student leaders approached officials of some of the Union government agencies located here for help. These officials, according to well-informed sources, could not make any firm commitment in the absence of a clear directive from the Indian government.

Meanwhile, the civil authorities swung into action and on the morning of 26 September, this group of student's left on being firmly told to do so. Even as the student leaders were lobbying for cooperation, a large batch of about 80 students, some of them from the interior parts, entered Moreh on 25 September. They, however, returned the same evening. Burmese immigration officials arrived looking for them.

Reporters Visit Sriharikota Satellite Launching Station

46001149 Madras *THE HINDU* in English
17 Oct 88 p 3

[Article: "SHAR Getting Ready To Launch PSLV"]

[Text] Tirupati, Oct. 16—SHAR, the satellite launching station at Sriharikota in Nellore district, despite its recent setbacks is bracing itself to launch a 1000-kg satellite into the 900-km polar orbit for remote-sensing purposes.

A team of newsmen from Tirupati who visited the sprawling SHAR complex located in the 18,000 hectare island on the east-coast, 80 km from Madras, saw the centre buzzing with activity for the launching of the polar satellite launch vehicle (PSLV) sometime in 1990.

Addressing the visiting newsmen, Mr M. R. Kurup, SHAR director, said the solid propellant space booster plant (SPROB) built totally with indigenous knowhow, had been expanded to manufacture single blocks of solid propellants weighing 30 tonnes each. He said the PSLV was scheduled to lift-off into the sky with five such blocks of solid propellants required to power the rocket motors.

SPROB said to be the biggest plant of its type in the world is equipped with most modern and sophisticated equipment.

Tests completed: He said the Static Test and Evaluation Complex (STEX) which was to test and qualify all rocket motors and other sub-systems before they were declared flight-worthy was ready for its assignment and all the test facilities had been completed. Similarly in the satellite launch complex Mr Kurup said, many tests were already completed while several others were in 'advanced stages.'

Special radars fabricated under the joint collaboration of the ISRO and the Bharath Electronics Ltd. (BEL) would be used for the launching of the PSLV.

Mr Kurup said by mid-1989 everything would be completed and the SHAR kept ready to receive various systems and sub-systems to be flown from different places. Several latest technologies would be used for the launching of the PSLV whose project cost would be about Rs 400 crores.

On the recent failure of the space vehicle launched from the SHAR centre, Mr Kurup said the committee constituted to go into the cause of the failure was analysing various data. A detailed report was expected in the next one or two months.

(The 150-kg Augmented Satellite Launch Vehicle (ASLV-D2) carrying the Stretched Rohini Series Satellite (SROSS-1) plunged in the Bay of Bengal barely 150 seconds after the launch on July 13. Preliminary indications were that there was an ignition failure).

Best range: The SHAR Director claimed that the Sriharikota range was the best range in the world after Kourou

in the French Guyana for launching equatorial satellites. His defence came in the wake of reports in a section of the press that the failure of the ASLV recently launched from the centre was due to gravitational anomalies.

Though the gravitational force of the earth as a whole was normally represented by a constant of $980/\text{sec}^2$. It was well known that minor deviations or anomalies from this value do occur at each specific location. The magnitude of such deviations is very small—less than 0.1 cm/sec^2 that is less than one ten thousands of 'G' which could be either positive or negative depending on the specific location, he added.

Mr Kurup said such minor anomalies are present in every launch site in the world and cited the relevant figures about the American, Chinese and Japanese launch sites. In the subcontinent itself, Mr Kurup said, the anomalies ranged from minus 0.1 cm/sec^2 in the southern most part in India to minus 0.04 cm/sec^2 in the Gangetic plain and in the Andaman-Car Nicobar islands.

'Negligible': The gravitational anomaly at the Sriharikota range was about minus 0.06 cm/sec^2 which was just about one twenty thousands of "G". All this information is directly obtained from the latest 'Gem' model which is the best available gravity model of earth, he added.

For a launch vehicle which is propelled by a large thrust against gravity and which has to reach a velocity of 8 km per second the effect of such minor anomalies which are less than one ten thousandth of a 'G' is totally negligible, says a note issued to the visiting newsmen by the SHAR.

Mobile Launch Pad

UNI adds:

Work on the new 70-metre mobile launch pad at SHAR was expected to be ready by middle of next year, SHAR engineers indicated.

The successful launching of the PSLV would lead to the launching of the geo-synchronous satellite launch vehicles (GSLV) sometime in 1992, the engineers said.

Buddhist Chakmas on Death's Border

46000031 Cochin *THE WEEK* in English
6-12 Nov 88 pp 26-27

[Article by Tapash Ganguly]

[Text] Starvation deaths have become a part of life for the 50,000 Buddhist Chakma refugees in Tripura. More than 3,000 people have died in the five refugee camps in the last 30 months, many of them because of malnutrition. In the largest camp of Jakum Bari alone, 606 deaths have been officially recorded.

Jakum Bari has 15,000 refugees but has only one doctor, three ayahs and hardly any medical supplies. Ration,

provided by the Union government, is too meagre to keep emaciated bodies and hopeless souls together. Ration distribution is inordinately delayed frequently, sometimes by a fortnight. Daily cash allowance is just 20 paise per head.

The tragic plight of the Chakmas is partly their own making. They had demanded provincial autonomy for the Chittagong Hill Tracts, which had lost its special status as a tribal area with the formation of Bangladesh. Instead of heeding the Chakmas' peaceful protests, the Bangladesh government began to settle Muslim Bengalis in the area. It was this colonisation that led to the creation of the Chakma political outfit, Jana Samhati Samiti (JSS), and its guerrilla force Shanti Bahini.

Shanti Bahini raided police stations and army barracks and torched houses of the Muslim settlers. In retaliation, the army and police, along with the settler gangs, butchered hundreds of Chakmas and razed scores of villages and temples in 1978. A Chakma exodus seeking asylum in India was pushed back into Bangladesh by the BSF on Prime Minister Morarji Desai's orders.

As repression continued without respite, another exodus from Bangladesh breached the border but Prime Minister Indira Gandhi persuaded President Ershad to take the Chakmas back. The latest flight started on 30 April 1986 and within six months the number of Chakma refugees in Tripura swelled to 50,000.

Besides Jakum Bari, the refugee camps are located in Pancharam Para, Kathal Chari, Karbook and Sila Chari. Every camp has primary schools run by educated Chakmas, who are paid Rs 100 a month as honorarium.

Tripura, the poorest of the seven northeastern states, has been witnessing emergence of social conflicts due to the refugee problem. Local labourers, already hard put to find work, are resentful of the refugees' readiness to do odd jobs for low wages. This could lead to an explosive situation in the state, where two lakh people are jobless.

All attempts to send the refugees back to Bangladesh have proved futile. On 11 July the Bangladesh high commissioner in India had a discussion with the refugee leaders and urged them to return. The request was turned down by the refugee leaders, who also did not allow the high commissioner to visit the camps.

During the last two and a half years, more than a dozen meetings have been held by officials of the two countries to solve the issue. Said a refugee leader: "Bangladesh has from time to time talked of an early settlement but has not taken any step to sort out the tangle. On the contrary, it has stepped up its repressive measures. Had India not sealed the border the number of refugees would have gone up to five lakh."

Frankly, Bangladesh cannot afford to concede the Chakma demands. What the Chakmas have sought is little short of independence: autonomous provincial status for Chittagong Hill Tracts leaving only defence, foreign affairs,

currency and heavy industry to Dhaka; renaming of the area as Jumma Land where those who are not permanent residents will have to obtain permits for visits; all appointments in public and private offices only to Jumma Land residents; a bar on imposing emergency laws or military rule in the area without permission from the provincial council; eviction of outsiders who acquired property in the area after 17 August 1947; a special fund for development of the area; reservation of seats for Jumma students in all universities and professional colleges, etc.

In short, the refugees want Dhaka to make sacrifices for developing Chittagong Hill Tracts while allowing it no real authority over the area. Commented a political leader of Tripura: "The very nature of these demands clearly indicates that the framers of this charter want a state within a state."

Dhaka believes that Indian intelligence officials had a major role in drafting the Chakmas' charter of demands. Dhaka sees in it a Sri Lanka syndrome; even 'Banga Bandhu' Shiekh Mujibur Rahman had turned down the Chakma demand for autonomy.

One reason for Dhaka's iron-fisted suppression of the Chakmas is the alleged supply of arms by Indian intelligence agencies to Shanti Bahini guerrillas.

Each of the refugee camps has a JSS committee to run its internal administration. These committees have virtually usurped all powers of the camp authorities. Said a camp supervisor from the Tripura government: "As per government rules any inmate absent from the camp for seven consecutive days must be struck off the rolls. This rule has virtually ceased to apply. We often receive intimation in writing from the camp committees that such and such Chakmas have been drafted on Shanti Bahini duty, hence their names must not be struck off the camp roll." It is obvious that the refugee camps are being used as recruitment centres by Shanti Bahini.

It is apparent that the Chakmas, enjoying Indian support, will not budge an inch from their demands, which Bangladesh can ill afford to concede. And India, with visions of playing the big brother in the region, is unlikely to take the initiative to end the problem. Caught in this labyrinth, the tiny impecunious state of Tripura is condemned to suffer for an indefinite period.

INTUC Panel Meets, Asks Changes in Trade Unions Act

46001136 New Delhi PATRIOT in English 7 Oct 88 p 5

[Article: "INTUC Demands Changes in Trade Unions Act"]

[Text] The INTUC has demanded a series of changes in the bill amending the Trade Unions Act and the Industrial Disputes Act, reports PTI.

The INTUC working committee which met in the Capital on Wednesday has sought that the qualifying membership for registration of unions in establishments with more than 100 employees should be 10 per cent or 100 whichever is less.

It said the Bill should have the provision that wherever a union has 40 per cent membership or more, it should be recognised as the sole bargaining agent. Where there is no sole bargaining agent, only there could be a composite Bargaining Council with proportionate representation for unions above 10 per cent.

The working committee also suggested that all agreements in the Bargaining Council should be binding on all the workmen in the establishments. It said that strike ballot must be made mandatory before any strike notice.

The INTUC said the Industrial Relations Commission proposed under the Bill should have three member benches—one chairman, a judicial person and one expert each for the labour and the management side.

It called for suitably toning down penalties prescribed in the Bill as also non application of the provisions of the Bill to units covered by State laws on industrial relations such as BIR Act. It should also exclude employees covered by joint consultative machinery under Government of India.

Deliberating on the issue of interim relief, the working committee was highly critical of a section of the public sector undertakings for not paying the relief to their employees, though it was granted a year ago.

Through a resolution, the committee expressed grave concern over the phenomenal rise in the provident fund defaults.

NE Regional Parties Forum To Have No Truck With Cong(I)

46001121 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English
4 Oct 88 p 10

[Text] Guwahati, 3 October—The Forum of Political Parties of the North-East Region has called for the consolidation and unity of the regional forces in the States of the north-east and has appealed in particular to the regional political parties of Mizoram and Meghalaya to initiate unification moves immediately.

The Forum met in Guwahati on Friday afternoon principally to review the recent developments in Nagaland and Mizoram, which have both come under President's rule. It strongly criticised what is called the "entirely unconstitutional and undemocratic" act of imposition of President's rule in Mizoram. "Whether it was in Meghalaya or Nagaland or Mizoram, the Central Government of the Congress(I) has been manipulating the anti-defection law only to secure its party interests," the Forum said.

It sought immediate elections to the Mizoram Assembly and renewed its demand for fresh elections to the Arunachal Pradesh Assembly, whose strength was recently raised to 60 from the previous 30.

The participants: The meeting was attended, apart from the host—Asom Gana Parishad (AGP)—by the newly-floated Nagaland People's Council (NPC) (following the merger of the Naga National Democratic Party, Naga People's Party and the Nagaland Regional Congress), People's Party of Arunachal Pradesh (PPA), Manipur People's Party (MPP), Hill State People's Democratic Party (HSPDP) of Meghalaya, Mizo National Front led by Mr Laldenga and Peoples' Conference of Mizoram. The presence of both People's Conference and the MNF (even now bitterly opposed to each other) was a notable feature of the meeting.

The call by the Forum for the regional parties of Mizoram and Meghalaya to initiate moves towards unity, however, appears to be over-optimistic, especially insofar as the political situation in Mizoram is concerned. Neither Brig. Thenfunga Sailo, chairman of the People's Conference, nor Mr. Saingura Sailo, Law Minister in the Laldenga Cabinet representing the MNF, was forthcoming on how exactly the deep and long-standing antagonism between the two parties can be resolved, let alone their coming together as a single political entity.

A contradiction: An even more curious feature of the gathering was that the breakaway faction of the MNF, the MNF (Democratic), was not invited on the ground that it had made common cause with the Congress(I) to topple the Laldenga Government. However, the leading lights of the MNF(D) appear to be as firmly rooted in regionalism and Mizo nationalism as the Laldenga faction, which till the very end tried for an accommodation with the Congress(I). Indeed Mr Laldenga has reiterated after his meeting with the Prime Minister in Delhi yesterday that the MNF would cooperate with the Congress(I) at the national level though his colleague at the Guwahati meeting of the Forum was singing a different tune. In contrast many of the leading lights of the MNF (D) had and continue to have close relations with the AGP leaders, a relationship going back to the days of the Assam agitation when they too were student leaders and further formalised briefly when they were all part of the North-East Regional Students Union (NERSU).

Yet another curious feature of the deliberations was the absence of the demand for immediate elections in Nagaland though a similar demand was voiced in respect of Mizoram. This can only be explained by the fact that the newly-floated NPC is yet to establish itself and, given the past experience of flexible commitment to regional ideologies of regional Opposition leaders, may even turn out to be a non-starter. Mr Huska Sumi, Chairman of the Naga People's Party (NPP), resisted the move towards merger and had to be expelled by the pro-merger elements in his own party.

The convenor of the Forum, Mr Pabin Deka, told reporters at the end of the meeting that the Forum would endeavor to bring all constituent parties to the National Front of which the AGP is already a founding member. "We do not want any regional party of the region to have any relation with the Congress(I)." He, however, admitted that the Tripura Upajati Juba Samity (TUJS), which is now in alliance with the Congress(I) and sharing political office in Tripura, and which did not attend the meeting, continues to be a member of the Forum. Similar contradictions and possible commitments may hamper the passage of other constituent units (like the MNF) into the National Front.

UNI reports from New Delhi:

Mr Laldenga said after a meeting with the Prime Minister in New Delhi yesterday that Mr Gandhi had "hinted" that elections to the Legislative Assemblies of three President-ruled States of Mizoram, Nagaland and Tamil Nadu would be held simultaneously some time before January next.

The former Mizoram Chief Minister said he held "threadbare" discussions for the first time with Mr. Gandhi since the State came under President's rule last month.

Assuring Mr Gandhi that the MNF would continue to extend its cooperation to the Congress(I) at the national level but not at the State level, Mr Laldenga, therefore, ruled out any truck with the seven-party sponsored National Front or other Opposition parties at the national level.

The MNF chief denied ever having stated that the MNF would return to the jungle as a retaliation for pulling down the Ministry.

Foodgrain Output To Exceed Target

46001123 Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
3 Oct 88 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, 2 October—According to what was stated at the two-day national conference on rabi campaign, which ended here yesterday, the kharif foodgrain production target of 92.5 million tons is bound to be exceeded, with normal Dussehra rain.

Likewise, the rabi production could well be 76.7 million tons, or two million tons higher than the rabi target, according to the assurances given by representatives of the State Governments at the conference.

In other words, the total foodgrain production during the current year (1988-89) can safely be expected to reach 170 million tons against the target, set by the Planning Commission task force, of 166.5 million tons.

Official sources note that such higher foodgrain production in the current year, as well as in the next year (1989-90) which is the terminal year of the Seventh Plan, would constitute a bench-mark for deciding the food production strategy for the next Five Year Plan.

The national conference on rabi campaign was called by the Union Department of Agriculture and Cooperation, and was attended by, among others, Agriculture Production Commissioners, Secretaries and Directors of Agriculture and Cooperation Departments in the States and Union Territories.

A point made at the conference was that the favourable monsoon conditions had helped both surface irrigation and ground water recharging. The major reservoirs in the country were at optimal level. The conference decided that efforts would be made to introduce appropriate cropping system to match the water availability as well as effective water management so as to maximize the coverage under rabi and the next kharif.

It was noted that the new seed policy announced last month would have the desired effect of augmenting availability of high-yielding and improved varieties of seeds in the coming crop seasons.

The Union Cabinet Secretary, Mr B. G. Deshmukh, who was among those who addressed the conference, underlined that the departments of agriculture at the Centre and in the States and Union Territories had, during the last rabi season, risen to new heights under difficult circumstances by tapping the hidden and unexploited potential. The result was an impressive production level, despite a severe drought.

Newsman Briefed on Planning Commission Meeting

46001141 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English
18 Oct 88 p 1

[Article: "Plan Lays Stress on Social Justice"]

[Text] New Delhi, October 17—The planners have fixed the eighth plan's growth rate target at the highest-ever level of six per cent with a view of achieving the twin objectives of meeting the basic needs of food, shelter, clothing, education, health and energy and generating more employment.

This decision was taken at the full meeting of the planning commission here today under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

The commission considered three growth scenarios—5.5 per cent, six per cent and 6.5 per cent—but finally settled for a six per cent growth rate which was deemed not only necessary but also feasible. The present average growth rate is around five per cent.

Briefing newsmen on the deliberations of the meeting, an official spokesman outlined the measures to be taken to achieve the higher growth rate. These include stepping up the volume of exports by 10 per cent a year, boosting savings, especially government savings, improving incremental capital output ratio from the present 4.6 to 4.35 and containing inflation to less than five per cent.

Expressing concern over the whopping rise in government expenditure, which had far exceeded the revenue receipts, the commission proposed that this gap be bridged by the end of the next plan. The rate of savings would, therefore, have to be increased to 27 per cent from the present 22 per cent. Consequently, the marginal rate of savings would have to go up by the plan-end.

Since the bulk of increase in exports so far had chiefly been in terms of value, the effort in the eighth plan would be to raise the volume of export by 10 per cent a year. This is expected to help restrict the current deficit to 1.5 per cent of the GDP, which is considered to be a safe level. It also proposed raising tax ratio to GDP from 17.4 per cent now to 20 per cent in the last year of the eighth plan.

The ambitious proposal of containing inflation within five per cent have its implications in terms of dearness allowance payments and other fiscal measures.

To ensure a higher overall growth, the national economy would have to improve the incremental capital output ratio to around 4.35, it was felt. This was anticipated to be around 4.6 in the last year of the current plan. The improvement would be possible only by raising the efficiency of key sectors, including agriculture, power, transport, mining, manufacturing, etc.

The meeting directed the commission to keep all these aspects in view while preparing the approach paper to the eighth plan. The paper was expected to be ready by the end of the year and a meeting of the national development council (NDC) would be called around February to consider and approve the plan.

The Prime Minister told the planners to keep two basic considerations in mind—social justice and India's position vis-a-vis other countries. It would be difficult to tackle the problem of poverty without aiming for a higher growth rate, he said.

Mr Gandhi also laid stress on more efficient utilisation of resources.

The official spokesman said the planning commission was conscious of the fast economic growth in the Pacific countries with whom India had to deal with. A target of less than six per cent growth, therefore, was not deemed desirable.

The feasibilities of different options were taken into account in terms of savings rate and balance of payments and it was felt that a higher growth scenario than six per cent would involve a greater effort which might ultimately affect the consumption of the poor. In the agreed scenario, consumption of richer classes would be curtailed to mobilise resources.

The growth strategy which the commission would finally chalk out for the next plan would have the prime objective of enhancing the country's self-reliance, he said.

IRAN

Indo-Iranian Community Desires Role in Reconstruction

46000035b Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 19 Nov 88 p 15

[Text] Bombay, Oct. 21 (By Air Mail)—The Indo-Iranian business community gathered in a thanksgiving ceremony to mark the cease-fire in the Persian Gulf war.

Addressing the gathering the chairman of the H. H. Group of companies, who has had long associations with Iran, said:

"The cessation of hostilities, while being a very happy event to share with the people of Iran, it is also a reminder of the heavy responsibility it will soon devolve upon our shoulders, namely, the moral duty to collaborate with Iran in the massive task of reconstruction and rehabilitation necessitated by the ravages of a long war."

He added: "There is enough evidence to show that Iran has adequate manpower and the will as well as financial resources to pursue economic programs to achieve greater self-reliance."

The chairman of the H. H. Group of companies drew the attention of the audience to the keen interest being taken by the developed and Western countries in the reconstruction activities in Iran and said: "Many of the developed and Western countries have already initiated moves to take advantage of the commercial and economic opportunities offered by the process of rebuilding the economy of Iran."

"Therefore, there is no reason why India, traditionally close to Iran, should not have a role beneficial to all concerned. Indian firms, like ours, have had wide experience in the economic and commercial areas in Iran."

"While the Western countries will try to exert their influence stemming from the credits they are in a position to offer, the competitiveness of Indian goods and services together with the foreign exchange saving facilities available in the framework of the Asian Clearance Union (ACU), should enable India to hold its own against others."

He further elaborated: "India's contribution to the reconstruction and rebuilding of industries and the general economic reconstruction of Iran could be in the form of projects and services as well as trade. Projects and services could be offered in the construction of residential complexes, roads, bridges, industrial units, rail road and even the complete construction of certain villages and towns that have been ravaged by war."

Drawing the attention of the Indo-Iranian business and industrial community of Bombay to the areas where they could collaborate with Iran, the chairman said: "We can play a significant role in the reconstruction and extension of crude oil pipelines, export terminals, oil refineries, etc. We can also contribute to the development of petrochemical industries, steel plants and automobile manufacturing units."

"Joint ventures can be set up, if Iran so desires, to establish downstream mechanical industries, nuclear and atomic energy projects and chemical industries. There is much scope for collaboration for local production of pharmaceutical items and we can supply plant and equipment as well as technical skill for power generation. We can also provide medical and technical personnel that may be needed by Iran. Our companies can also collaborate with Iranian industries in the field of cinematography."

The chairman added: "The scope for trade is immense. The list is long. We can supply commonly required items of consumption like rice, wheat, tea, sugar, spices, etc. Also we can supply cement, steel, chassis for trucks and buses, gear-box components for heavy vehicles, automobile spare parts, electrical and electronic components, diesel locomotives, wagons, rails, chemicals, pharmaceuticals etc."

"On the other hand, we can import from Iran, under buy-back arrangements or in free trade, items like metal ores, petrochemical raw materials and intermediates, sulphur etc. The supply of essential commodities to Iran could be linked to the purchase of oil from that country and may cover 50-70 percent of the value of oil."

Referring to the authorities in both countries, the chairman said:

"They should pay renewed attention to revive some of the suspended joint ventures and encourage investment in mutually profitable projects. What is now needed is a serious effort to take maximum advantage of the existing opportunities."

The chairman warned: "Indian industry will have to improve its reputation in the Iranian market by adhering to quality standards and delivery schedules."

India May Open Consulate in Yazd
46000035a Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 7 Nov 88 p 2

[Text] Yazd, Nov. 6 (IRNA)—Indian Ambassador Ramesh Chander Arora arrived here Sunday and conferred with provincial officials on the prospects of opening a consulate in this central city.

Over 70,000 Yazdis reside in India. An official pointed out that local people intending to visit India are obliged to travel to Shiraz—nearly 500 kms away—to obtain a visa.

The Indian ambassador promised to take up the matter with the New Delhi government for opening of a consulate-general in Yazd.

Arora also met Imam Khomeini's local representative and Friday prayer leader Hojjatoleslam Muhammad-Ali Saduqi and presented a report on Tehran-New Delhi cultural ties.

Industrial Factories Inaugurated
46000033a Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 3 Nov 88 p 6

[Text] Tehran, Nov. 2 (KAYHAN INT'L)—Three large industrial factories were inaugurated and put in operation in the presence of a number of senior officials from the Ministry of Heavy Industries in Semnan, the capital of Semnan Province, on Tuesday.

According to the morning daily, JOMHURI-E-ISLAMI, one of the factories produces spare parts for car brakes which has been built in a 10,000 sq. meter plot of land with total investment of Rls. 400m (over \$5m).

The daily reported, "The second factory manufactures 60 eye-glass turnery machines annually."

The daily further said that the third unit was a foundry with an annual production of 20 tons.

Deputy minister of heavy industries told the daily that since 1983, the ministry had established 1,150 factories with a total investment of Rls. 370b (\$5b) throughout the country.

Official Describes Activities at Bakhtaran Refinery
46000033b Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 7 Nov 88 p 6

[Text] Tehran, Nov. 6 (KAYHAN INT'L)—Mahmoud Siami, the acting general manager of Bakhtaran Refinery, in an interview with the PETROLEUM NEWS

LETTER, a monthly magazine published by Oil Ministry, described the history of the Bakhtaran Refinery as well as the post-Islamic Revolution maintenance and repair activities carried out in the refinery by the ministry's experts.

Siami said the present installations were first renovated in 1971 and resumed activities with a capacity of 15,000 barrels a day.

"Once the Iraqi-imposed war was launched, the flow of crude oil for the refinery, which was being supplied from the Naft Shahr wells, halted," he added.

Siami further pointed out that following these circumstances, in order to reactivate the installation, a new pipeline from Afrineh to Bakhtaran had been constructed. This had also increased the refinery's capacity to 25,000 barrels a day.

"Plans are under way to attain the figure of 30,000 barrels per day capacity," he added.

Siami named the refinery's products as follows: fuels, liquid gas and petroleum products.

"Fifty percent of the total output consists of fuels and the rest comprises petroleum products," he added.

He said that the refinery has two major sections, namely, the technical services department and the operational units, which include refining installations, laboratory, refining engineering, water, electricity, steam, fire extinguishing and tin manufacturing.

He said that the refinery was once renovated in 1980, following the disruption of crude oil from the Naft Shahr region. He further said, "The aforesaid renovation aimed at attaining an increase in production, as well."

Siami said that so far the refinery has been repaired five times for making good the damage caused by Iraqi air raids.

Nomadic Tribes To Be Armed

46000033c Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 10 Nov 88 p 1

[Text] Tehran, Nov. 9 (KAYHAN INT'L)—A senior IRGC official said Wednesday all nomadic tribes in the country shall be armed in the near future.

Hojjatolislam Muhammad-Ali Rahmani, head of the Islamic Revolution's Guards Corps' (IRGC) Basij unit, disclosed this in the southeastern city of Zahedan (Sistan-Baluchistan Prov.).

Addressing reporters he said all the tribes which have yet not been armed by the Basij unit shall soon receive weapons. The tribesmen will be armed to maintain the necessary preparedness to defend the homeland and achievements of the Islamic Revolution.

Hojj. Rahmani is in Zahedan to attend a seminar of the commander of IRGC's Basij units.

"Years back (we) armed some tribal people in various parts of the country. The arming of some groups had been postponed and now with coordination among related centers they too will be armed in the near future," the IRGC official told the radio and TV interview.

He added that all tribal people in the Sistan Baluchistan region who are loyal to the Islamic Revolution shall receive arms and ammunitions.

"Tribal divisions comprising of those who also participated in the Iraqi-imposed war have been formed in the provinces of West Azarbaijan, Khuzestan, Kurdistan, Ilam, Fars, Khorrasan, Char-Mahal-Bakhtiyari, Hormuzgan and Bushehr," the theologian was reportedly quoted as saying.

Later he referred to the role of his forces in Iran's post-war era. "In peace time, too, the Basij will have an active presence and will continue its duty in strengthening the combat and defense capabilities of the country," the official was quoted as saying.

Hojj. Rahmani added that about one million school students are affiliated to the IRGC Basij unit.

"All those interested in military training should contact the unit. This system (of training) shall continue," he concluded.

PAKISTAN

Soft-Peddalling on Foreign Policy

46000034a Karachi DAWN in English 7 Nov 88 p 7

[Article by Zubeida Mustafa. First paragraph was enclosed in a box.]

[Text] Foreign policy issues have not figured prominently in the present election campaign. The manifestos which could have served as policy statements of various political parties on the country's external relations tend to be rather evasive or reticent on the subject.

If there is any discussion of foreign policy, it is mainly on an emotional and subjective level. Personalities rather than issues are the focus of attention. As and when foreign policy comes up as a point of reference, it usually takes the form of one leader attacking another for being subservient to an outside power. For instance, the unsubstantiated report of an interview by Begum Nusrat Bhutto offering to open Kahuta to American inspection,

later denied by her, provoked a spate of charges against the Pakistan People's Party of betraying national interests. But no proper debate has taken place on the country's nuclear programme and its implications for defence and foreign policy.

Similarly, the Afghan issue has evoked no more than passionate assertions by the Jamaat-i-Islami leaders of their unswerving loyalty to the Afghan Mujahideen. No party has bothered to clarify its stand on issues of far-reaching importance such as the consequences of Pakistan's policy of unstinted support to the guerrillas, the need for a broad-based national government in Kabul and the modality of establishing one.

The impression one gets is that substantive matters which have a profound bearing on the security and stability of the country are being avoided. Not that political leaders are not aware of the significance of foreign policy issues.

At the all-party conference on Afghanistan convened in March by Mr Junejo, opposition leaders had displayed a keen interest in, and a deep understanding of basic questions of importance to Pakistan's external affairs.

Nor can it be said that all is well with the security environment and the regional equations in South-west Asia or that no well-considered diplomatic initiatives are called for in these regards. The Geneva accords have not brought peace to Afghanistan as the fighting continues interminably. The refugees are not returning home and their presence continues to cast its shadows on Pakistan's economy, politics, social tranquility and internal security. The process of normalisation of ties with India has virtually come to a standstill. Talks at the secretaries level held sporadically are producing no tangible results.

Ties with Moscow are in a frozen state in spite of the fact that Soviet troops have begun to withdraw from Afghanistan as per schedule. That should normally have opened the way for new initiatives vis-a-vis, the USSR. The only power with which our ties have expanded and flourished in recent years is the United States although at a cost to our non-aligned credentials and independence in the formulation of foreign and economic policies.

Moreover, this is a period when far-reaching changes are in the offing in the pattern of relationships in the region. Mr Gorbachev's Asian diplomacy, the forthcoming Sino-Soviet summit and Mr Rajiv Gandhi's expected visit to China are likely to alter the political complexion of South Asia in the coming months.

These are matters on which the government which comes into office after 16 November will be expected to take hard-headed decisions. But as yet there is little clue as to what the thinking of different political parties is on foreign policy issues of crucial importance.

A look at the manifestos—those that have been announced—is quite instructive. Only the PPP and, belatedly, the IJI have cared to spell out their positions on specific issues, though their expositions on some of them are in such general terms that they lend themselves to a variety of interpretations. The other parties have not even bothered to specify the issues in foreign policy that they would like to address. This vagueness has helped in alliance making since it has made it possible for parties as disparate as the Junejo Muslim League and the Jamaat-i-Islami to come together on the same platform.

Afghanistan is, of course, the most crucial issue facing Pakistan today. But what is conspicuously missing in all manifestos is a comprehensive enunciation of the stands of various parties on the Afghan crisis and its solution. It is significant that the Geneva accords do not even find a mention in party documents, except the PNP manifesto. The last focuses mainly on Afghanistan in its foreign policy section.

But the difference in the approach of the PPP, PNP and the IJI, the three that have taken a stand on Afghanistan, is manifest. The IJI has proclaimed full support for Jihad in Afghanistan and has refused to be "cowed down by the thunder and the plunder of hegemonists." From this it can be deduced that it stands for the status quo. The PPP, on the other hand, is in favour of a change. Its manifesto states that Pakistan's interests will be best served by the restoration of Afghanistan's independent and on-aligned status and by enabling the Afghan people to establish a democratic government of their choice. But it has chosen to leave its options open in respect of the strategy to be adopted.

The PNP's approach on Afghanistan is the most radical, comprehensive and specific. It promises strict observance of the Geneva accords, cessation of hostilities against the Republic of Afghanistan from Pakistan soil, including the dismantling of Mujahideen bases and negotiations with Kabul for the safe return of the Afghan refugees.

In reference to India most party manifestos are rich in rhetoric, while a balanced analysis of issues is generally missing. The Kashmir dispute receives considerable attention in nearly every manifesto. The Islamic parties such as the JUP and the JUL even speak of the "liberation" of Kashmir. The PPP, IJI and the Tehrik-i-Istiqal, however, are the only parties to have spelled out the framework within which the question is to be tackled. In the case of the first two the framework is the Simla agreement, while the other two invoke the now anachronistic UN resolutions on Kashmir. The attitudes of the PPP and IJI towards India make an interesting study in contrast. The former wants a just and peaceful settlement of all disputes with India and the promotion of friendly cooperation with it in a spirit of realism. This is a welcome departure from the chauvinistic line leaders are apt to take in a bid to outdo each other and win easy popularity.

The IJI promises to adopt "effective measures to check the hegemonistic tendencies of India" in the region. This has set the tone of IJI's militant approach to India in the present campaign. At the IJI's public meeting in Karachi some leaders even spoke of their ambition to hoist the Pakistan flag on the Red Fort in New Delhi.

One area in which there is near unanimity among all the parties is the Muslim world. Almost every party manifesto emphasises in varying degrees the goal of friendship and cooperation with the Islamic countries. Thus, the JUP stands for the formation of an Islamic bloc, while the PPP speaks of the Muslim world being an extension of Pakistan's Islamic heritage which could one day become one of the international centres of economic power. This declaration of allegiance to the Muslim countries is understandable but no party has identified the strategy it would adopt to give the concept of cooperation with the Muslim states more substance than what is contains at present.

Relations with the two superpowers figure only in the PPP manifesto and the IJI document called the blueprint for a new and dynamic Pakistan. (The text of its manifesto released on Saturday was not available at the time of writing). Both speak of promoting relations with the USSR. But the PPP is more forceful and convincing when it called for the establishment of friendly and good neighbourly relations with Moscow and the intensification of Soviet-Pakistan economic and cultural exchanges. The IJI's commitment to the Soviet Union is more in the economic context and is designed to ensure peace in South Asia.

The United States which has re-emerged as the cornerstone of our foreign policy in the eighties has received favourable mention in the PPP manifesto as well as the IJI blueprint. The importance of its economic and military assistance to Pakistan has been acknowledged. The IJI document further indicates that the relationship with the United States will be further strengthened.

What is significant is that no party has defined its perception of non-alignment which all of them proclaim to be the guiding principle of their foreign policy stance. None of them, not even the left parties, has attempted to explain how non-alignment and close military and security relationship with Washington can be reconciled. All parties appear to be wary of American sensitivities.

It is plain that the political parties contesting the elections do not want to make any radical commitment on sensitive foreign policy issues which could limit their options later on. Moreover, some of the election alliances are composed of parties so incompatible in their orientations that it is difficult for them to accommodate the conflicting viewpoints of one another. For example, in the IJI fold there are the Muslim League and the NPP which uphold the Geneva accords. On the other hand,

there is the Jamaat-i-Islami which rejects the accords. The IJI has struck a compromise by omitting to mention the Geneva accords altogether in its blueprint document.

Another significant factor appears to be the fear oppositional leaders have of evoking American disapproval and all that this implies for a political party aspiring for power. This accounts for the generally subdued approach on foreign policy issues as reflected in the party manifestos and the election campaign, even by the PPP which projects itself as a party for change. After all, the United States is known to have exercised a powerful influence on government making in Islamabad for decades. Had it not been so, its Ambassador would not have gone to the extent of making it known that close relations with Pakistan could be reviewed if the future government changes the country's economic policies.

Then there is the military factor. Given the long record of military rule in Pakistan and the direct involvement of the Army in politics, no party can afford to ignore the sensitivities of the armed forces. It is plain that the military leadership has definite views on foreign policy, related as it is to the defence and security of the country. Whether it would countenance any radical change in the foreign policy orientation of the government that be is the moot question. If that is an overriding factor, it would explain the parties' discreet middle-of-the-road stance on foreign policy issues.

India Plays Policeman Again

46000034b Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
7 Nov 88 p 4

[Text] The ease with which the trigger-happy Indians send their troops to smaller SAARC member countries without the slightest hesitation is most disturbing. The latest case of what is now becoming a frequent phenomenon in South Asia is the dotted islands in the Indian Ocean known as the Maldives. In what seems to be a re-enactment of the scenario in Sri Lanka in 1987, some 1,600 Indian troops backed by a naval flotilla were despatched to the Maldives on Thursday. As was the case in Sri Lanka, legitimacy for the act was obtained by widely publicizing the despatch as having been made in response to an appeal by the Maumoon Abdul Qayoom government to help crush a plot to overthrow the government. This vividly illustrates the way India acts as a mini superpower in South Asia, seeing smaller countries surrounding it as its own backyard where its troops can just stroll in at will. Particularly disturbing is the fact that India is now actively pursuing its hegemonistic designs beyond the subcontinent into the Indian Ocean. The 1987 Indo-Sri Lanka Accord had given India virtual control over the important port of Trincomalee which Colombo has been forbidden to lease to any foreign power. And now Indian troops have moved further down the Indian Ocean into the Maldives. The southernmost Addu Atoll in the Maldives, once a British airbase, is just north of Diego Garcia, the military facility leased to the United States from Britain.

What is even more alarming is the fact that the international community in general and the big powers in particular seem quite willing to acquiesce in India's role as the regional policeman. This time in fact, India has received much encouragement and support from the big powers. Washington has endorsed India's decision to send its troops into the Maldives. Does Washington consider the Indian action in Maldives or for that matter in Sri Lanka to be more genuine and legitimate than the Soviet action in Afghanistan in 1978? Does this mean that from now on, India will be given a free hand to intervene in any South Asian country on the pretext that it is foiling threats to the government of that country? Does this mean that the big powers recognise the smaller SAARC countries as India's backyard where it can do what it wills, just like United States considers Central America to be its own backyard?

If India is allowed to continue with this policy, then one by one, the smaller countries in South Asia will fall like dominoes to New Delhi's dominance. This is precisely why India objects so vehemently to Pakistan's comparatively smaller military build-up. India wants all the smaller SAARC members to be militarily weak so that when faced with any security problems, they will have no choice but to seek "Mother" India's "help." Those smaller countries without a credible military deterrent and without a sound national foreign policy that could foil any big power attempt to use it as a pawn, will eventually succumb to India's "generosity." For Pakistan the lesson is clear: the need to have an effective deterrent and to ensure that this defence-deterrent has a nuclear edge.

Pakistani Women in a Changing Society
46000034c Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
17 Nov 88 pp 31-34

[Article by Hamza Alavi]

[Excerpts] The decade of the 1980s has truly been a decade of the women of Pakistan. A powerful women's movement made a dramatic impact on Pakistan. A powerful women's movement made a dramatic impact on Pakistan's political scene, all the more so in the light of the total failure of political parties to inject any life in the movement for restoration of democracy in Pakistan to bring an end its oppressive military regime. The concrete achievements of the women's movement in its struggle against policies of the military regime, directed against women in the name of Islamization, have not been inconsiderable. A number of women's organizations in the country came together in this struggle which include the Women's Action Forum, the leading and most effective of these organizations, the Democratic Women's Association, the Sindhiani Tehrik and the Women's Front, as well as APWA, the oldest of these which was once closely linked with the establishment but had a reformist of ten patronizing orientation.

The Spark

It was the decision of the Zia regime to embark upon a whole series of measures designed to undermine what little already existed by way of women's legal rights, in the name of Islamization (which, as the women's organizations have convincingly demonstrated, have no sanction in Islam) that finally galvanized the women of the country into militant action in defence of their rights and, indeed, for a just extension of their rights. The military regime's actions, rhetoric and propaganda generated an atmosphere in the country which seemed to give licence to individual self-appointed guardians of public morality to take the 'law' into their own hands and harass women. There was an unprecedented increase in attacks on women in all kinds of situations by all and sundry. This lawlessness on the part of bigots, male chauvinists and just plain "goondas" (goons) was allowed by the authorities to go on with impunity. Women had to defend themselves not only vis-a-vis the State but also against hostile mischief-makers in society at large.

Job

Education is the key to acceptable and respectable jobs. Lower middle class families would find it degrading to let their women take up jobs as domestic servants or to work on the factory floor for which education is not a pre-requisite. Families who expect their women to take up jobs as teachers or office clerks (or better) tend therefore to put a high value on women's education which, at one time, was thought to be mere indulgence and wasteful of money spent on it. Today any threat to women's education or women's mobility that would undermine their capacity to take up such jobs, is seen as a threat to the family economy. These are therefore the 'modernists' who interpret Islam in a liberal way, who are skeptical of dogmatic interpretations of Islam by mullahs whom they consider to be obscurantists even through they avail of their services for ritual purposes. This is the growing social base of secularism in Pakistan's political life. Persons in this category were hostile to Zia's attempts to exploit Islam to undermine their own life styles and livelihood.

But there are many households in Pakistan where women have been given no education that could prepare them for 'respectable' salaried jobs. Frustrated by their own increasingly straitened circumstances, they tended to militate against women's employment on the grounds that it reduced prospects for male employment and undercut their salaries and that in any case it was shameless and un-Islamic for women to go about the city and to work in offices with men.

Exploitation

But gradually (and with increasing rapidity) opportunities for exploiting women's labour opened up for this second category of the lower middle classes too. This was

by way of an extension of the putting out system, mainly in the clothing trade but also in many other areas of production. Now the labour of these lower middle class (and upper working class) women could be exploited, notwithstanding the fact that they remain confined to their homes. The materials and the orders are brought to them and the finished goods collected, for which they are paid a pittance for their long hours of work. In their own minds and in the eyes of the men who dominate the households, there is a compensation, nevertheless, a gain in respectability, for these women do not go out in public and work with other men.

We find two patterns in the second case. In one it is the patriarch of the family who controls the operation; he mediates with the entrepreneurs, brings home the materials and the work orders, delivers the finished products, and most important of all, pockets the money paid by the entrepreneur. In effect the women of his household are his slaves and he jealously guards their subordination by a constant invocation of Islamic values, as interpreted by himself, and his concept of the good and pure Muslim woman, unsullied by the eyes of strange men. A fundamentalist ideology reinforces his command over the enslaved women in his domestic workshop. It seems that these women too invoke the same values and compensate for their enslaved status by a self-image of their moral superiority over the other category of women. V-However, there is also another pattern of the putting out system. In this case the entrepreneurs employ women agents who go around houses (especially in kachi bastis or shanty towns) distributing the materials and orders, collecting the finished products and making payments, presumably in this case directly to the women. In the absence of research, one can only speculate whether in this case the balance of power in the household is shifted (even if only partially) in favour of women. In an interesting study of Muslim women "beedi" makers in Allahabad, Zarina Bhatti found that as a result of contributing substantially (over 45 percent) to the household income, the women acquired a "greater importance in household decision-making process. It would be hazardous to extend such a conclusion drawn from a study of a community of Muslim rural labourers in India to urban lower middle class families in Pakistan. But there are a large number of issues located here which invite systematic investigation.

Mainstay

The women's movement in Pakistan revolves around educated women both professionals and those who take up salaried jobs. It is hardly surprising that the main body of activists in the movement comes from relatively well off and mainly professional women in their thirties. Official propaganda directed against the women's movement has tried to discredit it by caricaturing it as a movement of English educated upper class women whose heads are filled with foreign, imported ideas, and who have no roots among the true Pakistani women. In

fact the vast majority of activists in the women's movement are in closer touch with working women of all classes than either the bureaucrats in government or their wives and, my one add, many male revolutionaries. Like all broad-based movements, the women's movement inevitably has its share of supercilious members especially from upper class homes, who are filled with an excessive sense of self-importance and see themselves to be a cut above the majority of Pakistani women whom they think it is their mission to educate, to make them aware of the injustices done to them! They think that it is for them to raise the consciousness of their dumb sisters. But, such paternalistic attitudes are rare amongst activists and leaders of the movement. Most of them were new to the tasks that they took upon themselves, of leading such a movement. In taking up these unfamiliar tasks, they have demonstrated quite remarkable leadership qualities—not only ingenuity and flexibility but also great humility. This last quality is reflected in the commitment of WAF members, for example, to non-hierarchical organization. Nevertheless, the fact remains that a large majority of women who turn out to participate in activities and demonstrations of the movement are professional women and those from relatively well off homes. Only a relatively small proportion of women in salaried jobs, whose circumstances are more modest, are able to turn out. Is that because of a lack of consciousness on their part? Anyone who thinks so understands very little about the material circumstances of these working women.

The Zia regime and Right-wing political parties, not least the religious fundamentalist parties, have attacked the women's movement and, notably WAF, its most effective and militant component, as a past time of affluent Western educated women. The above account should show that nothing could be further from the truth. Rather less expected and much more regrettable, is the attitude of some components of Pakistan's much fragmented, confused and disorganized Left. The older generation of Left leadership and intellectuals (amongst whom this aging author would count himself as one) took the rather simplistic view that the women's movement is merely a diversion from the primary struggle, the struggle for a socialist Pakistan. Once socialism comes, they would say, all these problems will disappear—a naive view. But at least most of them were somewhat tolerant of the women's movement. Rather more difficult to grasp is the attitude of younger Left activists and intellectuals who only echo the propaganda of the Zia regime when they condemn the women's movement as a bourgeois elitist movement and mock the courage of its (especially WAF's) activists who have faced polio brutality.

The problems confronting women in Pakistan have been accumulating over several decades. The reason why the women's movement erupted into action, virtually overnight, is the series of outrageous measures actually undertaken or contemplated by the Zia regime, in the name of "Islamization," which were designed to degrade

the place of women in Pakistan society. Indeed, as intellectuals associated with the women's movement and some scholars of Islam whom the movement (in this case WAF) mobilized into action have shown, these measures were profoundly contrary to Islamic values and injunctions.

Outrageous Laws

An outrageous aspect of these new laws, some enacted and others proposed, was that women's legal status was reduced to half that of men. For example, the new Law of Evidence provided that two male witnesses or in the absence of two males, one male and two female witnesses would be required to prove the crime. But besides these discriminatory acts of legislation which reduced a woman's humanity by half, there were proposals to segregate women into (second class) women's universities (which were to be based on colleges of Home Economics). That would remove opportunities for education for women on the strength of which they could embark on careers and secure jobs as they are doing. Although the militant activities and demonstrations of the women's movement were in the first instance directed against the new laws, it seems that far more weighty were the underlying concerns about prospects for women's education and threats to their freedom of movement which threatened women hoping to get salaried employment. The women's movement did not fail to make an impact and the government retreated, partially at least, on some of the issues on which the women had agitated, marched in the streets, got beaten up by police baton charges, got arrested and gone to prison.

Long Way To Go

So far the movement has seen itself as a broad-based pressure group that combined lobbying with resistance. It is true that the cutting edge of the women's movement was its opposition to outrageous and unjust legislation. Much of this legislation, however, still remains on the statute books and the job of repealing it has hardly begun. So much still remains to be done. But beyond this a much larger task lies ahead of it, the task of generating and propagating in Pakistan new ideas and new attitudes towards women and the family, about women's rights and the creation of conditions that might enable women to make their full contribution to the future of our country. Such a movement must necessarily be multi-dimensional, emphasizing particularly a cultural offensive in which writers and poets, social scientists and philosophers, actors and playwrights must all play important roles to reorient social attitudes and bring them in line with today's realities. But, for all that, core women's organizations remain indispensable, so that women in Pakistan and Pakistan society as a whole retain the capacity and the mechanisms through which they can respond immediately and with effect as and when new issues arise, as indeed they will. Furthermore, the movement will have to find ways to go beyond the confines of the salaried urban middle class and lower

middle class women, and to work for mobilising women in wider sections of society. Some like the Democratic Women's Association are already active amongst working class women. But a great deal needs yet to be taken up. The women's movement in Pakistan has still a long way to go.

When a Woman's Word Does Not Count

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[Article by Shyama Perera. First paragraph was boxed in article]

[Text] 'Benazir has said she will repeal the Zina Ordinance but she has to be very careful not to upset the mullahs because they can be very dangerous in opposition... 'A 13-year-old girl is abducted and gang raped by some men in her village.

Because she is a female, her word cannot be accepted as evidence in a court of law. The men claim she was willing. The girl is sentenced to five years imprisonment for leading them into fornication.

The scenario is not fantasy. It is just one of the examples of the injustice and inhumanity of Pakistan's "Zina Ordinance"—the Islamic law which defines adultery, fornication and rape as being crimes against the state.

To add to the complexity, the evidence of women has been inadmissible since 1983. Therefore, all it needs is an accusation of adultery by a husband to put his wife behind bars. The harshest penalty for this crime is death by stoning.

It is these issues that are addressed in a new UK Channel 4 film.

Who Will Cast the First Stone. Shot secretly in Pakistan and smuggled back to England for editing, the 52-minute documentary studies the case histories of a number of women incarcerated under Zina.

"Over 3,000 women are affected by the Zina Ordinance every year. Even in rape cases, the women are considered responsible for initiating that act.

The minimum penalty is 30 lashes. They get no legal aid and most have no access to a lawyer," explains Sabiha Sumar, a Karachi journalist who wrote and co-produced the film which made its debut at this year's London Film Festival.

Admits

Even with access to a lawyer, bail is not available until a hearing takes place.. This can take years. At the beginning of the film, Roshan Jan, her face completely hidden behind a "burkha," describes how she has been in prison 16 months awaiting trial.

"My husband got another wife without my permission. I filed a divorce petition and he then filed a counter petition saying I had run off with another man," she says. "He said it was because I had not asked him.

On camera the husband admits paying police to press the charge because: "It's a question of honour." His wife's defence counts for nothing.

In the documentary, another woman in her forties, Ghulam Sahina, tells how she spent four years in jail after a male neighbour with whom she had argued, denounced her as an accomplice to Zina.

A young wife, Shaheeda Parveen, describes being sentenced to death by stoning after a court decided her second marriage was adulterous. "Our blood froze. Our throats were dry. I know women who have burned themselves to death because they believed they would never get justice," she says.

After public outcry, Shaheeda and her second husband Ahmed were reprieved, but it has ruined her life she says. In a rural community, the shame of imprisonment and denouncement is almost impossible to shake off.

The issue has been taken up by middle class women throughout Pakistan, the only Islamic state in which they have been able to mobilise. At the forefront is Asma Jahangir, a lawyer who speaks out in the film and who recently risked her liberty to come to London and condemn Zina publicly.

She said: "We are not a barbaric nation, it is only a section of military regime that is barbaric. There is a revulsion in society to such barbaric punishments." The question is, does the law reflect reality? If you pick up our legal books it would seem that the women of Pakistan are doing nothing but Zina. But that is not the problem of Pakistan. The problems are hunger and disease, but every dictator needs to bring in diversions and what better diversion than religion?

"There have been no stonings to death or amputation of hands for stealing, yet. Even the law-givers know they cannot carry it off, but it should not be happening at all.

"To add to their shame and degradation, 70 percent of women imprisoned under Zina say they have been raped by police officers who consider them women of easy virtue.

There are about 7,000 appeals against conviction each year—compared to less than 300 for theft. Zina was introduced by the military government of President Zia-ul-Haq in 1979. His death earlier this year should herald a change in the laws, but even a government lead by Benazir Bhutto could run into problems.

Ahmed Jamal, the film's co-producer, explained: "Benazir has said she will repeal the Zina Ordinance but she has to be very careful not to upset the mullahs because they can be very dangerous in opposition. In recent months she has even started wearing the veil.

"Shahida Sumar adds: "Benazir's stand is not all that clear. She has said she will repeal Zina but we have no reason to believe her because she also says she will work within Islamic laws. That is something we do not want when it is so clearly discriminatory to women."