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27 SEPTEMBER 1989



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# ***JPRS Report***

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## **Near East & South Asia**

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# Near East & South Asia

JPRS-NEA-89-064

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27 SEPTEMBER 1989

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## REGIONAL AFFAIRS

### Egypt Reportedly Cautions Israel on Action Against Jordan

45000198 Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 6 Sep 89 pp 1,2

[Report by 'Abd-al-Fattah Fayid]

[Text] AL-SHA'B has learned from informed Egyptian sources that Cairo has cautioned Israel against taking any steps toward military action against Jordan. This follows threats the Israeli minister of war [as published] made to Jordan after an incident involving the infiltration of freedom fighters from [Jordanian] territory.

The sources said that the Egyptian warning came on the heels of increased information coming into Cairo regarding a growing trend of zealots in Israeli military circles calling for military action against Jordan, thus relieving Israel of the Intifadah problem.

The sources added that, in its warning, Cairo informed Tel Aviv that carrying out Israeli threats would allow Cairo to stand by as an observer and would torpedo peace efforts in the region. This comes after an escalation in the level of Israeli military readiness in the Jordanian border region.

### Nature of Infiltrators From Jordan Characterized

TA0309185589 Tel Aviv HADASHOT  
in Hebrew 3 Sep 89

[Text] HADASHOT writes: "The terrorist who crossed the Jordan River yesterday morning and wounded IDF [Israel Defense Force] soldiers was not insane. The myth of the Jordanian soldier seized by madness who crosses the border in an attempt to hurt Israelis has been shattered by the four incidents of this sort that have occurred in the past year. In none of these incidents was the Jordanian or Palestinian who crossed the border insane, including the Jordanian soldier who took a hostage in the 'Arava a month ago." The paper continues: "The myth of the crazed Jordanian was born in the media as a result of the fact that senior security elements sought to downplay the Jordanian government's responsibility for the incidents. Perhaps the Jordanians have good intentions along the border, but to absolve them of responsibility even after the fourth attack would be an error liable to bring about a deterioration in the sector. It is not clear whether the terrorist was Palestinian or Jordanian, but what is clear is that he acted coolly, according to a plan, and that he received the help of fire from the eastern side of the Jordan River." HADASHOT maintains that "the government of Israel must make it clear to the government of Jordan that it views such incidents with great gravity. Israel must demand that the Jordanians turn the area near the Jordan River on the eastern side into a buffer zone, so that anyone going there without coordination is risking his life, because of the possible reaction of both Jordanian and IDF soldiers. Israel must demand also that

Jordan increase its military supervision of areas near the Jordan River, both in terms of manpower and in the scope of preventive actions. Jordan must step up the intelligence efforts it invests in foiling such actions. The elements that infiltrated from Jordanian territory in the past year enjoyed some sort of assistance from an official or semi-official element in Jordan." The paper concludes: "This is an issue for the Jordanian security services. If Jordan is seeking to maintain a quiet border, it must prove its intentions by deeds."

### Syrian Intentions in Cross-Border Operations Examined

TA1009181989 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 10 Sep

[Text] MA'ARIV, referring to Syria's declaration that it would open its border for terrorist activities against Israel and its evident involvement in recent terrorist attacks against Israel from across the Jordanian border, writes: "Syrian intentions are transparent: To complicate matters between Jordan and Israel, in response to Jordan's involvement in Iraqi arms shipments to Lebanese General 'Awn, who is fighting the Syrians." The paper continues: "The signs point to the fact that the Jordanians are making efforts to increase vigilance on the borders and to prevent the infiltrations of terrorists from Jordan into Israel. But perhaps they are not doing all that is required, or what they are doing is not good enough; and perhaps an improvement in relations between Jordan and the PLO is contributing to the fact that the Jordanian regime and army are not doing everything in order to maintain a quiet border with Israel. It is also possible that King Husayn feels himself weak and depressed during this period." MA'ARIV concludes: "Israel has no interest in weakening him further and in rewarding the Syrians, but alongside this, it must see Husayn as the exclusively responsible party for what happens in his territory. This dilemma requires a determined response, but through secret and quiet channels: To clarify to the king that enough is enough, to increase coordination with him in the field, and to issue a sharp warning to the Syrians."

### Nuclear Research Centers Being Constructed

51004503 Tel Aviv 'AL  
HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 15 Sep 89 p 1

[Text] Avi Benayahu quotes an article appearing in the journal issued by the research staff of the Israeli Rafa'el Armament Development Authority: "The Syrians have, during the last year, entered the field of research and development of microelectronics, chemistry, and nuclear energy and have established institutions such as the Center for Nuclear Energy and Research." The journal reveals that Syria is investing significant efforts in the field of nuclear research and development and that it is negotiating with Belgium and Switzerland regarding the planning and building of Syria's first atomic energy reactor. The intention is to build six atomic reactors in order to produce electricity at an investment of about

\$3.5 billion. The Syrians are also endeavoring to build nuclear research reactors with Russian and Italian assistance and that they have recently begun searching for sites for the reactors. According to the article, elements in Israel who closely follow developments in Arab and hostile countries, are greatly troubled by this process of rapid change. Scientific publications written by Arab scientists point to a surprising leap forward in quality as well. A senior scientist of the defense establishment is quoted in the article as saying that "should there be no change, and should the erosion in budgets and in the status of research and development and of higher education continue, a tangible danger to our scientific-technological supremacy over the Arab states exists."

### **Lebanese Communist Party Intensifies Activities**

TA1209181589 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ  
in Hebrew 12 Sep 89 p 1

[Text] Ze'ev Schiff writes in a commentary in HA'ARETZ that "the explanation for the intensified activity of the Lebanese Communist Party [LCP] lies in the anniversary of the party's establishment, on 15 September. An increase in terrorist activity initiated by the LCP in the security zone and against the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] occurred last September as well. The only way to stop this small-scale offensive is to do what the northern command has done many times: wait for them beyond the border fence, and strike at them in their bases at the stage of organizing of and departure for attacks. Israel has acted with extraordinary restraint so far, both with regard to the actions from the Jordanian border, and in its reaction to the latest attacks on the Lebanese border. This may be explained by its reluctance to help Syria emerge from its isolation in the Arab world, a result of its brutal deeds in Lebanon. For this reason Damascus finds itself in an embarrassing situation, inter alia in its relations with Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Syria is also liable to slip into a renewed conflict with Iraq, if the latter tries in the near future to introduce additional weaponry for the Christians via the port of Juniyah. A military deterioration in the north involving Israel would make things easier on Damascus and would turn the conflict into an issue between Israel and the Arabs rather than between Syria and the Arabs. This strategic consideration, however, need not prevent Israel from responding with local actions against some of the terrorist organizations beyond the border fence and outside the security zone."

### **Egypt, Libya To Establish Joint Farm Projects**

45000197 Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 6 Sep 89 pp 1,2

[Text] In contacts held recently, Egypt and Libya agreed to establish joint agricultural projects, the initial cost of which is estimated at \$600 million, in addition to Libyan projects related to joint reclamation of the new lands. Informed sources confirmed to AL-SHA'B that the Libyan side had showed its willingness to establish a comprehensive joint agricultural plan between the two

sides, in addition to supporting this plan via cooperation and coordination between it and other economic plans.

The basic elements of the joint agricultural plan depend on Egyptian agricultural experts establishing a geodetic survey of the farmlands and arable lands in Libya, and to support this study with suitable climatic studies.

The plan's basic elements affirm the possibility of having Egyptian experts offer direct assistance in cultivating these crops and of asking Libyan experts to come for special studies in Egyptian agricultural institutes. Therefore, agricultural methods and systems will be developed in both countries.

The sources added that the Libyan side appeared completely ready to allow Egyptian labor—particularly agricultural labor—to establish agricultural and industrial projects in Libya.

## **PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS**

### **Loss of Confidence in Uprising Leadership Described**

TA1209093789 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 29 Aug

[Text] There is a certain paradox in the authorities' handling of the intifadah [uprising] in the territories: The more effective the struggle becomes, and the greater the harm it succeeds in causing the leadership, the more wild and brutal the violent manifestations of the uprising become. Of course, this phenomenon has harsh repercussions in the short run, but the defense establishment believes that in the long run it may lead to the overcoming of the intifadah and, as a result, to a more independent, compromising and realistic political approach by the Palestinian public in the territories.

In the last few months the authorities have apprehended many of those belonging to the local, educated leadership, which constituted the primary infrastructure of the "popular committees" in the various villages and towns. After relative success was attained in the arrest or neutralization in various locations of well-known public activists—those who do the bidding of the underground Unified National Leadership of the Uprising [UNLU]—the activist leadership went even deeper underground. This was followed by the phenomenon of the "wanted": young activists who fled for fear of being arrested, and who continued to carry out their acts from hiding places while covering their faces for fear of being identified by informers. As early as the beginning of last winter the security authorities launched a large-scale campaign (the "Burning of the Leaven") directed primarily against the "wanted." Many dozens of them were caught.

Administrative detainees who were released from prison were issued green identity cards, which prohibit them from entering Israel and in effect "mark" them as potential troublemakers in any clash with Israeli soldiers

or security personnel. This measure enabled the authorities to maintain stricter control over activists released from prison, and to neutralize many of them, if only partially.

The arrest campaign had two side effects. One was an increase in the suspicions of and attacks on residents known to be cooperating with the authorities. The large number of administrative detainees, the evidence against whom is classified, as well as the extent of the authorities' accuracy in identifying the activists, induced inhabitants to attack the local residents whom they suspected of turning in these activists.

Another side effect was a change in the composition of the active cadres. Young people with a lower level of national and public consciousness replaced the relatively young and educated, who organized into close-knit and disciplined frameworks that follow the orders of the central underground leadership. The new cadres are more extremist, and less disciplined and restrained. Their violent activity is of a spontaneous-capricious nature. The large-scale arrests caused the breakdown of many channels of mutual communication between the central leadership—inside the territories or outside them—and the active elements in the field, and this caused the leadership real difficulties in imposing discipline on these people. The leadership gradually began losing control.

#### **DFLP Congratulates 'Arafat, Fatah Movement**

44000668 Nicosia AL-HURRIYAH  
in Arabic 13 Aug 89 p 5

[Text] What follows is a message of congratulations from the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine leadership to the Fatah leadership:

Brother Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Fatah Central Committee

The brother members of the Fatah Central Committee

Long live the revolution and the struggle

In the name of the central committee members of the Democratic Front and in the name of the aggregate cadres and strugglers and fighters of our front, I send you warmest congratulations for the confidence which the fifth Fatah conference bestowed on you just as I convey congratulations through you to the aggregate members of the conference and all the cadres and strugglers and fighters in the Fatah movement on the success of the activities of your fifth conference and the political and organizational decisions taken by the conference.

O brothers and comrades of the weapon and path, we have followed with great interest the activities of your fifth Fatah conference, in light of the historical circumstances through which the march of your nationalist struggle is currently passing given our people's mighty intifadah [uprising] in the occupied homeland and on the basis of major decisions taken by our Palestine National

Congress in its recent 19th session, the session of the intifadah and martyr leader Abu-Jihad, and in light of the great challenges which our people and revolution still face on the path toward wresting the people's freedom and the homeland's independence while guaranteeing the right of return and self-determination and confirming the establishment of our independent state on the soil of the liberated homeland.

The historical links between your struggler movement and our democratic front, for more than two decades of common battle in all areas of our people's struggle, compels us to express our fraternal satisfaction with the results of your conference which strengthened unity within Fatah along with its efficiency and important nationalist role. Likewise, we are compelled to reconfirm the importance of strengthening our mutual ties and national unity for all our people in the framework of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole, legitimate representative, and the deep-rooted unity of our glorious intifadah under the leadership of the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising to guarantee continuity and strengthen our national struggle and raise the means of confrontation of our people against the Zionist occupation and against all schemes of liquidation and abortion which are put forth. At the forefront is Shamir's election plan and continuing pressure on the United States to cease its policy that covers over the crimes of the occupation and its designs that encourage the continued shackling of our people, preventing them from pursuing their national rights on their land, and to guarantee the continuation of the struggle for a total and balanced solution to the Palestinian question and the Arab-Israeli struggle according to the decisions of our national council and the Arab summits.

We wish you, dear brothers, continued success in your position of eminent leadership and desire for your sisterly struggler movement continued success in the framework of a far-reaching national alliance moving forward on the road to realizing the goals of our people and revolution for return, self-determination, and complete independence.

May you persevere in the struggle

Nayif Hawatimah

Secretary General

Central Committee, Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine

8/8/89

#### **Popular Committees in Dispute With UNRWA**

44000672 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ  
in Hebrew 14 Sep 89 p 1

[Text] Eytan Rabin reports that a sharp dispute has broken out in recent days between the popular committees active in the Gaza Strip and the UNRWA [United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees

in the Near East] offices there. Two days ago, 200 women held a strike in front of the UNRWA offices demanding a renewal of food supplies to the Gaza Strip refugee camps, assistance which UNRWA had discontinued in 1982. Yesterday, a delegation of strike forces' members demanded of UNRWA an immediate renewal of food supplies to camp residents, as a result of the difficult economic situation in the camps, because of the decline in the number of Palestinians going to work in Israel. According to Arab sources, UNRWA refused to comply with the demands, not wanting to set a precedent for refugee camps in the West Bank and in Lebanon. Arab sources also reported that UNRWA vehicles were stoned yesterday and Tuesday, but no casualties were caused. A military source in the Gaza Strip confirmed the reports of the strikes in front of the UNRWA offices. Rabin adds that contrary to reports of Gaza Strip residents going to work in Israel, about two-thirds of the Gaza Strip residents, especially from the refugee camps, are complying with popular committee orders not to go to work in Israel.

#### **UNRWA Refugee Camp Committees Dispute in Lebanon**

44040514a Kuwait AL-WATAN in Arabic 2 Jul 89 p 17

[Interviews with Abu Mujahid, general coordinator for the people's committees in Lebanon's Palestinian refugee camps, and nine other officials of the committees: "UNRWA in Dispute with Palestinian Camps in Lebanon; People's Committees Accuse UNRWA of Negligence"; first seven paragraphs are AL-WATAN introduction; dates and places not given]

[Text] Palestinians in various refugee camps continued their activities to protest the policy which is being followed by UNRWA, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian refugees. These protest activities became more heated after the agency moved its offices from Beirut, the capital of Lebanon, to the town of Sablin in the district of al-Kharub, citing excuses and reasons which left many Palestinians unconvinced.

Although a UNRWA delegation did reach an agreement with representatives of the refugee camps in Sidon, the committees for Beirut's refugee camps rejected that agreement which was reached on the following matters:

- The talks resulted in an agreement to remove all obstacles which had stood in the way of construction in the Shatila Camp.
- An agreement was reached to ensure the availability of staples, especially flour; an urgent grant of flour was to be delivered and distributed to all beneficiaries; and other staples were to be distributed at a later date.
- An agreement was reached to consider the move of UNRWA's offices from Beirut a temporary move caused by security conditions; the offices were to be moved back to the Lebanese capital when security conditions became reassuring.

But the people's committees rejected the agreement. They considered it a political agreement even though the action that is being taken against UNRWA is not political, but rather action which has to do with people's welfare. The committees insisted on pressing UNRWA to meet their legitimate, just, and specific demands. They wanted UNRWA to renounce its service reduction policy, and they warned UNRWA not to interfere in domestic political affairs and to confine its disputes to those it has with the people's committees.

Actually, recent new occurrences in Lebanon led to the emergence of a collection of pressing Palestinian needs in that country which resulted from the destruction of a number of camps and a delay in rebuilding some of them. Consequently, the question of the refugees got worse. All these conditions exacerbated the unemployment situation at a time when measures restricting the employment of Palestinians in Lebanon were continuing. For the Palestinians, sources of earning income were reduced significantly, the purchasing power of most Palestinian families was diminished, and the number of needy families doubled many times. In the past, according to the general coordinator for Palestinian camps, such problems just accumulated, but as a result of all these conditions the standard of living continued to fall, and nutritional standards for individuals and families were affected. With some camps destroyed and other camps overcrowded, basic problems were getting worse and communities of new refugees were being created as a result of UNRWA's policy and methods. UNRWA, which has always been inclined to reduce services, had a rigid view of the Palestinians' conditions in Lebanon. This sharply exacerbated the condition of the Palestinian family and led to a growing decline in all levels of medical, educational, and social conditions.

After these many years of unrest and instability, signs of a social disaster became evident especially during the past 2 years. According to an announcement by the Coordinating Committee for Palestinian Societies and Institutions and the Follow-Up Committee in Lebanon, UNRWA was being called upon to take the following steps to avoid this disaster:

- the disaster response method was to be used in dealing with new needs, and that means responding to the needs which the system of services had failed to deliver
- New needs were to be dealt with according to terms and conditions which differ from those approved under conditions of relative stability.
- All existing and new Palestinian residential communities were to be recognized in deference to the general situation, which is common and recognized throughout the Lebanese state.
- UNRWA's services must be offered to all Palestinian refugees because they receive no services from the host country; the labor laws which apply to foreigners must be applied to Palestinians.
- The principle of affirming basic human rights must be the premise for providing relief to Palestinians;

besides approving their political rights, Palestinians must enjoy all their rights to receive education, health, and medical services; their right to work must not be abridged, and they must have the right to receive benefits if handicapped.

- Palestinians' social and economic conditions are to be analyzed periodically with the cooperation of international and regional organizations and the organizations of the local Palestinian community; thus we can gain an understanding of the degree of change which is taking place as a result of the political conditions and harsh security measures; we can also gain an understanding of the consequences of these changes and how they affect needs which have to do with basic human rights.

The move of UNRWA's offices to Sablin has been variously interpreted. It made all officials fearful. It led Abu Mujahid, the general coordinator for the people's committees in Lebanon's camps, to issue a warning about this matter. He said UNRWA's move was associated with a political step which had to do with the presence of Palestinians in Lebanon and with the question of talks about the Palestinian state.

It is for this reason and because this important problem is getting worse every day that AL-WATAN met with Abu Mujahid, the general coordinator for the people's committees in Lebanon's camps. Some committee officials in areas of Lebanon also spoke with AL-WATAN about the reduction of UNRWA's services in all areas. The text of the interview with Abu Mujahid follows.

[AL-WATAN] What are the results of your meetings with UNRWA?

[Abu Mujahid] So far, nothing has been achieved with UNRWA. In our most recent contact with that organization we submitted our demands which can be summarized in a number of points.

First, there is the matter of rebuilding. We believe that sufficient time has passed to allow reconstruction to begin, especially after the PLO made its last payment of \$800,000 to UNRWA. So far, nothing has been done. Of course, UNRWA gave many excuses and reasons, and that organization is free to do that, but we remain unconvinced by those reasons and excuses.

Second, there is the matter of moving the offices from Beirut to Sablin. This move is a grave indicator with political implications. In addition, large amounts of money will be spent daily on this move at the expense of the remaining services which could be offered to our people. It is estimated that from \$70,000 to \$500,000 a month could be spent in transportation allowances to Sablin.

Third, the third matter has to do with the food assistance which is supposed to be offered to our people under the exceptionally harsh conditions which Lebanon and the Palestinian people have been experiencing.

Fourth, this matter involves all the services offered by UNRWA, including education, for example, medical services, and environmental and social services. We have a file on all these matters. That is why when we told UNRWA that we would open up the whole file, UNRWA resorted to making excuses, as it did before, and one of these excuses was the small budget. Actually, UNRWA's statements were not convincing, and we told the director that.

[AL-WATAN] What do you think will be the steps for the future?

[Abu Mujahid] So far, for example, we have not met with the embassies, and we have not asked political parties, national forces, and Lebanese social institutions to support us in this matter. We are also approaching humanitarian and international institutions.

[AL-WATAN] Do you think there is something wrong with the way the UNRWA is dealing with the Palestinian people in Lebanon? Is the assistance insufficient, or is it poorly distributed?

[Abu Mujahid] We do not wish to give a haphazard answer. We will use the figures which were offered by UNRWA. First, the figures which are mentioned by UNRWA in its international reports make it clear that the budgets which were approved for Palestinians were drastically reduced. The figures allow us to see that what is approved for the budget is sometimes half of what is spent.

There are matters which concern Palestinians, and education is the first of these. Conditions under which people receive an education are not encouraging. This is especially true for the young. We notice that the dropout rate is declining every year [as published].

[AL-WATAN] In your opinion, what is the reason for that?

[Abu Mujahid] I am not ignoring security considerations and the unstable situation in Lebanon, but I cannot ignore the fact that UNRWA is not offering a proper educational model. First of all the setting for the schools is not healthy, and the conditions under which these schools operate are not proper for education. Educational tools are not available. Locations for the schools, stationery, books, teachers, and lighting are not available. In addition, UNRWA follows the system of promoting students automatically.

The second matter is that of emigration. In al-Rawshah, for example, there are no less than 15,000 Palestinians. This is a community which can be served by one or two full schools. To go to school, these children have to go to Sabra and Shatila. This means that the head of the family must pay for transportation and must incur many expenses.

[AL-WATAN] UNRWA is linking moving its offices to Sablin to security conditions. In your opinion, are there other implications for this move other than these security conditions?

[Abu Mujahid] In our opinion the office is being moved for financial gain only. What are the security conditions which apply exclusively to UNRWA and are different from those which apply to other international institutions which are still in Beirut and did not flee?

Today, the security situation is stable. Why hasn't UNRWA returned to its offices? In addition, what the UNRWA is doing in Sablin does not indicate that this move is a temporary one.

[AL-WATAN] How do you explain that?

[Abu Mujahid] UNRWA has political commitments which have to do with the presence of Palestinians and with discussions, talks, and other matters about the Palestinian state. This is the question: where are the Palestinians of 1948 to be found? What is the significance of UNRWA being in Sablin? For all practical purposes Sablin is part of the south, even though it is in the area which is subject to the shelling. It is an area where the security situation is not stable. Why Sablin? Is it because the UNRWA has a workshop or a vocational training program there?

[AL-WATAN] You say that support from national allies is a must, and yet during your recent action the Progressive Party interfered in favor of UNRWA. Can something be done about that?

[Abu Mujahid] We cannot say that the Progressive Party is siding with UNRWA, but we can say that the party was not fully involved with our action.

It was on that basis that we contacted Palestinian leaders in the south. We asked them to make official contact with our colleagues in the party so that something can be done about the matter. We firmly believe that the Progressive Party would never stand against our people's interests. We've had experiences in that regard. We think that at some point in time our security as Palestinians in Beirut was in the party's hands. Is it conceivable for that party to be against our interests in Sablin?

[AL-WATAN] If UNRWA does not comply with your demands, how will the needy masses be helped?

[Abu Mujahid] In our judgment the UNRWA cannot refuse our demands. It was established by a UN resolution in 1950. The international community expects UNRWA to offer certain kinds of assistance to Palestinians.

[AL-WATAN] If we were to compare the assistance offered by UNRWA on the one hand with that offered by other humanitarian organizations, which would be more significant?

[Abu Mujahid] We cannot compare the two. However, these other institutions, like UNICEF, OXFAM, [Oxford Committee for Famine Relief] and the World Council of Churches, which are under no obligation to do anything for the Palestinians, do offer significant assistance to the Palestinians.

[AL-WATAN] What was the outcome of the recent broad based meeting which was held by the people's committees?

[Abu Mujahid] That meeting was held to evaluate the steps that were taken toward the UNRWA. After these steps were discussed, we found that the UNRWA had made no good faith initiative or had dealt positively in any way with our demands. The general director, who has returned recently from Vienna, has not yet asked for a meeting with the Follow-Up Committee to brief us on the results of his visit.

[AL-WATAN] There is less talk about the subject of construction during this period. What is the reason for that?

[Abu Mujahid] I regret to say that the UNRWA is using a method which depends on scheming against the Palestinians and dividing them. It is saying something different to every Palestinian party. It tells one party that construction is connected with the Relief Agency, and it tells another that construction is connected with the presence of Palestinians.

#### Representatives of the Camps

After our interview with Abu Mujahid we went to talk with officials of the people's committees in Lebanon. They briefed us on the problems facing the Palestinian people in the camps. Everyone was inclined to find UNRWA negligent in the services it offered in all areas of life: educational, medical, and social services.

At first we met with Mamduh al-Nimr, a.k.a. Abu Hasan. Mr al-Nimr, who is a member of the people's committee for the coastal area, said, "The Palestinian people have been living under a state of emergency since 1948. UNRWA was founded to serve our people, but today, it is being overwhelmed and outnumbered by our people."

"UNRWA reduced its health services for families. As far as employment in Lebanon is concerned, Palestinian physicians are not allowed to set up their own private practice even though what is applied to Syrian citizens is also applied to Palestinian citizens."

"With regard to education, we organized a 10-day sit-in in UNRWA's offices in Beirut to safeguard a lease with the Dawud al-'Ali School in Wadi al-Zaynah in the south for students who had to leave their homes."

Then we met with Abu Mahir, secretary of the people's committee in al-Rashidiyah Camp in Tyre. Abu Mahir said, "We have many problems with UNRWA. It is doing less than what it used to do in the past, and there are certain Palestinian communities in Lebanon, like

al-Ma'shuq, Jall al-Bahr, Shabriha, al-Qasimiyah, and Abu al-Aswad, which it does not recognize. There are no UNRWA main offices in these communities, and these communities receive no services."

But Husam, the people's committee official for the al-Bas Camp said, "We are facing a bread crisis, and we fear having a famine. That could encourage our people to steal and to commit acts whose consequences will not be good."

Sami Yasin, a.k.a. Abu Ziyad, is a member of the People's Committee for the northern al-Burj Camp in Tyre. He said, "Our problems in all the camps are similar. First, we lack staples. Then we have no educational services. Then comes the important question of medical services. In 6 months, medical services were reduced for the number of families living in the area of Tyre."

Abu 'Abdallah, member of the people's committee for the northern al-Burj Camp said, "The press is the people's spokesman. We started to feel that Palestinian citizens and Lebanese citizens were competing with each other for subsistence." But Abu Mustafa, member of the people's committee for the Tal al-Za'tar Camp said, "Our camp has been abandoned since 1976 even though 3,000 of our people lost their lives for the cause. Among our people 3,000 are missing, and we have hundreds of widows, orphans, and people who became disabled."

Sakran Sakran, secretary of the PFLP [Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine] and member of the people's committee for the coastal area said, "This committee was formed in 1985 after the war of attrition which was waged against our people in Beirut. The major problem we have is that of educating our children. But the main problem is that of the help which needs to be given to the people of the intifadah [the uprising] in the occupied land. We must support our camps in Lebanon, and we must especially stand up to Israel and its plan for expansion."

Abu Sulayman, the people's committee official in Burj al-Barajinah Camp said, "The principal problem is the matter of construction. The other matters can be settled easily."

But Abu Sa'id, the committee's official in Nahr al-Barid Camp in the north said, "In 1950 there were no more than 6,000 persons living in the camp. At that time UNRWA drilled a well whose power was 4 inches [as published]. We asked UNRWA many times to reconsider this matter because the water from that well was not even enough for its own use and the use of its institutions. But nothing was done despite the fact that more than 35,000 persons live in the camp now."

But 'Umar Qasim, who is a member of the people's committee in al-Jalil Camp in Ba'labakk replied, "Medical care is of primary importance to us." Mr Qasim, who

is also known as Abu Khalid, added, "We need a laboratory and X-ray equipment, and we have a medicine shortage."

### **AL-SHA'B Gives Statistics on Support for Palestinian State**

TA1709183189 Tel Aviv

HADASHOT in Hebrew 17 Sep 89 p 6

[Text] Oren Kohen reports that according to the East Jerusalem newspaper AL-SHA'B, a poll conducted in the West Bank and Gaza Strip among 500 respondents revealed that 100 percent of the residents of the territories support the declaration of a Palestinian state according to the principles laid down at the Algiers conference, 92 percent support elections according to the PLO model, and 82 percent favor appointing Yasir 'Arafat as the president of the Palestinian state. As for the form of the agreement, 67 percent support an international conference, 23 percent are interested in reaching a settlement under the auspices of both superpowers, 7 percent under the auspices of the U.S. alone, while 2 percent favor direct negotiations between Israel and the PLO. Regarding PLO policy after the declaration of the independent Palestinian state, 77 percent support it, 3 percent expressed dissatisfaction with this policy and 19 percent abstained from responding. The establishment of a temporary exiled government is supported by 77 percent and opposed by 3 percent; 59 percent support the establishment of a Palestinian government constituting representatives of the Palestinians in and out of the territories, and 6 percent support the establishment of a Palestinian state for residents of the territories only. According to the poll, 70 percent of the respondents expressed interest in economic cooperation between Israel, Lebanon and Jordan after the establishment of the Palestinian state.

### **West Bank Notables Interviewed on Shamir's Election Plan**

44040514b Kuwait AL-WATAN in Arabic 3 Jul 89 p 17

[Interviews with West Bank Palestinian notables Bassam al-Shak'ah, Ibrahim al-Daqaq, Faysal al-Husayni, and Radwan Abu 'Ayyash: "Shamir's Elections and Possibilities of a State; AL-WATAN Investigates Opinions of Palestinian Activists in Occupied Land"; first four paragraphs are AL-WATAN introduction; dates and places not given]

[Text] The initiative which was proposed by Yitzhak Shamir, the enemy's prime minister, regarding elections in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip provoked conflicting reactions and opinions within the enemy's government, amidst the ranks of the enemy's parties, and on the Palestinian, Arab, and international scene.

What is the Palestinian attitude toward the initiative in light of the American position? Will there be a settlement as a result of these elections? If Israeli troops are withdrawn from the areas where the elections are to be held,

will it be possible to conduct the elections under international or U.S. supervision?

AL-WATAN took these questions about Shamir's elections and posed them to a number of Palestinian activists inside the occupied territories: Bassam al-Shak'ah, Ibrahim al-Daqaq, Faysal al-Husayni, and Radwan Abu 'Ayyash. Bassam al-Shak'ah, the former mayor of Nablus, was fired from his position by Israel which also planned his assassination by placing explosives in his car. As a result of that assassination attempt, Mr al-Shak'ah's legs were amputated. Ibrahim al-Daqaq is the director of the Intellectual Club in Jerusalem and the former president of the Palestinian Engineers' Union. Faysal al-Husayni, president of the Society for Palestinian Studies in Jerusalem, was arrested several times and held in administrative detention. He was most recently arrested because of an alleged independence document that was found in his office. The society was shut down for the same reason. Radwan Abu 'Ayyash is the president of the Arab Journalists' Society in Jerusalem. Abu 'Ayyash was arrested several times recently, and he too was held in administrative detention.

The second set of questions had to do with the possibility of establishing a Palestinian state in the wake of the intifadah [the uprising]. Was the Palestinian state coming within reach because of the intifadah, or did the intifadah put it out of reach? Did it harden Israel's position, or did it make it flexible? What about autonomy, and what about the link between autonomy and the population and the absence of such a link between autonomy and the land? What is Egypt's attitude toward a Palestinian state?

[AL-WATAN] What do you expect from America and from Europe?

#### Bassam al-Shak'ah

Bassam al-Shak'ah was the first to speak. He answered the first question by saying, "Were we to rely on experience, history, and principles to make a judgment about Shamir's plan, not a single Palestinian would accept Shamir's initiative. This initiative is rejected in practice and in principle; it has been rejected nationally and internationally. The American position has been clear: Americans have been trying to sell that initiative ever since Shamir proposed it. Washington's attitude toward the PLO was clear, indicating unequivocally that the plan was the product of the strategic, imperialist relations between the two countries. It soon became evident that the plan's foundation and tactics were no different from the normalization policy, which was incorporated into the Camp David Accords. Living conditions would be improved, functions would be divided, and the various parties to the Camp David Accords who were involved in striking at Palestinian nationalists would now become involved in striking at the intifadah. Normalization of Palestinian life would happen gradually, and the facts of Palestinian life would become consistent with the interests of Zionists, imperialists, and their

clients in the area. Eventually, and in the absence of national and patriotic aims and policies in most Arab countries, separately and collectively, every nationalist or progressive person on the national scene would be beaten.

"That is why I do not expect any settlement to come out of Shamir's elections. I do not believe there is any possibility that these elections will be held under modified conditions. Even with the present formula, these elections have been rejected in Israel. Only 43 persons voted for Shamir's elections plan in the Knesset: approximately 51 members did not attend the session; approximately 20 members disapproved of the plan; and approximately 15 members, including progressive representatives, rejected it. Regarding the possibility that Israeli troops could be withdrawn from areas where the elections will be held under the supervision of neutral parties, the most that Israel will accept will be the participation of the parties to the Camp David Accords with such supervision. Israel would also accept coordinating that supervision with those parties, but everyone would have to recognize Israel's authority and its priorities when matters are being determined. That, of course, would be a foregone conclusion if the plan is accepted, since Israel's success in proposing the plan and dealing with it weakened prospects for an international conference as well as those for a Palestinian state—whose position worldwide would have attracted people toward a just and lasting solution."

Al-Shak'ah had this to say in his answer to the second question, "It is obvious that the intifadah confirmed the facts and emphasized the general national interests. That fact in itself confirms the unity of the Palestinian people and their will to be free. Palestinians want to experience freedom, and they want to establish a state. Seen from that perspective, the intifadah's rejection of the occupation is based on principle. The intifadah has been eminently successful in nullifying Israel's political control over the occupied territories. It has been and continues to be a threat to all of Israel's accomplishments in those territories because the masses, who are involved in a direct conflict with Israelis, are not reluctant to make any dutiful sacrifice.

"When Israel, at the height of its victory and its confidence, was pursuing its normalization initiatives to achieve its strategy and its goals on the land, it was confronted unexpectedly by the intifadah. That unexpected confrontation created a dialectic effect on the international scene. Israel hardened its position, as any racist, ideological tendency that does not agree with or accept realistic, cultural, and historic consequences would do. This hardened position was confirmed by the Knesset elections, the makeup of the present government, the elections for local authorities, and, finally, by the vote on Shamir's plan. With a different, tactical approach that, nevertheless, complemented Shamir's plan, America pursued its policy to obtain Palestinian and Arab concessions. That was how the world came to be dealing with concessions rather than principles. And

that gave Israel and the United States an opportunity to make some gains at the expense of the victories which were won by the intifadah and by our people for the PLO and the Palestinian state.

"Thus, autonomy, the elections, and Camp David were placed on the table once again, and that occurrence was topped by Egypt's return to the Arab League. The Egyptian regime is now acting as mediator between the PLO and the United States to promote the interests of the Camp David accords and their international objectives. The Egyptian regime thus continues to turn its back on the unity of an Arab, national position that is liberated and independent. When it speaks for Palestinian independence and the international conference, Egypt speaks with a timid voice. While it says nothing at all about the normalization process, the Egyptian regime is being quite vocal and unabashed about Lebanon and about dealing with Aoun. It is trying to distort the Lebanese national position, the Syrian position, and the national position in favor of the regime's ties and relations.

"With all this happening, the United States is once again in the driver's seat. Al-Sadat's reasoning that 99 percent of the cards for a solution were being held by the United States was revived. Thus, the importance given to the United States came at the expense of the friendly international role and international law in general. Despite a few interventions which had no substantive effect on the subject because of its direct association with the elections and the matter of dealing with them, prospects for al-Sadat's reasoning to have influence in the area will not be broadened. In fact, I believe these prospects will be narrowed despite the Soviet Union's acceptance of Shamir's plan and the Soviet view that the plan has some merit. There have been no changes to speak of in the foundation or the makeup of the U.S. position to give us reason to say that the U.S. position has changed. I believe the United States will continue to conspire against the PLO and against the unity of our people, the intifadah, and the state. To be optimistic about the United States and its position is like chasing a mirage in a desert. But it is because of our experience with the intifadah that we can say that now we are not in a desert and we are not going after a mirage.

"The European position is getting better. I believe that the influence of Europe's position depends upon Europe's independence from U.S. influence and its liberation from the old, historical burdens of colonialism. Most European policies are still not quite liberated. They still see Israeli security as something to be provided at the expense of the Palestinians' rights and their freedom to determine their destiny. European countries have not yet defined their position on Resolution 242, and they have not yet decided on their position about recognizing an independent Palestinian state. This leads me to believe that the importance of Europe is tied to the liberation of international law. Because of its location and its responsibilities, Europe's responsibility in that matter is now considerable."

#### Ibrahim al-Daqaq

[AL-WATAN] What is the attitude toward Shamir's initiative in light of the U.S. position?

[al-Daqaq] First of all, we must remember that the so-called Shamir initiative is an initiative that was concocted in an American kitchen. This is something that has become well-known and broadly accepted by those who are concerned with this matter. That is why I will not answer the question as it was asked. The initiative is an American initiative in the light of the U.S. position, the Soviet position, and Europe's position. Nothing substantive about that so-called initiative changes when it is looked at from different angles.

If we were to take the initiative itself and analyze its sequels and the steps which call for boycotting it, we would find that it is a collection of measures which amount to the most that the Americans and Israelis envision and are willing to offer: autonomy. This autonomy they envisioned for Palestinians implies denying the Palestinian people the right to determine their own destiny and refusing to recognize Palestinian sovereignty in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The initiative then is merely a program of action to make Palestinians legitimize the American-Israeli view. It is not a peace plan at all as some people like to call it.

The elections, which represent the core and essence of the initiative, are subject to the same view that the initiative itself is subject to. They are the mechanism by means of which Palestinians would legitimize American-Israeli conduct which opposes the Palestinians' inalienable rights.

[AL-WATAN] And what about the elections and a settlement?

[al-Daqaq] If the purpose behind the question is to find out what the elections, which are being referred to, will offer to achieve a peaceful settlement in the region, the answer is definitely nothing. This is because the area needs the stability which would allow it to channel its energies into building and construction. The Israeli initiative does the opposite: it perpetuates the state of instability, keeps the conflict going, and escalates the tension. It refuses to deal with the issue as a whole, choosing to deal with Palestinians in the occupied land selectively, with a view to its own interests only. Israel assumes that it has the right to ignore UN resolutions pertaining to the Palestinian question. It is leaving Palestinians outside the occupied land to an unknown destiny, and it is imposing on them domination which they refuse.

[AL-WATAN] What about overseeing the elections?

[al-Daqaq] In Shamir's initiative the elections amount to something truthful spoken to accomplish an evil end. It is difficult to talk about political elections under a colonialist occupation that is trying to use these elections to perpetuate its control over Palestinian land. The more

appropriate question to ask is this: What will these elections lead to? If they will lead the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable rights, then talking about integrity and international supervision to guarantee the integrity of the elections would be possible. Otherwise, elections in the sense of giving Palestinians the right to choose would lack their main ingredients and components.

[AL-WATAN] What about the possibility of establishing a Palestinian state?

[al-Daqaq] The intifadah clearly placed the establishment of a Palestinian state within reach. Those who are far as well as those who are near now know that the Palestinian people reject the premise of Israel controlling their destiny. The Palestinian people are determined to end the occupation and to exercise their right to determine their destiny. Thus, Israeli examples of a solution, like the Jordanian option and the autonomy plan under Israeli domination, have failed.

When we speak of Israel, which Israel do we mean? Do we mean that represented by Shamir's position or Ezer Weizman's, for example? Are we talking about the attitude of average citizens in Israel, or are we talking about the position of the ruling establishment?

In general, Israel's situation is critical, especially when the intifadah set forth the notion that an international, Arab, Palestinian, and Israeli resolution was necessary. This means that Israel's policy of buying time and forcing people to accept the status quo has gone as far as it can go. Israel, therefore, must clarify what it has in mind for the future. It must clarify the kind of relationship it has in mind with its neighbors. The source of the crisis in Israel is the absence of a strategy which is backed by an Israeli consensus or even a majority of opinion on Israel. Conflicts between parties and groups and even within the same party or group are only the tip of the iceberg. The real problem manifests itself in the political, urban, and ideological aspects of religious, social, and cultural conflicts as well as conflicts over security.

Accordingly, we are entitled to assume that Israel's hardening position stems from its inability to confront the challenge which was forced upon it by the intifadah. Israel fears that the alternative to its hardening position could be an escalation of the conflict inside Israel itself to a dangerous level. That is why Israel sees the establishment of a Palestinian state to be a historic turning point in relations within the area and within Israel itself.

[AL-WATAN] What about autonomy and the bearing that has on the people but not on the land?

[al-Daqaq] The distinction which is being made between the people and the land in the Israeli plan is an important one. According to the Torah the land belongs to Israel, and the people who have been living on that land are a group of people who are not indigenous to the land. This is the religious justification which Israel is using. There are other justifications like security, the borders, living

space, and water sources. These are among the strategic justifications which proexpansion Zionists believe in. But then the Israeli plan has a different view of those people living on that land. They are seen as excellent consumers for Israeli products and a source of cheap labor as well. That is why the Israeli plan is interested in keeping them or keeping a large number of them on the land provided they accept autonomy, or provided they accept Israel's domination of the activities of their lives.

I can conclude by saying that by breaking the connection between the people and the land two purposes of the Israeli plan are served. First, Israel seizes the land and uses its material and human resources to serve Israel's economy. Second, Israel can prevent the establishment of an independent, Palestinian state which can exercise its sovereign rights on its own territory.

[AL-WATAN] And what is Egypt's position on the Palestinian state?

[al-Daqaq] Egypt's position is shaped by the amount of pressure which the United States applies to Egypt. Despite everything which has been said about one era coming to an end in Egypt and another one beginning, Egypt remains the pawn of its subordination to the United States, even though people's aspirations under this administration are different from those they had under the previous one. Egypt is the recipient of the second largest amount of U.S. aid after Israel. Given the backwardness under which Egyptian society has been living and the growing gap between population growth and economic development, Egypt has become addicted to foreign aid.

Looking at the matter from the standpoint of Egypt's immediate interests, I do not believe that Egypt is concerned about Israel's seizure of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Nor is it concerned about Israel imposing its authority over the two areas. Egypt does not want to see Israel become significantly superior to it, nor does it wish to become engaged in an unequal competition with it in the Middle East area, in Africa, and in the Mediterranean basin. And yet Egypt is unhappy about the popular action which is being offered by the intifadah as a mechanism for finding a solution to existing problems. Egypt fears that such a mechanism could become a conventional tool for solving the problems which are growing in Egypt itself. According to the strategic concept which is held in Egypt, the solution is to establish a peaceable Palestinian state which yields to and does not disrupt existing balances.

[AL-WATAN] What are the expectations from America?

[al-Daqaq] There is a difference between expectations and hopes. If we want to be realistic, dealing with the subject from the standpoint of expectations is better than dealing with it from the standpoint of hopes. Being a superpower, the United States is concerned about its interests everywhere in the world. Its strategic view is global, and that strategic, global view is countered by the view held by the Soviet Union, a superpower whose

power and capabilities are equal to those of the United States. Because there is one universe in which each of the two superpowers has its own different strategy, a so-called balance of interests developed. This balance of interests replaced the policy of confrontation and opposition which dominated relations between the two superpowers since the end of World War II.

In dealing with the question of a Palestinian state, the United States acts within these parameters. It is concerned about maintaining its political influence and ensuring its economic interests in the strategically more sensitive spots of the world. The United States sees in Israel a factor regulating the pace of political activity and social change in the area. What I mean by that is that Israel is a factor guaranteeing that natural change does not turn into radical, revolutionary change that would threaten U.S. interests. This means that the United States continues to use Israel as the area's policeman to ensure stability on terms that are acceptable to the United States.

It is thus possible to understand some of the difficulties facing the United States in its efforts to reconcile its wishes to make the Palestinian National Movement a peaceable movement with setting limits on Israel's expansion in the region. The United States wants to keep the existing balance in the area, but its policy has shifted away from its opposition to the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. The two most salient factors in bringing about that shift in U.S. policy have been international pressure, and that includes official as well as popular pressure, and the role of the Palestinian national struggle. The growing strength of that role is an important factor in the political activity which is taking place in the area to bring about stability in it.

[AL-WATAN] And the European role?

[al-Daqaq] Europe's role on the question of the Palestinian people consists of three considerations:

- There is a feeling that since 1967 Israeli conduct is becoming a threat to stability in the area and in the Mediterranean basin; it is felt that controlling Israeli conduct is necessary lest the two superpowers become involved in a direct or indirect military confrontation because of that conduct.
- There is a growing sense of individuality within the European community; the European community has been trying to rid itself of what was almost total subordination to the United States; and Europe has been trying to pursue an independent policy.
- There is a moral commitment in mainstream Europe to national Palestinian rights; average Europeans are increasing their pressure on the political establishment so it would take positions that show more support for the Palestinian position.

These three considerations are important because they obviously overlap. Europeans feel that Israel has been taking more and more advantage of their religious and humanitarian feelings.

Although the European community and the remaining European countries do not constitute a political and economic alliance which qualifies them to play the role of a superpower, their role carried more weight in many cases. That is how we see the evolution of Europe's role: Europe is becoming more sympathetic with Palestinian rights in general and with the establishment of a Palestinian state in particular. Europe's role is an important role because it is based mainly on protecting European interests.

Faysal al-Husayni

[al-Husayni] Shamir's plan is deficient, and we do not believe it is a serious plan. Its goal is only to attract public opinion around the world to increase oppression inside the country.

The glittering concept of elections dazzles Americans and Europeans. To them an election is not a mere word; it is a word with substance. In the context of elections, that substance implies freedom, sovereignty, and freedom of expression. It means that as a citizen I can determine my own destiny. Shamir's election plan, however, lacks the substance which conveys those meanings. Shamir's election plan offers no freedom, no sovereignty, and no self-determination. That is why we are telling the Americans that the luster of that plan is false and meaningless.

With regard to Israel's withdrawal from the areas where elections will be held, and conducting elections there subsequently, the issue, as I said, is not the elections process itself, but rather the goals of that elections process. These goals must be clear. Several steps must be achieved, and these steps must be accompanied by others which would ultimately lead to self-determination and a comprehensive and just solution.

The matter of holding elections can be debated if these elections are part of an unambiguous and integrated course of action which would first guarantee our rights as Palestinians.

Regarding the possibilities of establishing a state, there is no doubt that the intifadah has brought that possibility closer to reality. The intifadah has been like a bulldozer, clearing the way for building a road to the establishment of a Palestinian state.

While the intifadah hardened Israeli reactions and media positions, it raised new questions, none of which had been heard previously. We started hearing about a conflict of ideas among Israelis who subscribed to different opinions. We started hearing that there were Israelis calling for a political solution. I believe that the Israelis are now obligated to find a political solution. They have to come up with a favorable response to the Palestinians' demand. The autonomy Israel is proposing is totally unacceptable. The land of the Palestinian state is a homeland, not a hotel. We, the Palestinians, have more than just land. We have specific rights. We are a nation, but the Israelis treat us as though we were tenants

leasing a hotel, or as though we were a minority and not a nation. Any dealings with us that are conducted on that basis are basically unacceptable.

As far as Egypt's position on a Palestinian state is concerned, the position which was conveyed by officials is one which insists that the Palestinians' demand to establish a state be achieved. Egypt is applying more pressure so that Palestinian aspirations can be realized.

The American position is obvious: it does not support the establishment of a Palestinian state. That, however, will change as we manifest greater steadfastness and apply more pressure. As far as the Europeans are concerned, their position is obvious: they agree somewhat with the PLO, especially after their statement at the Madrid Conference.

#### Radwan Abu 'Ayyash

[Abu 'Ayyash] The establishment of a Palestinian state is not an easy matter, and it cannot be done overnight. Nor can it come about as a result of one Palestinian method of action or one method of Palestinian struggle for independence. The establishment of a state is a strategic goal for the Palestinian people and their leaders. It is the reason for all the momentous sacrifices they made and the continuous suffering they endured since the truth about the Arab-Israeli conflict emerged. Although the intifadah may be one of the biggest movements of the Palestinian struggle and although it could bring us closer to a Palestinian state, it will most certainly not pursue this strategy or achieve that goal by itself. What the intifadah can do, together with actions to maintain and reinforce its accompanying accomplishments, is make a clear contribution to the effort that is being made to bring that sought after goal within reach. To get a true picture that neither overstates nor understates the situation, we would affirm the following facts: The intifadah underscored the urgency of a solution to the Palestinian question in all the Arab and international areas. It firmly emphasized the notion that a solution will not be detached from the wishes of the Palestinian people who must participate in a fundamental way in formulating the principles that underlie a solution. The intifadah brought this fact home to the world.

The intifadah underscored the fact that there can be no solution to the Palestinian question unless major sacrifices are made. These sacrifices would be added to the long list of sacrifices for freedom and independence which have already been made by the Palestinian people. It is being said that a person is the best advocate for his own cause. It is the suffering of the Palestinian people that can hold the attention of the international community for a long period of time. It is that suffering which can protect the Palestinian cause from disappearing into oblivion. The enemies of our people tried to make the whole world forget about our political cause.

The intifadah's achievements and domestic, Arab, and foreign reactions to it established several fundamental points in the realm of realistic diplomacy. The intifadah

upset traditional Israeli plans and profoundly undermined one of the main concepts upon which the Jewish state was founded. This is the concept of Israeli security and absolute superiority. This concept produces Israeli decisions the purpose of which is to prevent the creation of a framework for Palestinian identity.

The sweeping, popular intifadah placed the Palestinian people squarely in front of the major challenge of building a state. How can we, the Palestinian people, build a state? Can we do that even under the occupation? This question which implies a national as well as a personal challenge reinforced the people's ability to defy death and stripped the occupation of its substance even though Israel's political, military, and security capabilities were mobilized. This question placed the Palestinian people squarely in front of their destiny. They set up committees, supreme committees, and decisionmaking committees, and they shifted from a reaction to an action mode. The intifadah became a mechanism that would get rid of the occupation or expedite the process of getting rid of the occupation. Every idea, institution, framework, or committee that is born on Palestinian territory most certainly throws out an idea, institution, framework, or a political committee which the occupation had tried to establish during the past two decades of tyranny and existing colonialism.

Moreover, the intifadah opened up new fields of activity which were welcomed internationally. As a result of restrictions, odes were written to independence, liberation, and the quest for a national identity the likes of which had never before been read or written. When the will of the people asserts its victory over enslavement, fears about the establishment of a state become irrelevant, and the matter of establishing a state becomes a matter of awareness, a matter of time, a matter of steadfastness, and a matter of an undeniable affinity for survival.

As to whether or not the intifadah has been a factor in hardening Israel's position or making that position more flexible, it may be said that Palestinian action is not the only thing affecting Israel's position. Israel's expansion strategy and the Zionist understanding of the Arab-Israeli conflict have an effect on Israel's position. The Zionist understanding of the Arab-Israeli conflict is based originally on the principle of "all the land of Israel" or that of "peace for peace." In other words, Palestinians are to have no state in Palestine. These principles have remained unchanged. They existed before 1967, and they continued to exist after 1967. Although the intifadah seriously undermined these principles, they remained unchanged, but the intifadah did impress upon the Israelis that these principles were no longer appropriate.

Who would have imagined, for example, that the Israelis would admit that there was a crisis? Who would have believed that they could talk about the political rights of the Palestinian people or the step-by-step programs that would settle the crisis in the Middle East? Who would

have expected the Israelis to rethink the matter of whether or not the occupation would continue? Who among the Israelis would have expected that Israeli control of Palestinian land would not be easy? Who among the Israelis would have expected the Palestinian people to come up with such a sweeping revolution after 22 years and upset their calculated plans? Who among the Israelis would have expected the Palestinians to use the material facts of their situation as stepping stones to achieve the independent homeland to which they are legitimately entitled? While all these facts certainly softened the attitude of rational Israelis who understand the dangers of continuing to ignore Palestinian rights, they also hardened the attitudes of those who can see nothing beyond their own arrogant and provocative selves. Such people are intoxicated by the thrill of military superiority and by the tumultuous international support for concepts which are now being undermined and questioned worldwide. The European communique which was issued recently in Madrid is the best evidence of that. Another is the continuing procession of countries recognizing the Palestinian state and the right of the Palestinian people to live on their land in the context of a clearly defined sovereignty.

Autonomy "as seen by the Israelis" is a scheme which strips the land of its people. It is obvious that this autonomy is a scheming trick which can yield no political results. Instead, it would make finding a solution to the Palestinian question more complicated, and it would involve the area in useless endeavors that will go nowhere. That is why the Palestinian people rejected autonomy. They did not want their national goals to be turned into a question of establishing an administrative body that has to answer to the occupation authority and relieve the occupier of that responsibility. Such an autonomy would dilute the national goal of establishing a Palestinian state, and it would render the concept of sovereignty meaningless. That is why the declaration of a Palestinian state at the national conference was the obvious alternative. No further concessions will be made on this matter, and nothing more will be yielded to Israeli intransigence.

Egypt's position on the Palestinian state is very clear. Egypt will accept nothing less than what the Palestinian people and their leaders, the PLO, are demanding. Egyptian officials stated that, and I personally heard the same thing on several occasions from Dr 'Isamat 'Abd-al-Majid, Egypt's minister of foreign affairs, and from Dr Usamah al-Baz, the president's political affairs adviser. That statement was made to me by Dr Butrus Ghali during his recent visit to the area. I heard the same assurance also from a number of other Egyptian officials. On the whole, Egypt's policy today relies on more coordination with the PLO when it comes to political positions and adopting the national Palestinian line. Egypt supports the establishment of an independent, Palestinian state, and it supports the Palestinian people's right to determine their own destiny. Egypt supports any positions adopted by the leaders of the Palestinian

people. This has been evident in the Egyptian leaders' declared and undeclared positions.

Concerning our expectations from America, we believe that the United States will not give up its strategic support for Israel because of the pledges it gave Israel and the agreements it made with it. The United States will not give up its support for Israel because Israel is a U.S. ally and one of the United States' main pillars of support. And yet our intifadah has put Washington in an unenviable position—portraying Washington as the only country supporting the continued occupation. Washington's international credibility has thus been undermined, and that prodded the United States to urge its ally to come up with a solution, even a superficial solution. Let me say frankly that nothing more is expected from the United States unless the Palestinians play their cards well. Arab support for Palestinians must be clear and unequivocal. Such support would pose a real threat to American interests and will, eventually, affect U.S. relations with the East. But a Palestinian position, by itself and unsupported by the Arabs, will make it difficult for us to achieve anything of substance with the Americans.

### Shu'fat Refugee Camp Profiled

44000669 Jerusalem AL-USBUA AL-JADID  
in Arabic 15 Aug 89 pp 30-31

[Text] [excerpts] "Shu'fat is the only camp whose borders overlap with the greater Jerusalem area. Because of this, attempts are constantly being made to get rid of it and move its populace to remotely populated areas." This is what 'Umar, a youth who has been exposed to the harsh conditions of those living in the camp, stated. Shu'fat camp has constant activity despite its relatively small number of people. It was founded in 1966 when its populace was transferred from the al-Sharaf quarter in the old city of Jerusalem to its outskirts. AL-USBUA AL-JADID visited the camp, moving among its neighborhoods, and recorded conversations with its inhabitants.

Abu-Muhammad, an elder in the camp, said that when the inhabitants of Bayt Thawl, Bi'r Jibrin, and a number of villages and cities migrated, the people took refuge in al-Mu'askar camp, which was known by that name, and lived in the al-Sharaf quarter, which was later called the Jewish quarter in the old city of Jerusalem. In the mid-60's the Jordanian government concluded an agreement with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency [UNRWA] to transfer the populace of the al-Sharaf quarter to the outskirts of the city under the pretext of lack of proper health conditions. Then, in effect, the inhabitants had three possible choices for settlement: near the Shu'fat slaughterhouse, near Qalandiyah camp, or near al-'Ayzariyah. The inhabitants formed a delegation to represent them in negotiations for choosing their settlement. They concluded that Shu'fat was the appropriate choice to live because of its proximity to the old city where the populace lived and the links with their economic and social activity. With their departure and

second migration, each family received a room along with a plot of land measuring 7.5 meters by 15.

[AL-USBU'A AL-JADID] What are the major problems the inhabitants currently face?

[Camp Resident] Teddy Kollek's municipality has tried since the mid-80's to vacate the camp. The slogan "every man for himself" became clear. The municipality made known its readiness to give the inhabitants a plot of land instead of their houses. Circles within the populace know about alternatives. The municipality declared its readiness to buy the dwellings, paying their full amount, but the plan failed because the inhabitants refused to go along with it. The populace was offered to be moved to al-'Ayzariyah, but it became indisputably clear that the municipality is working to remove the families from the camp. The inhabitants are currently suffering from lack of adequate water in their homes after the municipality lowered the water pressure. After the populace refused to comply with demands to pay for water, the municipality threatened to completely cut off water service to the camp should they not comply and pay for the "entitlements." Abu-'Umar, a quiet man in his 40's, says when the families failed to get a loan to finance the water line project, the populace, in 1977, began to collect 40 dinars from each family to make the project succeed and to be free from the water sites supplying the houses with their needs. They were able to succeed in extending the water lines and, according to the agreement between the Jordanian government and UNRWA, Jordan appeared clearly ready to defray the costs of the water for the municipalities that supplied the camps. Since the lines were extended the inhabitants have not had to pay a cent for water. Recently, the inhabitants of Shu'fat were surprised at the request of Kollek's municipality to defray "entitlements" of water and he made clear that the issue is not only limited to water, but goes beyond to include vital issues that concern the populace. It seems that the municipality is attempting to gradually replace UNRWA and the recent visit by Amir Hayshan, counselor to the municipality head for Arab affairs, along with officers of the Border Guard at the end of July, carried a latent meaning—to bring pressure for reforming the situation in the camp, more than solving impending problems. Hayshan got to the point when addressing the inhabitants: "You live in Jerusalem and enjoy the rights of Israeli citizens. You must take concern in how you conduct your personal affairs and disregard the intifadah [uprising]. We are prepared to provide you services." His speech clearly couched a deal...silence for services.

The official population of the camp is 5890; some of the kids say this number does not include the total population that subsequently settled there. They say the number reaches 6400. Others insist that it exceeds 7000. Its area is about 200 dunams with about 500 housing units established in 1966. There are currently about 1000 housing units. These have spread out on this same area

of land which has remained constant since its establishment. The average birth rate in Shu'fat camp is 20 children a month.

There are two schools in Shu'fat, an elementary and an intermediate for boys and girls. The number of students reaches 1600 including three kindergartens. There are two clinics in the camp; one belongs to UNRWA with a medical team composed of a doctor and seven male and female nurses. They work in the mornings, with a doctor and nurse available in the evenings in case of emergencies. The second clinic belongs to Shu'fat Charitable Society. It opened recently and has a medical team. An UNRWA nutrition center is available in the camp serving meals to children ranging between the ages of 2 and 14. Five hundred children a day will receive a meal. The youth center in the camp has not been engaged in sports, cultural, or social activities since the start of the intifadah. The civil administration closed the center, keeping an eye on its 300 members. There is an artistic troupe in Shu'fat named "The Flower of the Cities" which debuted its stage appearances at the beginning of 1985.

## EGYPT

### Funding for July Workers' Bonus Examined

#### Sources of Financing

45040432 Cairo AL-SIYASI in Arabic 2 Jul 89 p 2

[Article: "Where Will the New Bonus Come From: Will Our Financial Circumstances Allow Disbursement of the New Bonus; In the Government: Financing an Increase in Wages from Service Fees and Tax Receipts; for the First Time Loans Are Planned Outside of the State Budget]

[Text] At the end of July, payment will of the new social bonus to workers in the government, local authority, public sector, and pensioners will begin. It has been estimated to be 850 million. The new bonus is exempt from all kinds of taxes, and is paid to workers even though it may cause the pay scale for the job to be exceeded. The periodic bonus owed to workers on July 1 1989 does not enter into the basic wage on which the new bonus is calculated.

AL-SIYASI presents a full report on the new bonus and how arrangements will be made to get the necessary funding. Payment of the new social bonus set at 15 percent of the salary of workers in the government and local authority and to pensioners begins this July. The Ministry of Finance has estimated the cost of implementing the bonus at 850 million pounds, of which 550 million are for government workers. The bonus is not considered to be part of the wage, and does not affect allowances, incentives, or additional wages because it is not entered into the worker's base pay.

The government will arrange for the credit needed to pay for the new bonus in several ways, most important of which are:

- increasing the fees of some services, such as orders for telephone installation, which will go up from 50 to 70 pounds; residential electricity meter fees, up from 20 pounds; commercial meters, up 30 pounds; increasing electricity usage fees by 25 percent; increasing the fees on official stamps of all kinds, such that the regular stamp would go up from 35 to 50 piasters; and increasing registration fees at the land registry office.
- raising consumption taxes on some goods; with regard to gasoline, its price hike was postponed at this time so that the price would not go up very much.
- increasing the efficiency of all the offices involved in stimulating collection of the state's sovereign income, and issuing new bonds at appropriate prices, to be put out for public subscription.
- judiciously managing government spending, defining the ideal usage rate for commodity requirements, and following up on the implementation of these rates so as to ensure an end to the most notable waste. Also limiting spending on delegations abroad to essential business, and limiting their numbers only to what is necessary.

An official in the Ministry of Finance commented on these measures, saying: "The government turned to these arrangements to fund the bonus so that it would not have to resort to printing banknotes. Increasing revenues in this manner will not reflect on those of limited income and affect their standard of living. The government's policy will certainly be based on a balance between political, social, and economic considerations.

#### Industry Minister on Plans, Allocations

45040432 Cairo AL-SIYASI in Arabic 2 Jul 89 p 3

[Article by Samihah Karim: "Where Will the New Bonus Come from; This is What They are Thinking in Planning Revenues for the New Bonus"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Engineer Muhammad 'Abd-al-Wahhab, the minister of industry, said that this year the public sector manufacturing companies realized a surplus of 500 million pounds with a rate of return of 5 percent on invested capital, and that these economic steps might achieve a 1 percent increase in this sector's returns that would be returned to the state treasury.

He added that the public sector and the manufacturing firms under the Ministry of Industry will not raise funds by increasing the price of the companies' products, but rather by raising performance efficiency and using untapped resources, which would also cause production costs to be managed judiciously, limit the importation of production requirements, and cause it to depend on requirements that are produced locally.

The minister added that the stock of final products would be gotten rid of, and the stock of spare parts and

raw materials would be reduced to a point that would ensure continuation of the production plans of the ministry's companies. In addition, the manufacturing companies would be dealt with on the basis of the economic prices of the products, which would include the cost of production and a suitable margin of profit, such that the subsidy would be transferred to the final distribution phase. The industrial public sector could have raised prices to get the funds needed to cover the cost of the social bonus which was decreed for the workers, but we are working to control prices so as to achieve a balance in the market and deliver products at prices that are right for the people.

He added that annual wages for the workers in the industrial public sector total almost 1.5 billion pounds, while the total value of production is 13 billion pounds; that is, wages represent 12 percent of the value of production. If wages were increased by 15 percent, the cost on the average would increase by only 1.8 percent, which is a limited amount, and the manufacturing companies always absorb the effects of these increases in workers' wages by working to manage all areas of work and production more judiciously.

The Finance Ministry has demanded that public sector authorities increase their revenues by reducing waste and spoilage, getting the maximum benefit from expenditures, working to raise worker efficiency, applying a policy that would link wages to production, improving performance and economic indicators on actual production, and making a goal of realizing an appropriate rate of return for the state, consistent with the volume of capital invested. It mentioned the need to make use of stagnant stock, and that work must be done to improve the position of foreign transactions, which would bring about an improvement in the balance of payments by increasing exports and managing imports. Work must be done to integrate and mesh the needs of public sector companies with those of government agencies, which would ensure the distribution of products and limit stocks, and perhaps it would ensure the management of their use.

#### How Funds Are To Be Raised

In a report on how to raise the funds needed to improve wage and salary levels submitted to President Husni Mubarak by Dr Ahmad al-Safati, professor in the College of Economics and member of the economic committee and the committee on wages and salaries in the National Party, he stressed some of the main points, one of which is that if public expenditures could be reduced and current revenues increased to around 6.5 billion pounds, that would help to reduce the deficit in the state's 89/90 general budget and increase workers' wages to improve their situation and reduce the burdens of economic reform programs.

Another is that the proposed increase in wages would increase worker morale, which would bring about an increase in productivity and a reduction in waste and

spoilage, and save money. The report included a proposal that an intensive study be made of the changing wages, of the possibility of including them in the basic wage, and of devising an integrated system of incentives to raise performance.

The report also takes into consideration the principle of social justice and redistribution of burdens so that the groups with more income would bear some of the burden, which would assure the achievement of goals.

It also recommends that work be done on improving the performance level in the state's administration and increasing worker productivity in the public sector so that it would become better able to absorb a larger number of the workers, along with expanding the field for the private sector in order to achieve that goal.

### Columnist Says 'War on Religiosity' Began Under Foreign Rule

45040459 Cairo *AL-SHA'B in Arabic* 1 Aug 89 p 5

[Mustafa Mashhur Editorial: "Is It War on Religiosity or on Extremism?"]

[Text] The reality under which we have been living for a long time confirms that there is a multi-tactical war against religiosity and not against so-called extremism. It is not a new war, but an old war managed from outside our Islamic countries. Evidently, it is a development and an extension of the crusades. The plan for this war was drafted when the foreign British, French and Italian armies occupied our Islamic countries.

The occupiers implemented this plan during their occupation with the cooperation of the weak governments they created. Before the military occupation ended, these armies had entrenched their political, cultural and economic occupation so that implementation of the premeditated plan may, regrettably, continue under the following governments more strongly than under the occupation.

When we say that it is a war on religiosity, we mean that it is a war on Islamic religiosity, not on religiosity in general. It is evident that Christian citizens enjoy freedom in their activity inside and outside their churches. This does not displease us. But we do envy them and we wish that our mosques would enjoy such activity. We note, for example, some of the tactics of this war which began under the occupation and continued and worsened afterwards.

They eliminated the Islamic Shari'ah and brought in man-made western laws.

The occupiers brought us various forms of corruption, such as alcohol and other evils. Bars have proliferated and garnered the protection of the law.

The occupiers also brought us gambling and lottery. Gambling clubs have proliferated under government supervision. The state treasury gets taxes from these clubs.

The occupiers also brought in corruption with dolled-up women, modern fashions, base films, sex novels, lewd pictures and magazines abounding with corruption and decadence.

Dens of decadence, such as dance clubs and cabarets, proliferated. Even prostitution was introduced officially and was not abolished until the late 1940's. Brothels spread under the protection of the vice police, whose task includes eliminating prostitution.

The occupiers also interfered in the educational curricula and devoured them of their religious content. They even injected into the curricula theories that conflict with the Islamic faith. The importance of religious education was diminished by slighting the value of al-Azhar graduates in terms of both status and salary. Matters were made worse by sabotaging al-Azhar with what was at the time called development of al-Azhar. Memorization of the Koran was eliminated as a prerequisite for enrollment in al-Azhar.

We now find that some, or most, graduates of al-Azhar cannot read the Koran according to the Koran recitation rules and that they misvowel words when reading the Koran.

One of the faulty concepts coming to us from the west is the concept of separating church from state. If they [in the west] embraced this concept as a result of domination by the clergymen and of the clergymen's intervention in state affairs in a certain way, then our religion, Islam, is a complete system of life that regulates our life in the best manner because it is a system that comes from God, the wise and the omniscient. Matters reached such a state that President al-Sadat said: No politics in religion and no religion in politics.

One of the things they wanted to prevail among us was to have us emulate the west in everything if we wanted to progress and advance. The fact is that they wanted us to emulate the west only in what is damaging so that we may corrupt our morals and may stray from our religion and our faith.

One of the things the enemies did during the occupation was to bring in missionaries to try to convert some Muslims to Christianity through schools, clinics, hospitals, and charitable associations. This missionary invasion has not achieved great success in some of our Islamic countries, such as Egypt, even though it is still active in other countries, such as Sudan, Indonesia and a number of African countries. The recent developments in Somalia are nothing but a result of the missionary activity there.

The occupiers also brought us usury, which has invaded all our financial transactions and caused our economic crises.

One of the most dangerous things done to Islam and the Muslims in the war launched by the enemies of Islam is the toppling of the caliphate so that the Islamic nation may be disunited and torn into ministates, and so that sedition, conflicts, and even wars may be provoked between the Islamic countries. The British sowed sedition between Egypt and Sudan. We called for evacuation and for unity of the Nile Valley. But regrettably, Sudan's separation from Egypt was made final in 'Abd-al-Nasir's days. The British also sowed sedition between North and South Sudan and I fear that the latest coup in Sudan will make the south's separation from the north final. Here we are facing complications in movement from one Islamic country to another and difficulty in getting entry visas at a time when the European countries have embarked on a unity plan that abolishes visas. Is it hoped that the groupings recently established among a number of Arab countries will eliminate these differences and will seek Arab unity, and then Islamic unity, which creates strength against the enemies and against their malice toward Islam and the Muslims?

It is through the enemies' scheming that the Zionist entity has been planted in the heart of the Islamic nation like a cancer devouring the nation's body.

It is in this general climate of war on religiosity—a war managed and guided by the enemies—that malice arose against the Muslim Brotherhood, because it spreads the spirit of genuine religiosity in the hearts of the Muslims and of youth. During their occupation, the British encouraged governments to practice this malice and this war against the Muslim Brothers through arrests, closure of brotherhood branches and the transfer of the martyred imam to Qina.

The brotherhood played an effective role in fighting the British occupation and organized numerous conferences which demanded evacuation and unity of the Nile Valley.

The Muslim Brotherhood participated with the Higher Arab Committee, headed by al-Hajj Amin al-Husayni, in the struggle against the Zionist gangs. The brotherhood did this with the approval of the Egyptian Government existing at the time.

When the Muslim Brothers gave magnificent examples of heroism in that war, the Zionists stirred their supporters and the U.S., British, and French ambassadors met in camps in Fayid and agreed to ask the al-Naqrashī cabinet to disband the Muslim Brotherhood and arrest its members. Their request was granted, and this resulted in some complications, including withdrawal of the freedom fighting forces from Palestine. Some brotherhood members assassinated al-Naqrashī and Ibrahim 'Abd-al-Hadi's government assassinated the martyred imam. The 1948 ordeal then developed and the government seized the Islamic activities that had been set up by

the brotherhood, such as the Islamic schools and hospitals, the Islamic trade firms, and the Islamic press, leaving the dens of corruption and the lewd press to play their role in corruption and in fighting religiosity.

But the west, which schemes against Islam, did not find in the elected civilian governments the desired strong instrument it could use to strike the Islamic tide. So it resorted to military coups in the Arab and Islamic world and it got its wish in the violent blows which those coups dealt the Islamists generally and the Muslim Brotherhood in particular. Successive and harsh ordeals were encountered in 1954, 1965 and 1981. The same goes for countries other than Egypt. The war on Islamic religiosity still goes on under the pretext of fighting religious extremism. Under this umbrella, the fight goes on against numerous manifestations of religiosity, such as the veil, beards, retreats, and holiday prayers in the open.

As for the alleged extremism, it is a small phenomenon among a limited number of people who have been incited by this war on religiosity. The government has not succeeded in dealing with this phenomenon and has countered it with extreme violence that has helped to strengthen the phenomenon. It seems that the government these days is engaged in premeditated terrorism until the economic steps required by the IMF, such as raising prices and taxes, abolishing subsidies and other measures, are implemented in a climate of terrorism that does not permit the masses to rebel or to complain about these measures.

We say that it is the ruling regime's duty to re-examine its plan of war on religiosity. Our people are religious, God be thanked, and their religiosity will not be undermined by any war or resistance. Rather, this war will make them cling more strongly to their religion. Moreover, a return to religion and to the Islamic solution to our problems is the path, the only path, toward fundamental reform and toward creating a climate of security, justice, and cooperation between the ruling regime and the people and toward replacing this climate that is charged with mistrust and hatred which has resulted from the oppressive measures taken by the security men. This is the path, and hope lies in this path if we truly want reform.

## ISRAEL

**Kites Flown in Gaza to Warn of IDF Approach**  
44000670 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT  
in Hebrew 13 Sep 89 p 2

[Text] David Regev reports that according to military elements, colorful kites are being flown in the Gaza Strip refugee camps in order to warn camp residents of approaching soldiers. An investigation reveals that strike forces use different colors to indicate the soldiers' identity: red flags indicate Border Police, green flags indicate IDF soldiers, and other colors indicate that the coast is clear.

**Rise in Killed, Injured Since Appointment of New Southern Commander***TA0109162889 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ  
in Hebrew 1 Sep p 2*

[text] There was a steep rise in the number of those killed and injured in the Gaza Strip in July and August, since the appointment of the new O/C Southern Command Matan Vilna'i. According to information provided by the IDF [Israel Defense Force] spokesman's office last night, 12 Gaza Strip residents were killed and 160 injured by the IDF in July, and 14 were killed and 135 injured in August. These figures are almost twice as high as those registered during the 2 months preceding Vilna'i's appointment.

**Two Assassins of Suspected Collaborators Sentenced to Life***TA0509154589 Jerusalem Domestic Service  
in Hebrew 1500 GMT 5 Sep 89*

[Text] The Beersheba District Court has sentenced two inmates of the Qetzi'ot detention facility to life imprisonment after convicting them of having assassinated fellow inmates whom they suspected of collaborating with the authorities. Our correspondent Alon Ben-David reports that a third defendant will be sentenced at the end of the month, after the court appoints a defense lawyer for him.

**Criminal Incidents in Ansar 3 Described***TA0309185989 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 3 Sep p 2*

[Text] Since the beginning of this year, at least 10 detainees, suspected of cooperating with Israel, have been murdered at the Ansar 3 detention facility, and an additional 10 were protected by IDF [Israel Defense Force] soldiers after their fellow inmates tried to kill them. Detainees are usually murdered by strangulation with a towel, though crueller methods have been employed. During a recent journalist tour of the facility, David Tzemah, commander of the prison, said that criminal acts, pimping, and raping are usually the motives for the murders in the prison.

**Soviet Broadcast Presents Israel More Favorably***TA0409174289 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 4 Sep 89*

[Text] MA'ARIV writes that a recent Soviet television report on the situation in Israel "was amazingly objective, bordering on sympathetic. Not only is Israel not accustomed to such an attitude from Moscow, but it is not pampered either by television stations from New York, London and Paris, and quite honestly, even by Israeli television. It is good to know that we look like this; it is even better to know that we are presented thus in Moscow. After dozens of years of abhorrent anti-Israeli propaganda, this was merely a drop of relief in a sea of venom. But it is unlikely that it was accidental." The paper maintains that "a broadcast such as this hints

at a change in the emphasis of Soviet policy in the Middle East. Moscow is signaling. The assumption that a more balanced policy concerning our region is forming in the Kremlin is also reinforced by the article—titled 'Intifadah [uprising], and What Next?'—by Alexander Bubín, one of the most important commentators in the Soviet press, which was published about a week ago in IZVESTIYA. This article, in the Kremlin's official journal, analyzes in a fairly balanced manner the situation in the territories and the deployment of forces in the Middle East, and proposes that diplomatic relations between Israel and the Soviet Union be reestablished." MA'ARIV concludes: "It may be assumed that this is not the end of the story."

**Settlements Under Current Administration Examined***TA0109162789 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ  
in Hebrew 1 Sep 89 p 2*

[Text] Since the formation of the present government, seven new settlements have been established. Five of them were stipulated in the latest coalition agreement, and the other two were agreed to in previous coalition agreements. In the coming months, another three settlements will be established, in accordance with the latest agreement. The three are: Dugit in the Qatif district, Reyhan 5 in northern Samaria, and Ramat Qidron in the Judean hills region. The following settlements have already been established and comprise part of the latest coalition agreement: Tzoref in the Etzion Bloc, Talmon and Ofarim in the Binyamin district, and Kfar Darom and Pe'at Sade in the Qatif district. According to the agreement between the Likud and Labor, the Finance Ministry was to have transferred NIS [new Israeli shekels] 30 million to the Ministry of Construction and Housing. The Knesset Finance Committee approved the transfer 4 months ago, but the Ministry of Finance is holding the money up. In the meantime, the establishment of the new settlements is being financed by the Judea, Samaria, and Gaza Council, the Amana movement and the local councils. Two other settlements were also set up, but did not appear on the list: Tzofim and Avney Hefetz in Samaria. In addition, there are 2,000 housing units currently under construction throughout the West Bank. It is estimated that 1,500 of them will be completed and occupied by the end of 1990. Today, there are 80,000 Jewish residents in the territories; this number will approach 90,000 by the end of the decade.

**Rabbi Levinger Receives Bodyguards Following Threats***TA0809092489 Tel Aviv HADASHOT  
in Hebrew 8 Sep 89 p 1*

[Text] Ya'ir Nahora'i reports that following Radio Damascus threats on his life, Rabbi Moshe Levinger has received two armed soldiers from an elite unit as his

personal body guards. The soldiers, graduates of the anti-terrorism course, will accompany Levinger wherever he goes.

### **Military Sector Commanders To Meet More With Locals**

*TA1809193089 Tel Aviv HADASHOT  
in Hebrew 18 Sep p 2*

[Text] Ori Nir reports that O/C Central Command Yitzhaq Mordekhay has instructed West Bank military sector commanders to be present during meetings between Civil Administration heads in the West Bank and delegations of Arab public figures. According to Central Command sources, this order was given following a meeting between Maj Gen Mordekhay and a group of some 60 notables and family heads from the Hebron area last week. The meeting was intended to allow the commanders of military forces in the area to learn first-hand about the residents' mood, about their problems and about the possibility of lessening excessive pressures on them. Until now, Israeli participation in such meetings had been limited to officers and officials of the Civil Administration.

### **Agreement Reached To Protect Jewish Cars in Territories**

*TA0109113489 Jerusalem Domestic Service  
in English 1000 GMT 1 Sep 89*

[Text] An agreement has been finalized on installing protective bars on 10,000 private cars owned by Jewish residents of the territories. The agreement calls for the owners to pay for one-third of the cost of installment, and the Defense, Finance, and Transport Ministries to pick up the remainder of the cost. The total cost of implementing the arrangement is estimated at 10 million shekels.

### **Prohibition on Entry of Private Vehicles From Territories Considered**

*TA0709164089 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ  
in Hebrew 7 Sep p 1*

[Text] Minister of Transport Moshe Qatzav yesterday announced the establishment of a joint team of the ministries of Transport and Defense. The team will discuss problems stemming from the movement of vehicles from the territories on the roads in Israel proper, and will examine proposals to prohibit the entry of private cars from the territories into Israel proper and to reopen the Tel Aviv-Gaza Strip railroad line. The prohibition of the entry of private vehicles will enable the Ministry of Transport to arrange public transportation for residents of the territories, which would reduce both security and road-safety risks. According to Qatzav's report to the defense minister, 65 percent of the vehicles entering Israel from the territories were found to endanger traffic. Qatzav also told the defense minister that according to Transport Ministry statistics, in 1988, 350 vehicles

belonging to Arabs from the territories were involved in car accidents, in which 18 people were killed and 650 were injured. According to Qatzav, there have been many attacks against Civil Administration vehicle licensing offices in the territories during the last year, and hostile elements are pressing driving test examiners to allow those being tested pass, even if they are unqualified to drive. Qatzav added that there has been an increase in the number of unlicensed garages in the territories, and as a result, many vehicles which are unfit for driving are present on the roads.

### **Statistics on Labor, Herut Delegates Given**

*44000673 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ  
in Hebrew 21 Aug 89 p 3*

[Text] Lili Galili reports that according to a poll conducted by the Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, Herut and Labor delegates are very different in terms of age, education, countries of origin, religious observance. Of Herut delegates, 35 percent are under 39 years, as compared with 18 percent of Labor delegates who fall in this category. In Labor, 56 percent have high school or university education, as compared with 36 percent in Herut. Among Herut delegates, 52 percent are of Asian and African descent, as compared with 32 percent among Labor delegates. Regarding religious observance, 60 percent of the Herut delegates defined themselves as being largely traditional, and 30 percent of Labor defined themselves as such.

### **Statistics on Arab Sector Education Given**

*44040512 Nazareth AL-SINNARAH  
in Arabic 14 Jul 89 p 7*

[Article: "Every Third Arab is a Student, and Every Fifth Student in the State is an Arab, But..."]

[Text] The number of Arab students in the country is 224,000 (in kindergartens, schools, and institutions of higher learning).

They are distributed as follows: 20,800 in kindergarten, 141,152 in elementary school, 24,488 in secondary school, 630 in post secondary (including 475 in the teachers' course), and 4,000 university students.

Arab students make up 20 percent of the total number of students in the state, and 60 percent of the total number of students in the Northern District.

The number of Arab teachers is 10,759, men and women.

Feminization of education in the Arab sector has not taken place as it has in the Jewish one. The percentage of Arab women teachers at the elementary level is 42 percent (compared to 88 percent among the Jews), and 26 percent in the post elementary levels (compared to 70 percent among the Jews).

Arab teachers make up 12 percent of the total number of teachers in the state. If there were true equality, this would have to be increased by 50 percent to 18 percent, which is the percentage of Arab citizens.

Facilities: The basic facilities in the Arab and Jewish schools are the same, however discrimination arises as a result of:

- The Arab schools teach three required languages (Arabic, Hebrew, and English), compared to two languages (Hebrew and English) in the Jewish schools. This situation occurs at the expense of teaching the mother tongue in the Arab schools, and causes there to be an 8 percent difference between facilities in Arab and Jewish schools.
- The Arab schools do not get anything from the development packages in the schools, while each package is worth 40,000 hours! All of them go to the Jewish side!

The Ministry of Education claims that the shortage of classrooms in the Arab schools is 500, but the fact is that the ministry is manipulating the figures, since in fact 515 classrooms are rented, but that is not the entire shortage, since there are 716 rooms that are not leased but are unsuitable for teaching because they do not meet any of the standards followed in the ministry. They include 200 rooms in the Negev from barracks and others things, and 56 flammable rooms that could turn in an instant into fire traps. Such rooms are not found in the Jewish schools, and could not be found.

Arab schools need 115 classrooms every year to meet the natural increase and reduce dropout (failure).

The following committee believes that the government has the obligation to build 280 classrooms a year, in addition to halls, laboratories, playgrounds, etc.

Sixty percent of Arab schools are without shelters, and if we were to consider that the Arab villages do not have public shelters, then the situation is extremely serious.

When an Arab student begins his studies at the mandatory phase, he is 2 to 3 years behind the Jewish student because of the declining situation in pre-mandatory education in the Arab sector.

Two percent of children up to 2 years of age are in Arab nursery schools (compared to 67 percent among the Jews).

Twenty percent of children up to 3 years of age are in Arab nursery schools (compared to 84 percent among the Jews).

Twenty percent of children up to 3 [as published] years of age are in Arab nursery schools (compared to 99 percent among the Jews).

There are only 304 kindergartens in 58 Arab and mixed towns; in other words, two thirds of Arab villages are without kindergartens.

A third of Arab students do not complete mandatory education (tenth grade), and 50 percent do not complete secondary education.

Therefore the percentage of Arab dropouts is 28 percent of the total number of young dropouts in the state.

The severity of dropping out is increased by the lack of youth homes, cultural centers, and other supports.

In the Arab sector there are only 46 youth homes, and their facilities are 1.2 percent of facilities among the Jews, that is, less than one and a half percent. In Qiryat Bialik alone there are more facilities than in the entire Arab sector.

#### **Comparisons between the 1984 Education Conference and the 1989 Education Conference (this week):**

- The educational situation in the Arab sector was much worse in 1984 than it is today. Due to the activities of the committee following education, and the popular and local support which it obtained, huge improvements have occurred:
- The shortage of classrooms in 1984 was 40 percent, and today it is 20 percent. (The number of classrooms that were built and delivered in past years has been 749; 198 rooms are being built, and 255 classrooms have been authorized to be built).

Twenty-five percent of the classrooms that have been built so far were at the expense of local authorities and their own budgets, and came about through volunteer efforts and donations from those in charge.

In 1984 there were 13 public libraries, today there are 26.

In 1984 there were 10 truant officers, today there are 84.

Forty-six percent of Arab students studied 4 units of mathematics in the Arab schools, and among the Jews only 41 percent!

Seventy percent of Arab teachers hold bachelors degrees or above, while among the Jews it is only 64 percent.

The percentage of graduates in 1984 was 70 percent, and today it is 85 percent (among the Jews it is 93 percent).

Fifty percent of the budgets of local Arab authorities is spent on educational things.

There were 19 directors of educational sections in 1984, today there are 46.

There were 9 directors of athletics sections in 1984, today there are 3.

These details were drawn from the comprehensive survey done by Dr Majid al-Hajj, chairman of the committee following Arab educational issues.

### **Educational Expansion in Gaza Reported**

TA0709100589 Tel Aviv DAVAR

[Text] This year, 6,000 pupils will join those studying in Gaza. At a time when schools are being closed in the center of Tel Aviv because of a lack of pupils, new schools are being opened in Gaza. UNRWA [United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East] opens them. This organization, which faced economic hardship for many years, is now blossoming again; the intifadah [uprising] opened the hands of various tight-fisted countries, and the contributions are flowing in. The organization's budget in the Gaza Strip increased from \$20 million 2 years ago, to \$60 million this year. In preparation for the new school year, the organization established 28 new elementary schools; the UNRWA educational system is limited to elementary-school education. The Civil Administration, whose resources decreased this year, built only four new educational institutions. Consequently, pupils also attend a second shift in its system, which provides area residents with high-school education as well. The number of pupils in the 116 government schools in the Gaza Strip will reach 95,000 this year; the 242 UNRWA schools will be attended by 93,000 pupils. The difficult problem of the educational system in the Gaza Strip is where to direct its graduates. At one time, in response to the failure of Gaza Strip residents to support his peace initiative, President Anwar Sadat reduced the number of Gaza Strip high-school graduates eligible to study in Egyptian universities. Today, the yearly quota is 300 students. In the past, it was 1,500 per year. The Islamic University in Gaza, with an enrollment of 5,000, is called a university even though it has not received academic accreditation. Because of the intifadah, it is closed almost all the time.

## **JORDAN**

### **Jordan Valley Operations May Be Anti-Regime**

TA1709183389 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT  
17 Sep 89

[text] For the third time in a short period, incidents occur in the Jordan Valley, which cannot but be explained as an attempt to open a new front against Israel. Still, there is apparently truth to the theory that the actions are indirectly aimed against the Jordanian regime as well: they were meant to prove that the king no longer controls what happens on the Jordan River, across from Israel. And perhaps it is also a signal to the king, that there are people who would not hesitate to take any possible measure to punish him and make him pay the price for his support of the Iraqi president. The conclusion is that coordination between ourselves and Jordan, even if by way of a third party, is needed now, more than ever. Jordan is no less interested in having a quiet border with Israel than are we.

### **First Conference of Jordanian People's Democratic Party Greeted**

44000667 Nicosia AL-HURRIYAH  
in Arabic 13 Aug 89 p 29

[Text] Immediately following the announcement of the establishment of the Jordanian People's Democratic Party and the convening of its first conference on 25 July 1989 the leadership of the party received a flow of congratulatory messages from the Jordanian nationalist forces and dozens of nationalist personalities and social organizations in the country. These forces, organizations, and personalities recognized that this brave step will establish unity of the nationalist forces and strengthen their role in unifying the masses in their struggle for liberation and a free, honorable life.

At the forefront of these greetings was a warm message which the central committee of the Jordanian Communist Party sent to the leadership of the Jordanian People's Democratic Party, as follows:

The Central Committee of the Jordanian People's Democratic Party

Dear comrades,

We received with pleasure and satisfaction confirmation of the news on the convening of the first national conference of the Jordanian People's Democratic Party. This news came at the same time the masses of our people in Jordan plunged into the growing struggle to realize the goals of the popular, heroic current and translate it into a functional, palpable reality. These goals received general consensus from all popular circles and various nationalist and progressive forces and because of it righteous martyred masses dedicated themselves and enormous sacrifices were made.

O comrades,

The progressive stage which our popular struggle has entered, since April of this year, and the far-reaching horizons which have opened before this brave and daring struggle, demand from all forces, and at its forefront those forces most closely linked with the masses and defense of their true and basic interests, an overwhelming spirit of responsibility, inventiveness, and reawakening in all faithfulness and honor with the burdens of responsibility cast upon its shoulders toward political, economic, and social causes and interests of our people, and to oppose conditions that alienate our masses and their causes. The ruling alliance in our country, knowing its nature and the characteristics of those classes from which it is formed, perpetrated numerous crimes against our masses. At the same time when the methods and policies of our country reached the chasms of disaster, the course still remained straight, bearing the total burden of this aggravated crisis for our toiling masses. Our masses view with all seriousness and rely heavily on the role of the parties and nationalist and progressive forces and its coming struggle.

O comrades,

We aspire to be the Jordanian People's Democratic Party, one of the battling platoons of the Jordanian National Liberation Movement that works to establish national, democratic rule in Jordan, and to lift high the banner of solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian Arab people and the heroic intifadah [uprising] on its path of achieving the just and legitimate goals of ending the occupation, repatriation and self-determination, and building an independent state under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

## OMAN

### Third Five-Year Plan Outlined

44040554f Muscat AL-WATAN in Arabic 23 Jul 89 p 1

[Article: "Implementation of Third Five-Year Development Plan Would Complete Infrastructure"]

[Excerpt] [Passage Omitted] The Sultanate, thanks to three five-year development plans, has been able to complete the infrastructure necessary for its spurt of development. It was able to raise the standard of living to a remarkable degree, and to greatly increase the rate of the country's economic growth.

With the arrival of the glorious 23 July, the Sultanate has taken enormous strides and has taken its deserved place among nations of the world.

In the transport sector, there are now more than 4,000 kilometers of paved roads, in addition to more than 18,000 miles of leveled roads compared with a maximum of eight kilometers in 1970. We now have three ports—Qabus, the port of Al-Fahl in Muscat, and Raysut in the southern region.

The education sector took tremendous leaps forward. There are now about 596 schools and institutions compared to only three prior to the blessed renaissance. The number of pupils has risen to 300,000 boys and girls from no more than 900 in 1970.

In the health services sector, we now have more than 48,000 hospitals serving all parts of the Sultanate, in addition to 81 health centers, 65 preventive medicine units, and a number of maternity clinics. The health care renaissance was crowned with the inauguration of Sultan's Hospital which cost 80 million Omani riyals and comprises most medical specialties.

Foreign trade has realized for the Sultanate high growth rates that increase year by year. Exports of Omani fish, lemons, citrus, copper, and dates have increased tremendously thanks to the diligence in diversifying sources of national income.

Several projects implemented last year in the post, telephone, and telegraph sector have given the Sultanate the most modern telecommunications network in the

Arab world. It now covers most parts of the Sultanate. We now also own a complex of earth stations for world satellites.

The Sultanate has also successfully completed the second year of agriculture after the implementation of such important farm projects as irrigation development, the introduction of new farming techniques, and expansion of the arable area.

### Agreement To Develop Sultanate Ports With Japanese Signed

44040554a Muscat AL-WATAN in Arabic 13 Jul 89 p 1

[Article: "Agreement Signed With Japanese Government to Prepare a Basic Plan for Ports in the Sultanate. Comprehensive Survey of the Coast of al-Batinah in Preparation for New Port"]

[Text] Agreement to prepare a basic plan for ports in the Sultanate was signed at the Ministry of Communications yesterday afternoon within the context of technical cooperation between the governments of the Sultanate and Japan.

H.E. Hammud Bin-'Abdallah al-Harithi, minister of communications, signed the agreement on behalf of the government of the Sultanate. Mr. Kuruda, head of the technical delegation, signed for Japan Agency for International Technical Cooperation on behalf of the Japanese government.

H.E. Salim Bin-'Ali al-Sayyabi, acting undersecretary of communications, stated to the Omani News Agency that the study will include an evaluation of studies already done on the Sultanate's shores between Muscat and Sur. It will also include a comprehensive coastal survey of al-Batinah between Muscat and Sahar in preparation for selecting a suitable site for a new port.

H.E. added that the Japanese technical team will evaluate these new studies as well as the expansion of the port of Qabus, select a site for the new port, and determine the stages necessary for implementation. H.E. pointed out that the possibility of future expansion of the new port will be kept in mind.

H.E. Salim Bin-'Ali al-Sayyabi, undersecretary of communications, said in his statement that the study will take 12 months to complete at a cost of \$1.5 million.

As to the new port currently under study, H.E. Salim Bin-'Ali al-Sayyabi, acting undersecretary of communications, said that the new port will be a companion to the port of Qabus and will absorb its excess capacity resulting from the Sultanate's increasing traffic.

H.E. pointed out that the new port will handle mostly container ships, that it will be on an economically feasible site, and that it will be of service to the citizens.

### **Qabus Port Development Project Discussed**

44040554h Muscat AL-WATAN in Arabic 2 Aug 89 p 4

[Article: "Qabus Port Development Project To Cost 17 Million Omani Riyals; Port Capacity To More than Quadruple."]

[Text] H.E. 'Awad Bin-Salim al-Shanfari, executive director of Port Services Establishment, the Port of Qabus, said the Qabus port expansion and development project will take three years to complete at a total cost of about 17 million Omani riyals.

He told the Omani News Agency that the development project will be completed in two stages, one urgent and the other long-range. The urgent stage consists of transforming two piers into an additional specialized container station to give the Qabus port two state-of-the-art container stations. The new station will be equipped with two bridge cranes in addition to the two cranes presently available at the port.

He added that the two stations will be equipped with a suitable number of container handling yard cranes in accordance with the latest technological standards. The Shuttifi gulf nearby will also be reclaimed and the existing hill between it and the present port will be removed. The area will be turned into a modern storage facility that will more than quadruple the port's absorptive capacity.

H.E. the executive director of the Port Services Establishment, The Port of Qabus, said that during the second stage of the development project, the inward channel and the port basin will be dredged to a depth of more than 40 feet, allowing access to the largest container and cargo vessels working in the area. The second stage also entails a storage yard pier within the port and building to house the needed additional infrastructure such as offices, depots, and additional handling equipment for containers and general merchandise.

He pointed out that there was a noticeable improvement in port services in 1988 when 613,814 shipping tons of general merchandise were handled; a 97 percent increase over 200,714 shipping tons in 1987.

As to container vessels arriving in the Sultanate, 22,071 ships were handled in 1988 for a 5 percent increase over 20,619 container vessels in 1987. The port handled 5,910 export container vessels in 1988 for a 14 percent increase from 4,939 container vessels a year earlier.

The port also handled 79,502 re-export container vessels in 1988, or a 3 percent increase from 76,944 re-export container vessels in 1987.

As to autos and mechanical equipment, 17,708 units were handled in 1988 compared with 11,535 units a year earlier. This is an increase of 53 percent.

H.E. 'Awad Bin-Salim al-Shanfari said in his statement that the port handled 16,522 arriving container vessels in

the first 6 months of this year, comparable to the same period last year. It also handled 2,875 export container ships during the same period for an increase of more than 19 percent over the first 6 months of 1988.

As to re-export container ships, their number during the first 6 months of the current year increased to 42,238 from 41,732 a year earlier.

The number of autos and mechanical units handled rose from 8,735 units in the first 6 months of 1988 to 9,959 during the same period this year. The amount of bulk merchandise rose from 96,848 shipping tons in the first 6 months of 1988 to 106,589 shipping tons in the same period this year. This is an increase of 10 percent.

### **Date Exports Detailed**

44040554e Muscat AL-WATAN in Arabic 8 Jul 89 p 4

[Article: "Growth Forecast This Year for Date Exports; Two Date Plants at Nizwa and Al-Rustaq Have Combined Sales of 1,086 Tons"]

[Text] The planting of date palms in the Sultanate has received the attention of the wise government of His Majesty Sultan Qabus Bin-Sa'id the magnificent, because it is the main crop of the Omani agrarian economy. The Sultanate has about 8 million date palms planted on 2,0194 hectares, or about 49 percent of total land under cultivation.

Abundant date crops—five million palms produce more than 40 kinds of the best dates—prompted the construction of two processing plants at Nizwa and at al-Rustaq to be the nucleus of agribusiness in the Sultanate. They were inaugurated in November of 1975 and began actual production in January of 1976.

The date facilities at Nizwa and al-Rustaq had fine sales in 1988 of 1,096 tons valued at 513,953 Omani riyals. Of that, exports accounted for 663 tons valued at 203,464 Omani riyals. Domestic sales amounted to 423.5 tons valued at 310,498 Omani riyals.

The Agribusiness Directorate at the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries said in its annual report for 1988 that it is focusing on prospective foreign buyers of Omani dates in order to help the two processing plants operate at their maximum annual capacity of between 2,000 and 3,000 tons.

The report forecasts a tremendous jump this year in exports of processed dates as a result of contacts with a number of countries in Europe, Asia, and Africa.

The annual report of the Agribusiness Directorate showed that the date processing plants at Nizwa and al-Rustaq employ 145 men and women 99 percent of whom are native. The report said the workers have become skilled in date processing and packaging and would be able to meet the diverse standards and specification demands of world markets.

It also pointed out that the Agribusiness Directorate has been diligent in training plant workers and giving them advanced on-the-job training on boilers, vacuum sealing, and steam moisturizing. Supervisors at the Directorate and at the plants were also dispatched to neighboring countries for specialized training on dates and date packaging.

As to product development and improved operating performance at the plants, the annual report explained that the Directorate has so improved packaging at its plants in Nizwa and al-Rustaq that dates brought to domestic and world markets have become desirable and acceptable.

It added that the Directorate, in cooperation with the Directorate General for the Development of Local Societies at the Ministry of Social Works, has been studying the feasibility of packaging the dates in traditional Omani containers made of date palm fronds. Six packages have been tested (al-Mishan and al-Qafir). Allotments for packaging have been approved under the plant productivity program. The report pointed out that the project will encourage citizens to revive this traditional cottage industry as an additional new source of income for farm families.

The annual report asserted that Omani technicians were successful in modifying production lines at the al-Rustaq date processing plant. They completed the modifications in June of last year. Modified production lines were tested on export dates and found to have a production capacity of 30 tons in 10 hours.

It added that the Directorate has equipped the date collection center at Sama'il and used it to receive last season's dates. The center, according to early indications, is popular with farmers.

In the area of applied experimentation, the report mentioned that dates have been tested as an ingredient in the manufacture of biscuits, cookies, and candied dates mixed with sesame, almonds, and pistachios. Experimentation began last October and the products were exhibited last November at the Oman International Agricultural Fair.

As to technical studies, the report explained that the Directorate has experimented with date polishing and with the various kinds of Omani dates at the al-Nizwa plant. The best treatment was found to be for half an hour at 85 degrees Celsius which gave the dates a fine sheen and moisture of between 20 and 22 percent.

#### Value of Exports Reported

44040554c Muscat AL-WATAN in Arabic 11 Jul 89 p 4

[Article: "1988 and 1987 Compared: Omani Non-Oil Exports Increase by 20 Percent; Fish and Seafood Lead Exports"]

[Text] Total Omani nonoil exports to the outside world increased by 20 percent in 1988.

They were valued last year at 154.8 million Omani riyals compared with 123.9 million Omani riyals in 1987 for an increase of 30.9 million riyals, according to the latest issue of the quarterly report of the Directorate of Statistics at the Development Council.

The report said that 1988 re-exports were valued at 92 million riyals, or an increase of 7.7 percent from 84.9 million riyals in 1987. Omani exports of fish, copper, fruits, and vegetables increased by 38 percent from 39 million riyals to 62.9 million riyals [in 1988].

Fish and seafood topped the list of nonoil Omani exports. They were valued last year at 18.9 million riyals compared with 11.8 million riyals for 1987. Fish exports increased by 37 percent, followed by Omani copper exports valued last year at 17.4 million riyals or an increase of 44.8 percent from 9.6 million riyals in 1987.

Livestock exports were in third place with a value of 5.76 million riyals or an increase of 13.5 percent from 4.98 million riyals [in 1987]. Fruit and vegetable exports were valued at 3.9 million riyals or an increase of 421 percent from 2.25 million riyals [in 1987]. Oman also exported other farm products valued at 957,000 Omani riyals.

The report pointed out that other Omani exports increased by 40.4 percent from 9.5 million riyals in 1987 to 15.96 million riyals [last year].

The continued growth of Omani nonoil exports to the outside world is attributed by the report to sound government policies for the development and utilization of such alternate economic resources as agriculture, fisheries, industry, and mining in order to diversify the sources of national income away from oil revenues.

#### Oil Revenues Published

44040554d Muscat AL-WATAN in Arabic 12 Jul 89 p 4

[Article: "Sultanate's Oil Revenues at 256.6 Million Riyals This Year; Private Sector Subsidies in First Three Months Total 2.6 Million Riyals"]

[Text] The Sultanate's oil revenues amounted to 256.6 million Omani riyals in the first quarter this year, down by 4.7 percent from the same period in 1988, according to the quarterly bulletin of the Directorate of National Statistics at the Development Council.

The bulletin revealed that gas revenues in the first three months of the current year climbed 200 percent to 10.2 million riyals from 3.4 million riyals in the same period of 1988. Customs revenues were calculated at 4.8 million riyals, corporate income tax revenues at 9.9 million riyals, investment returns at 4.1 million riyals, and other revenues at 31.6 million riyals.

Resources available to the Sultanate during the first quarter of the current year had an aggregate value of

333.2 million riyals, vis-a-vis total expenditures of 323.6 million riyals in the same period, leaving a surplus 9.6 million riyals or 2.88 percent.

The bulletin said that recurring ordinary expenses totaled 143.8 million riyals in the first quarter of the year. Ordinary expenditures of the various ministries were calculated at 100.7 million riyals. State debt service amounted to 28.3 million riyals. The government's share of recurring expenses of the Omani Oil Development Company came in at 14.8 million riyals.

The bulletin added that development expenditures during the first quarter of the current year amounted to 54 million riyals in addition to one million riyals in gas exploration costs.

Subsidies to the private sector in the first three months of the current year amounted to 2.6 million riyals, of which 300,000 riyals were allotted to the industrial sector and to local, regional, and world organizations; 1.4 million riyals to the Omani Housing Bank; 100,000 riyals to the Oman Development Bank; and 800,000 riyals to the Oman Bank for Farms and Fisheries.

#### Industrial Licenses Issued

44040554b Muscat AL-WATAN in Arabic 13 Jul 89 p 4

[Article: "Last Week: Licenses and Permits Issued for New Industrial Projects Valued at 1.83 Million Omani Riyals."]

[Text] The Directorate of Industry at the Ministry of Commerce and Industry issued during the first week of this month two industrial licenses and three preliminary approvals of new industrial projects with total investment costs of 1,083,990 Omani riyals, according to their feasibility studies.

Investment costs of projects granted industrial licenses amount to 206,690 Omani riyals. The projects that won preliminary approval have investment costs of 877,300 Omani riyals. What follows is a break-down. Projects granted industrial licenses include:

- A project for the production of marble at Suhar with an annual capacity of 28,800 square meters and 330,000 square meters of tile. It has production costs of 200,000 Omani riyals.
- A woodworking project at Wadi Hattat whose costs are 6,690 Omani Riyals.

Projects granted preliminary approval:

- A project to manufacture automotive glass at 'Udhaybah with an annual capacity of 10,000 pieces. It has investment costs of 518,000 Omani riyals;
- A project for "cultured" dairy products at Ja'lan Bani-Bu-Hasan with an annual capacity of 248 tons at an investment cost of 23,300 Omani Riyals;
- A project for packaging tea bags at Suhar with an annual capacity of 90 tons of tea bags. It has investment costs of 336,000 Omani riyals.

During the same period, the Directorate reserved industrial licenses for four new industrial projects for the manufacture of ready-made clothes; leather tanning; the manufacture of towels, sheets, pillow cases, covers, egg containers, and corrugated boxes of recycled paper.

#### Entry Visas Issued for Private Sector

44040554g Muscat AL-WATAN in Arabic 20 Jul 89 p 4

[Article: "Private Sector Issued 121,334 Entry Visas"]

[Text] The Sultanate issued 121,334 entry visas for the private sector last year, according to the annual report of the Directorate of Visas and Immigration at the Royal Police of Oman.

The report said that individuals without families were issued 55,721 work visas of which 54,492 went to males and 1,229 to females. Business travel visas numbered 35,388 of which 32,412 were issued to males and 2,976 to females.

Last year, 12,033 visas were issued for family visits, 7,527 visas issued to domestics, and 6,039 visas to unite families.

Tourist visas totaled 3,938 last year. Work visas for those with families numbered 116. Official visas totaled 71. Two multiple-entry visas were also issued.

The report revealed that in 1988, December accounted for the largest number of visas: 15,023. July had the lowest at 6,767 visas.

The report pointed out that the last four months of last year witnessed an increase in the number of visas over the first eight months of the same year.

#### Measures Taken To Stop Land Salination

44040554i Muscat AL-WATAN in Arabic 26 Jul 89 p 3

[Article by Karam Sinnarah: "Over the Next Few Days: Several Measures Adopted To Halt Salination and Land Deterioration at al-Batinah. Government to Construct and Manage Artesian Wells in Regions Most Affected By the Drain"]

[Text] AL-WATAN learned that several measures will be adopted over the next few days as part of an emergency plan to halt the deterioration of farm land and contain the salination problem at al-Batinah region.

The measures will include a moratorium on new wells in the area until the end of this year, the institution of controls to organize well-digging and maintenance operations, and the implementation of projects to assure the fair sharing of limited water resources such as by scientifically constructing central wells to be run by the government in regions most affected by the [water] drain. Work on one such well is anticipated to begin in the region this year. [The measures] also include arresting the distribution of new plots in the area and

halting work on plots already distributed but not yet exploited. Such measures will be implemented under a plan for controlled development and expansion in line with the water situation throughout al-Batinah. Surveillance has been intensified along al-Batinah coast against illegal digging or unplanned expansion of new land. Traditional irrigation methods will be replaced with modern techniques that cut down on waste by supplying water in accordance with the needs of various crops. Current studies will also be concluded on the availability of virgin lands with water resources that can be exploited in accordance with a clear policy of rationalizing water consumption.

#### Enforceable Legislation

AL-WATAN also learned that several laws will be announced in the next few days mandating that new farms use modern irrigation techniques and rationalize water usage. A sum of about 7 million Omani riyals has already been allotted to subsidize the introduction of these techniques over a three-year period.

The Directorate of Water Resources has also recently completed licensing procedures for well-digging and maintenance. Any citizen would be able to obtain a permit to dig a new well or rebuild or deepen an existing well. The procedure is to submit an application to the directorate or apply to the governor's office which would then initiate contact with the directorate. The application should contain such data as the name of applicant, the location of the well, the method of digging, the purpose for the well, and a copy of the land title. The application would be technically evaluated by the Directorate of Water Resources and an engineer would examine the site of the proposed well.

#### If Conditions Permit

Permits would be issued if water conditions permitted. The directorate would then establish the well's technical specifications and determine the method of water extraction.

It is worth noting that tens of thousands of well were haphazardly dug in al-Batinah in recent year, some as deep as 200 meters. That caused a quick drain on water resources in the region and created the salination problem.

The end result was that salination spoiled 3,400 hectares in al-Batinah during the 1983-88 period.

### SUDAN

#### Agriculture Deputy Discusses Prospects for Harvest Season

45040451 Khartoum AL-QUWWAT AL-MUSALLAHAH in Arabic 11 Jul 89 p 5

[Interview with Professor Musa Muhammad Musa, first deputy minister of agriculture, by Majdi al-Fakki Ahmad

al-Fakki; first paragraph AL-QUWWAT AL-MUSALLAHAH; date and place not specified.]

[Text] Agriculture, as the principle occupation in the Sudan, despite the citizens' aversion to working in it, represents the only way out of the economic crisis. Therefore, it is most urgent, now and in the future, that many of the problems in the agricultural sector which clearly manifested themselves in the last two seasons be decisively dealt with. To find out about all that, AL-QUWWAT AL-MUSALLAHAH presented some questions to Professor Musa Muhammad Musa, first deputy minister of agriculture, in the form of an interview. Herein is the text thereof.

[AL-QUWWAT AL-MUSALLAHAH] What is the agricultural plan that has been slated for this current season?

[Musa] We have laid down an agricultural plan for this season, and work is going on to implement it in several key areas, the most important of which is that of factuality in acreages; in other words, starting the season by determining the right acreages for various crops in the irrigated agricultural establishments—in light of what is available for soil preparation in the way of farm implements, power, inputs, and fertilizer. On this basis an agreement was made in cooperation with the pertinent departments in the Ministries of Agriculture and Irrigation, so this season cotton acreages will be around 813,000 irrigated feddans and 70,000 rainfed feddans. As for irrigated acreages of sorghum, they will be around half a million feddans, and from 8 to 10 million rainfed feddans. Wheat will be around 554,000 irrigated feddans; peanuts around 375,000 irrigated feddans; sesame around a million feddans; and sunflower 400,000 rainfed feddans. Planting has begun in the production establishments, and 60 percent of the area slated in the al-Rahad project have been planted, and 20 to 30 percent in the al-Jazirah project. Also, the planting of sorghum has begun in many of the establishments, especially since the farmers are eager to plant the largest area possible to provide food and self-sufficiency for their families first of all.

As for the cotton crop, about 80 percent of the area slated for it in the establishments has been prepared, and planting of "Shambat" and "Akala" has already begun in the al-Rahad and al-Jazirah agricultural projects. Planting of the Barakat variety will be completed by the middle of July.

[AL-QUWWAT AL-MUSALLAHAH] What about farmers' problems, and the extent to which you are trying to solve them?

[Musa] There have been obvious problems, the most important of which concerns the price of cotton. Thank God that has been dealt with, with a review of the prices announced last March by the technical committee, in which the farmers were represented. Thus it was possible to announce the prices of varieties of superior length.

Prices were adjusted to around 64 pounds a qintar [a varying weight] for the Barakat variety, and 52 pounds a qintar for the Shambat and Akala variety. Thus it is expected that cotton farmers will realize profitable returns after the real cost of production is covered.

Prices of short staple varieties grown in the Nubian mountains were also reviewed, and the price of a qintar was raised to 26 pounds. The production departments will pay what is owed to the farmers before the blessed 'Id al-Adha. Thus we can say that we have been able to contain the problem of prices.

[AL-QUWWAT AL-MUSSALAH] What do you think of the production associations in the upcoming season?

[Musa] We are trying to go into the upcoming season with a clear view of the production associations in the agricultural establishments, which we will do by evaluating the experience of the individual account, which is different from the common accounting system which prevailed for a long time. A committee has been formed to evaluate the production associations, which will take into consideration the results of the experience of the past 6 years, as well as the problems relating to the farmers' reimbursements and the taxes which are calculated on the produce in these establishments.

[AL-QUWWAT AL-MUSALLAH] What about the farmers' indebtedness to the Ministry of Agriculture?

[Musa] The farmers are asking that the debts be forgiven, for these debts have been accumulating over the years since the beginning of the eighties, and all the establishments are involved. A committee has been formed to study the amount of these debts and how to deal with them realistically in a way that would take into consideration the rights of the farmers and the duty of the state towards them.

[AL-QUWWAT AL-MUSALLAH] What is the situation with regard to the new season's input of fertilizers, pesticides and sacks?

[Musa] Fertilizers currently available in the establishments cover a scant portion of total needs. There are no more than 35,000 tons of the fertilizer (urea), while the demand in the production establishments is 120,000 tons. The arrival of 80,000 tons is expected this month, now that the African Development Bank has financed them.

As for insecticides and herbicides, everything has been done with regard to contracting for them, and all bids have been made. The necessary financing has also been provided through a loan of around \$30 million from the African Development Bank, which is expected to arrive according to the schedule proposed in the bids submitted. Large quantities of herbicides have arrived at the harbor of Port Sudan, and they will be shipped when local payment is made.

As for sacks, there are a lot of them at the present time, as a result of the arrival of quantities that were originally

ordered for the previous season and which arrived late. These will provide the country's needs for the current season in all sectors of irrigated and rainfed agricultural production, in addition to the quantities that will arrive for the Agriculture Bank in the future.

[AL-QUWWAT AL-MUSALLAH] What about the problems confronting the harvest?

[Musa] Preparations must be made early and the necessary precautions taken. Steps pertaining to planting must be followed from the beginning of the season by using varieties of sorghum and sesame that can be harvested mechanically. In addition we must try to provide the right machinery whose effectiveness was proven in the last season. There must also be educational efforts aimed at planting a work ethic among the various youth and people's sectors. That must be done to overcome harvest problems.

There is also the problem of shipping the crops, and it began to be a basic problem at the start of the season. There are several reasons for it, linked to the lack of fuel and spare parts for the trucks. Work is being done now to contain its impact, which has caused crops to pile up. Shipping cotton is being given special attention, in view of its being the main cash crop in the Sudan.

[AL-QUWWAT AL-MUSALLAH] What about self-sufficiency in wheat?

[Musa] Self-sufficiency is a slogan that has been raised since the beginning of the four part recovery program. Through what was done in last season, we were able to achieve a large degree of success. A national committee was formed which began its work last November, and it has submitted its report on its view of the plan for the next 3 years which aims to achieve maximum self-sufficiency by the end of 1992.

The technical economic committee has directed that the matter be brought up once again for discussion, and that clear directives and decisions be made regarding it. It is hoped that the next season will be a favorable one, especially since an area of up to 150,000 feddans needs to be provided with seed, fertilizer, and all production inputs, in addition to the element of irrigation.

[AL-QUWWAT AL-MUSALLAH] What has been done with regard to rebuilding the agricultural sector in the Northern Region?

[Musa] Several development activities have been set up that aim to establish the infrastructure for irrigation by providing pumps and digging canals, in addition to training the Northern Province establishment to handle its immediate operational needs.

In the Northern Region there is current support from German and British aid in the Nile Province, in addition to support from the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), and the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in the Northern Province—as well as the emergency flood program of which

the agricultural sector forms a large part. Of this the Northern Region will have the largest share, and it includes essentially the restoration and refurbishment of pumps in the cooperative sector, establishing nurseries for orchards, and providing agricultural extension services and seeds, especially in the Northern Region and the district of Khartoum.

Its implementation will begin during this season with support from the World Bank and certain donor states.

### **Yukwan Says Food Distributed 'Through Government Institutions'**

45040478 Khartoum AL-QUWWAT AL-MUSALLAHAH in Arabic 13 Jul 89 p 5

[Interview with Brigadier General Pio Yukwan, member of the Revolution Command Council and Political Supervisor of Southern Provinces, by Lt Col 'Abd-al-Ghani al-Tahir: "Staples Keep Coming in; New Plan for Distribution of Staples in Southern Provinces under Supervision of Committees Answering to Governors; New Plans To Accommodate Displaced Persons; Production Projects Await Financing from Few Charitable Organizations;" date and place of interview not specified]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Brigadier General Yukwan affirmed that for the first time there was a minister for relief affairs and reconstruction. "Besides, we have an office for displaced persons' affairs from the Council of the South. That office coordinates the work between the displaced persons, relief affairs, and the Council of the South." Brig Gen Yukwan added that many villages and camps were providing shelter for these displaced persons. He said these villages and camps were fully supervised by duly qualified agencies.

Brig Gen Yukwan affirmed that a major course of action was underway and that meetings were being held regarding the displaced persons. "We held meetings with the displaced persons' representative, and we discussed with him everything that concerns the displaced persons. There is total coordination between us and the Ministry of Relief to offer the displaced persons any assistance."

Regarding statistics on displaced persons, Brig Gen Yukwan affirmed that there were 2.5 million displaced persons located around the capital in the areas of Ashok Bentiu and Sawba. He said there was one camp in Hajj Yusuf, in an area called Jonglei. He also affirmed that most of these displaced persons were from Bahr al-Ghazal and the Upper Nile. Displaced persons from Juba, however, have no fixed place to stay and are scattered among these camps.

Brig Gen Yukwan affirmed that the number of displaced persons was growing and that the number of tents was being increased to accommodate more displaced persons and to provide more services to them. He also affirmed that there was a plan to reconsider offering the displaced persons more services.

Regarding plans to make displaced persons productive and self-reliant instead of totally dependent on the state and the relief program, his excellency announced plans to establish small projects. These include a study to establish a fishing project, a study for an agricultural project, and a poultry project. Some charitable organizations have been approached regarding financing these projects. The brigadier general affirmed that some of these projects have been started.

Brig Gen Yukwan indicated that the displaced persons' return to their countries depended on peace. "These displaced persons have nothing to return to in their countries. The war destroyed their villages. They lost their cattle, and everything they depended upon for their daily lives is gone." Brig Gen Yukwan added, "We have a lot of work to do after peace is established. An effort to build will be resumed in all the provinces. Large amounts of money will be required for this building effort." Brig Gen Yukwan hoped that Sudan's problems would be solved and that Sudan's former dignity would be restored. He also hoped that peace programs would coincide with reconstruction programs. [passage omitted]

### **Provincial Offices in the Capital**

We talked about the province's offices in the national capital. We talked about the possibility of reducing the number of employees in those offices by moving some of them back to the provinces.

Brig Gen Yukwan indicated that a list has been made of the property owned by these offices. "We made a list of the employees who work in these offices, and we found that the number of employees and workers in these offices is unbelievable. We found that number to be totally out of proportion with the size of these offices. We found that a lot of money has been spent in these offices and that a lot more has gone to the provinces."

The brigadier general affirmed that the process of sending all these employees back to the provinces and reducing their number as much as possible was underway. He said that a small number of employees would be left in those offices so they can function as simple liaison offices. He affirmed that steps had actually been taken to transfer the first group of police officers and soldiers and a few physicians. This mission will soon be completed. [passage omitted]

His excellency talked about his plan for the distribution of food staples under the administration of the salvation revolution. He affirmed that government organizations, i.e., the Ministry of Trade and Supplies, would distribute these food staples. He said that government would provide transportation for staples going to the Upper Nile Province, and the Ministry of Trade would deliver these materials to the barge transportation authorities in Kusti. The governor of the Upper Nile would then deliver them to Malakal, and he would be responsible for the distribution of staples in his province. The staples quota for Bahr al-Ghazal would be delivered to the

railroad authorities, which would deliver them to the governor in Wau. Staples for Equatoria would be transported by airplane.

Brig Gen Yukwan affirmed that there were committees to distribute these materials in all the provinces. He said these committees had started doing their work and they were carrying out the plan "which we designed." He said that no citizen, no matter who he was, had been approved to receive any commodity, especially sugar. The remaining commodities are distributed by agents to wholesale merchants who deliver them to retail merchants. "Consumers receive these materials from retail merchants. Cooperatives will help us distribute these materials."

The brigadier general affirmed that Project Lifeline continues. He indicated that he was receiving reports on that project, and he added that some materials like maize, black eye peas, and oil had been shipped to Bahr al-Ghazal. He said these materials, as well as some foods for children, could be found in Wau.

He also affirmed that the project was continuing and that materials were being delivered by way of Nairobi and Entebbe to Yei, Juba and Wau. He said the project was reaching all areas: those where the armed forces can be found and those where the movement is found. He

affirmed that conditions had improved as far as food staples were concerned, and he also affirmed that tractors continue to be shipped in Malakal. [passage omitted]

#### **Budget for the Provinces**

Brig Gen Yukwan spoke about the budget for the southern provinces, the extent to which it is being followed, and budget expenditures. He said that a full review of all expenditures, payroll schedules, revenue [records], and outlays was underway. He said that corruption under the previous administration was extensive and that some officials had their own purchase order books (blank form number 15). He affirmed that some governors used to dispose of salaries freely and that they used to borrow from salaries. He said there were falsified names and falsified lists, and he said all these funds were pocketed by the corrupt. He said that salaries were used for other purposes, such as substitution during service, and he said that one of the governors had received 2 million pounds in salaries.

He affirmed that an exhaustive review of the budget would continue and that he hoped that Sudan would make progress under the Revolution of National Salvation.

## BANGLADESH

### Reportage, Reaction to Alleged Attempt on Hasina

#### Attack on Residence

46001636 Dhaka THE NEW NATION  
in English 12 Aug 89 pp 1, 8

[Text] Awami League supporters set fire to at least 11 vehicles, including a police jeep and a BRTC [Bangladesh Road Transport Corporation] bus, damaged a dozen others yesterday in different parts of the city, protesting what they alleged assassination attempt on Party Chief Sheikh Hasina at her Dhanmondi residence late Thursday night.

Police said police sentries, guarding the Road No 32 family home of Sheikh Hasina at Dhanmondi, fired back four rounds at unidentified people who hurled grenades and shot at the guard post and the wall of the main entrance of the residence at 12:30 am yesterday.

Awami League General Secretary Begum Sajeda Choudhury in a statement blamed the attack on the Freedom Party alleging that it was aimed at assassinating Sheikh Hasina.

A case lodged by Police with Dhanmondi Thana, however, did not identify the assailants, who had opened fire from two running auto-rickshaws.

The bullet marks suggested that the assailants came from the western side of the Road No 32 and fled towards Mirpur Road. A couple of bullet marks were seen on the wall of the adjacent house of Sheikh Hasina's residence. Bullet marks were also seen at the guard post outside the main entrance of the house which is under police guard since a similar shooting incident in August last year. Police meanwhile, stepped up security at her residence as well as other party leaders' homes, according to sources.

A case lodged by Mujib Ahmed, an Awami League worker with the Dhanmondi Thana alleged that the assailants had raised the slogans: 'Faruq-Rashid zindabad' and carried out an attack in front of the main entrance of Bangabandhu's residence at 12:30 am last night. They fired some shots and hurled bombs and grenades. The police guarding the residence shot back and the attackers fled away.

Sheikh Hasina's aides said that she had been staying at the house since 8:30 pm after returning from a conference of the Chhatra League (H-A) at Engineering University on Thursday.

They said that an unexploded grenade and 10/12 empty cartridges of point 303 rifle along with 'five star' (point 45 calibre) hand gun rounds were recovered by police from the spot.

The bullets had also tore through a placard having a portrait of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in front of the house beside the Road No 32.

Police sentry Zahirul Huq in his complaint said that there had been seven to eight people on the two auto-rickshaws who hurled the grenades and fired several shots before speeding away towards Mirpur road after they returned the fire.

At least six policemen had been detailed to guard the Dhanmondi residence of Sheikh Hasina.

As the news about the shooting spread a group of young men numbering about 40/50, went on a rampage in the New Market area, setting fire on a micro-bus, Dhaka metro Cha 6466, which carried foreign experts from Ghorasal power station for shopping in Elephant Road, Police jeep Dhaka Gha 6547, parked near the overbridge on Mirpur road, and a private car chatta metro Kha 68 near the Elephant road aeroplane mosque. The incident took place at about 1 pm.

Another group hurled a cracker and set fire to a BRTC bus at Mirpur at about 2 pm.

Later in the evening a protest meeting was held at the Awami League central office strongly condemning the alleged assassination attempt on Sheikh Hasina's life.

Presided over by city Awami League Chief Muzaffar Hossain Paltu the meeting was addressed by Zillur Rahman, Sheikh Abdul Aziz, Amir Hossain Amu, Tofael Ahmed, Mohammad Nasim, Motia Choudhury and Rahmat Ali.

They strongly condemned the attack and described it as a move to foil the democratic movement by killing Sheikh Hasina and destroying her party. They also accused the government of patronising the attackers. They warned that the attackers would be resisted by Awami League activists.

After the rally party supporters marched down the Gulistan area and smashed glasses of several buses there. They also set on fire a government car. The marchers moved towards the road No 32 and damaged or set ablaze six more vehicles, including a pickup, carrying three policemen until 10 pm. The vehicles include three cars and three micro-buses. Twelve vehicles were damaged in the university area.

Begum Sajeda Choudhury in her statement strongly condemned the armed group belonging to the "so-called political party, the Freedom Party" for the heinous attack "aimed at assassinating Awami League President Sheikh Hasina." She described the attackers as self-confessed killers of Father of the Nation Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the "defeated forces of independence and inhuman bandits."

"These animals in the garb of human beings, who sucked human blood, killed father of the Bangalee nation Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman along with his family members on 15 August 1975 by violating the discipline of the national army and tainted the history of human civilisation," the Awami League General Secretary said in a strongly worded statement she issued.

Begum Sajeda Choudhury said: These groups had trampled the spirit of the independence, values and hopes and aspirations putting the rights of the people in chains since killing of the Father of the Nation. Now they are busy to foil the democratic movement led by Sheikh Hasina to unchain the democracy.

The Awami League leader warned that through terror the democratic aspirations of the people cannot be curbed and accused "these group of creating a reign of terror and anarchy by striking at the democratic leaders of the country and foil the independence and sovereignty."

"We want to know on behalf of the people the group's sources of finance and weapons, why the authorities are not taking any actions even after the killers party, the Freedom Party office has been turned into a den of anti-social goons and depot of illegal arms," Begum Sajeda Choudhury said.

She declared that any attack on Sheikh Hasina would not be tolerated since such attacks would lead the country towards instability, creating a dangerous situation and threaten the nations independence and sovereignty.

Begum Sajeda Choudhury urged all sections of people and democratic and progressive organisations to unitedly resist the attempt to kill Sheikh Hasina and demanded exemplary punishment to the people responsible for it after a thorough probe. She also accused the government of its failure to protect the lives of the people and observed that it has no right to stay in power.

Meanwhile, the Five-party alliance and the JSD [Nationalist Socialist Party] (Inu) and different groups of Chhatra League protested the attack.

#### Hasina Addresses Meeting

46001636 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 13 Aug 89 p 1

[Text] Awami League chief and the leader of the Eight-Party Alliance Sheikh Hasina on Saturday called upon all progressive, democratic and pro-liberation forces to resist the politics of killings and conspiracy and establish a democratic government through a free and fair elections.

Addressing a large crowd that assembled in front of the 'Bangabandhu Bhaban' in protest against the attack on Bangabandhu's residence and the alleged attempt on her life by a group of armed people on Thursday midnight, Sheikh Hasina said that nothing could deter her from the movement she launched to restore the democratic rights of the people. She asserted, "I am not afraid of any attempt on my life as I depend on Allah for protection and I always believe in the strength of the people."

The Awami League chief said that her father Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was killed for his life for the people. She observed that since the killing of Bangabandhu the people were deprived of their democratic rights, leaders and workers of Awami League and

the progressive forces were being harassed, and the conspiracy against the spirit of the Liberation War and the sovereignty of the country were continuing. She said that no repression and intimidation could stop the Awami League leaders and workers to work for the rights of the people. She urged all to carry forward the mass movement and overthrow the present facist regime to establish democracy and restore the fundamental rights of the people.

Scores of leaders of different political parties and people from all walks of life visited the 'Bangabandhu Bhaban' to condemn the attempt on the life of Sheikh Hasina.

Among others Mr Mohiuddin Ahmed, BAKSAL Chairman, Mr Zahiduzzaman Manzu, Organising Secretary and Begum Roushan Jahan Sathi, Women Affairs Secretary of JSD, Prof Anisuzzaman, Dr Mosharrar Hossain, Prof Kabir Chowdhury, Dr Khan Sarwar Morshed, Dr S.A. Malek, Mr Faiz Ahmed, Advocate Aminul Huq, Advocate Sirajul Islam Khan, Barrister K.S. Nabi, Mr Abdul Latif Siddiqui and Begum Laila Siddiqui visited the Bangabandhu Bhaban and met Sheikh Hasina to express their indignation and condemnation over the heinous attempt on her life by armed miscreants.

#### Strong Security Measures

Meanwhile, police intensified the security measures at the Bangabandhu Bhaban and residences of important Awami League leaders. None was arrested till Saturday. Awami League and its front organisations filed cases at Dhanmondi Thana against armed workers of Freedom Party for the attack on the Bangabandhu Bhaban and the life of Sheikh Hasina.

More political parties, student and labour organisations, professional bodies and different socio-cultural organisations issued statements condemning the attempt on the life of Sheikh Hasina. A number of processions were brought out in Dhaka city and different parts of the country demanding the arrest of the armed miscreants who opened fire and threw grenades to Bangabandhu Bhaban with an attempt to kill the Awami League chief.

#### Freedom Party Denial

46001636 Dhaka THE NEW NATION  
in English 12 Aug 89 p 1

[Text] Colonel (rtd) Faruq Rahman, Chairman of the Freedom Party last night sharply refuted the Awami League accusation that his party supporters raided AL Chief Sheikh Hasina's residence raking its walls with gunfire.

It's a first step to destabilise the country after her return from India, Faruq Rahman told THE NEW NATION at 12:46 pm while reacting to the AL accusations branding his party supporters of being the attackers.

He said that Sheikh Hasina is probably bent upon creating an issue to destabilise the country as she lacks any politics at the moment.

The Freedom Party Chief said that her supporters had fired some shots and hurled abuses near the Freedom Party office late Thursday night. He was reported of it by party members yesterday.

Reacting to AL accusations that his party carried out the attack on Road No 32 Col (rtd) Faruq Rahman said: Why should we attack that place. Nobody lives there. They are rather trying to kill me. We have already filed a GD entry with police last year after Sheikh Hasina had threatened to kill us.

The records should be straight, Col (rtd) Faruq said. We have never attacked anyone. Rather they have killed and injured a number of our party workers since it was founded two years ago.

The Freedom Party Chief alleged that the Awami League had been trying to carry out a smear campaign to tarnish his image. Some months ago they tagged my name in the incident of manhandling a rickshawpuller near our office while I was busy touring the northern districts.

### Paper Reports Trouble in 5-Year Plan Fulfillment

#### Shortfall in Private Sector

46001634 Dhaka THE NEW NATION  
in English 4 Aug 89 pp 1, 8

[Article by Moazzem Hossain]

[Text] A severe investment shortfall in the private sector was witnessed during the first four years (1985-89) of the country's Third Five Year Plan period (1985-90).

The Third Plan with its major emphasis placed on an expanded role of the private sector in directly productive activities envisaged an investment outlay of Taka 136 billion for the sector. This was the investment projection of the plan for the private sector at constant 1984-85 prices (real terms).

Actual private sector investments over the first four years of the Third Plan are now estimated at about Taka 80 billion and that too, at current prices. When adjusted for inflation, the extent of real private investment (i.e., at 1984-85 prices) will be not over Taka 70 billion. This would indicate the realisation of the Third Plan investment target for the private sector at only about 50 percent during its first four years.

The performance of the private sector in terms of investment activities at a much lower level than what was projected in the Third Plan has acted as a major constraint to the realisation of the plan targets for the productive sectors of the economy. Besides its adverse impact on the economy's overall growth potentials, the low investment operations by the private sector provide now a striking contrast to the optimism which was expressed in the Plan itself about the likely favourable response of the private sector over the plan period to the

"liberal incentives and facilities" provided by the Government for encouraging a private sector-led growth process in the economy.

Actual private investments in relation to plan targets have so far been the worst one under the current mid-term plan as compared to the previous ones. During the country's First Five Year Plan period (1973-78), estimated private investment was Taka 4.36 billion at 1972/73 wholesale prices (Taka 8.87 billion at current prices) against the plan allocation of Taka 5.03 billion. About 86.7 percent of the investment target for the private sector was achieved during the First Plan period. Under the Two Year Plan (1978-80), the realised level of private investments stood at Taka 9.57 billion in real terms (at 1977-78 prices) against the allocation of Taka six billion for the same, thus reflecting an overfulfilment of the target. Estimated private investments in the economy during the Second Five Year Plan (1980-85) were Taka 49.69 billion in real terms (at 1979-80 prices) against the related plan target of Taka 61 billion. This reflected the realisation rate of the investment target for the private sector during the second plan period at 81.5 percent.

Meanwhile, there were some interesting features of private sector investment activities during the first three years of the current Third Five Year Plan. The most dominant feature of the private investment trends over 1985-88, as revealed in the interim evaluation report by the Planning Commission, was the clear preferences of the private investors in trading operation and other services sector activities. The private investments in two hard-core productive sectors of the economy which included industry and agriculture were very sluggish over 1985-88.

The interim evaluation report showed that actual private investments in trade and other services stood at about Taka 12.59 billion in real terms during 1985-88. Investments at this level in trade and services during the first three years of the plan period exceeded the overall plan target at Taka 8.5 billion for the same sectors. Thus, 148.10 percent of the Third Plan private investment target for trade and other services sectors was realised during the first three years of the plan, showing an overfulfilment.

Private investments in transport and communication sector were estimated in the interim evaluation report at Taka 13.75 billion in real terms during 1985-88 compared to the overall investment target for the same for the whole plan period at Taka 15 billion. This reflected the realisation of the planned investment target for transport and communication sector at 89.67 percent during the first three years of the plan.

In physical planning and housing, the realised level of private investments in real terms was estimated at Taka 11.04 billion during 1985-88 as against the projected investment target about the same at Taka 36.50 billion

for the whole plan period, indicating a realisation rate of the related target at 30.24 percent over the first three years of the plan.

The private investment performance was at its worst level for the manufacturing sector during 1985-88. As against the third plan target about the same at Taka 32 billion, actual investments in real terms in manufacturing during the first three years of the plan were estimated at about Taka 6.99 billion. This indicates that only 21.84 percent of the third plan investment target for manufacturing in the private sector could be realised during the period under report.

The private investments in agriculture were likewise far short of the expectations. According to the interim report of the Planning Commission, the realised level of private investments in agriculture during the first three years of the third plan period stood at about Taka 13.82 billion in real terms which were 31.41 percent of the related investment target for the whole plan period at Taka 15.52 billion.

#### **Incomplete Projects Noted**

46001634 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION*  
in English 11 Aug 89 pp 1, 8

[Article by Moazzem Hossain]

[Text] The persisting delays in project implementation will lead to spill-over of a large number of on-going development schemes from the Third Five Year Plan (1985-90) into the Fourth Five Year Plan (1990-95) now under preparation for launch in July next.

The existence of a large number of on-going projects as the hang-over of the Third Plan is likely to put substantial demand on public resources during the Fourth Plan. The unfinished projects will also severely restrain the forthcoming Plan's choices and priorities.

The project completion performance under the Third Plan has shown a marked decline compared with the situation during the country's Second Five Year Plan (1980-85).

The Interim Review of the Third Plan by the Planning Commission showed that a total of 220 development schemes, included in Annual Development Programme (ADP), could be completed during the first three years (1985-88) of the plan. This gave an average annual rate of project completion at 111 during the period under review.

During the Second Plan, a total of 1037 development schemes included in related ADPs were completed giving the average annual rate of project completion at about 208 during the period.

In the second half of the seventies, the annual rate of project completion in the country stood at 140.

The slowed-down annual rate of project completion under the Third Plan, now in its terminal year in fiscal 1988-90 reflects serious operational constraints in project implementation, notwithstanding the fact that a number of measures have been taken in development programming and budgetary procedures over the recent years. The reforms, to recall, included: reduction in the number of projects under ADP, exclusion of unapproved projects from the ADP as far as practicable, improved procedures for processing of projects through delegation of more powers to the Administrative ministries, creation of a Special Evaluation Committee (SPEC) to expedite the process of approval of technical assistance projects, improved fund release procedures for supporting public development expenditures, strengthening of programming techniques, etc.

The fundamental priority of the reforms in public sector development programmes over the eighties has however, been on avoidance of "overprogramming" which had earlier led to crowding of too many schemes, claiming limited public development resources. This 'overprogramming' reduced the effectiveness of ADP as an instrument for development.

The number of schemes under ADP were 1345 in 1973-74 and increased to 1519 by the end of the First Five Year Plan period in 1977-78. The same number was brought down to 1406 in 1979-80 following the adoption of Two Year Plan in 1978-79 to complete as many on-going schemes as possible with allocation of adequate fund to launch the Second Five Year Plan without being unencumbered by the overbearing nature of on-going projects.

Meanwhile, the number of development projects included in the ADP was brought down to 900 projects in 1987-88 through efforts for "rationalisation" of public sector development expenditures from around 1500 projects in the late seventies.

The number of unapproved projects in the ADP is also much less now compared to the past. In the ADP for 1987-88, only about 12.04 percent of the projects remained unapproved. In 1980-82, unapproved projects accounted for 47.1 percent of ADP projects.

Notwithstanding such developments in operations and management of public expenditures under ADPs over the recent years, the project implementation along with annual rate of project completion has not recorded much of any improvement. The overbearing nature of on-going projects is thus likely to persist in the country's forthcoming Fourth Plan. Implementation capacity has, in the process, continued to be one of the constraints, for whatever reasons (including the effects of recurring natural disasters) may be, on the ability of the related public agencies or bodies to display public development expenditures in a cost effective manner.

## INDIA

**Gandhi Meets Press on 18 Aug Arrival in Bangalore***46001645 Madras THE HINDU in English 19 Aug 89 p 1*

[Text] Bangalore, Aug 18—The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi today said the Indira Gandhi murder case would not be reopened. The Government had accepted the Thakkar Commission report and even published it.

Speaking to newsmen at the Bangalore airport soon after arrival from New Delhi, Mr Gandhi said there was no need to reopen the case.

(Yesterday, Mr H. N. Nanje Gowda, who quit his Lok Sabha seat had said there were "gaps in the investigation" of the case.)

Asked whether he expected an exodus of Congress(I) Members of Parliament from the party as was being speculated, the Prime Minister said "not at all. There has been an exodus only from the Janata Dal and the National Front. We in the Congress (I) have absolutely no such worry. We also do not believe that there will be floor-crossing."

The Prime Minister said elections to the Lok Sabha and the Karnataka Assembly would be held on schedule. "I will have to talk to the State Governor on the elections to the Karnataka Assembly. Regarding elections to the Lok Sabha I have categorically said that elections will be held as per the Constitution".

Asked whether the elections to the Lok Sabha will be held in December, he said, "I have to read through the Constitution".

On reports that a short session of Parliament might be held in September only to postpone the Lok Sabha elections, Mr Rajiv Gandhi said it was all false.

T.V. debate: Asked whether he had backed out of the suggestions for a televised debate with the Janata Dal president, Mr V. P. Singh, Mr Gandhi said "we are ready for a debate on policies and issues. I have been clear on the debate."

Asked whether he would himself initiate the debate, he said, "We stand by the move for the debate."

On whether the Reliance group of companies had been shown favours since it was believed to have underwritten the Congress(I) party's expenses for the coming elections, Mr Gandhi said, "It is patently false. If you take a look at the policies of the past year or the last eight months, the Bombay Dyeing Company has stood to benefit. The Government policies are based on issues and not on companies. The Bombay Dyeing has had a lot to gain with the recent Government policies."

Asked whether the Government would direct the IPKF [Indian Peacekeeping force] to launch a major offensive

since the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] had stepped up its activities, the Prime Minister said. "Let us see."

Mr Gandhi refused to comment on the exit of Syed Shahabuddin from the Janata Party.

On the constitution of the executive committee of the Karnataka Pradesh Congress(I) Committee which has been pending for over a year, the Prime Minister said the process was on and it would be completed.

The Prime Minister was received at the airport by the Governor Mr P. Venkatasubbiah.

Mr Gandhi later left for Tumkur by helicopter.

PTI, UNI report:

Asked when he would free Parliament of "traitors and criminals," the Prime Minister said, "we have included it in the new electoral law, which we have strengthened. It is mostly targeted against low level elections. Parliament has very few."

How much flood relief would the Centre sanction to Karnataka, which had sought Rs 43 crores? The Prime Minister said he would discuss it with the Governor.

**Gandhi Introduces Bill on Urban Local Government****Summary of Speech***46001642 Madras THE HINDU in English 8 Aug 89 p 10*

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 7—The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, today introduced in the Lok Sabha the Constitution (65th Amendment) Bill, 1989, stating that this would be the key instrument for reducing and eventually eliminating the role of power brokers in urban India.

In a 21-page speech, Mr Gandhi said, amid repeated thumping of desks by ruling party member, that through this and the Panchayat Raj Bill "we seek to vest power in the only place where power rightfully belongs in a democracy—in the hands of the people."

Mr Gandhi said the nagarpalika Bill supplements the Panchayat Raj Bill.

"With these two Bills, we shall ensure that while India lives, democracy at the grassroots lives," Mr Gandhi said.

He said "no longer will democracy in local self-government be a passing political past time. Through these bills, democracy in local self-government becomes a solemn constitutional obligation, an obligation that can neither be suborned nor flouted for reasons of expediency or indifference," he added.

Pointing out that "democracy in Parliament and in the State legislatures remained fragile so long as the roots of our democracy did not reach down to the villages and mohallas," Mr Gandhi said "however, our Constitution did not make democracy in local self-government a constitutional obligation. And so democracy in the panchayats and nagarpalikas has withered at the roots."

No encroachment on States' rights: Making the ruling party's stand on the two Bills clear, Mr Gandhi said far from encroaching on States' rights, "we have displayed the utmost sensitivity to the structure of Centre-State relationship built through the Constitution."

Mr Gandhi said that entry five of the State list remained untouched and the sovereignty of the State legislatures was undiminished.

"We are amending the Constitution, not drafting a municipal law on a State subject. What is being taken away is the right to ignore the people," he added.

"It is not a question of the Centre's rights versus the State's rights. It is a question of the people's rights."

Mr Gandhi regretted that although the Government wanted to come to this House only after consulting all the Chief Ministers, "tragically" two non-Congress(I) Chief Ministers had stayed away from the discussion on the Bill.

Recalling the Calcutta Corporation's views, Mr Gandhi quoted its categorical conclusion that urban problems cannot be solved without giving "local governments their rightful place in the country's constitutional framework itself."

The Prime Minister asked what had happened to change their minds. "It is that they are getting too used to the company of those with diametrically opposed ideologies and those with no principle or ideology at all?" he asked.

Political will: Referring to the Opposition argument that there was no need for a constitutional amendment but of only the political will for bringing democracy to the grassroot, Mr Gandhi said: "It takes more political will to amend the Constitution than it does to pass a municipal law."

Mr Gandhi referred to "the purists of Opposition" who say that in no circumstances will they have any truck with constitutional provisions for local self government. Their purity is, however, called into question when one discovers that, as recently as at the February 1989 joint meeting of the Central Council for Local government and the All India Council of Mayors, the delegations of the Telugu Desam Government of Andhra Pradesh, the Left Front Government of Kerala and the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] Mayor of Calcutta, leading a delegation of the Left Front Government of West Bengal, were all party to a resolution which demanded a constitutional amendment in relation to the nagarpalikas," Mr Gandhi said.

The Prime Minister said there were other constituents of the National Front who had demanded at the 11th joint meeting a uniform statute for all nagarpalikas. How could there be a uniform statute without a constitutional amendment?" he asked.

Recognition of urban people's rights: Mr Gandhi said the starting point of the nagarpalika Bill was the recognition that those who live in urban settlements were entitled to the same democratic rights, and the same rights and responsibilities for development, as the Government sought to confer on rural India through the Panchayat Raj Bill.

In this context, the Prime Minister also mentioned the needs of the future when the proportion of the urban population would be a third of the total population by the turn of the century, and cross half-way mark within a few decades thereafter.

The Prime Minister said the first chapter of the Bill dealt with settlements in transition from rural to urban areas. The civic bodies for these settlements had been named nagar panchayats and would draw both from the rural list and the urban list in the devolution of power and responsibilities.

Two innovations: The Prime Minister said two innovations had been proposed in the nagarpalika Bill to bring democracy in urban settlements closer to the people.

In settlements with a population of 100,000 or more, "we propose constitution, by direct election, of ward committees, to whom the municipality will devolve local powers and local responsibilities, and such finances as are required to carry out their assigned tasks."

It would be left to the State legislatures to determine the territorial area and size of population which will be served by a ward committee.

In cities with a population above 300,000, "we proposed that the chairpersons of the ward committees be constituted into a zonal committee."

The determination of the territorial area and size of population falling within a zonal committee had been left to the State legislatures to decide. Powers, responsibilities and finances will devolve to the zonal committees from the municipal corporation.

Tier system: The Prime Minister said that the introduction of a two-tier system in the larger municipal councils and of a three-tier system in municipal corporation would leave councillors and corporators free to deal with city-level issues, with matters of policy such as city-wide infrastructure, overall economic and social development, linkages with neighbouring municipalities and economic interaction with the district as a whole.

Mr Gandhi said provision had been made for the representation of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in proportion of their population in the nagarpalikas as it had been ensured in the panchayats.

It was also proposed to extend reservations for women on the same pattern as had been envisaged in the panchayats.

**Preparation of plans:** The Prime Minister said the nagarpalikas would be empowered to play a crucial role in the preparation of plans for local development and in the implementation of development projects and programmes, including specially conceived programmes for urban poverty alleviation.

He said the Bill proposed Constitution of a finance commission in every State "to review municipal finances and recommend principles on the basis of which the sound finance of the nagarpalikas can be assured."

The Prime Minister said the nagarpalikas should be encouraged to seek access to the capital market. "There is need also for a refinance body similar to the National Bank for Rural and Agricultural Development (NABARD). We are making a study of these possibilities."

Speaking of a rural-urban continuum, the Prime Minister said a joint committee of the nagarpalikas and panchayats would be established to ensure the interaction of rural and urban settlements so that the district as a whole prospered, "with planning in the towns fostering in the countryside more remunerative cropping patterns, higher agricultural productivity, greater incomes and larger employment, and reciprocally, urban prosperity being accelerated by linkages with the rural economy."

**Disqualifications:** Mr Gandhi referred to the apprehensions expressed about criminals and anti-social elements entering the body politic through the local-bodies.

He said that "all the disqualifications we introduced through our amendment last December to the Representation of People Act will also apply to candidates contesting elections to the panchayats and the nagarpalikas."

There was the possibility also of the States introducing other disqualifications which may be necessitated by local conditions.

The Prime Minister said the recruitment, training and orientation of the Government servants who will service the local bodies was a State responsibility.

Mr Gandhi said the Government proposed to revamp the cooperative movement and reform the nyaya panchayats in the next Lok Sabha.

"With these two Bills, we redeem our pledge to our people, power to the people. The people are with us."

### Features of Bill

46001642 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH  
in English 8 Aug 89 p 1

[Excerpt]

### Salient Features

The urban local bodies under the new legislation would be empowered to play a crucial role in the preparation of plans for local development and in the implementation of development projects and programmes, including specially conceived programmes for urban poverty alleviation.

It would also encourage the people's involvement in the planning process and lead to plans which respond to local needs and local desires.

Planning should not be the unravelling of some bureaucratic fantasy about what is good for the people. It is for the people to themselves decide what is good for them."

The other features of the Bill are:

- Three categories of urban bodies as instruments of local self-government to be determined by population size;
- Constitution of finance commissions in every state to review municipal finances and recommend principles on the basis of which the sound finances of the nagarpalikas can be assured;
- Superintendence and conduct of elections and audit of urban bodies by the Election Commission and the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India respectively;
- Joint Committees as the mechanism for consolidating and harmonising different plans prepared by different panchayats and nagarpalikas within a district to fulfill the running theme of the "rural urban continuum";
- Election to the bodies from within Zilla panchayats and nagarpalikas in proportion to rural-urban population ratio. Proportional representation for scheduled castes and tribes and 30 percent reservation for women.

### Centre-state Ties

Mr Gandhi said the Bill did not disturb the existing Centre-state relations as apprehended in certain quarters. "Why should the constitutional enshrinement of democracy in the panchayats and the nagarpalikas be a bone of contention between the Centre and the State? Why must regular elections, the end of arbitrary suspensions and restitution within six months of the people's will be a matter of dispute?" he asked.

"There is contention only between those of us who wish to empower the people and those political forces who wish to see power retained in the hands of feudal oligarchies and the coterie of powerbrokers they represent."

He assured the state governments that the sovereignty of the state legislatures remained undiminished.

The Prime Minister said the Bill introduced was drafted in accordance with the resolution passed by the central council of local self-government and the all-India council of mayors pleading for the conferment of constitutional

status on urban local bodies. He said the mayor of Calcutta belonging to the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] was party to the resolution.

### Opposition Leader Views Muslim's Status, Strategies

46240054 Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES  
in Hindi 7 Jul 89 p 6

[Interview with Janata Party Leader Syed Shahabuddin by Ram Bahadur and Shahid Mirza: "We cannot Separate Our Religion From Politics"]

[Text] Syed Shahabuddin has been in politics for a decade. Before that he had been in the Indian Foreign Service. He is the editor of an English magazine titled "Muslim India" and is a leader of the Janata Party. For a long time, he has been voicing the demands of minorities, especially the Muslims. He has also been presenting himself as their spokesman.

In the context of the Babri Masjid, Syed Shahabuddin's name has been in prominence. Some five years ago he initiated a movement to offer prayers at mosques of historical importance. In 1985 he criticized the historical judgement of the Justice Chandrachud on Shah Bano's case and took it as interference in the internal matters of the Muslims. He also took the initiative in getting the controversial book titled "Satanic Verses" by Salman Rushdi proscribed in India.

Now, he has come forward with a long list of demands. He does not consider them to be against the constitution. He is arranging a conference on July 8 and 9 in New Delhi in order to present these demands, and prepare the Muslims for a long term strategy. Following are the highlights of an interview with him in this connection.

[NAVBHARAT TIMES] In your charter, you talk repeatedly about religious, linguistic, and racial minorities. Why have you developed a habit of looking at India in fragments?

[Shahabuddin] Whatever India is today it is a legacy of history. It is a fact that in this country there are people of different religions, different languages, and different races. In this country there are a number of cultures. Whatever social groups there are in this country they identify themselves with a particular language, area, or race. No question of treachery arises in this connection. Nor do I consider it communalism. Every community has a right to exist, and has a right to secure protection of its interests under jurisdiction of the Constitution and the laws.

I have always said that our Indian society is a segmented society. I distinguish between segmentation and fragmentation. With segmentation one can develop a sense of cooperation among the different segments. It is our misfortune that in 40 years we have not been able to create an environment in which every segment can feel

safe and secure. However, it can be created and must be created. This is not damaging to our independence, or to our national unity.

When the Hindus talk about unity it means that while admitting mutual differences, they embrace each other and cooperate with each other in order to build the nation. They work hand in hand in the course of reaching the goal. Nobody says that all of us should become unidentifiably one. You remain as you are. Nobody forces the other to transform himself in the same mold. But for a big cause, the national cause, all of them are one. I do not consider it communalism to identify the individual communities, and to try to find an equal place for them in the national life under the Constitution and the law.

[NAVBHARAT TIMES] Your struggle, as a whole, is for the Muslims, then, why have you taken upon yourself the responsibility of the other so-called minorities?

[Shahabuddin] I think your question is wrong. I have never used the word 'minority' for the Muslims. I have always talked about uniform minority code. Every community in India at a certain level, whether it is religious, linguistic, regional, or belonging to a particular caste of the Hindu society, is a minority at one or the other level. To give them strength, to give them encouragement, to understand their aspirations, to eliminate their hardships, to give them a place of respect in the society, and to allay their fears, all of this is a national task and is to be taken up by everyone.

For me, the question is not of Urdu, it is also of Hindi speakers who live in Bengal. The question for me is also of the Marathi speakers in Karnataka, and of Dogri speakers in Kashmir. They all are minorities there. For me the question is also of the Panchayat which is Brahmin-dominated where the Yadavas have some grievance against them. Therefore, I am not associated only with the Muslims. Are the Hindu brothers not in minority in Jammu and Kashmir?

[NAVBHARAT TIMES] Is it not that while claiming to speak on behalf of all the so-called minorities you are cleverly trying to inject discord within the Hindu society?

[Shahabuddin] Why are you talking about Hindu society? (Laughingly) What is Hindu society? Is it not that in the same Hindu society there is a Birla and also an untouchable? Those who talk about Hindu nationalism actually adhere to the politics of maintaining all the injustices, whether social or economic, in the name of religion.

I, rather, wish that the Hindus would gather such strength today as to devote themselves to making the nation great. We can make this nation great only when we accept the traditions of its history. We must accept all of our traditions.

[NAVBHARAT TIMES] Why are you asking for so many guarantees for the protection of the minorities in your charter? For example, you are asking the central government for a constitutional safeguard for the protection of minorities, for the protection of the personal laws, for legal recognition of the Minority Commission, and for a formal joint parliamentary committee both at the center as well as in the states for the welfare of the minorities. This means that you have no confidence in the capabilities of the minorities nor in the intent of the government.

[Shahabuddin] The question is not related to the intent of the government or the capabilities of the minorities. It is related to the fact that when the issues arise the central government merely says that it is not their responsibility. We get this reply in writing in the parliament, while in the fourth chapter of the constitution, the responsibility of the weaker sections such as the scheduled caste and the scheduled tribe, has been entrusted to the central government. The word 'minority' has not been used there. We envisage that the understanding of the central government will be of higher order than that of the lesser governments in the states. Therefore, the responsibility at present lies with the central government. Now, whenever there is a flaw in it there should be constitutional obligation on the part of the central government to look into it. Also, there should be an obligation on the part of the parliament. There should be a joint parliamentary committee as it is there for the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe.

As for the Minority Commission, in whatever state it is today I regard it as no more than a living corpse. It has no rights. If it writes a letter to any ministry or to any other department nobody bothers even to send back a reply. If it asks for any figures, nobody supplies them to it. When the commission gets constitutional status it will be able to present a true picture of the country to the effect that the administrators, if they want, will be able to do something.

[NAVBHARAT TIMES] Before independence, the Muslim League used to talk about proportional representation on a communal basis. As a result, the country was split. By raising similar demands, again, are you not trying to split the country?

[Shahabuddin] The first point is that I am not making a demand for proportional electoral representation of the Muslims. I have never put forward such a demand. In all of my political career, I have always opposed Muslim parties. I am against forming a Muslim party. On the other hand, no historian will be prepared today to accept your contention that Pakistan was formed only because of the provision of separate elections. The process of the formation of Pakistan was very complex. Today I am neither talking of a separate election nor of any reservation. The muslim League had before it these two fundamental issues. And, Pakistan was formed because of such demography of the country as on one side of the continent there were some contiguous areas which had a

majority of a particular community. Tell me which area is like that today? Will you cut off Mallampur and join it with Arab?

Time and again, I have repeated that we are born here, we have to live here, and we have to die here. If any injustice is done to us we will also have to fight here.

When did I say that on the basis of population you form Muslim districts? But I even made this statement in the parliament, and I also presented a bill a few years ago concerning formation of parliamentary seats, at times by cutting small pieces from three districts. By means of restructuring if the districts are formed of a balanced size our task can become easier. What is wrong with it? Do you smell communalism in such a proposal?

[NAVBHARAT TIMES] Because of your raising the issues of minorities, the Hindus also are becoming united on the basis of religion. Is it not creating communal enmity?

[Shahabuddin] I do not agree that the Muslims today are uniting in the name of religion. It is not so. The Muslims are finding that the secular character of the Constitution of the country is being weakened today. Because of this they are sensing a danger. And a Muslim knows that the day the secular character of the country is destroyed fascism will prevail, and a Muslim will be its first victim.

[NAVBHARAT TIMES] Why does he think so?

[Shahabuddin] Because of the Hindu chauvinism. There is a Hindu communalism in this country. There is also Muslim and Christian communalism, but a chauvinistic attitude has been adopted only by Hindu communalism. It is creating a danger for the security of the country. Tomorrow, if you restructure the country in the name of Hindu nationalism it will be a different matter. Then I will not argue. I argue only in the name of the Constitution.

[NAVBHARAT TIMES] Will you surrender then?

[Shahabuddin] Whether I surrender or take up arms then, that will be my choice, but I will not argue.

[NAVBHARAT TIMES] On one hand you are making an impractical demand of restructuring the districts and regions on the basis of parliamentary zones; On the other, you also want the restructuring to be in a manner that the population of minorities remains intact.

[Shahabuddin] Brother, you prepare a map of the country on the basis of an administrative principle and then map the districts. Why this question arises in your mind lest in a particular district or region the number of minorities may increase. Why do you purposefully want to divide it into four pieces? I cannot understand after all why do you not trust the minorities? I have posed this question to four chief ministers of Bihar, that, while the district of Purnia can be divided into three districts why don't you want to do that? The population of the district of Purnia is four million. Promises have been made, and

they have been made since 1972. Is it the only reason that if such districts are formed they will become Muslim-dominated districts and they may then unite with Pakistan?

I am not suggesting that you purposefully form predominantly Muslim districts. However, you must implement certain administrative principles. You can form some districts on the basis of history, and others on the basis of local culture. In a state, if there are a great many people who have a great many factors in common, you will observe that their pace of progress will be faster. Therefore, you should not relate this demand with any particular community.

Yes, the Muslims necessarily have grievances. In Bijnor, the Muslim population is 35 to 40 percent and you have converted it into a reserved seat. My own town Gaya, and my own district Nawada have been declared reserved seats. My suggestion is that you reserve only that region for the scheduled caste where their population is high and where they can perhaps win.

[NAVBHARAT TIMES] Do you consider it wrong to break coconuts in a government ceremony?

[Shahabuddin] I consider it totally wrong.

[NAVBHARAT TIMES] Then will you also oppose political addresses and discussions at the post-prayer gatherings in mosques?

[Shahabuddin] No. That is a different matter. During the post-prayer gatherings political addresses are not made in all of the mosques. Where they are made there has been a tradition to do so. In our society you cannot separate religion from politics.

[NAVBHARAT TIMES] By talking about proportional communal representation in the police force and in the secret services why do you want to pollute these departments with the poison of communalism?

[Shahabuddin] This demand is not mine. This is the demand of the National Unity Council, and this is a council constituted by the government. The Council suggests that the police should have such a structure as to reflect the picture of the whole of India. That police force will, then, have a unique characteristic. One will be able to trust that force. If people of four different communities are sitting in a room, the whole environment of that room is changed. From the administrative point of view also a mixed police force is necessary.

Moreover, the question also arises before the minority community whether they are useless by birth? Why doesn't the government provide them jobs? Why doesn't anybody trust them? Recently, 1200 candidates were given jobs in Uttar Pradesh through the Public Service Commission. The government had promised that an opportunity would be given to the minorities. For this purpose 700 minority candidates were given special training. In spite of this, out of 1,200 only 50 minority candidates were given jobs. You will be surprised to

know about it. In Marxist Bengal about ten thousand fourth class employees are hired in a year. And in a state where the population of Muslims is more than 50 percent only 250 Muslims were given jobs.

[NAVBHARAT TIMES] You want a ban on radical Hindu organizations. What is your justification for this?

[Shahabuddin] What do you mean by radical?

[NAVBHARAT TIMES] Such as Bajrang Dal.

[Shahabuddin] I think that not only Hindu, any type of radical organization should have no place in democracy. Why do you operate a private army? Why does one group want to dominate over other groups by conducting drills? Why does it want to scare others? Let me tell you that today the Bajrang Dal has a parallel government in Uttar Pradesh. The administration is with them.

[NAVBHARAT TIMES] Do you mean to say that the administration has become communal?

[Shahabuddin] Yes, it is communal.

[NAVBHARAT TIMES] In case there is a riot, you would like to impose a fine in mutual proportion of the communities. Is this so?

[Shahabuddin] It is not me who has said so for the first time. Even today there is a provision of punitive fine in our police statutes. But we do not promulgate this provision. When there are conflicts it should be the responsibility of the society to solve them. This can be realized only when the responsibility is thrust on the society. In any civilized country, it is the duty of the government to safeguard the life and property of its citizens. There is a law for an industrial loss. There should also be a law for losses from riots. People of whatever neighborhood fight should compensate for one another's loss. Hindu losses should be paid for by the Muslims, and that of the Muslims by the Hindus. The communal riots will end the day this kind of law is passed.

[NAVBHARAT TIMES] You are asking for the right to offer prayers at the mosques of historical and archaeological importance protected by the government. What is the justification for this?

[Shahabuddin] The justification is that the mosques are places of prayer. However, now they are closed and have been turned into sites of historical importance. They have also become desolate.

A mosque is a mosque until eternity. And, brother, I go there to offer my prayers. Then, who are you to stop me from doing so? It was not so in the past. Some 30 years ago I had offered prayers at the mosque in the Red Fort. However, during Mrs Gandhi's regime, according to certain rules which were passed, one could not offer prayers at all mosques. The guards began pushing us out. It is our custom that whatever mosque we visit we must offer prayers there, just a short prayer. These prayers are

different from the regular five-times prayers. Now when we go there we are pushed out. If we are so treated we will surely say, brother, it is my right to offer my prayers. What right do you have to stop me from doing that? In 1984, we had long talks with the government on the issue of Safdarjung. Subsequently, the government opened the doors of its mosque. It is not necessary to offer five-time prayers at all mosques. Allow us to offer our prayer at least during Id. In the state of Karnataka, inside the fort of Bidar, the government prohibited us from offering prayers even during Id and the government itself is running an office there.

[NAVBHARAT TIMES] Why do you want government supervision of the money remitted from foreign countries in the name of education?

[Shahabuddin] Today such an environment is being created as if the Muslims are getting a lot of money from outside. At one time when the government computed the figures it was revealed that the Muslims had received only 106 percent of the foreign money. My brother, money is coming to the World Hindu Convention, it is coming from big Hindu organizations. I fail to understand the policy of the government. If money comes for a humanitarian and educational cause why should anybody object to that?

[NAVBHARAT TIMES] Why do you want to view the grants of loans from the banks as well as the distribution of excess land to the poor from an angle of communalism?

[Shahabuddin] My brother, this has become communal today. Nowadays, the government does not provide land to the Muslim landless. A question arises in his mind, why is the government treating him communally? I'm talking just about the economic aspect. Why should the land in excess of distributing to the scheduled caste and the scheduled tribe not be given to the backward and landless Muslims?

[NAVBHARAT TIMES] Do you consider Muslims as backwards?

[Shahabuddin] Definitely. There can be no two opinions about it. In articles 15 and 16, the backward classes have not been identified by any religion. Kerala and Karnataka governments have already accepted the Muslims as belonging to the backward class.

[NAVBHARAT TIMES] After a look at your charter, it appears that you distrust the people of this country, its political structure, its legal system, as well as its majority society. Will this not lead us to an atmosphere of mutual distrust?

[Shahabuddin] I do not distrust the majority of the society. I think that this country is surviving and is great because of the fact that in the hearts of the Hindus religion still thrives. In my political life I have never experienced a situation where after having placed the

truth before the Hindus I have not found their reactions to be human, be it the matter of Babri Masjid or the question of Hashimpura.

I have faith in the nation, in nationalism, and in the constitution. But the people who are running the government have no faith in the constitution. Our leaders should kindly follow the path of nationalistic ideology.

[NAVBHARAT TIMES] What will be the reaction of your charter on the majority?

[Shahabuddin] There is no question of any (adverse) reaction at all. I have not said anything that has not been said in the manifestoes of the Congress or the Janata Party.

I do not claim originality in this. The only issue is that we have different segments. I will not call them different nationalisms. I maintain that within this great society of ours there is also a share of its sub-societies. In this country, only when the sub-societies receive their rights in order to make progress, the country will achieve greatness.

### Stage Set for Final Draft of Eighth 5-Year Plan

46001639 Madras THE HINDU  
in English 25 Aug 89 p 11

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 24—The stage is now set for preparing the final draft of the approach paper for the Eighth Plan, as the difference among Planning Commission members over the growth rate was resolved during their meeting with the Prime Minister on August 16. The approach paper has to be approved by the full meeting of the Commission and finally presented to the National Development Council [NDC] for clearance. The target has been set at six percent.

According to present indications, the full meeting of the Planning Commission will be held on August 26 and the NDC meeting around October 1. Even by this schedule the final document will not be ready when the Plan period starts on April 1, 1990. The delay will not, however, be unprecedented. The Seventh Plan document too was ready only months after the start of the Plan.

Well in advance: This time preparatory work began much in advance to avoid delay and in October last when the full Planning Commission discussed alternative growth rates ranging from 5.5 to 7 percent and decided on 6 percent, NDC approval was expected by February 1989. This would have left the Commission time to finalise the Plan document before April 1, 1990. But the time-schedule was upset with persisting differences over the growth rate. The whole process has been delayed by 10 months.

Even in the latest round of discussions the view in favour of a higher growth rate was presented strongly. Besides Mr Abid Hussain and Dr Y. K. Alag, the Prime Minister was known to favour a higher target. But the opposite

contention was that projections in respect of the incremental capital output ratio (ICOR), which reflects the efficiency of the economy, would not warrant a growth rate higher than 6 percent. The ICOR at the end of Seventh Plan would be around 4.6 percent and this would have to be lowered to 4.35 to achieve a 6 percent growth rate. If the target is raised beyond this, the ICOR will have to be brought down further and this is not regarded as practical.

Politically inexpedient: Among other things, a higher target will call for sensitive decision to raise revenues by way of taxes, curbing public expenditure, improving the efficiency of the public sector to generate more resources, etc., and these may not be politically expedient.

Thus the consensus on sticking to 6 percent, but protagonists of a higher target were told that this would not prevent efforts being made to achieve a higher target through policy measures without any step-up in fiscal efforts. They have been asked to work out and indicate such policy options in the approach paper.

Another decision was that the approach paper should be cut in size and the contents focus sharply on the goals and the means. The next few days will be taken on re-writing the draft in the light of the deliberations of the August 16 meeting. According to informed sources, the Eighth Plan will focus on human resource development (HRD), agriculture, infrastructure improvement and industrial growth. The aim of the first is to improve the quality of life through health, education and social welfare. In the matter of allocation of public sector outlays, HRD and agriculture will get priority. Infrastructure improvement will be achieved through strengthening public sector undertakings. For industrial growth, the capital market will be tapped for funds.

#### More Detail on Kudal Commission Indictments

46001638 New Delhi PATRIOT in English 8 Aug 89 p 1

[Text] The Kudal Commission has concluded that several voluntary organisations run by top Opposition leaders misappropriated foreign funds running into crores of rupees, reports UNI.

In its sixth and final report tabled in both the House of Parliament on Monday, the Commission said these organisations were given foreign grants of about Rs 100 crore during the Janata regime 'under the cover of research and development'.

The beneficiaries of these foreign funds are organisations run and patronised by persons like Mr Madhu Dandawate, Mrs Promilla Dandawate, Mr George Fernandes, Mr Rabi Ray, Mr Purshottam Kaushik, Mr Dhanik Lal Mandal, Mr Radhakrishna, Mr A. C. Sen and so-called 'Gandhians', according to the report.

The Commission has observed that in most of the 180 cases it "full investigated" and found that "a large chunk

of foreign funds went into the hands of undesirable elements and were used for various disruptive and clandestine activities meant to create chaos and destabilisation in the country".

The foreign funds received by the affiliated organisations of the Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development (AVARD) run into nearly 100 crore of rupees "in the name of various projects", the Commission said.

Our Staff Correspondent adds: Of these cases the Government has referred to the CBI [Central Bureau of Investigation] eleven cases.

The Commission has strongly recommended to the Government to take over the management of the indicted voluntary organisations in view of their current mode of functioning and background in which they were set up.

The report has also recommended the take over of the Gandhi National Museum at Rajghat being run by the Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya Samiti under the aegis of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi.

The Commission said the foreign funding projects were mainly located in the tribal, border and hunger-belt areas where the people are poor and the areas sensitive. It said in all these projects the foreign funding agencies were given large scale maps giving all topographical details "in violation of the map restriction policy of the Government of India and the Official Secrets Act".

The Commission said "as many as 30 large scale maps have been published of different areas known as "restricted areas" as they lie on the Indian border with Burma, China, Tibet and other vulnerable places".

It pointed out that "in some cases even the aerial survey was conducted by a private agency without taking precautions necessary for security of the State".

#### India, Bangladesh Border Forces Hold Annual Meeting

46001654 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 27 Aug 89 p 11

[Text] Guwahati, August 16—The continuing influx of Chakmas into Tripura and lately into southern Mizoram was one of the major issues discussed at the annual five-day co-ordination meeting between the Bangladesh Rifles (BDR) and the Border Security Force [BSF] which concluded here today.

Even as the talks were being held on the Chakma issue, nearly, 1,500 Chakmas entered southern Mizoram yesterday, according to the BSF inspector-general, Mr Net Ram Singh.

Mr Singh, who briefed newsmen on the deliberations at the meeting today, said the BSF would once again lodge a protest on the unabated influx of the chakma refugees.

The eight-member Bangladesh Rifles delegation led by the deputy director-general, Brig Abdullah Al Hussain, was requested to make arrangements to take them back. Mr Singh said the BDR authorities agreed to create a congenial atmosphere so that the Chakmas could return.

The BDR delegation was asked not to stop construction of a border road by the Assam public works department at Baraibari, a 135-hectare village on the international border currently under "adverse possession" of Bangladesh. An agreement was reached that the deputy commissioners of Assam and that of the districts concerned of Bangladesh would inquire into the matter and ascertain to whom the Baraibari village belonged.

The BSF delegation furnished details of dacoities committed by Bangladesh nationals in Indian territory, particularly in Tripura south. Brig Hussain assured to co-operate in such cases and nab the culprits. On infiltration from across the border, Mr Singh said it was low in Assam and Meghalaya compared with that in Tripura.

This was primarily because of the increased awareness among the people in the border districts of Assam as well as Meghalaya. In Tripura, Mr Singh said the infiltrants were "welcome" as they were employed as cheap casual labour there and did not go back. To check this, the Tripura government had clamped night curfew along the international border from 9 p.m. to 5 a.m.

Incidents of kidnappings of girls from Tripura and the border districts of Assam also figured in the talks. The BDR delegation assured to cooperate and produce the girls so kidnapped. Such incidents were reported more from Tripura areas.

Cattle-lifting was also one of the issues discussed at the meeting, which according to Mr Singh, was held in a cordial atmosphere.

Measures to be taken for curbing trans-border crimes were discussed and views exchanged, especially on problems which directly affected the economy of both countries.

The delegation left Guwahati for Bangladesh today.

## Reportage on Delhi Convention on Tibet, South Asia

### Government Opposed

46001649 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN*  
in English 12 Aug 89 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 11—The Government has dissociated itself completely from the "International convention on Tibet and peace in South Asia", which opens here tomorrow. Maintaining that its effects were likely to be counterproductive, the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr Natwar Singh, told the Rajya Sabha this evening that it would be "unfortunate and regrettable" if the former President, Mr Zail Singh, participated in the convention.

The two-day convention, according to its organizers, had attracted members of Parliament and experts from the U.K., the USA, West Germany, Australia, Japan, Nepal, Tibet and the European Parliament. A number of leading Indian political figures belonging to Opposition parties, journalists and intellectuals are also expected to participate.

Mr Zail Singh is listed to preside over the opening session, Mr S. Nijalingappa is to open the convention and Mr George Fernandes is to deliver the keynote address. The organizers have said that an invitation to the Chinese Government was extended through the Ambassador in New Delhi, one was also sent to Mr Andrei Sakharov through the Soviet Embassy.

Mr Natwar Singh said the Government of India regards Tibet as an autonomous region of China.

### Zail Singh Attends

46001649 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 13 Aug 89 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, August 12 (UNI)—Ignoring the government's plea, the former president, Mr Zail Singh, today attended the international convention on Tibet and peace in south Asia and expressed "full support for securing Tibetans their legitimate rights."

However, the ruling Congress and the two communist parties kept away from the two-day conference, convened by the Janata Dal leader, Mr George Fernandes, to discuss the Tibetan spiritual leader, Dalai Lama's five-point peace plan.

Mr Zail Singh said the people of India had always demanded the restoration of the Tibetans' right of self-determination.

The government has condemned the meeting and said it would be detrimental to improving ties between China and India.

The minister of state for external affairs, Mr Natwar Singh, said yesterday in Parliament, "We consider Tibet as an autonomous region of China...if Mr Zail Singh were to participate in the conference, it would be unfortunate and regrettable."

Mr Zail Singh said Indians always supported the "oppressed and suppressed people of the world. The people's voice could not be suppressed because they formed the government. The government should always respect their sentiments," he added.

The former president said: "We cannot be spectators to the victimisation of Tibetans by the Chinese forces." The sentiments of the Indian people should be conveyed to the Chinese government.

The convention was inaugurated by the former Congress president, Mr S. Nijalingappa, and attended by Mr L. K.

Advani, Mr Madhu Limaye, Mr Surender Mohan, Mr Rabi Ray, Mr Bairaj[?] Madhok, Mr Bhim Singh and Mr Ravindra Verma.

Sir Bernard Brain of the British House of Commons, the former foreign minister of Nepal, Mr Rishikesh Saha, and representatives from various other countries are taking part in the convention.

Mr Zail Singh said the people of Tibet had undergone incalculable sufferings. Deep wounds had been inflicted on their psyche and they were feeling bewildered in the search for an autonomous, self-respecting identity.

He said apart from the issue of autonomy or freedom of Tibet, it was the issue of basic human rights which transcend all other considerations.

"I hope that China will respect people's aspiration and world opinion in this regard. They should respect norms of justice, morality and restore to the Tibetan community what is due to it," the former president further stated.

He said the small and weaker nations had the right to exist with dignity and honour in the midst of major powers. Any temptation to usurp the rights of a weaker community or region should be avoided.

Mr Zail Singh described the Dalai Lama as a symbol of Tibetan unity, dignity and religious faith. His five-point peace plan on Tibet represented his keen desire to solve the problem of his region without any conflict or bloodshed.

Meanwhile, the Janata Dal regretted the holding of the international convention on Tibet and made it clear that the party was in no way connected with it.

In a statement, the party president, Mr V. P. Singh, said his party was aware of the ongoing dialogue between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese government. In view of this, he regretted the holding of the convention.

#### 17 Aug Press Conference

46001649 New Delhi PATRIOT  
in English 18 Aug 89 p 3

[Text] Janata Dal leader George Fernandes claimed on Thursday that he had document proof of 112 Congress MPs supporting the Dalai Lama's Five Point Peace Plan for Tibet and were highly critical of Chinese Government's gross violation of human rights in Tibet. "These people are true patriots", he said lauding these MP [Member of Parliament]s.

He was addressing a press conference along with West German political leaders Ms Petra Kelly and Mr Gert Bastian. The Janata Dal leader said that out of 121 MPs who had shown support to the Dalai Lama's peace plan, 112 were from ruling party.

Mr Fernandes also added that in a letter written to the Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng in April by 55 Indian

MPs, condemning China's reprisal against Tibet's independent struggle, 36 belonged to the Congress.

He also claimed that one cabinet Minister had personally wished his "success" for the controversial "International Convention of Tibet and Peace in South Asia" held in the Capital this month.

There is a powerful opinion among the ruling party members to support the cause of an independent Tibet and disapprove China's policy towards it, despite their party's known stand on the issue. Their stand over China's policy on Tibet was also based on their concern over India's security in the region, he added.

Mr Fernandes said that the recent convention on Tibet had approved an action to mobilise support to the struggling Tibetan people. The action plan included formation of an international secretariat to coordinate the activities of various groups.

He added that an international "satyagraha" to condemn the Chinese occupation would soon take place, the details for which, are being worked out.

The convention had also approved a proposal to build a shrine in India dedicated to the martyrs of the struggle for Tibet's independence, he added.

Ms Petra Kelly, Member of German Parliament and Mr Gert Bastian, former Member of German Parliament, urged the Prime Minister to disapprove the human rights violations in Tibet by China and lend his support to the cause of independent Tibet on lines of India's policy towards South Africa's apartheid.

In an open letter to Mr Rajiv Gandhi, they brought to his notice that while India had expressed her anguish at the UN over the increasing number of violations of human rights and fundamental freedom all over the world, especially in South Africa by the Pretoria regime, his Government had noting to say about the ill-treatment of Tibetans by the Chinese.

They also expressed their disappointment over India's stand on Tibet as well as on recent Chinese students' struggle for democracy.

They added that in Mr Rajiv Gandhi's statements regarding Tibet during his visit to Beijing at the end of 1988, the issues of human rights violations were not mentioned.

**Government Establishes Committee on Jharkhand**  
46001652 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 25 Aug 89 p 24

[Text] New Delhi, August 24 (UNI)—The Centre has constituted a tripartite committee to examine proposals to meet the "just aspirations" of people from the Jharkhand region within the constitutional framework, according to an official release today.

The decision to constitute the committee was taken at a meeting the home minister, Mr Buta Singh, had with the Bihar chief minister, Mr S. N. Sinha, and representatives of the Jharkhand movement recently.

The committee will take into consideration the memorandum submitted to the home minister and other issues raised by the movement leaders from time to time. It will submit its report to the home minister within a month.

The release said the committee will include 12 members of the Jharkhand movement besides representatives of the state and Central governments.

Mr B.S. Lalli, joint secretary, home ministry, is the convener of the committee.

Siliguri (PTI): The Uttarkhand Dal (UKD) has decided to contest four out of seven seats in North Bengal in the coming Lok Sabha elections.

### Intelligence Involvement in Agitations Alleged

46001637 New Delhi PATRIOT  
in English 12 Aug 89 p 1

[Text] The country's apex intelligence organisation, the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) has been masterminding the Bodo agitation for separate state in Assam, according to a civil liberties organisation in the RAW.

In a letter to the Prime Minister recently, the Forum for Restoration of Civil Liberties in RAW sought Mr Rajiv Gandhi's intervention to stop the RAW operations code named 'Zoom Zoom' allegedly involving Rs 3 crore meant to destabilise the Asom Gana Parishad Government in the State.

This was disclosed in the Rajya Sabha by Telugu Desam member P. Upendra in a privilege motion on Friday demanding an explanation by the Government. Mr Upendra recalled that Home Minister Buta Singh had denied any RAW involvement in the Bodo agitation when confronted with a charge in the House on Wednesday.

The forum's letter to Mr Gandhi states that officers and personnel of RAW and the Special Frontier Force (SFF) of Tibetan commandos have supplied small arms to the Bodo extremists, organised bomb blasts in various parts of Assam, trained activists for subversive activities and briefed them to disrupt goods train services in the State.

The forum whose members include RAW officers, according to Opposition MP [Member of Parliament], states that RAW secretary A. K. Verma has been directing the operations in which seven top level officers of the intelligence organisation have made as many as 26 trips to Assam during the past two years.

They include Director General of Security R. Govindarajan, Director R. Swaminathan, Director N. Narasimhan, Additional secretary A. Chandrashekhar,

Commissioner (Shillong) B. Bhattacharjee, Joint Secretary M. B. Kunte and Director D. Jamwal. Each of these officers stayed in Assam to direct the Bodo agitation, the forum said.

The civil liberties organisation said that RAW has been working with the Bodo extremists within a few months of the AGP [Assam People's Council] assuming office but the green signal for going ahead with violent activities was given only in early 1988.

Pointing to RAW's involvement in the Gorkhaland agitation in West Bengal, the forum said that small arms provided to the GNLFF [Gurkha National Liberation Front] were taken back after the Darjeeling Accord and handed over to the Bodos with express instructions that they were not to be used against Central security forces but only against the Assamese people and Assam Police.

RAW maintained houses in Guwahati, Texpur, Shillong and Dibrugarh, provided shelter to Bodo activists of the Brahma group and other leaders, the forum said. Also, militants were airlifted for briefing and consultations by RAW, it was stated.

### Development of Polar Satellite Launch Vehicle Told

46001657 Madras THE HINDU in English  
25 Aug 89 p 7

[Text] Sriharikota, Aug 24—In a major step in the development of the four-stage Polar Satellite Launch Vehicle (PSLV), assembly of the mammoth first stage core motor (PS-1) has been completed in the SHAR [Sriharikota High Altitude Range] launch complex of the Indian Space Research Organisation and it is awaiting the important static ground tests to be carried out on it.

Measuring 20 metres in length and about three metres in diameter, the core of PS-1 is made up of five segments and weighs about 150 tonnes. (Apart from the core, PS-1 has six strap-on boosters, each of which is identical to the ASLV boosters) The firing and ground testing of PS-1 in the Static Test and Evaluation Complex (STEX) at SHAR will mark the most crucial phase in realising the targeted launch date of early 1991. The static test is likely to take place during September end or early October.

In all, three ground tests have been planned for the PS-1 motor. However, if the first firing itself validates all parameters relating to thrust generation, both in magnitude and direction, two tests alone may prove sufficient. This test is likely to be the most confidence generating one for the ISRO [Indian Space Research Organization] scientists as, in size and amount of the solid propellant it uses, it will be for the first time in the world. Moreover, the solid fuel has been entirely developed indigenously.

While the Augmented satellite Launch Vehicle (ASLV), whose first stage core motor is nine metres long and one

metre in diameter, uses nine tonnes of solid fuel—incorporated in three segments—the requirements of the PSLV, designed to carry a 1000-kg payload, are very high. PS-1 will have 125-127 tonnes of solid fuel in five 2.8-metre segments, the largest diameter to be attempted anywhere. The three metre solid booster rocket motor of the shuttle, being developed by the Thiokol Corporation, would be similar but the ISRO's would be validated earlier.

"For augmentation for PSLV scale operations very little information from published literature is available," said Dr Adityan at SHAR. "It is a secluded technology and it is our own R&D that has taken us from one metre diameter to 2.8 metres."

Since solid propellants are "one-shot" fuels—that is, unlike liquid fuels, once ignited they cannot be shut off till they totally burn out—geometry itself determines the thrust. At the solid propellant space booster plant at SHAR, an intermediate diameter of two metres was tested earlier to validate the indigenous technology. The impending PS-1 ground test will measure six components—three components of the axial thrust and three components of the roll moments.

In the fuel to be used, the oxidizer is a mix of aluminium metal powder and ammonium perchlorate and the hydrogen source is the hydroxy-terminated poly butadiene (HTPB). With the oxidizer being the same, the hydrogen fuel in the first stage of ASLV had been the so-called PBAN, a poly-butadiene acrylic mixture, which had been procured from a U.S. firm, Arco Inc. Our own developments have, however, been focussed on HTPB and PS-1 firing will fully validate the ISRO's efforts in this component of the solid propellant.

A related development with regard to the next flight (D3) of ASLV may be mentioned here. For this flight, the ASLV first stage will use HTPB unlike the previous two flights which used PBAN. It has, of late, become impossible to import PBAN and hence this changeover to HTPB.

High precision radar: Another landmark achievement at SHAR that has helped beat the western embargoes on high technology is the successful fabrication and operation of a very high precision radar, called the Precision Coherent Monopulse C-band (PCMC) radar.

The first PCMC radar, jointly developed by the ISRO and the Bharat Electronics Ltd, has already been installed and found to track objects with the designed accuracy of 0.005 degrees of arc. Two more PCMC radars have been planned and these will be used for the PSLV launch. This radar is 10 times more accurate than the tracking radars used for earlier launches.

Originally, the ISRO planned to contract the BEL for delivering these which, in turn, envisaged importing components from the Scientific Atlanta Inc., U.S. But the American firm was only willing to sell antennae of accuracy one order of magnitude less. It was then

decided to develop these in-house at SHAR. The entire servo-mechanisms have been designed by the technical services group at SHAR under the leadership of Dr Annamalai. With its associated digital-analog telecommand units, the PCMC has been tested and found to have the desired accuracy both in elevation and azimuth and a signal to noise ratio of 10 db. The radar has an elevation range of minus five degrees to plus 185 degrees.

### Panel on July'88 Failure of Satellite Launch Vehicle

46001656 Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
11 Aug 89 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 10—A design flaw was the basic cause behind the failure of the second developmental flight of the Augmented Satellite Launch Vehicle (ASLV-D2) on July 13, 1988. The flaw related to inadequate control mechanisms during the transition period—from the strap-on (zero stage—AS '0') burn-out to the first stage (AS 1) thrusting phase—and led to aerodynamic instability of the launch vehicle in the plane containing the two strap-on boosters ('yaw' plane).

This conclusion was arrived at by the Failure Analysis Committee (FAC), headed by Dr S. C. Gupta, Director, Vikram Sarabhai Space Centre (VSSC), Trivandrum, and the national-level Expert Review Panel (ERP), headed by Prof R. Narasimha, Director, National Aeronautical Laboratory (NAL), Bangalore, Dr U. R. Rao, Chairman, Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) informed the Parliamentary Consultative Committee for science departments about these conclusions here on Thursday.

The Consultative Committee's meeting was presided over by the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, Mr K. R. Narayanan, Minister of State for Science and Technology, and Prof M. G. K. Menon, Scientific Advisor to the Prime Minister, were present along with 22 Committee members and officials, including Dr P. K. Iyengar, Director, BARC [Bangladesh Association of Radio Clubs].

The FAC-ERP analyses will result in the ISRO effecting some changes in the ASLV design for the next developmental flight (D-3). It has now been estimated that the D3 flight can be realised in 12 to 15 months after incorporating these modifications.

Five-stage vehicle: during the first two stages of the five-stage ASLV the take-off begins with the simultaneous ignition of the strap-on motors (AS-'0'). After a trajectory of 10.7 km the AS-2 ignition takes place at 48.5 seconds. At about 52 seconds the complete burn-out of the boosters and separation occurs. After 97.9 seconds and after traversing 47 km, AS-2 burn-out takes place. At 100.9 seconds, AS-2 ignites and the AS-2—AS-2 separation is effected. At 146.4 seconds the AS-2 burn-out takes place.

From extensive analysis of the D1-D2 flight data, both the FAC and the ERP concluded that at 49.1 seconds after the lift-off there was a rapid build-up of the yaw angle—the inclination of the launch vehicle to the vertical in the yaw plane—and roll—the angle of rotation about the body axis of the vehicle—resulting in flight loads exceeding design limits. This caused the vehicle, which had traversed 11.7 km, to break up at 50.4 seconds. Consequently, the top portion containing the equipment bay severed.

For about three to four seconds during the transition, from the booster burn-out—which seems to have occurred at an untested time region of 47.5 seconds itself—to AS-1 core thrust phase, the vehicle did not have adequate control. The separation of the strap-on motors also had not taken place even though the equipment sent the appropriate programmed commands.

Notwithstanding this, the first stage motor with burnt-out strap-on motors continued, and the AS-1 performance till its burn-out phase was normal. The 50 kg SROSS satellite which was prematurely detached following to the severance of the vehicle splashed down in the sea at 257 seconds. The AS-1 itself splashed down at a distance of 270 km after 255 seconds.

**Initial error:** A factor contributing to this rapid build-up of the yaw angle, according to the FAC—ERP analyses is an initial error of about one degree in the yaw angle in the tail-off motor thrust of the strap-on motors. Inadequate “auto pilot gain” has been identified as the reason for the vehicle not being able to compensate for this initial tail-off thrust error in the yaw angle—“auto pilot gain” refers to the path gain effected through a feedback provided in the loop guidance system for navigating the vehicle whenever there is any departure from the track.

Once there was an initial yaw error it built up rapidly in the presence of higher winds and gusts. Control demanded for the core motor could not, therefore, arrest the error and bring the vehicle, which was experiencing maximum dynamic pressure at that time, under control. The initial yaw error in T1 was only 0.2 degree at the end of strap-on booster burn-out compared to one degree in D-2.

**Simulation studies:** According to the statement made on Thursday simulation studies carried out earlier using nominal design gains for the auto pilot did not adequately cover extreme limits of action times for rocket motors. “Consequently the full impact of the existence of the critical flight phase of inadequate control was not fully realised during the various design reviews”.

The lack of adequate data base with regard to larger yaw error and the prevalence of higher wind conditions coupled with early burn-out of strap-on motors led to the failure of ASLV-D-2, the Committee was told. The panels have also categorically ruled out the possibility of either a trans-sonic buffet during the flight or the (absurd) suggestion of local gravitational anomalies at the launch complex being the cause for the failure.

While all launch vehicles are basically unstable ASLV is particularly so because of its length-to-diameter ratio. The nature of the ASLV is such that many of the critical events, such as booster separation and ignition of core stage, occur in the lower atmosphere where dynamic pressure and wind loads are very high.

These findings have led the FAC and ERP to make a number of recommendations to the ISRO, necessitating some changes in the ASLV design for the D-3 flight.

These include: redesign of auto pilot that takes into account extreme aerodynamic conditions and booster turn-out times; linking of the ignition of the core of the AS-1 to the timing of the boosters becoming ineffective in the tail-off phase in AS-‘0’, instead of a prefixed time; improvements in the control systems by enhancing control margins; redesigning the strap-on solid motors to reduce dynamic pressure to the maximum extent possible; suitable changes in the heat shield and other inter-stage structural elements to take care of the above modifications and appropriate simulations and destructive structural tests.

However, these changes are not likely to have any major impact on the Polar Satellite Launch Vehicle (PSLV) design. This is because the PSLV is considerably larger and inherently more stable due to its larger diameter. The maximum dynamic pressure experienced by the PSLV is only 70 percent of the ASLV, and the control of the vehicle is with the main core stage unlike in the ASLV. The PSLV launch is expected to take place in early 1991.

## **Pant Speaks at Guided Missile Corvette Launching**

### **Indigenous Production Urged**

46001651 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 24 Aug 89 p 5

[Text] Bombay, August 23—The Union defence minister, Mr K. C. Pant, said here today he would “like to see a situation arise where we do not depend on any foreign country for critical defence items.”

After the commissioning of India’s first guided missile corvette, the “INS Khukri”, at the naval dockyard’s destroyer wharf, Mr Pant called upon the private and public sector to take up the challenge of indigenisation, which would go a long way in the country attaining self-reliance in the field of defence.

The defence minister said the “INS Khukri” was entirely indigenous, which marked a significant step forward. “I am sure it will provide a success,” he added.

India had a large land mass which tended to obscure the fact it was also a maritime nation. There was a long coastline and the future welfare and safety of the country largely depended on the sea, according to Mr Pant.

India's overseas trade had touched Rs 40,000 crores in the recent past and a large part of it passed through the sea routes which were vulnerable.

There were 11 major ports and 139 minor ports and any threat to them would have an impact on the country's economy. The defence minister, strongly defended India's need for strengthening its maritime defence and the build-up of the navy.

Mr Pant said apart from the ports, India had an exclusive economic zone and off-shore installation, from where the country got 70 percent of its oil and 80 percent of its gas. In the coming years this proportion would increase making it absolutely imperative that, like other maritime countries, India had to ensure that the sea was protected.

"Our history has taught us that weakness in the sea could lead us to subjugation. So the sea has to be strengthened."

How determined was the country in developing its sea power was brought out by the expedition to the Antarctica. Plans were, therefore, afoot to develop India's sea power.

After the 1962 Chinese aggression the land forces were developed and the funds were allotted accordingly. Only in the 70's did the navy start getting its allocation for development, the defence minister said.

Despite financial constraints a balanced navy was being developed. "Our present capabilities were subjected to resource constraints. It was a bogey to say that the navy was being developed beyond our needs."

In the last few weeks he had been a witness to some important developments in science and technology in the area of defence, Mr Pant said. The intermediate range ballistic missile, "Agni", had blazed a new trail of sophistication and its successful launch had proved that India was among the few nations which could claim this mighty capability.

Two locally-made products were handed over to the navy recently, the sonar buoy and the signal processor at Cochin, both of which were highly sophisticated. "It is a matter of pride that our scientists are able to produce state-of-the-art items which nobody in the world is able to give us. Even if we get it, is seldom state-of-the-art, Mr Pant said. Defence scientists were abreast of developments abroad.

The chief of naval staff, Admiral J. G. Nadkarni, aid the commissioning of the "INS Khukri" was an important milestone. He said that India's ship design facility had been praised abroad. The punch of the "INS Khukri" was packed in a relatively small displacement, Admiral Nadkarni said.

He paid tributes to Capt M. N. Mulla who was the commander of the "INS Khukri," which was sunk by the

Pakistanis in the 1971 war. At today's ceremony, Mrs Sudha Mulla, his wife, was present.

The chairman and managing director of Mazagon Docks, Rear Admiral M. M. Puri, said by 1990 the shipyard would be building nine frigates, two corvettes, seven off-shore patrol vessels, a cadet training ship, a submarine, a missile boat and a driving vessel.

### Missile Testing Device Discussed

46001651 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 24 Aug 89 p 5

[Text] Bombay, August 23—The Union defence minister, Mr K. C. Pant, said here today that if the U.S. administration did not supply the \$1.5-million missile-testing device India would develop the system.

Known as the "Combined Acceleration Vibration Climatic System (CAVCTS), it is used to put the re-entry vehicle under simulated stress.

The defence minister made this point despite his repeated emphasis. That there was now better understanding between the U.S. and India.

The U.S. government issued a licence for the export of this sensitive missile-testing device in May 1985. It lapsed after renewal in 1987.

However, after the successful launch of the intermediate range ballistic missile, "Agni", on May 22 the Bush administration refused to renew the licence due to alleged concern from the missile technology control regime. The system is also known as the "shake-and-bake" technology.

Mr Pant said the prestigious light combat aircraft (LCA) project had completed the project definition phase and at the moment the air force and the defence Research Development Organisation (DRDO) were offering comments on this futuristic Indian fighter.

Asked why a special committee had been formed, under the director of the National Aeronautical Laboratory, Dr Roddam Narasimha, to study the LCA project, the defence minister replied that this had been done to ensure that both the DRDO officials and the IAF team were on the same wave-length.

He said the French team which had collaborated on the LCA programme during the project definition phase was also in touch with the DRDO during his visit to the U.S., technologies which would be useful for the LCA had been identified and some of these were the fly-by-wire system and composites, according to Mr Pant.

About the developments in the Navy, he said eight guided missile corvettes of the same class as the "INS Khukri" were currently on the cards. "The navy likes the design and they may well want to upgrade the technology in the subsequent versions."

The defence minister said the government was keen on utilising the facilities available at the Mazagon docks for making submarines. The licenced manufacture of Soviet submarines was also under the consideration of the government. He denied agency reports that India was thinking of acquiring nuclear submarines.

Referring to his visit to the U.S., Mr Pant said it was mainly in response to an invitation from Mr Carlucci. The visit, according to him, helped to create better understanding between India and the U.S.

India was interested in some of the American technologies and one area which was of interest was underwater technology. "The primary thrust was to discuss broader issues," Mr Pant said.

In terms of greater inter-service interaction a seminar has been organised in September in the U.S. which would be attended by well-know defence and security experts. It would not be restricted to defence personnel alone. The idea of having a joint exercise was mooted by the U.S., Mr Pant said.

### Defense Developing New Air-To-Air Missile

46001655 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 27 Aug 89 p 1

[Text] Bombay, August 26—The Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) is developing a new air-to-air missile, known as "Astra", which will be put on the Light Combat Aircraft (LCA), India's top aerospace scientists and the director of the Hyderabad-based DRDO, Dr A. P. J. Abdul Kalam, said here today.

The missile, was however, still at the drawing board stage, he said.

With the development of the "Nag" anti-tank missile and the "Akash" surface-to-air missile, India was trying to come out of what is known as the "fifth country syndrome."

Dr Kalam, the main architect of the successful SLV-3 and "Agni" missions, was speaking on "Missile technology" here today as part of the second Nehru Memorial lecture organised jointly by the Bombay chapter of the Maharashtra Academy of Sciences and the Indian Merchants' Chamber.

He told a large gathering of aeronautical experts, scientists, students and industrialists that when India launched the satellite launch vehicle (SLV-3), the rest of the world said that India was the fifth to have such a capability. A similar opinion was expressed after the successful launchings of the "Prithvi" surface-to-surface missile and "Agni".

Dr Kalam, who illustrated his talk with slides, said that in many areas of missile technology India was self-sufficient. It was the first to develop an all-composite heat shield for "Agni." Similarly, Indian scientists had

successfully tried out the strapped-down inertial navigation system. This system ensured better accuracy, was lighter and had lesser volume.

In the "Akash" surface-to-air missile, India would be among the few countries to employ the ram rocket and also the active terminal homing system.

The design of "Akash" was computer-aided. The computer-aided-design of this missile used 3,000 equators, he said. The ram-rocket system to be used in this missile was being developed by the DRDO. The "Akash" missile is to be deployed in 1993. The flight trials have already started.

This missile will have a phased-array radar for surveillance, acquisition and tracking. An added feature of this anti-tank missile is that it will have an infra-red guidance system.

Referring in particular to the recent launch of the intermediate-range ballistic missile, "Agni", he said that the main aim of the programme was to evaluate and design the re-entry technology. The two-stage missile has a range of 2,500 kilometres.

The on-board computer of the missile generated the trajectory, which was not linked to the ground stations. The computer was tested for 600 hours whilst the flight itself lasted for 600 seconds.

Referring to the "Agni" checkout scheme, he said, the "hardware-in-loop system" was done in a three-axis simulator which ensured higher reliability.

About Agni's circular error probability (CEP), he said the scientists connected with the "Agni" programme were delighted with its accuracy. "Every country believes that they have contributed to the Agni project," he said.

With regard to the defence spin-off from the ten-year Integrated Missile Development Programme, he said that a composite centre was being set up in the joint sector which would be used for commercial purposes. The development of the phased-array radar will be subsequently used for the micro-wave landing system. This apart, five critical components have been planned for indigenous development for which a consortium approach is being adopted.

Answering a question, he opined that the Indian Space Research Organisation's next launch of the Augmented Satellite Launch Vehicle (ASLV) would be successful. Dr Kalam was on the experts' review committee which went into the failure of the ASLV launch.

Earlier, the vice president of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Mr M. K. Sanghi, welcomed the gathering. Dr P. K. Patwardhan, president, Maharashtra Academy of Sciences (Bombay chapter), proposed a vote of thanks and Dr P. Ganguli, honorary secretary of the academy proposed a vote of thanks.

## **Bharat Electronics To Make Bofors Gun Component**

46001653 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 27 Aug 89 p 13

[Text] Vijayawada, August 26 (UNI)—The Machilipatnam unit of Bharat Electronics Limited [BEL], a defence ministry undertaking in Andhra Pradesh, is all set to manufacture the critical 'gun-sight' system to be mounted on the Swedish Bofors gun.

BEL general manager, Mr S. B. Ramchandra Rao told UNI that the unit had acquired the capability to manufacture the critical component which could locate the enemy even beyond a range of 30 km. This was part of the government's efforts to manufacture an indigenous version of the Swedish gun in collaboration with various government agencies.

Mr Rao said each system would cost about Rs 25 lakhs. The infrastructural facilities would be strengthened by acquiring the Rs 5 crore balancing equipment for manufacturing the gun-sight systems. The gun, as such, would be manufactured by a company engaged in heavy engineering and machinery like Bharat Earth Movers Limited (BEML), he said.

Mr Ramchandra Rao said BEL had recently supplied 131 'tank fire control systems' to the Indian army. The systems were vital components of the Vijayantha battle tank.

The system which was a 'tank laser sight', the technology for which was recently acquired from the United Kingdom, could locate the enemy within a 10 km range even in starlit nights in battlefield conditions.

The computer network for the tank fire control [TFC] systems was being manufactured by the Madras-based Beltex Company. The army requires 434 such systems, each costing Rs 19 lakhs. The entire TFCs manufacture was indigenised and perfected by BEL, Mr Rao said.

He said negotiations were underway with Canon and Fujinon of Japan for the manufacture of zoom lenses for television cameras required for Doordarshan as part of BEL's diversification programme.

The terms and conditions of the Japanese companies were being examined and one of them would be chosen for the purpose shortly.

## **Kashmir Assembly Passes Bill on Censorship**

46001650 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 24 Aug 89 p 1

[Text] Srinagar, August 23 (UNI & PTI)—The Jammu and Kashmir assembly today passed amid noisy scenes and opposition walk-out a bill seeking to empower the government with the authority of censoring of news considered prejudicial to state security.

The Jammu and Kashmir special power (press) bill, 1989, seeks to prohibit publication of a particular subject till cleared by a government-appointed authority.

The bill was passed amid noisy scenes and walk-out by the opposition members one of whom tore to pieces a copy of the bill and threw it on the floor of the house.

When the law minister, Sheikh Mohammad Maqbool, moved the bill, the opposition members, including Mr Baldev Singh and Mr Chaman Lal Gupta (both BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]) and Mr [name indistinct] (independent) stood up and opposed it.

They argued that the bill had been brought in a hurry and was meant to gag the press.

Mr Gupta wanted the bill to be sent to a nine-member select committee.

Mr Gupta's motion, supported by other opposition members, including Mr H. S. Bali and Mr Bashir Ahmed Naz, was, however, rejected by the house by a voice vote.

Journalists covering the assembly proceedings wore black ribbons on their arms.

They later staged a dharna outside the main assembly gate and shouted slogans against the bill.

They later took out a procession and burnt a copy of the bill amid slogans like "Withdraw black bill" and "Murderers of democracy hai, hai."

The markets also remained closed in the city for the day in protest against the bill.

The law requires that any matter relating to a particular subject or class of subject shall before publication be submitted for scrutiny by an authority appointed by the government in this behalf and published only under the directions given there at.

Anyone failing to comply with the order made under section two of the act, shall be liable to be punished with imprisonment which may extend to one year, and with a fine up to Rs 10,000.

Meanwhile, 20 office-bearers of activists of the National Conference (NC) have resigned from the party after militant outfits threatened them with dire consequences if they did not quit.

New Delhi (UNI): The Editor's Guild of India and several other journalist organisations and political parties have demanded the immediate withdrawal of the J&K press bill.

The Editor's Guild today deputed its two senior executive members—Mr Kuldeep Nayar and Mr Pran Chopra—to persuade Jammu and Kashmir chief minister, Dr Farooq Abdullah, to withdraw the "pernicious bill."

The guild president, Mr Nikhail Chakravarty, in a press release here also urged journalists across the country to campaign "relentlessly" for getting the bill scrapped.

### Northeast Political Parties Consider Cooperation

#### Assam Parties

46001595 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 6 Aug 89 p 7

[Article by Prasun Sonwalkar: "Assam Parties Join Hands"]

[Text] Guwahati, August 5—In the backdrop of tribal and ethnic discontent against the Asom Gana Parishad (AGP) government, in a significant move, a broad-based political platform called the National Council of Assam (NCA) is on the anvil.

It would comprise a total of 23 organisations, including political parties and leaders who were once active during the six-year Assam agitation.

Prominent among the constituents of the NCA would be the Co-ordination Committee of Tribal Organisations of Assam (CCTOA) which held talks with the state government recently on the Bodo agitation, the Karbi Anglong-based autonomous state demands committee (ASDC), besides organisations like those of the Tai-Ahoms, and Koch-Rajbonshis.

The NCA would be formed this month, according to Mr Nibaram Bora, leader of the Samyukta Lok Parishad, who recently filed a case in the Guwahati high court against the chief minister, Mr P.K. Mahanta, in the wake of the rice deal scandal.

Mr Bora told *THE TIMES OF INDIA NEWS SERVICE* yesterday that a "no majority" situation was fast developing in the state with no political party likely to win a clear majority in the next elections. A prominent leader of the Assam agitation but who fell out with the movement leaders before the signing of the Assam accord, Mr Bora said almost every major party in the state today was fragmented, including the Congress, United Minorities Front and even the AGP.

This situation, according to him, would certainly lead to the disintegration of the plains polity and would not ensure conduct of a true democratic election in the state. The disintegration of the plains polity, he added, started with the 1960 language riots in the state and a similar situation had arisen now.

The objective of the nationality council is to stop this disintegration, Mr Bora said, however, according to Mr Bharat Narah, AGP minister, the formation of this council and its participation during elections would undoubtedly help the Congress.

Mr Bora disagreed with this. Both the AGP and the Congress are today at a distance from the Assamese

mind, he claimed and strongly criticised the AGP government for its handling of the Bodo agitation. He apprehended much greater violence, 'even warfare' during the bandh called by the ABSU [All Bodo Students' Union] from August 16.

The wedge between the tribals and non-tribals is now too deep to be repaired in the near future, particularly with the AGP in office, Mr Bora asserted. According to him, the Bodos had many genuine demands which had been ignored for a long time.

The ASDC, which is in power in the Karbi Anglong district council and which is part of the proposed nationality council, is likely to contest the Karbi-Anglong north hills parliamentary seat.

Predicting a Kerala-like situation in Assam during the next assembly elections, Mr Bora said the AGP could not hope to come to power again. During the 1985 assembly elections, in 25 of the 67 seats won by the AGP (five MLA [Member of Legislative Assembly]'s joined the party after the election), 25 were won by a narrow margin due to keen triangular contests among the Congress, United Minorities Front and the AGP.

These 25 seats, according to him, are virtually lost to the AGP in the present circumstances. Moreover, stalwarts of the party had won with narrow margins.

Just like in West Bengal, where the Congress polls over 35 percent votes, yet procures very less seats, the AGP would also get less seats during the next elections, Mr Bora predicted.

Meanwhile, the co-ordination committee of tribal organisations of Assam, the apex body of major tribes of the state, has warned of "chaos, confusion and uncertainty leading towards an abyss," if the Centre did not intervene immediately in the Bodo agitation. It also apprehended that violence would spread to more areas throughout the Brahmaputra Valley.

In a memorandum to the President, Mr R. Venkataraman, recently the CCTOA, said it was convinced that the AGP government was not interested in finding a political solution to the problems of the plains tribes of the state.

Instead of the path of negotiations, the state government had allegedly adopted the path of "ruthless suppression" by invoking the Assam Disturbed Areas Act, 1955, and the Armed Forces (special powers) Act, 1948, "thus putting an end to political initiatives." The state government, the memorandum said, invoked the two acts in the first week of July immediately after the talks with the CCTOA broke down.

### Assam, Other Parties

46001595 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 4 Aug 89 p 20

[Text] Guwahati, August 3—In a major development, the forum of regional political parties of the north-east today resolved to work towards setting up a 'one to one' contest during the forthcoming parliamentary elections by amalgamating all regional parties into a single party in each of the seven states in the north-east.

There are 22 Lok Sabha seats in the north-east, including 14 in Assam.

The convener of the forum, Mr Pabindra Deka, told newsmen after the day-long meeting of the forum of the resolution that "the Congress can be fought only through consolidation of regional forces and by having a common programme of action by all regional parties. It is also resolved to work towards a situation whereby every state in the region has a single regional party." This is significant in view of the strong sense of regionalism in the north-east though the Congress has almost always succeeded in fragmenting and scattering such parties.

The forum hailed the recent resignation of Lok Sabha MP [Member of Parliament]s from 12 different parties and demanded the immediate dissolution of the Lok Sabha and holding of fresh elections. "The forum also condemns all attempts by the Congress for denigrating the institution of the comptroller and auditor general," a resolution said. The forum also extended its full support to the 'save India' day programme of the National Front on August 9 as well as the Bharat bandh on August 30.

In a major resolution, the forum also demanded that the alleged exploitation by 'outsiders' in the region be stopped forthwith. Mr Deka clarified that in the forum's view, an 'outsider' was anybody who came here from other states of the country. Mr Deka, an AGP legislator, has also demanded that the inner line regulations be extended to the whole of the north-east for checking the entry of such 'outsiders'.

However, as far as amalgamating regional parties into a single party is concerned, the forum already has a similar situation currently in Arunachal Pradesh (the People's Party of Arunachal is the only major opposition and regional party), Manipur (the Manipur People's Party has recently won over some prominent Congressmen) and Nagaland (the Nagaland People's Council was the lone opposition during the January 21 elections).

But the forum is bound to face problems in states like Meghalaya and Mizoram. In Meghalaya there are two major regional parties of whom the Hill People's Union and the Hill States People's Democratic Party have undergone several splits in the past, often with the blessings of the Congress, the third factor in Meghalaya is the public which demands an implementation committee. As Mr Tomu Riba, leader of the people's party of Arunachal and former chief minister said, "our main target at uniting the regional parties now is Meghalaya."

In Mizoram, the People's Conference of Brig Sailo has already merged with the Mizo National Union of Mr Lalduhoma to form the Democratic Party. The only other regional party in the state is the Mizo National Front (MNF) whose merger with the Democratic Party is bound to be difficult due to the irreconcilable differences between Brig Sailo and the MNF supremo, Mr Laldenga. Still, the prospects of a 'one to one' contest in Mizoram is also likely in view of the possibility of the 'MNF' joining the National Front.

In Assam, the Asom Gana Parishad (AGP) remains the single largest regional party with the strategy for the next elections likely to be decided by it in view of its being the frontline constituent of the National Front in Assam. The other two constituents from the state are the Janata Dal and Congress (S).

### Further Reportage on Developments in Bofors Probe

#### 'No Indian Beneficiaries'

46001601 Calcutta THE STATESMAN  
in English 26 Jul 89 pp 1, 7

[Text] New Delhi, July 25.—The Government has reached a "tentative conclusion" that no "Indian or Indian legal entities" were recipients of the winding up charges paid by Bofors in the deal to sell their 155 mm Howitzer guns to India.

Intervening in a special discussion on the Comptroller and Auditor-General [CAG]'s report on Bofors in the Lok Sabha today, the Minister of State for Home, Mr P. Chidambaram, said that the "tentative conclusion" was based on CBI [Central Bureau of Investigation] investigations. So far the CBI efforts to inquire into the beneficiaries of four account holders, Pitco, Moreno, Moineau and Moresco, had not been successful because of strict Swiss bank secrecy laws. But investigations in Panama and England, which were more successful, showed that no Indian received the winding up charges.

Mr Chidambaram spoke on the same lines in the Rajya Sabha also. In the Lok Sabha, Mr Ajit Panja, Minister of State for Finance, who also intervened, rejected the Opposition demand for the resignation of the Prime Minister, following the CAG report. He said it would amount to "hanging" a man merely on the basis of a preliminary report (CAG report).

Mr Chidambaram said as far as the Government of India was concerned, investigations were still on. Only last month, the Swiss authorities had written to Indian officials, refusing legal assistance in investigating certain aspects of the case. The Swiss response was being considered and ways of seeking cooperation from the Swiss authorities were being explored.

The CBI investigations had begun after publication of certain documents in THE HINDU. The CBI had sought cooperation from the Swiss authorities. A note on the

Svenska case was sent along with references to a discussion on the memorandum of understanding with Switzerland on mutual assistance.

After the Swiss Federal Tax Administration clarified its legal position in October, 1988, the CBI formally registered an inquiry within two weeks. Meanwhile Parliament amended the Criminal Procedure Code which enabled the Government to seek assistance through courts in foreign countries. In February, letters were exchanged between India and Switzerland to provide mutual assistance in criminal matters. In another three days, the CBI submitted a formal document requesting legal assistance, along with a list of documents needed and the persons to be examined.

Mr Chidambaram informed the House, however, that it was not easy to bypass the tight Swiss banking laws.

He referred to a charge that Sangam, a company of the Hindujas, had benefitted in the Bofors Payments and said that the Hindujas had produced a certificate from their West Asian bankers and chartered accountants that they had received no remittances from Bofors.

The Minister also said that some doubts had arisen about the authenticity of documents published by THE HINDU. Two persons to whom one letter was addressed (in the British Bank of Middle East) had left their jobs more than a year before it was written. A telex message sent to Continental Illinois Bank in the USA, addressed to the same person, carried a date of a year after he had left the job. But he added that the Government had still not reached any final conclusion in the matter.

Mr Chidambaram also referred to Major R.E. Wilson who had promoted a company, Target Services, in 1979 and later changed its name to A.E. Services. It was a subsidiary of CIAOU which was a holding company registered in the "tax heaven", Liechtenstein. Major Wilson had told the CBI when contacted that CIAOU had been floated by "influential and rich Arabs" but had no Indian shareholder or connection.

Before the Lok Sabha today resumed discussion on the CAG report on Bofors, the House saw a senior ruling party member and former speaker, Mr G.S. Dhillon, plead for stopping the discussion and a clash between Mr Vasant Sathe, Minister for Energy, and Mr G.M. Banatwala (IUMML [Indian Union Muslim League]) over the report. Both events took place during zero hour.

Mr Sate had expressed himself strongly against paras. 11 and 12 of the CAG report being referred to the Public Accounts Committee [PAC]. Mr Banatwala equally strongly opposed this demand. The Speaker, Mr Balram Jakhar, however, ruled that the PAC was competent enough to decide on the matter.

In the Rajya Sabha today, ruling party members criticized the CAG report, Mr Subramaniam Swamy (J) and Mr G.R. Matto (NC) supported them. The bulk of the other Opposition members boycotted the debate.

The arguments commonly advanced were that the CAG had overstepped its limits in criticizing technical aspects of the gun deal and had belittled the former Chief of the Army Staff by ignoring his statement to the Joint Parliamentary Committee. Only the veteran, Mr A.G. Kulkarni (C-I) took a different line. He regretted that the convention of not discussing CAG reports had been broken.

Mr N.K.P. Salve (C-I) prefaced his speech by saying that an impression had been created that he had attacked the CAG personally last week. He said that it had not been his intention to do so, and offered, "unequivocal regret" if such an impression existed—it was the report which he was attacking, unsparingly.

The CAG report had been drafted in such a manner that its "bona fides are very highly suspect", said Mr Salve. The report was "adding to clouds of suspicion."

### Opposition Walkout

46001601 Calcutta THE STATESMAN  
in English 2 Aug 89 pp 1, 7

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 1—Protesting against "dilatatory tactics" being used by the Government not to answer specific queries on investigations into the Bofors deal, most of the Opposition members walked out of the Rajya Sabha during question hour today.

The Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr P. Chidambaram, went into such minute details—actually repeating what he had said during his intervention in the debate on the Comptroller and Auditor-General's report last week—that nearly 30 minutes passed with only one member getting the opportunity to put a supplementary.

There were plenty of interruptions and a fair amount of noise when the question was being dealt with. The main points which Mr P. Chidambaram made were that the conclusion that no Indians had received payments in the deal was "tentative", that India was continuing to try and persuade the Swiss authorities to cooperate in the investigations—which had not been closed.

The Opposition was annoyed that no specific answers were given about whether any time frame had been fixed for the investigations, whether India had sought Swiss help in detecting bribery, or whether only tax evasion had been mentioned in the communication. Surprise was expressed over the fact that while India was making no progress, the USA had got the Swiss to help regarding Adnan Khashoggi and the Philippines had also met with success in dealing with Mr Marcos.

Soon after question hour, the Opposition members declared that such an incident had been "unprecedented", expressed their displeasure at the failure of the Chair to prevent dilatatory tactics being used and warned that a bad precedent had been set.

The Bofors question, from Mr Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Mr L.K. Advani (both BJP), was the second on today's

list. The Opposition members got irritated when about 30 minutes were spent on dealing with the first one, on postal services. They were looking at the clock, their anxiety increasing as the seconds ticked by.

Some of them wanted to put supplementaries on postal services but were advised not to do so by their senior colleagues because of the time factor. The Prime Minister noted that some sarcastic remarks had been made by the Opposition about the poor and intervened to say that "West Bengal has more than half the mandays lost in the country today", which created a furor of its own.

Then, when Mr Vajpayee's question was called, a ruling party member protested that it ran into 222 words, which he claimed was in excess of what the rules permitted. The Chair overruled his objection.

In response to Mr Vajpayee's detailed question on what help India had sought from Switzerland, and the fact that nothing concrete had emerged so far, the Government's response was brief. The Minister of State for Defence, Mr D.L. Baitha, said that the Government had seen the newspaper report about Swiss help being sought and that investigations were continuing.

Mr Vajpayee observed that his question was as big as the Bofors gun: The Government spoke of the long range of that gun, but its answer was short. He congratulated the Government for saying nothing and asked why Mr Baitha had been brought into the field by the Defence Minister, Mr K.C. Pant.

Was any time limit fixed for the inquiries to be completed? Was the assistance of the Swedish Audit Bureau and the Swiss authorities sought? Was it a sincere inquiry? And if the inquiry was yet to be completed, Mr Vajpayee asked, how could the Government say that no Indians were involved? Mr Pant said that a long discussion had taken place on this matter last week and Mr Chidambaram had placed all the information before the House then. If Mr Vajpayee had been present then (referring to the House boycott of the Opposition boycott of the debate on the CAG report) he would have had all his answers. He suggested that Mr Vajpayee refer to the record of proceedings.

Mr Vajpayee noted that his questions were not being answered and that he was being told to refer to the records. "I am asking questions here, I want answers here", he added. Mr Pant then gave the floor to Mr Chidambaram.

Mr P. Upendra (TD) and some other Opposition members objected to Mr Chidambaram replying to a question put to the Defence Ministry, but the Chairman, Mr Shankar Dayal Sharma, ruled that the supplementary from Mr Vajpayee referred to the inquiries. They were being conducted by the Home Ministry; so Mr Chidambaram could answer.

Why Mr Chidambaram? asked Mr P. Upendra and Mr Vajpayee. Why not the Prime Minister—who was present?

Mr Rajiv Gandhi said that the matter could be transferred to the Home Ministry, which would prepare its reply—or the Opposition could have its answers from Mr Chidambaram now.

Mr Chidambaram then spoke of the Joint Parliamentary Committee learning from Bofors that payments had been made to three firms: Svenska, Pilco) also known as Moienau, Moresco) and A.E. Services.

He then went into detail about Svenska and what the documents published in THE HINDU had revealed. India had sought assistance from Switzerland about Svenska's account in a bank in that country and had also sought Swedish help in establishing the authenticity of the documents. He said that an inquiry had been registered against Anatronics General Corporation.

Though India and Switzerland had exchanged letters on sharing of information, the Swiss police and Justice Department had declined to give legal assistance in this case—India had sought such assistance in examining documents and people. Mr Chidambaram said that Indian legal experts were still trying to find ways in which such help could be obtained.

Svenska, which was registered in Panama, has also been investigated—and there was no evidence that any Indian or Indian entity "were beneficiaries of Bofors payments". But that could only be confirmed or dislodged, if the Swiss authorities helped the inquiries to progress.

Mr Chidambaram continued on Svenska, saying that with Interpol assistance the investigators went to its office to make inquiries. He said that a member of Parliament had presented a document (he did not name Mr Ram Jethmalani of the Janata Dal) which sought to establish that Miss Virginia C. Rodrigues of Svenska had connections with Tribute Caskets of the USA, a firm which had Indian dealings in the past.

The Opposition insisted that all this was of little relevance to the questions asked today but Mr Chidambaram continued. Three documents bearing the signature of Miss Rodrigues of Svenska had been obtained; it had nothing in common with that on the document released by the member of Parliament—and that had recently been confirmed by experts of the Central Forensic Science Laboratory.

By that time the Opposition members were clearly angry. Mr Advani complained to the Chairman that such long answers were "a patent device". Mr Upendra said: "We have heard all these cock and bull stories before" and Mr Dipen Ghosh (CPI-M) demanded an answer about whether there was any time frame set for conclusion of the inquiries.

Mr Chidambaram said that he had been asked why he said no Indian had received payments; he was only

explaining the basis for that observation. He could not brush aside the matter. He went on to say that the business of Miss Rodrigues was a "careless and reckless allegation".

Were there two women with the same name? Asked Mr Jethmalani. He got no answer.

Mr Vajpayee said that this was the first time that Mr Chidambaram was speaking of the conclusions being tentative, but the Minister maintained that he had said so in the past as well.

The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] leader wanted to know why the Swiss had refused to help. Had India spoken of bribes or merely tax evasion? And recalled the American and Philippines success with Khashoggi and Marcos, respectively. He wanted to know if the letters exchanged on this matter be placed on the table of Parliament or whether the Indian and Swedish Governments had decided not to press the matter further. He also said that the Prime Minister had once attempted to make light of the documents published by THE HINDU.

Mr Chidambaram said that the Government had acted on the basis of those documents, without waiting for them to be verified. All those documents had been referred to the Swedish Public Prosecutor, he finally sent a "cryptic telegram" that they were the same as those in his files.

There was some suspicion about two documents concerning payment to the British Bank of the Middle East and a Swiss bank. They had been marked to a specific officer. When that gentleman was contacted he said that he had ceased to work with either bank prior to the dates mentioned in the documents.

Mr Vajpayee said that suspicions were confirmed by the way in which the questions were being answered; why was the Government stretching its replies? Asked Mr Ghosh.

Referring to the points made by Lieutenant-General Mayadas about the Bofors gun in a recent newspaper interview Mr Gurupadaswamy said the "whole deal is corrupt and dubious"—and led the Opposition walk-out.

The Chair then asked Mrs Jayanthi Natrajan (Cong-I) to put a supplementary. She said she wanted to know about the allegations that had been made by Mr Jethmalani—who was now running away.

Mr Jethmalani turned back and went to his place, making a couple of gestures, while some members of the ruling party began their chant about his being a CIA [Central Intelligence Agency] agent. Mr Sharma then declared that the question hour was over.

A few minutes later the Opposition returned to the House and Mr Advani protested about what had taken place earlier. "This episode is unprecedented in the Rajya Sabha; it is the responsibility of the Chair to prevent dilatory tactics". He said a reply to a brief

supplementary had been stretched to almost 30 minutes in a bid to prevent more questions being asked. This was a bad precedent, the Chair must reflect on it.

The Defence Minister said he had given a brief reply and asked Mr Vajpayee to refer to the record only to save time. But Mr Vajpayee had wanted a detailed reply. Mr Chidambaram had done so, there was no valid ground for objection.

The Deputy Chairman, Mrs Najma Heptulla said that she had been a member of the House for nine years and there were instances when one question had taken up a full hour. What happened during question hour was not her concern, the Opposition could take it up with the Chairman.

### Troubles With Gun

46001601 Madras THE HINDU in English  
6 Aug 89 p 5

[Text] An analysis of the Bofors FH-77B 155 mm howitzer appearing in the July 1989 issue of the authoritative Indian Defence Review [IDR] has brought out some difficulties being encountered in the use of the gun by the Indian Army. It has also pointed to some critical gaps in its evaluation.

Published bi-annually from Delhi as a private enterprise and edited by Lt Gen (Rtd) Matthew Thomas, the IDR has emerged as a major independent journal specializing on military affairs. The IDR research team is essentially a pseudonym for qualified defence personnel who analyze different aspects of military affairs.

In its analysis of the FH-77B, the IDR research team has commented adversely on the fact that the School of Artillery, the premier specialist institution for artillery, had "rejected the howitzer out of hand, seeing no relative merit in it at all." However, the General Staff had sought information on the "package" from other "expert" bodies and the gun was thereafter "presented" to the School and the Army as the standard medium gun.

The report has noted that during the initial phases, the Army Headquarters had not quite grasped the "size, complexity, details, items, subitems, spares, tools, etc., "which would overwhelm the user. It has observed that considering the many agencies that look after this, there was need for a special induction team to oversee the process of unpacking, cataloguing, assigning part numbers and building up a user-guide list.

Another interesting point made is that through the efforts of the School of Artillery upwards of 80 modifications were proposed in the gun and its prime mover. One of these visible to anyone who witnessed the Republic Day parades in 1988 and 1989 was the muzzle brake at the end of the gun barrel which has changed from the original "pepper-pot" design to a "double baffle swaged high efficiency type," used incidentally in the Sofma TR-155 gun.

The report has made a serious observation with regard to the "disconcerting habit of the howitzer going off the road due to hydraulic trouble for an unspecified variety of reasons." This has been attributed to the complex electronics/hydraulics of the gun. It observes that the nature of the breakdowns were peculiar in that they were easily set right by the Bofors representatives, but they did point to the "delicate nature of the gun. Therefore the report has recommended modifications to ensure its availability for "hard field use."

The report has also analyzed the demonstration of the gun to the Joint Parliamentary Committee [JPC]. It notes that the demonstration was structured to show the gun in the best possible light. It has commented on the fact that the gun was "compared" to the 130 mm field gun of the Army, a gun which originated 44 years ago. The APU [Asian Parliamentarians Union] powered hydraulics and automation of the FH-77B naturally stood out before the manually operated 130 mm.

The main aim of the demonstration, the IDR report comments, was to remove doubts over the range. Reacting to the official handout that the gun achieved ranges of 29.4 to 31 km, the IDR team has expressed amusement since the "achievement" would have led to the automatic rejection of the system. Their point is that either the projectile was ranged for 30,000 meters and the mean point of impact (mpi) developed at 29,400 meters with some going out to 31,000 meters which would call for the rejection of the system, or the rounds were spread over 1,600 meters so that their mpi was at 29,400 m. This performance would have resulted in the buyers and designers being "laughed out of their profession." However the more probable explanation, according to the IDR, was that the rounds were predicted to impact at 30,000 m and the prevailing conditions made the mpi 29.4 km and thereafter to satisfy the JPC that the ranges are greater than 30 km, a few rounds were loosed off at a low angle of elevation.

The substantive comment of the IDR team is that they are not satisfied with the accuracy of the gun or its consistency. At the 20 to 30 km range, the performance was in fact no better than that of the 130 mm gun at comparable ranges. [passage omitted]

#### **Commentator on Gandhi's Independence Day Speech**

46001647 Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
16 Aug 89 p 9

[Article by K. K. Katyal: "PM's Speech Sets the Tone for Election Campaign"]

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 15—Those who looked in today's Independence Day speech by the Prime Minister [PM], Mr Rajiv Gandhi, for the issues and strategies the Congress(I) will adopt for the coming Lok Sabha election had not to put in any great effort. The pointers were loud and clear—be it his combativeness in his reference to the Opposition or the choice of subjects such as the security

and integrity of the country, the threats posed by the divisive forces and plans for the transfer of power to the people.

As in the past, a lot of deliberation, discussion and interaction with all manner of advisors and officials went into the structuring of the framework of the Prime Minister's address to the nation from the ramparts of New Delhi's Red Fort. He, therefore, could not have uttered a syllable, unless it had a bearing on the crucial electoral battle ahead. His performance today, it is safe to assume, is an essential part of the election campaign, on which both the ruling party and the Opposition have already embarked.

Domestic issues: In a striking departure from the past, the Prime Minister devoted himself wholly to the domestic scene, avoiding any mention of foreign policy issues, either in relation to the neighbourhood or global problems. He did refer to the Maldives and Sri Lanka, but only in the context of the role the armed forces were required to play there. Does it mean that foreign affairs will not figure as a major campaign issue? Or that the Congress(I) proposed to confine itself to domestic matters in challenging its opponents?

The fierce combativeness stood out in most of the address. It was in keeping with the Prime Minister's approach, as exhibited of late in Parliament, in his address to the Congress(I) Parliamentary Party or his public speeches, especially during visits to the non-Congress(I) ruled States (including Karnataka taken over by the Centre a few months ago). This approach reached a climax in parliament the other day, through his controversial branding of the Opposition MPs of the Rajya Sabha as limpets. (Speaking in the Lok Sabha on August 7, he referred to the Opposition stand against the Panchayati Bill and the resignation of its members from the House and said: Let us see what happens to the other House where, in glaring contrast to their behaviour here, they cling like limpets to their seats). It was a case of an all-out attack.

Opinions differ on whether this is in tune with the President, Mr R. Venkataraman's plea, in his address yesterday, for abjuring acrimony and rancour and for exhibiting respect for the rights of others and tolerance of contrary points of view.

"Dark days": Through repeated references today, the Prime Minister projected his party as the protector of the country's security and integrity. This was an extension of the tactical line, which brought the Congress(I) rich electoral dividends in 1984 and had been employed to ward off challenges posed by the Fairfax episode, the differences with the former President, Mr Zail Singh and the Bofors kickback issue. Mr Gandhi pointedly recalled the dark days in the wake of his mother's assassination, the resultant doubts about the country's viability as one entity and claimed credit for steering it out of that period.

Last time, the Anandpur Sahib resolution of the Akali Dal (seeking to restrain the Centre's powers to four subjects) was a by-word for Mr Gandhi as he developed his theme of threats to India's integrity. He did not mention it today, but otherwise went hammer and tongs against the trend represented by it and the conduct of its advocates and their supporters.

Equally strong was his indictment of his opponents to what he described as his Government's bid to transfer power to the people and weaken the hold of power brokers.

His attacks on the Opposition were on predictable lines but, nonetheless, served to confirm how the Prime Minister and the Congress(I) proposed to conduct themselves in the run up to the elections.

#### **Commentator: India Vulnerable To U.S. Action**

46001644 *Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH*  
in English 10 Aug 89 p 8

[Article by K. K. Sharma]

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 9—India has done some brave talk about the U.S. decision to name it as one of the priority countries for action under Super 301 of its omnibus Trade Act. The government's refusal to talk with the U.S. "under threat" sounds good but if the U.S. administration actually takes action against India, it will mean a serious blow to this country.

Despite the government's stand and signs that the U.S. administration will not actually resort to sanctions to force changes in Indian policies on insurance and foreign investment—the two areas named by it for action under Super 301—the fact remains that India is highly vulnerable.

This is because the U.S. is India's leading trading partner, accounting for almost 19 percent of its non-oil exports and more than 22 percent of its imports in 1988. Any retaliatory action by India would mean nothing to the U.S. since this country accounted for about one percent of U.S. total exports in 1988.

Similarly, the U.S. is also India's largest investment partner. U.S. companies account for a fifth of the joint ventures approved by the government of India since 1947 and 75 percent of these are in the manufacturing sector. U.S. private investment in India is currently estimated at \$600 million.

U.S. collaborations are in a wide range of industrial activities covering alternative sources of energy, chemical industry, electric and electronics, mechanical engineering, textiles and the like.

What is even more important, the commerce minister envisages a much larger share for the U.S. in its plans for trade for the future. Based on the export plan prepared by the ministry on the basis of data surveys conducted by

the embassy in Washington and other organisations, plans are to double the 1985 export by 1985. [as published]

India sees major prospects for expansion of exports in areas like engineering products, electronics including software, diamonds, gems and jewellery, textiles and clothing. If U.S. markets for these are closed, India's plans to increase its exports will be seriously jeopardised.

The threat of sanctions comes at a time when bilateral bodies established by the two countries to increase economic contacts have made plans for higher trade. For instance, a trade working group formed under the Indo-U.S. joint commission agreed to provide increased accessibility to various new goods in U.S. markets, including almonds.

Also in jeopardy is the considerable work done by the India-U.S. Business Council to making it easy to transfer U.S. technology to India.

India also relies heavily on certain key exports by the U.S., which come in controlled categories and which it needs for its defence, space and other industries requiring sophisticated products and high technology.

In sum, while India can take a brave public stand on Super 301, the consequences of any retaliation by the U.S. would be highly serious, particularly at a time when India is vulnerable because of its balance of payments problems.

#### **Commentary Views India's Role in South Asia**

46240050 *New Delhi DINMAN* in Hindi 15 Jun 89 p 25

[Article by A.S. Abraham: "India in South Asia"]

[Text] Certain circles view the current tension in Indo-Nepalese relations as a mere confirmation of the deplorable side of India's "older brother" status. Recently, the American magazine *TIME* carried a special report on India becoming an Asian superpower. Occasionally, from Australia and America, mutterings are heard of the nature that India, having acquired far more military muscle than it needs for its defense needs, has emerged as a regional superpower. Proof of Indian muscle is also listed, which includes the 1971 Indo-Pakistan war, the 1961 Goa operation, action in the Maldives, the activities of the Indian peace force in Sri Lanka, and reaction over the question of Indians in Fiji.

However, very few Indians feel pleased at India being described as a superpower because this noun is intended not as praise but as criticism. The motivation behind describing India as an "older brother" is the feeling that whatever the case, India's writ does run in the region, but behind the word "older brother" there also lies a reproach that India uses its power arrogantly and savagely. The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) keeps an unrelenting sharp eye on India's activities. It is true that SAARC cannot take

cognizance of political and bilateral disputes. This is so because if it were to do so, that would be the end of it. For this reason its relevance in any South Asian dispute remains questionable.

Despite this, as far as India is concerned, SAARC becomes a source of headache. As soon as there is a dispute between a SAARC member and India, India tends to be viewed as a hurdle in the creation of SAARC as a regional friendly community.

Internationally, India is also criticized on the ground that, in its quest for local hegemony, India is adopting an attitude of disdain and contempt toward SAARC. As soon as India has a dispute with any member country, it is assumed that India's interests are on a collision course with those of all the other member countries.

Even though bilateral disputes are not discussed in the SAARC meetings, the tension generated by dispute has an obvious impact on the debates and resolutions under consideration. Naturally, India has to keep in mind this aspect in the context of its relations with other South Asian countries.

Whatever action India may take to protect or advance its interests, it gets charged with imposing hegemony. In the context of past and present conditions, the only way to escape this charge is to do nothing, sit helplessly, and whenever there is a dispute with any SAARC country, always be prepared to surrender.

Because every country in South Asia is smaller than India, it is accepted as a premise that their interests should have priority over India's. Because if India, being a big country, is liberal and large hearted, this is expected of it. Its corollary is that the smaller is always right: this should be recognized.

Take the example of Sri Lanka. When racial differences were erupting in Sri Lanka, what was India to do? When it took care of Tamils fleeing from oppression, it was censured and it was said that this tantamounted to involvement in the dispute of another country and was, therefore, dangerous. But had India not given refuge to the fleeing Tamils, it would have been said that India is refusing to help victims of tyranny and oppression.

Again this is what is happening in the case of Nepal. Can India afford to ignore or overlook what is being done to Indians in Nepal? It can also be said that India should have shown greater sensitivity to the feelings of Nepal. What it means is that if Nepal is in disagreement with India on some issue and Nepal is firm on its stand, this should be taken as a sign of Indian imposition of hegemony.

For instance, India does not see eye to eye with Nepal on its proposal to declare itself a zone of peace. To Nepal, this suggests that India does not want to relax its grip over Nepal, which has been in place since 1950 in the form of "special relations."

Other South Asian countries also have problems with India. If on any of these issues—the division of river waters with Bangladesh, the people of Chakma tribe, intruders from Bangladesh, India's action in Sri Lanka, and apart from occasional frustrations with Bhutan, the host of disputes running with Pakistan—if on any of these issues, India takes any steps to protect its interests, all the other countries express the sentiment that India, intoxicated with its power and size, wants to keep them in their "place."

It is not as though India's South Asian policy is flawless. In the very case of Nepal, India's attitude has been very harsh. A gradual approach would have been more effective, and it would not have given Nepal so much offense. But the question here is not one of judging the rights and the wrongs of Indian policy. The point is that if India, leaving aside its obligation to agree to every demand of the South Asian countries, embarks on a policy, it is at once attacked and censured. Let India emphasize its interests and immediately there is an outcry of "bullying-bullying" from South Asia, and this hue and cry is also taken up in other quarters.

Any Indian government will feel responsible for the country's security and its interests. In an ideal world, while pursuing this policy, India should keep in mind and refrain from hurting other South Asian countries' interests and feelings. But at the same time these countries should not expect that on every issue they can force India to abandon its interests by raising an outcry of "bullying" against its policy.

#### **Commentator Discusses Benazir Bhutto Travel Plans**

46001659 Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
11 Aug 89 p 1

[Article by K. K. Katyal: "Benazir Stop-Over Likely in October"]

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 10—The Pakistan Prime Minister, Mrs Benazir Bhutto's visit to India, tentatively schedules for this month, is now likely to take place in October. She will come here on her way back from the Commonwealth Summit, due to be held in Kuala Lumpur from October 18 to 24.

Like the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi's 21-hour trip to Islamabad last month on his way back from Paris, Mrs Bhutto's stay will be in the nature of a stop-over. It will thus be a case of strict reciprocity. Whether it is extended that way or not, it will help her counter the criticism that she has been eager to submit to India's hegemony.

Only with this in view had Pakistan wanted India to take the initiative for bilateral contacts at the highest-level. This was particularly so because Ms Bhutto's opponents in Pakistan had been reminding her of New Delhi not returning the late President, Gen Zia-ul-Haq's visit to India. Why the Indian leaders were lukewarm is well known—they did not want to confer respectability on

the military dictatorship, and thus, earn the displeasure of the democratic sections. From India's standpoint, that position changed with the advent of democracy in Pakistan.

According to the original programme, Ms Bhutto was to come here as part of her round of SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] capitals as the head of the grouping. The summit, earlier scheduled for November, has been postponed till next March—though an official announcement is yet to be made—because of the stalemate caused by Sri Lanka's insistence on importing bilateral disputes into the SAARC framework. The earlier urgency for the visit to the region is not there now.

Different reason: According to reports from Pakistan, the country's President, Mr Ghulam Ishaq Khan, and not the Prime Minister, may undertake the trips to the other SAARC capitals. However, there is no confirmation yet on this count.

These reports however give a different reason for the change in Ms Bhutto's plans—her pre-occupation with strategy planning to counter the threats to her Government and the nascent democracy, from various sections. These include Ms Bhutto's political opponents, led by the Islamic Jamhoori Ithad leader, Mr Niwaz Shariff, the Chief Minister of Punjab. Her rivals, according to this account, have been pressing for intervention either by the President or the Army. One of the main handles used by them against here is Mrs Bhutto's India policy.

Follow-up measures: The two Governments have proceeded with the follow-up measures to implement the decisions of the Joint Commission at Islamabad on July 19. According to one decision, persons with visas up to 14 days are to be exempted from police reporting on a reciprocal basis, and be able to visit eight places instead of four, as at present, India has already implemented this decision and, Pakistan too is serious about early action.

Steps are also under way to introduce a new category of tourist visas, to cover group tours by approved operators, valid up to 14 days. The number of shrines, which will be open to visits by pilgrims from each country, has been increased. Pakistan has agreed to open the Sadhu Bela in Sukkur and Hazrat Data Ganj Baksh in Lahore to Indians. India has made a reciprocal gesture in regard to the Shrine of Hazrat Hafiz Abdullah Shah in Agra.

Both sides have also agreed upon wider consular access for ascertaining details about civilian detainees—in India, Rajkot Jail in addition to Patiala will be covered under the new arrangement while, in Pakistan, Karachi has been added to Multan.

For the import and export of newspapers and journals, Pakistan is taking steps to rescind the "ban" notifications. Also preliminaries have been initiated to increase the number of press correspondents of one country being posted in the other. Pakistani officials have given up

their earlier insistence on parity in the number of journalists to be posed in the two capitals.

## PAKISTAN

### Bhutto Advised Not To Play With Democracy

46560063b Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 13 Jul 89 p 3

[Column titled "SIYASAT NAMA" by Abdul Karim Abid]

[Text] Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan is in favor of Benazir's government retaining power. He thinks that the result will not be very good if we are hasty or take any action that bypasses the constitution in removing Benazir from power. Despite his support for keeping Benazir Bhutto's government in power, the Nawabzada seems to be concerned and terrified. During a recent interview, he said that Begum Benazir does not care about anything. She does not seem to understand the need for reconciliation and understanding. She thinks that because the United States, Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and India are all supportive of her government, she does not need to worry about anything inside the country. It appears that she is determined to thrust her rule over Punjab. But the reaction to this would be very strong. Speaking with great regret, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan said it seems that the situation is going beyond control, and if any big event takes place, Benazir will be responsible for it.

Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan said that whatever Wali Khan may have been, he was a politician, but she could not get along with him as a political companion. She told him that President Ghulam Ishaq Khan was not willing to make him the governor, and it was decided that Wali Khan and Begum Benazir would speak to the president together. Wali Khan came to Islamabad with this purpose. He tried to call her all day long, without any success. A man like Wali Khan cannot tolerate this kind of disgrace.

The MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] has been accommodating the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] for a long time, but how long must this continue. Altaf Hussain once waited an entire day for Benazir. He was told that the prime minister would speak to him on the phone. But the call did not come, and Altaf Hussain was mad with rage. The MQM circles are very much excited with provocation. Benazir had asked them to call a round table conference on the Sind issue so that the prevailing conditions could be improved. In reply, Rao Rashid said that her proposal had been turned down in the cabinet meeting. Her way of governing is such that she has offered to give each of the members of the Frontier assembly a sum of 5 million rupees in cash, two plots of land in Islamabad, and two plots of land in Hayatabad near Peshawar, and two kalashnikovs.

Just like the Nawabzada, the secretary of the Muslim League, Iqbal Ahmed Khan, also believes that Begum

Benazir's government should be given time so that she may mend her ways, or else the people will reject her. He says that it is not wise to foul the democracy because of enmity with Begum Benazir. But he, too, does not have any reply to the question of what should be done if Begum Benazir's actions are sinking the ship of democracy.

Iqbal Ahmed Khan says the signs are not good, and that Begum Benazir is flying in a higher strata of wind. She does not have anything to do with the earth, nor does she care about it, and the situation is fretful with danger. Iqbal Ahmed Khan says that he is not among the people who say long live Ziaul Haq, and that their leader, Mohammed Khan Junejo, may use this slogan. We are convinced of democracy in politics. I have even made sacrifices for this belief. Naturally, I want Begum Benazir's democracy to succeed. But she seems to be bent upon destroying democracy, and there is nothing we can do about it.

Begum Abida Hussein has the same complaints about Begum Benazir as Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan and Iqbal Ahmed Khan. She says that she cast her vote in Benazir's favor so that she could become prime minister. She still thinks that Begum Benazir should remain as prime minister. She says that she is in favor of coming to an understanding with India, but that the country should not be sold. But Begum Benazir, forgetting everything, wants to do anything and everything India's way. What will be the eventual result of her actions. Begum Abida Hussein says that she does not see any good resulting from these actions. May God protect them so that this democracy can survive despite these actions.

The question that now arises is why do Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, Iqbal Ahmed Khan, and Abida Hussein talk so despairingly. Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad [IJI] is only a party in opposition, and its way of thinking can be called one sided. But what about those who were neutral. On the contrary they were Begum Benazir's allies. They too have been separated from her, and now criticize her. Several days ago, I had written a column that Begum Benazir was fighting with every one on the basis of support from the United States. If things continue in this way, then Wali Khan too will not be able to remain with her. Commenting on this, a journalist supporter of the PPP had written in JANG that this analysis was without any foundation. But now it can be seen clearly that she is being left to herself. MQM's friendship too is about to end. Everyday there is some conflict. How long can this last?

The situation is such that since the Benazir government took control there has been no lawmaking. The reason for this is simply that she does not have a majority in the Senate. Getting a law passed by the upper chamber is out of the question. This requires a sense of understanding which she does not have. It is her desire to somehow remove the Senate, and lay her hands over the presidential powers to move, as she pleases, the people from one place to another in the army, and from the government

in the provinces. With these ideas in mind, democracy will soon become the victim of a fight. It would have been wise to take everyone, those opposing her as well as those siding with her, in to confidence on the important matters of internal and external affairs, and then proceed ahead with confidence. But this did not happen, and does not seem to be happening. In the words of Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, this "clash" will give rise to only one "crash" and it appears that our democracy is heading towards a "crash." The Senate has already started its sessions, and a new conflict is about to begin, because no member of the Senate would like to be dispossessed of everything he (or she) has and become merely an object for exhibition with no powers whatsoever. When the Senate members are reminded over and over again that they are nothing and that they are not wanted, you can imagine what their reaction will be. This is the reason why the PPP cannot gain the support of even a few members of the Senate, and without this support, the work of the legislators will not be easy.

The best thing for Begum Benazir would be to keep her eyes wide open and face the facts squarely. Countries like the United States and Britain may be her guardians, but as soon as bad days are seen ahead, they will turn their eyes away. Therefore, Begum Benazir do not allow bad days to come near you. Even now, bad days can be avoided if she can agree to come to an understanding. The people are worried that, lest together with Benazir, the government bad days may descend on the country too. Everything should be well and democracy should go on as usual. It is after a very long time that we have been able to see these good days. Political and parliamentary systems are at work. The political parties are functioning. Basic rights are restored, and democratic structures are up and working. May these conditions remain and the hustle and bustle continue forever. Herein lies prosperity and happiness. The Punjab parliament has also passed a resolution that there should be no martial law. But wishing in itself is not enough. We must find a way to stop the democratic "clash" from heading towards a "crash." This will lead the way to prosperity and the well being of both democracy and the country.

### **Bhutto's Frequent Foreign Trips Criticized**

46560062a Lahore SIYASI LOG  
in Urdu 26 Jul-2 Aug 89 p 5

[Editorial titled "Prime Minister's Foreign Trips"]

[Text] The British newspaper OBSERVER has advised the prime minister to pay attention to the situation in her country instead of visiting other countries. The situation at home, according to the newspaper, is getting out of control and Benazir has not been successful in solving problems. Therefore, the newspaper suggests, that she spend her time in Pakistan and seriously try to get the people's support instead of traveling to other countries. Since becoming prime minister, she has visited Turkey, Iraq, Japan, China, and the United States. She is planning to visit ten more countries during the next 2

months, even though being feted in the reception rooms in foreign countries is no substitute for success as a leader at home.

The prime minister is making these foreign trips to show that she is very popular in the Western world and outside of Pakistan. And since her leadership has been accepted by the world, the Pakistanis should also bow down to her leadership and not object to it. However, the Pakistanis are not so stupid as to be impressed by foreign trips. All leaders get publicity from such trips. Leaders before her also were paid tribute by the leaders of the United States, England, and France, and the kind of receptions given Ayub Khan and Zia-ul Haq cannot be paralleled. The western newspapers have already started criticizing Benazir and the advice given by the OBSERVER shows that the political circles in England do not view Benazir's efforts to get cheap publicity favorably. This foreign support which Benazir wants to use for becoming a dictator here is not reliable. Benazir should not forget that the United States and all the other countries are aware that the real power in Pakistan is still with the military, and Benazir is not yet a strong enough personality that no one would disobey her. The people are beginning to suspect her leadership. Her relations with India and the Jewish lobby in the United States have especially sent a wave of suspicion across the country.

Even the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] members are becoming restless. It is obvious that Benazir does not have her own mind, and like a parrot, she is repeating whatever she is told to say. Parrots do not succeed as political leaders. A leader should have the ability to satisfy various lobbies within the country. Foreign lobbies will not help if there is suspicion and distrust at home. The foreigners, after all, also watch how the people at home react. All leaders from Ayub Khan to Zia-ul Haq had established credibility with important groups in the country. The problem Mrs Bhutto is facing is that she does not have the support of politicians, and the politicians like Wali Khan, Nawabzada Nasrulla Khan, and Fazalul Rehman, are wary of her now and consider her a danger to Pakistan.

### Opposition Criticizes Bhutto's Actions

46560063a Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 8 Jul 89 p 3

[Editorial]

[Text] When the government of a country conspires against the country, and makes its policy while sitting in the house of its enemies, in accordance with their wishes, how can one have faith in that government, and how can one be satisfied that the government's future is secure. The head of the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad [IJI] and the chief minister of Punjab, Nawaz Sharif, has said that Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, under a very big plan, would like to make the provinces fight each other. Proof of this is that conspiracies are made against national interests. Policies are being prepared in the houses of enemies and Benazir Bhutto is implementing them.

Conspiracy against the Siachen issue, reducing the role of the army intelligence, changes in the position on nuclear energy, closeness to the Jewish lobby, and terrorism and bloodshed in Sindh are examples of this policy. Whatever Mian Nawaz has said should be a source of deep concern for the people of Pakistan. It appears that the prime minister does not seem to care about the interests of the people of Pakistan. The government has been engaged in a propaganda campaign against the opposition in order to hide its own shortcomings and inexperience. Stories are being fabricated. The government's claim that the IJI is involved in subversion in Sindh, and that it is being paid huge sums of money for this purpose is not based on facts. On the contrary, the IJI is engaged in broken hearts and reuniting separated families. The Pakistan People's Party [PPP] is trying to hide whatever it is perpetrating in Sindh with the participation of "Jiye Sindh" and is putting the blame on the IJI. The prime minister's statement, alleging that the opposition is planning to overthrow the government, is irresponsible and childish. The prime minister has failed to cope with the huge responsibilities placed on her. She should avoid making such irresponsible statements.

Chief Minister Nawaz Sharif has said something very shocking. He said that what at first seemed like suspicion is now turning into a certainty. The situation and incidents are proving that she has become prime minister so that she may bargain with the interests of the country, and it appears that she is engaged in implementing the program of the enemy under a well thought plan. He appealed to the president of the country to take notice of the conspiracies against the country by the prime minister, and to take into account her behavior and actions. If anything should happen to the country, she will settle down in Paris, while the nation will lament over it. He also said that efforts are underway to turn the war that was won in Afghanistan into defeat. It is but natural that such allegations will create restlessness and anxiety in the rank and file of the people, as such, they need to be thoroughly investigated. The PPP has started an office with the special purpose of accusing people and finding fault with them. The prime minister, ministers, advisers, the prime minister's father-in-law, and her husband are all involved. Without paying attention to the principles, they are saying whatever comes to their minds. They publish through radio, TV, and the newspapers under trust and fabricated allegations. Party workers and the prime minister are looting the country with both hands. The prime minister's secretariat has become a market center frequented by businessmen. Before things reach a point of no return, the president should take notice of what is happening around him. The prime minister and PPP thought that they would win by making the people fight one another. This is absolutely wrong. The people are patriotic and under no circumstances will they allow the country to be harmed.

In this connection, whatever Maulana Fazlur Rahman has said also deserves attention. He said that Pakistan's

prime minister, Begum Benazir Bhutto, compared to her father, is advancing with great speed. Within a period of 6 months, she has pushed the country towards crisis, instability, and destruction. The PPP has closed the doors of understanding. Maulana has accused the PPP of not being sincere with respect to the Eighth amendment. It is exploiting this amendment for the accomplishment of its political goals. It is violating the established principles of provincial autonomy. Zakat and ashir, which are Islamic worship, are declared as tax. In this manner, they have opened yet another door of dissent. The Maulana has also warned that he will not accept this state of affairs silently, and if the government does not look into the people's complaints and does not remove them, then he will start a movement against the government. In the light of the above facts and objections, every patriotic Pakistani is concerned. The situation is becoming very serious, and as such, it will be better to take the necessary actions for the safety and security of the country before things get out of control. No Pakistani patriot would like to see Pakistan harmed. It is the duty of the responsible people, and the people who protect the authority and power, to take immediate steps.

#### **Bhutto's Indian Policy Analyzed**

46560059 Karachi JANG in Urdu 23 Jul 89 p 3

[Article by Irshad Ahmad Haqqani: "Prime Minister Benazir's India Policy"]

[Text] Since Begum Benazir Bhutto became the prime minister of Pakistan, the opposition has been lamenting that she has pawned Pakistan's dignity and interests at the hands of India. The opposition writers, who are also equally involved in the hue and cry, are trying to prove, by elucidations and statements, that Benazir Bhutto has become an instrument in the hands of India. It is also said that India had a hand in bringing the Pakistan People's Party [PPP] to power. The latest allegations against Benazir are that she is adopting tactics to make the Indian Muslims vote for Congress (I) Party, and in this way she is playing an indirect role in bringing Mr Rajiv Gandhi back to power a second time.

These are the same allegations that were raised against Bhutto with full force after she took charge of the country. But generally, the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] and some member organizations in particular have been saying much before and during the November 16 elections that Soviet, Jewish, and Indian lobbies have been backing Benazir and helping her morally, politically, and financially. A very strong campaign of allegations and defamation was started against the lady leaders of the PPP. They are called the rebel women of the Islamic faith.

Some of the parties, forgetting the actions of their past, and in accordance with Islamic laws, opposed the formation of a government headed by a woman. But despite these campaigns and base tactics, the majority of the Pakistani people expressed confidence in the PPP, and

despite all conspiracies and cunningness, they came to power. Since then, Begum Benazir Bhutto and her government have been under attack for various allegations. During the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] conference, very powerful propaganda was launched against the PPP's government and its leaders that they were ignoring the national interests of the people, and were bargaining with India. But the people who levelled these charges against the PPP and its leaders did not take the trouble to provide proof that Pakistan's interests were being compromised. It was a huge lamentation just like the one before death designed to distract the attention of the Pakistani people. If these people had thought about Pakistan's structure of authority, then they wouldn't have dared to say things without foundation. Today, a collective leadership is in charge of the government in Pakistan. Even though every element has its own place and function, all the major decisions are taken unanimously. Especially in matters of defence and foreign affairs, mutual consultation is always the rule.

In the end, the policy adopted is the one agreed upon by a unanimous vote. Commenting on the opposition's allegations, during the SAARC leaders summit meeting, I had already written that there were continuous consultations and exchanges of views between Prime Minister Bhutto and President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, and on two occasions, when discussions were out far into the night, Prime Minister Bhutto spent two night in the presidential palace. In this context, if someone says that Benazir Bhutto is bargaining Pakistan's interests and is ignoring the national dignity, or that Pakistan's entire leadership is lacking farsightedness and practical feelings, he intentionally expresses ignorance of the line of action which forms the basis of government policies.

For the sake of argument, if we were to suppose that the formation of Pakistan's foreign policy is entirely in the hands of Prime Minister Bhutto and the members of her cabinet, even then there is no basis to suppose that the nation's interests are not safe in their hands. It is a fact that until now, the prime minister has not given any indication of moving away, even an inch, from the national interests on any issue. She has demonstrated farsightedness, mature thinking, and strength in her dealings with the Indian leadership. Like other nations of the world, India too welcomed the restoration of democracy in Pakistan, because it considers a military dictatorship in its neighborhood to be a negation of its own interests.

It is also true that there is a good deal of personal identity between Prime Minister Bhutto and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. Both are descendants of influential and universally acknowledged political families. Both are young, and belong to the post division era of the subcontinent. The mother of one, and the father of the other have held discussions with each other as the prime ministers of their respective countries. As such, the expression of good will between the two leaders on a personal basis is not beyond perception.

The problem that deserves our attention is safeguarding our national interests and causes if it is possible to improve relations with India whether we should or should not adopt such a policy. The people who think that it is in the interests of Pakistan to follow a policy of eternal confrontation with India are a different matter altogether. But prudent and sensible people, who are aware of the facts and tendencies of the world, and who also know that the interests of one thousand million people of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent demand normalization of relations between the two countries, will never object to discussions on the basis of equality between the two countries. Prime Minister Bhutto rightly said that the government will not abandon its policy, which is in the country's interests, and which is designed solely to benefit the country, just because of the opposition's objection.

The reasons for Prime Minister Bhutto's foreign policy, and her policy towards India are obvious to everyone. But yesterday, when their spiritual leader was in power, what was his policy towards India? Did he not make the best efforts to improve relations with India, and most frequently in making these efforts did he not forget to disregard national nay his personal dignity? When General Ziaul Haq presented his non-aggression pact to India in September 1981, and when India inquired as to whether this pact included Kashmir he answered yes. What was the meaning of this question? Nothing except that he was prepared to put the Kashmir issue in cold storage. Why then did not these people protest. Why then are these people raising such a hue and cry today over Benazir Bhutto's India policy. During Gen Zia's time, there were dozens of Hindu-Muslim riots in India and the General did not utter even half a word in blaming them. When the Kashmiri leader Maqbul Butt was hanged, the whole world protested. The only person who did not protest was Gen Zia himself. Today, the people who speak about national dignity, why do they forget that their political and spiritual leader visited India and other countries more than a dozen times to meet with Indian prime ministers (Mrs Indira Gandhi and Mr Rajiv Gandhi) but the Indian prime minister did not come to Pakistan even once, though they promised on December 17, 1985. Where were the lease holders of Pakistan's dignity at that time. Just as Begum Benazir Bhutto said the other day, who said big brother to India and who took the honor to become the grandfather of the children of the actors. It is surprising to note that those who claim to his political legacy, today are expressing objection to Begum Benazir Bhutto who did not visit India even once when Mr Gandhi visited Pakistan twice.

Let us take the practical problems like Kashmir, Siachen Glaciers, Pakistan's nuclear program, and other different problems. On what problem has Begum Benazir Bhutto disregarded national interests. Mr Rajiv Gandhi was her visitor the other day, but during the joint press conference at every moment and every question she did not hesitate to express her point of view. It is a fact that Begum Benazir Bhutto's record was much better than

Gen Ziaul Haq, and his followers were much better, much more dignified and successful. What Begum Benazir Bhutto said was correct. What her opponents could not achieve in 11 years, she achieved much more in a matter of 6 months. It is quite right that during the past 6 months there have been more expressions of good will on both sides than there have been practical results. But this has been due to the heritage of the past. As far as the Kashmir problem is concerned, that has been present right from the first day, and it has become a very complicated issue. Who is responsible for the Siachen glacier issue? Is this a heritage from Miss Bhutto or her father? No this is an issue that has been left over from the spiritual leader of the people who are blaming Benazir Bhutto for baseless allegations of bowing down to India. As far as India's objections to Pakistan's nuclear program are concerned, the blame goes to the people who knowingly or un-knowingly called for an interview with Qadeer Khan and the Indian journalists and which created doubts and suspicion about Pakistan's nuclear program. In their own opinion they were being very smart by giving the Pakistani people the impression that they have been able to make the atom bomb. Then they were contradicting their own statement in order to satisfy the western world and India. The concrete basis for Pakistan's nuclear program was provided by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and the suspicion was created by the former regime. But the limit is that a few days after the interview by the ignominious Keldeep Nyer, President Ziaul Haq speaking with TIME said the same things the former said during his interview. Prime Minister Junejo, expressing both his remorse and surprise, said that if we contradict what we say, who will believe what we say. President Ziaul Haq then contradicted his statement to TIME, but the latter stuck to his story and published whatever it alleged was said by the president. Mr Rajiv Gandhi too was given the opportunity by president Ziaul Haq to say that the military had possession and control of Pakistan's nuclear program. Benazir Bhutto had to contradict and give the present facts that the present nuclear program was in the possession of civilian and political government.

Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's recent visit to Pakistan did not present any concrete results, because the issues were complex, and because neither of the parties was prepared to budge from his or her position. But the bare abstract thing is that discussions are continuing, and that the relations are pleasant, and it is hoped that progress will be made. In the Siachen glacier issue, India, to a certain extent, accepts Pakistan's stand. But some of its circles, especially the armed forces, refuse to take up the Simla Agreement stand. But we hope that this issue will be solved in accordance with the interests of Pakistan. The damage done during President Ziaul Haq's regime will be made up for during Benazir's regime. Mr Rajiv Gandhi will be undergoing election trials for some months to come. After winning the November 1984 elections, Rajiv Gandhi's election records were not very good. He is dealing with about one dozen non-Congress provincial governments. He lost

very badly in a state like Haryana. This is why he is being more careful than normal. Benazir Bhutto would like to protect her national interests at any price, and she is not prepared to make any concessions to Rajiv Gandhi. The results are therefore slower than expected. But this does not mean that no progress was made. The discussions concealed beyond our view have reached a stage much beyond what we see. But if immediate results are not seen in these discussions, it is not a matter for concern, because we have not lost anything. If within the next 3 to 4 months no progress is made in the Pakistan-India discussions, then discussions will be held with the government formed after the elections. But in any case, the decisions will be acceptable only if they are harmonious with our national interests. We fully endorse Benazir Bhutto's Indian policy and would like to tell her to go right ahead with her progress in accordance with her thinking and her preference despite the baseless lamentation of the opposition. We have absolute faith that she will not make any decision contrary to our national interests and our dignity. We strongly believe that every effort will be made to make our relations with India better. In this way we will not lose anything but we will gain something. We have not made one way concessions, and we will not do so in the future. Decisions will be made on the basis of equality, and on the basis of equality, we will try to make every effort to lessen the causes and elements of tension as much as possible. The works of joint ministerial commissions have been very encouraging, and we expect these to pave the way for further cooperation.

**IJI Seen As Main Obstacle to 'PPP Dictatorship'**  
46560065 Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 7 Aug 89 p 3

[Editorial]

[Text] The country's political, economic, and moral condition is deteriorating day by day, but the Pakistan People's Party [PPP] is under the delusion that it is conquering new heights of success. The prime minister considers her foreign tours a mark of her success, whereas in such formal tours, welcome and greetings are a matter of course, and these should not lead to any delusions. Within the country, the PPP's popularity is such that in two out of four provinces opposition governments are ruling. In one province, there is a coalition government which is in danger of collapsing at any time. The central government remains in power by dodging the danger of defeat by appointing dozens of ministers, advisors, and aides. All kinds of shenanigans are being resorted to in order to obtain support of a linguistic organization. Sind province is the only province where the PPP is in the majority, but the condition of this province is the worst among all the provinces. Dacoities are being committed. Murder and abduction are the order of the day. Because of the disorder, the province's economy is on the verge of collapse. Under these conditions, the PPP's claim that it has a firm grip on the government looks very ridiculous. The PPP has based its government on hatred and propaganda. For the last 8

months, it has been shedding tears on the 11 years of dictatorship. So far, it has not presented any constructive plans to the country and the people. It is trying to strengthen the foundations of its government on General Ziaul Haq's calumny and character assassination. It is trying to create an impression in the world that the Islamic Democratic Alliance [IJI] cannot do it any harm, whereas the fact is that it is the IJI that has kept in check the PPP's waywardness. The president of the Jamaat-e Islami [JI], Qazi Hassain Ahmed, has very correctly and timely remarked that, in the interest of Islam and democracy, the IJI movement will continue because it is a question of principles and ideology. The PPP believes in Fascism. Its ideal is the Bhutto rule when many political rivals were murdered, the powers of the courts were crushed, basic rights were suspended, and the worst kind of civil martial law was imposed on the country.

The fact is that the IJI is the real obstacle in the way of the PPP's dictatorial designs. The PPP government is the government which puts its trust in the Indian military instead of relying on its own national military and its own political elements. It relies on the Indo-Soviet and Communist lobby, and believes in obtaining its support. Benazir Bhutto's proposal, in America, of an association of democratic countries, is an indication of want of confidence in the people, and it amounts to giving America and India a blanket permission to interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan, to eradicate Islamic principles, and to seek intimacy with Israel. Had the government gotten the freedom to embark on programs of its choice, and had the pressure of IJI not been there, the PPP, by now, would have announced a secular government in the country. Nowadays, under its rule, the Islamic principles are being ridiculed. Islamic punishments are being branded barbaric. By and by, the masses are finding out what the real goal of the PPP government is. If this trend continues, the PPP government will not last very long. Were the PPP's federal government to abide by the autonomy granted to provinces in the 1973 constitution, most of the problems could be resolved and tension reduced, but during the last eight months, the PPP has not made any move in this direction. On the contrary, it has displayed an increasing tendency to constantly interfere in provincial affairs. In case the PPP wants to bring about changes in provincial autonomy, it should be done by consensus, just as the 1973 constitution was introduced by consensus.

Because of its wrong policies and its retaliatory attitude, the PPP, in the past also, had lost power and as a result of this, democracy and democratic rule suffered serious damage. But, instead of learning a lesson from the past, the present leadership of the PPP is following on the same lines which had resulted in the destruction of democracy and democratic rule. The same character assassination, the same propaganda, self-praise, while the masses have become so intelligent that they can easily distinguish between the good and the bad, and the real and the fake, and they are aware that the present government is working less for popular welfare and more for its own strengthening and survival.

The undemocratic actions that the PPP did and continues to do, in order to secure power and to stick to power, are highly regrettable. It had tried to finish off the Balochistan provincial government, an attempt in which it failed. The PPP has practically stripped the provinces of their autonomy, and it is constantly trying to interfere in provincial affairs and internal workings of the provinces. The central ministers keep spreading anecdotes about provincial governments. Aid to the provinces is announced directly and provincial governments are not considered autonomous. For this reason provincial governments are getting angry with the center. Disregard of the recognized rules of provincial autonomy are completely in violation of democratic principles, and the PPP government is the one doing this. The tension that has now grown between the center and the provinces is the result of the disregard of the principles of provincial autonomy, and if this is not eliminated, it could produce dangerous results for the country and the nation.

The job of the government controlled information media is character assassination of the opposition and propaganda for the PPP. The bulletin, Rabta, that is broadcast from television at night, is a mere announcement of the PPP's programs, and is unconcealed propaganda for the party's activities. This situation is gradually becoming intolerable. Because of the PPP's wrong policies, the law and order situation in the four provinces is going from bad to worse, and the conditions in Sind province are indescribable. Therefore, actions are immediately needed to create peace and tranquility in the country and to establish rule of law, safeguard the honor and dignity of each individual, and not jeopardize the country's security. If the government does not pay immediate attention to this issue, and continues its present trend, not only will this prove damaging for the present government, but it could also threaten to damage democracy and democratic rule, and can also hurt the country's integrity and unity, and we may have to deal with a dangerous situation.

### ANP Rebel Speaks Up

46000178 Lahore VIEWPOINT  
in English 24 Aug 89 pp 15, 16

[Interview with Lateef Afridi by VIEWPOINT's Zafaryab Ahmed—First paragraph printed in bold print]

[Text] Lateef Afridi is one of the Frontier leaders who broke away from Awami National Party [ANP] when the party recently joined hands with the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad]. He was in Lahore last weekend to attend a conclave of Left activists with a view to forming a new progressive, revolutionary party. He talked to VIEWPOINT's Zafaryab Ahmed about the break with the ANP, the need for a new Left party, and the situation in the Frontier.

[VIEWPOINT] What in your opinion is the reason that forced Wali Khan to join an alliance whose policies have

no similarity with the politics that Wali Khan and his family have pursued for decades?

[Afridi] There was no reason for it, whatsoever. All that I can say at the moment, unless proved otherwise, is that because of Wali Khan's feudal class character, he failed to understand the development that the Frontier has experienced in the last 20 years or so. Second, his involvement in high politics has distanced him from the every-day realities of rural frontier life.

There is a relatively large section of the educated middle class whom he welcomed (to the party), but once in the party, their attitudes and questioning habits annoyed him.

He still believes that whatever he does should be accepted as correct and followed as an order from the Khan to his tenants. Then, there are rumours about a sell-out. These rumours, too, are because of the absence of any plausible argument from Wali Khan about his conduct.

[VIEWPOINT] He joined hands with the PNA [Pakistan National Alliance] in 1977. Don't you see a pattern?

[Afridi] No, in 1977, he was in jail. The reins of the party were in the hands of Sardar Sherbaz Mazari and Begum Nasim Wali Khan. The two are pronounced Rightists. Whereas Wali Khan was not like that. In those days, things were different. Wali Khan was in jail. There was an opportunity to build a campaign for his release. But for this (present) alliance, there is no justification. We have had elections in the country. There is a democratically elected government which is weak because of the circumstances in which it was installed. The democratic forces should support it—not to defend Benazir and to seek favours from her, but to strengthen democratic institution. As a matter of principle, Wali Khan should have done this more than anyone else. He had said it openly: even if the ANP does not get the governor's post, the party will support the People's Party. I will say it again that political logic and Wali Khan's past political role fail to explain his present political role. The only ostensible reason one can find is his failure to understand his task in the present given situation. On the recent remembrance of Bhabra Day, a member of his party asked him for reasons for marking the day after his alliance with the IJI.

[VIEWPOINT] How do you see the present political situation in the Frontier?

[Afridi] Except for this recent horse trading and Wali Khan's somersault, it is normal. Nasim Wali did try to shift the capital of the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] from Peshawar to Lahore.

[VIEWPOINT] The question was in the context of the new forces which, you say, Wali Khan is unable to appreciate.

[Afridi] The tribal-feudal relations have been affected. The number of educated people has increased over a

period of time. Our urban centres have grown tremendously. The size of the middle class is bigger than ever. The money from the Gulf and even from working in the more prosperous urban centres of our country has expanded the size of the bazaar economy. The level of debate has changed, the character of political cadres has changed. The we have had a revolution next door.

[VIEWPOINT] But Wali Khan has a strong arguable position when he demarcates the role of a party from its parliamentary group.

[Afridi] That is not true. Look at the 17-point agreement that they have issued. The IJI has not conceded on any of the political positions which Wali Khan held dear before the alliance. If this was purely a provincial parliamentary affair, then the document shouldn't have dealt with issues of national importance like the Kalabagh Dam or foreign affairs or autonomy or even Afghanistan.

[VIEWPOINT] What effect will the agreement have on the anti-war policy in the Frontier?

[Afridi] This has yet to be seen. But the fact is that he (Wali Khan) has sought refuge in the camp of the exponents of the Afghan war whom till very recently he had been calling American agents: Wali's going over to the side of the IJI has not changed the attitude of the Mujahideen. It is not possible for the Pathan Left, which had supported the Afghan revolution, to work with the enemies of the revolution while the struggle still continues.

[VIEWPOINT] Is this the reason for your parting ways with Wali Khan?

[Afridi] Yes, we couldn't compromise on this. This is a 180-degree turn which is difficult to sustain while still retaining one's sensibility. How could we compromise with people who do not agree with our Afghan policy and who do not recognise the concept of nationalities and the multinational character of the Pakistani State? We want good relations with India; they consider India as their enemy.

[VIEWPOINT] But Wali Khan maintains that these people had decided to leave the ANP long before this alliance with the IJI.

[Afridi] Wali Khan knows more than anyone else that the only dissent that existed before this was the resignation of the President of the Peshawar ANP.

[VIEWPOINT] Wali Khan thinks that the People's Party didn't leave him with any other choice but to call it quits.

[Afridi] Wali Khan had said to me in our discussions before we parted that the People's Party should be reduced to the level of rural Sindh because the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] is there and the Americans are trying to narrow down the area of Benazir's influence. He said it was the right time to hit the old enemy and who, he thought, was eroding his influence. My understanding is that the Wali clan felt that Wali Khan's

political status was in danger. Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao, the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] chief minister, has the same constituency as Wali Khan. On the lighter side one can say that two Khans couldn't live together. Wali Khan was of the opinion that the IJI is a conglomerate of several parties and the PPP is one political party, and in alliance with the IJI he wouldn't lose anything. But to the People's Party he may lose some ground. We told him this was absurd. People judge a party on the basis of its conduct and what it does for them. So, if we work among them and work scientifically, the People's Party can't do anything. If we don't go to the people and behave as feudal chieftans, then we can lose. Then he said that there was no difference between the Afghan policy of the two, the IJI and the PPP. I believe that Wali Khan knows more than anyone else that there is a difference. The prime minister realises the need for a political solution which is quite obvious from the mellowed down attitude of Sahabzada Yaqub. There is no overnight solution to such a big mess. The only party interested in continuing the war a little longer are the Saudis. They are competing with Iran to bring the so-called Mujahideen under their own influence. They somehow are not happy with a woman head of government in Pakistan and, like the IJI, will prefer a military government in Pakistan.

[VIEWPOINT] What kind of presence do the Saudis have in the NWFP?

[Afridi] They are at present the main source of money and arms for the Mujahideen. They have their own camps. The main reason for this is consolidation of the PDPA [People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan] 's revolutionary government in Afghanistan.

[VIEWPOINT] Why are you going to form a new party at this moment and how will it be different from the existing parties of the Left?

[Afridi] As far as the old parties are concerned, we have seen their performance. They have failed to make any headway among the masses. If we look at our history, the Left has contributed a lot to bourgeois parties; it has been their brain and backbone. Why should it not have its own party? The Left formed the trade unions, student organisations, peasant organisations, and also gave an alternative political culture—of going to the masses and making direct appeals to the oppressed and the down-trodden. But it had conceded the leadership to the bourgeoisie or to some pragmatic adventurer from the dominant classes who claimed to be different from his class but conducted Left politics with the aspiration and attitude of his own class. We are so many groups working independently; it is high time that we united and did our own politics. We have to give up the tradition of splits—which were primarily because of middle class or feudal character of the leadership. With the passage of time, we have identified the problems of Left politics and the petty bourgeois attitude of the leadership.

[VIEWPOINT] The new party will still be primarily a middle class party. How will you check this middle-class character?

[Afridi] Time itself has brought in major changes. The present political cadre is not like the old unquestioning cadre. Now the workers want to know. They ask for explanations. People have had experience of mass political movements. These are not the days of "guru" and "chela." TV and Radio and happenings all over the world have broadened their mental horizons. We are going to do away with the style of open and underground work. This led to a petty-bourgeois mentality, a conspiratorial attitude, factionalism and splits. The underground leadership was accountable to nobody. Moreover, there is a realization among the workers, and they are aware of these problems and will participate to check the bad habits of the middle class.

### Political Pilgrimage to the United States

46560056 Lahore CHATAN in Urdu  
26 Jun 89 pp 15-17

[Article by Zahid Bulandshahri: "America: The Owner of Our Destiny?"]

[Excerpts] Pakistan-U.S. relations have aroused skepticism all along. Whether it was Quaid-e Millat Liaquat Ali Khan's regime or the regimes of Bhutto or Ziaul Haq, for the past 42 years, the United States has been merely engaged in playing hide and seek with us. Every ruler, with the sole purpose of remaining in power, strived to benefit by becoming a "yes man." It is our national misfortune that our rulers have always been submissive to our neighbors and superpowers. Our nation has been leading a life of want and misery. If the attitudes of our rulers had been somewhat similar to those of the Indian rulers, our nation would have reached the peak of glory, and individuals would gleam with happiness, but all this has become an unrealized dream.

The corrupt people in the government say that corruption and bribery are prevalent everywhere and particularly cite India as an example. It is really unfortunate that the corrupt segment of our nation is becoming accustomed to finding excuses and reasons for its evils, plundering, and vandalism. We think that this degree of corruption, dishonesty, and falsehood that is found in our country does not exist anywhere else not even a fraction of it. [passage omitted]

Our rulers do not only hold the people accountable for their misdemeanor, imprudence, and their enthusiasm to fill their pockets, but also receive their blessings and later on the United States also bestows its blessings upon them. The U.S. Santa Claus has given the name of "Khizir"—a leader—to those who play with the destinies of our rulers and those of our simple people. If the U.S. Santa Claus appears so good to our rulers and there is no one in the world as good as them, it is not because they are really good and innocent and simple like children, selfless, virtuous, sincere, and always ready to

sacrifice their lives for us like our beloved, to agree with our opinions and approve whatever we say, our thinking is similar and that our policies do not differ in any way.

We must not close our eyes to facts. Each and every Pakistani knows well whether the United States, Britain, or the Soviet Union is our friend or enemy. Our rulers know still better that the United States is not our friend. When it sells arms, it does so with a special purpose. If it provides wheat, it has its own interest behind the deal. If it provides free powdered milk under the world program, it includes poison pertaining to its share of the profit. If Begum Benazir Bhutto appeared to be a suitable person to the United States, it was no extraordinary skill on the part of the prime minister but that of her policy. This policy has comprehended Pakistan as it were to the very letter. Iskander Mirza, Ayub Khan, Bhutto, and Ziaul Haq, it is said, were rulers through U.S. blessings. Mujib did not fit into the U.S. framework, as such getting rid of him, the Americans decided, was their number one priority. And with the assistance of India, and the Soviet Union, the country was divided into two parts. When the late Bhutto came into power, the U.S. Santa Claus became the center of our worship and reverence. Before him, during the regime of Yahya and Ayub Khan, with the blessings of the United States, offending the Soviet Union had become the top priority of our foreign policy. The late Bhutto considered himself to be a dictator in the affairs of the state. He started behaving in the same way with respect to relations with the United States. He forgot that crushing the hopes and expectations of the innocent people, and imposing his will on them, and saying "talk to the United States" were two different things. When the United States felt that Mr Bhutto was losing the confidence of the people it too lifted its patronage. When the late General Ziaul Haq saw the fate of the helpless people under Bhutto, he entered the political arena. The United States does not help the weak. It does not take the responsibility of looking after the sick and the elderly. This is why the late Bhutto could not claim its compassion and kindness. The United States further strengthens the already strong. Unlike the Soviet Union, it has never supported groups of a few individuals. The United States, when it sees its supporters drifting toward decline, quite often leaves them to their fate without helping them. Marcos, the Shah of Iran, Bhutto, and Morarji Desai are some of the most recent examples. Today, the United States is cooperating with Begum Benazir Bhutto, because she enjoys the support of about 134 members of the National Assembly, and she is cooperating with the United States. They are both becoming inseparable and connected with one another. Its interests are dear to the United States, and to Benazir Bhutto what matters most is her hold on her party. The U.S. allies can do whatever they like, be it hanging someone or getting someone involved in drugs and bring them into disrepute. To say the truth, the group of people having the support of the United States have but one religion and only one faith. They cast all their principles aside. They do not have any lobby of their own, if they make one it is not called a lobby. Their

religion, faith and the source of their training is "self-interest," and they sacrifice all they have for it.

The disastrous conditions surrounding Pakistan today are being dismissed as by saying that democratic period has started and that every issue and every minute is peaceful. Our country is overjoyed to see the Americans smile. What is the condition of the people? How far has inflation gone? How are police and other security departments treating the people? How are the small judicial departments meting out justice? How are the poor and the laborers being deprived of their rights? Government does not care. They feel they have only two things to do: one to bring political opponents to disrepute by proving them to be the remnants of Ziaul Haq and martial law, second is to lose no time in flattering the Americans, showing their allegiance to them and executing their orders.

How much longer will our country be in need of the United States politically, economically and voluntarily? How much longer will Pakistan continue to bow down before India at the beck and call of the United States. This is something that the people should ponder and think about. The learned among the people have a thousand and one ways to think and understand and I wish that the people would think about themselves and their country with a cool head and try to understand toward which deluge our rulers and politicians are dragging us. The higher level vested interests are selling the chastity of the people to God knows how many places. Plundering and looting is openly rampant everywhere. Bribery and favoring the relatives are given other names and the flatterers are rewarded whereas the poor and the helpless, people with no one to recommend them and the meek and the humble people are running about with nobody to solve their problems or help them with their problems or help them in their distress. Every individual and every officer makes such explanations as if bribery was his right and an inalienable part of our Constitution.

Immorality is on the rise. Innocent girls, daughters of the nation and daughters in distress are being driven to pleasure houses and places of entertainment. There is no one to inquire about your well-being. The government is becoming atheist by bearing with the whims and airs of the Americans. The government by gratifying people who repeat the name of the prime minister Benazir Bhutto for the sake of own interest, for their companions and bosom friends are feeling satisfied that they have favored the whole nation. Just for the sake of few hundred million dollars in economic aid and in lieu of pressure on IMF and World Bank to relax limitation on economic aid we have sold the conscience of the country and the people in the world market. If the United States were so sympathetic then why did it not do so earlier. It is not under pressure of any kind. It is we that are really under pressure, that just to drink a draught of water or light a bulb we have to take permission from the United States. Is the destiny of our nation in the hands of the United States?

### Politicians Ridiculed for Illegal Acquisition of Property

46560062b Karachi JANG in Urdu 10 Jul 89 p 3

[Column "Tazkare Aur Jaize" by S.M. Zafar: "Booty"]

[Text] (Due to the ideological success of Muslims, other countries and cultures began to become part of Islam. The rules for dividing booty began to form as the result of many victories. Hazrat Umar, the second prophet, did not distribute Iraq's land among the Muslims so that the future generations could benefit from it.)

The talk after the three martial law regimes in Pakistan was that Pakistan's military had vanquished its own country three times! The "victors" received various kinds of booty because of these victories. The presidency of the country was one of the booty items. Many political position that could not even be imagined were created and given out as rewards like biscuits are given before serving tea!

One of the reward items was the distribution of prime land parcels, with good appreciation potential, to military personnel. Various business and trade organizations began to hire military personnel at high salaries even before they retired from military service!

A friend of mine told me how he has already booked a general yet to retire. In other words, the promise of future employment was part of the booty.

The military personnel of Pakistan finally accepted the democratic forces. That was a great move and we all praised it. They had refused to accept any more loot from their earlier victories.

Now political parties rule our country, and since this government has emerged after removing a martial law regime, it considers itself a victor also! They have opened the ledger for booty distribution.

The logic offered at the time of land distribution in Iraq is very much applicable in the present circumstance, however, it was not accepted. Our politicians, who erroneously believe that all booty should be distributed among themselves, are offering some new logical explanations.

One argument given in the support of distributing land in Iraq was the tradition that land was always distributed after winning a country. Our leaders are also citing this argument. The former governments also had distributed loot, therefore, we must do that!

The second argument was that the land would be distributed among the people who had made great sacrifices for Islam, this included outside people. This old argument is being presented to give rewards to the people who suffered during the three martial law regimes or were forced to flee the country and live abroad.

The last argument used in the Iraq land distribution was that Muslims would live on it and help increase Islamic

influence and supremacy. The new format for this argument calls for giving factories to the party faithfuls so that they can help the party during the next elections.

We would like to tell our military victors, who have gone back to the barracks, and our political victors, who are in power now, that the concept of winning your own country is grossly wrong and serious enough to be considered under a special ordinance. If there was a crime that was punishable by being stoned to death, then this is that crime.

We would also like to say that the country's wealth, whether taken by military or political victors, should not be considered spoils of war. This is national wealth which must be accounted for. There was a lot of talk in the National Assembly about these spoils of war and the people heard about it. They knew that everyone was guilty of this crime. An interesting and amazing comment that we heard while they were discussing millions and billions of rupees being swindled was that those who already had been rewarded said that they had the right to it and those who were being rewarded in the second round now also say that it is their earned right. Such an attitude develops only when the national wealth is not viewed as belonging to the people but as spoils of war or a political victory.

In this time of booty distribution our leaders should also remember Hazrat Umar's saying that if we distribute everything now, what will happen to the coming generations?

### **Hindus Allegedly Engaged in Anti-Pakistan Activities**

46560050 Islamabad HURMAT in Urdu  
6-12 Jun 89 pp 7-10

[Report by HURMAT correspondent in Hyderabad: "Sindh - Hindus Are Free To Do Anything; the Capital of "Sindhu Desh" is in Rajasthan"]

[Text] Sindh, the gateway to Islam, is in the grip of murder, destruction, plunder, abduction, and lawlessness. There are continuous reports that along with tension, flags are being flown, and non-Sindhis are being given a hell of a time not only in Hyderabad, Thatha, Dadu, Nawab Shah, Sakhar, Larkana, Sangarh, and other cities, but also in Moru, Qanbar, Ghotki, Mirpur, Mathelo, Mehrabpur, and other small towns. Despite the fact that the co-chairperson of the People's Party, Benazir Bhutto, has already confessed that a state of new revolution exists in Sindh, which could finally result in the partition of Sindh, the way in which the federal and provincial governments, who by lucky chance belong to the People's Party, are trying to improve that situation through press statements, for many onlookers points toward that very destination where East Pakistan was driven. This process is in no way beneficial for those forces that stand for the federation or call for national integrity. However, it does encourage those forces that are against our beloved country's freedom and national

integrity. Despite witnessing all that, the operative body and those holding responsibility in the People's Party have formed a habit of refuting everything. They act upon Goebles teaching concerning lies, and since a liar is deprived of memory, every new statement of theirs contradicts the previous one. For example, recently, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and Chief Minister Qaim Ali Shah, each one, on two separate occasions, in different styles, said that the involvement of a foreign hand in the current situation of Sindh could not be ignored. They also mentioned the involvement of some elements of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party]. However, after the tour of Karachi and inner Sindh by the leaders of the Islamic Democratic Alliance [IJI], especially Nawaz Sharif, the tone of the PPP's ministers and members of the Assembly suddenly changed. In this regard, whereas they tried to involve the IJI, particularly Punjab, in the incidents of lawlessness, they once again began repudiating the facts. The very chief minister who had confessed the migration from the inner Sindh toward bigger regions, seemed to be singing the song that "Everything is okay."

Anyhow, it is an ultimate fact that these days, not a single street or village of Sindh is safe from dacoits, terrorists, and those who are thirsty for human blood. Every person, whether he belongs to a party or groups, is inflicted with the fear that who knows which tyrant's whistling bullet would come from which side and kill him or one of his beloved ones. In other words, this land of love has become a battle ground of linguistic, regional, provincial, and political prejudices. It is changing into a hell for human life. From the remote villages to the top educational institutions, a darkness of ignorance and beastliness is evading. The tongues which once sang love songs of Latif and Suchel, today spit out flames of hatred. The hands that had to maintain the honor of pen and paper, today hold fatal and anti-human weapons like kalashnikovs, hand grenades, and machine guns. In view of the inhuman treatment being accorded to the non-Sindhi students in Sindh University, Mehran Engineering University, Mehran University, Nawab Shah Campus, Liaquat Medical College, Jam Shoru, People's Medical College, Nawab Shah, Chandka Medical College, Larkana, and in the other small and large educational institutions of the inner Sindh, and the incidents that can be heard and witnessed, it appears impossible for the non-Sindhi male and female students to continue their education in the inner Sindh. It is not easy to refute the solid proof that exists of tyranny and terror wrought upon the non-Sindhis by the extremists of the inner Sindh. When the oppressors were not satisfied with tearing down the exam answer sheets of a student of the Chandka Medical College, they injured his fingers. He was badly beaten and forced to run away. One Hindu teacher of the same college prevented the non-Sindhi students from appearing for a dispenser course exam held in March 1989, because he felt that non-Sindhi students deserved to be murdered. The non-Sindhi students at the Agricultural College, Sukrand and Mehran University, Nawab Shah Campus were beaten up and

then prevented from taking the exam. The Agricultural College, Sachal Sarmast College, Sindh Law College, Mehran University, Liaqat Medical College, and many other educational institutions are such that even after searching, one would hardly find any Muhajir student there. And now the settlers and other non-Sindhi students are being forcefully kicked out. In the words of an immigrant intellectual, "The doors of the educational institutions of Sindh have been closed for the Muhajirs and other non-Sindhis." It is also a fact that in Sindh, it was in the educational institutions that the clashes between the Muhajirs and the Sindhis first began. Because, prior to the All Pakistan Muhajir Students Organization, the Jiye Sindh controlled the educational institutions of the inner Sindh. Its opponents accused it of being influenced by the Hindus. Rather, the Hindu students were even involved in many incidents of terrorism. The Jiye Sindh took the APMSO [All Pakistan Muslim Student's Organization] as a challenge to it. Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah and Dr Hamida Khoru, describing them as a bunch of terrorists, sent a signal to the Jiye Sindh students to do what they liked.

In this regard, they also gained the full support of the Sindh People's Students Federation (SPAF). The Central president of SPAF, Amir Baksh Imran, had threatened the APMSO that they could send back ten dead bodies in exchange for one dead body. After the April incident, when the chief minister proposed a joint peace committee, SPAF rejecting it said that "We would not join with the APMSO to engage in treachery against the Sindhi nation. Under no circumstances will we collaborate with the terrorists and the imperialist agents to deceive the poor and meek Sindhis." Just as Benazir Bhutto herself has admitted, the educational institutions have become arsenals and places of execution. Extremism has reached such a state in Nawab Shah that the Sindhi female students took to the streets in order to incite the men. After that, the doctors started beating the non-Sindhi injured persons in the hospital. According to one eye-witness, some wounded persons lost their lives since they could not receive timely medical assistance. This has been happening for the past year at Liaqat Medical College Hospital. The administration is so powerless that it cannot even replace this hospital's fugitive medical superintendent, Professor Irshad, who is also the principal of Liaqat Medical College; although, after being severely wounded in an assassination attack, regarding the issue of his relations with the hospital nurses, his power of speech could not be restored. According to the police investigation, there is no justification for him to remain as the head of Sindh's largest hospital. During the martial law era, as a result of having contacts with top officials, he remained safe from any proceeding against him. Now, he invited the prime minister as a special guest to the college convocation, and after introducing from his own pocket the "Shaheed Bhutto" gold medal, he had his employment made permanent. Liaqat Medical College is the nursery for the Jiye Sindh students, since most doctors are their patrons. Therefore, during Prime Minister Bhutto's tour of

Nawab Shah, Dr Surgeon Jaan Mohammad Memon and Dr Professor Halim Sheikh tried their best to prove to her that the major criminal of the 30 September 1988 incident at Hyderabad, Qadir Maigcy, who was a former student of this very college, was innocent and noble. But, Asif Zardari's intervention prevented them from achieving their purpose. A doctor instructor of this college, Hamanyun Qazi, who is wanted by the police for the massacre in Hyderabad, is under the protection of an influential personality in Islamabad. Another doctor, Abdullah, is in jail. Even the nurses are prepared to describe every moment of whatever has been happening for the past 1 year to the non-Sindhi patients at the Liaqat Medical Hospital. They want protection, but the administration cannot provide it.

Life outside the educational institutions is also under fear. The Sindhi leadership, from Karachi to Kashmir, with its constant propaganda, has made the God-fearing and innocent Sindhis also believe that the Muhajirs and the Punjabis are their eternal enemies, and that their deliverance lies in annihilating them. A grave aspect of this situation is that the non-Sindhis from large and small towns of the inner Sindh, in a state of poverty, are leaving all their belongings behind and heading toward major cities in search of some safe abode. According to the latest reports, non-Sindhis from Badeen and Tulhar are rapidly arriving in Karachi and Hyderabad. The situation is the same in the Dadu district. So much so that even the prime minister's ancestral city is no longer safe from this affliction. According to Mumtaz Ali Khan of the Muhajir Ittehad Movement, during the one month period ending on 10 May, from Larkana division's district 15, Shikarpur district 62, and Larkana district 52, non-Sindhi families have been compelled to move to the Punjab or other big cities. Among them are 7 families who have moved from Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's ancestral village of Ratudairu. According to some reports, 100 trucks carrying settlers pass through Rahim Yar Khan daily. They include those who are moving after cutting asunder their 100-year relationship with Sindh. However, the Sindh government is left entangled in the problem of its SHO's [mid-level police personnel] and the industrialists. Its sources of information, in order to cover up their inefficiencies, are again and again repeating the error of concealing a shining sun with a black sheet. They have forgotten the reality that when the people perceive the incidents occurring before their eyes, in the light of an official filing of the case, they no longer trust anyone, and they hold the government responsible for all the evils. In Methailu Mirpur, the day after Eid, the tragic drama that the Jiye Sindh, the PPP, and the disruptionists performed under the leadership of the PPP's provincial member of the Assembly and in collaboration with the Hindus, and again the manner in which, upon the direction of a Hindu, by making the so-called Dukaiti incident a linguistic excuse, the honor, dignity, wealth, and poverty of the innocent non-Sindhis has been violated. If instead of capturing the real criminals, the afflicted ones alone are imprisoned, the estimate of its impacts on the ordinary and patriotic citizens

can be well deduced. Similarly, in Nawab Shah district, the home town of Benazir Bhutto's in-laws, the manner in which the life of the Muhajirs and other non-Sindhis has been made difficult, and the way in which during curfew time two Muhajir villages suffered firing from a car, and in Mehrabpur, the manner in which the people of the Zardari tribe seized a 447 acres wide farm of a non-Sindhi and killed the owner, if, despite all that, it is still said that everything is okay, then nothing is bad. According to confirmed reports, the social order in Nawab Shah totally follows Mr Zardari. All government employees are appointed according to his desire and will. The deputy commissioner and the SP [Superintendent of Police] receive direct orders and instructions from Mr Zardari instead of the chief minister. The span of life being made difficult for the non-Sindhis living there certainly proves the fact that the Sindhi extremists are free to do anything they like. It was due to his ideology of nationalism that Hakim Ali Zardari got separated from the late Bhutto. According to the well-informed circles of the inner Sindh, from Mirpur Khaas to Hyderabad strip, several Sindhi organizations, according to a well thought out plan, desire the transfer of the settlement. The apathy of the people in authority is proving highly favorable for them. The political analysts believe that this is a part of some future program. Therefore, the illegal possession of the farms of the non-Sindhis and the plundering of their stacks or setting them on fire are acrimonies of this very chain. In Tandu Adam, posters were displayed telling the non-Sindhis to vacate the city. In case they did not, they were given a threat of commando action against them. Similarly, in the Mukhdun family's capital, New Saeedabad, Mithyani, Tandu Allah Yar, and in numerous locations from Bedeen to Maatli, stacks of wheat belonging to non-Sindhis have been set on fire. Those reaching Punjab and Karachi from the inner Sindh have revealed that the Hindu population is functioning very successfully to make the Sindhi and non-Sindhi Muslims each other's life enemy. Along with that, there are also reports that India is inviting the Hindu population to enter its country after crossing the Frontier Province. In this context, when we analyze the reports published in the first part of February, which said that India has initiated a Sindh Operation, and that for this purpose it has formed a new organization called the SAS [expansion unknown], which would organize such provocative activities in Sindh, as a result of which, if on one hand the non-Sindhi Muslims move from there, then on the other hand, the Sindhi population would be called to India and the path for intervention in Sindh would be smoothed out. Therefore, it seems that the recent destructive wave in Sindh has been produced by this very SAS. Many Pakistani politicians and intellectuals either consciously or unconsciously are playing the role of the Indian agents in it. The intellectual Rasul Bakhsh Plaichu gets restless when blood is shed in Jawaritariya and Afghanistan, but he does not at all feel ashamed to shed the blood of his own fellow citizens. He has threatened that the cities of Sindh are being snatched away from the Sindhis and that under such circumstances, he cannot remain a silent onlooker for an

indefinite period of time. He once said that we should join together and proceed with a sudden incursion. It would make no difference if 40,000 men lose their lives, at least, the problem would be solved.

G. M. Sayed has threatened that "The leaders of Punjab would not be permitted to come to Sindh. Punjab should stop the massacre of the Sindhis in Sindh. Otherwise, we could summon the Indian force." It is particularly worth mentioning here that a leader of the Jiye Sindh Movement, sometime earlier had claimed that the only difference between the Sindh People's Party and them was that they went one step ahead to talk about Sindh's independence, while the People's Party talked about Pakistan. However, there was practically no difference between the thinking of both the parties. G. M. Sayed himself claims that there are 25 members in the Sindh Assembly who support him. With reference to the April 6 Hyderabad riots, the Sindh Assembly's speedy consensus according to the linguistic divisions, proves the fact that in the November 1988 elections, the new experiment that G. M. Sayed and his supporters carried out by giving the People's Party a workover, that the body should be of the People's Party and the soul of the Jiye Sindh, has indeed been successful. Hindu capital and influence have played a vital role in making this a success. The HURMAT reader might still remember the report of a dinner reception for the Hindu Punchayat Committee, Sakhar, published in one of its January issues. According to that report, the chief minister of Sindh, Qaim Ali Shah's nephew and a federal minister, Sayed Parvez Ali Shah, after commencing his speech with a slogan of "Ram, Ram, Jiye Bhutto", announced the good news that, "A Hindu, whether he belongs to Pakistan or some other place, always loves Sindh", and that "The people of other regions do not love Sindh and its people as much as the Hindus do. Both of us have similar social and cultural values. Those who create religious differences are self-interest seeking."

Diwan Jagwani, MPA [Member of Provincial Assembly], who was among those who organized this function, described the People's Party as his own and that of the Hindus too. This gentleman is a millionaire. There is a common rumor about him that he is transferring his capital to India, and that he has bought the Five Star Hotel in Bombay. According to the reports received from Badeen and Tharparkar, rather from the upper Sindh's city of Sakhar and from areas like Mirpur Mathailu, an influential Hindu like Jagumill has become so bold by continuous patronage of the "Sindhi Nationalists" that he has started to freely use the Indian currency in ordinary transactions. An old Sindhi friend from Tharparkar has sent us certain Indian notes along with his letter, which say that the assurance that the Pakistani military has no connection with civil matters, that the semi-military force has been terminated, and that the sphere of the ISI [Inter Services Intelligence] that played an effective role in controlling the disruption in 1983, 1985, and 1988 has been limited, has thus provided the Hindus and their agents an opportunity to do

anything they like. Presently, the Jiye Sindh, the ANP [Awami National Party], the Sindhi Movement, the JSSF [Jiye Sindh Student's Federation], the SPAF, and various other organizations enjoy every type of protection. Their Hindu guardians and patrons also are openly engaged in their provocative activities. They are amazed that Prime Minister Bhutto is concerned about unilaterally strengthening relations with India, despite the apparent fact that the Jiye Sindh Movement was founded in 1964, after the news in the Sindh daily "PASHP BHARI" that an army had been established for the independence of Sindh, and that the capital of the Sindh Desh was located in Khota, a place in the Rajasthan province of India. Furthermore, just as former Prime Minister Junejo had said that there were 17 camps in Rajasthan for creating disruptions in Sindh, and that the Hindus from there, after receiving training, were sent to Sindh. According to her, a Hindu who in 1946 did not even own one acre of land in Sindh, and in 1947 had become the owner of 45 percent of the agricultural land, rather had mortgaged 25 percent of the land in lieu of various loans, today, even after 40 years, is disturbed for the recovery of his ownership rights over Sindh's 80 percent of the land. He has safely recorded the loans in his books. However, God knows why our Sindhi landlords and elders, who were his debtors, are unable to comprehend this situation. He had continued to play unconsciously the role of their stooges. According to this, therefore if Benazir Bhutto, the People's Party leadership, and emotional members, while perceiving the situation, do not try to view the circumstances in the right perspective and redress them, they can deteriorate further. In this regard, she has asked the other political parties and leaders to keeping themselves above group and party politics, and to fully cooperate with the administration to control the situation in Sindh, and to learn a lesson from the 1971 tragedy.

#### **Commentary Speculates on Changes in ISI, Removal of Gul Hamid**

46560051 Lahore CHATAN in Urdu 9 Jun 89 pp 33-35

[Article by Gul Chaman Shah]

[Text] According to confirmed reports, while removing the chief of the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI), Lt General Gul Hamid, (along with his deputy) from his post, the GHQ's [General Headquarters] advice and role had been ignored. This started a process of rumors in the world media and within the country, which has put every thinking Pakistani citizen in an incredible and sensational position.

On 25 May, BBC London, in its nightly program 'sair-been', said: In Pakistan, ISI chief, Lt Gen Gul Hamid, has been removed from his post. This action has been taken at a time when Pakistan's policy toward Afghanistan's civil war is increasingly coming under fire within the country. Gul Hamid's appointment as ISI chief had been made by the late President Ziaul Haq himself, and its importance lay in the fact that the ISI exercised full

control over the country's Afghan policy. As a result of the firmness with which Pakistan supported the Afghan mujahidin, and the manner in which it distributed and provided them with arms, the Afghan mujahidin succeeded in their first important objective. Nearly three and a half months ago the Russian troops were forced to vacate Afghanistan. Lately, Pakistan's insistence on an Afghan mujahidin military victory has increasingly come under criticism, especially the Afghan mujahidin attack on Jalalabad, because it was expected that the attack would immediately result in the city's surrender and that under these conditions President Dr Najib's regime would also falter. But the fact is that the Afghan mujahidin have been unable to take Jalalabad.

In its long commentary, BBC noted that ISI forced the Afghan mujahidin to embark on a battle which they could not win, and now it is being said in Pakistan that the Afghan issue needs a political solution which will be attained through negotiations, even though Pakistan's government and military are insisting that Najib should first relinquish power. Pakistan's foreign minister has also asked the Soviet Union to once again start negotiations with the Afghan mujahidin.

The general impression is that following the removal of Gen Gul Hamid, politicians will take control of the country's Afghan policy. From the beginning, the ISI has not only been supplying arms to the Afghan mujahidin, but very often it has been exerting influence on the mujahidin leadership. Under Gen Gul Hamid's leadership, the ISI decided that this matter could be resolved through war and not by diplomacy.

Similarly, the All India Radio [AIR] also stated in a commentary that Gen Gul Hamid is one of the late President Ziaul Haq's loyal men, and that Gen Gul Hamid had complete control over Afghan policy. He wanted to solve the Afghan problem through war. Under his leadership, the ISI was involved in supplying American arms to Gulbaddin Hikmatyar, the creator of the Afghan mujahidin extremists Hezb-e Islami. With his removal, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto will now have complete control over Afghan policy. In its commentary, AIR also stated that under Gen Gul Hamid's leadership, the ISI had contacts with the Sikhs of West Punjab and had been supplying them arms.

In its broadcast 'news letter,' the Voice of America said that Gen Gul Hamid had created a clique within the ISI which had started supplying arms to the Afghan mujahidin and was the moving force behind the West Punjab Sikhs movement, and now after the firing of Gen Gul Hamid, an investigation will be conducted into funds at the disposal of ISI.

Quoting its correspondent, the NEW YORK TIMES newspaper has written that Prime Minister Bhutto has removed the chief of the intelligence wing of the armed forces, which used to annually distribute hundreds of millions of dollars in American aid. The removal of Gen Gul Hamid is a sign of the success of the prime minister's

efforts to gain greater control over the country's Afghan policy. Gen Zia had appointed Gen Gul Hamid to this job, and under his leadership, the ISI not only managed the more important aspects of the country's foreign policy, but it also played a key role in the country's domestic policies. Referring to a military spokesman, the NEW YORK TIMES newspaper wrote that Gen Gul Hamid has been made 'GHQ' and that replacing him by the retiring Lt Gen Shams Alrahman Kol shows that Prime Minister Bhutto wants to run ISI affairs according to her own wishes.

Commenting on these reports, two days following Gul Hamid's transfer, a spokesman of the Pakistan Defense Ministry said that national defense is the government's first and foremost priority and in its defense policy, it is completely free and independent. Therefore, to claim that national defense policy is being weakened or that it is being influenced by some other country, is a totally false and baseless charge. The spokesman said that the ISI is an important government agency which is and will continue to perform a very important role. Speculations and rumors concerning it are neither in the nation's interest, nor do they truly serve the purpose of informing the readers. The spokesman said that Gen Gul Hamid was aware of his promotion, and he knew that he would be reassigned. The spokesman said that according to army rules, transfer or retirement of a military officer is a routine matter.

Concerning this entire affair, a spokesman of the Islamic Democratic Alliance [IJI], in a statement to newspapers, said that politically motivated transfers in the most sensitive national security agency, are a reflection of the People's Party's disregard for national defense and security. The IJI spokesman said that ever since the People's Party came into power, a propaganda campaign has been going on against the military and its most sensitive agency, the ISI. Its advantage is going only to the country's enemies especially the Indian secret agency RAW, and the Afghan secret agency KHAD, and therefore there is basis for the fear of whether all this is being orchestrated by these agencies. The spokesman stated that the real threat from the ISI was to the Indian RAW [Research and Analysis Wing], and the Afghan KHAD, against which it has become an effective agency, and a campaign against this agency or a decision to hastily change its leadership cannot be in the national interest.

The spokesman said that if the People's Party objects to the operations within the country, it should disband the Home Ministry's Intelligence Bureau, which has been set up merely to harass and to spy on the opponents. The spokesman said that the decision to weaken ISI is at the enemy's behest and in the interest of the enemy, and this decision will strengthen Indian efforts to gain supremacy in the region. That is why this decision can be described as a political victory for India.

If we consider the background to all this affair, we will see that between Prime Minister Bhutto and the ISI, there has existed overt and covert confrontation ever

since Prime Minister Bhutto took office last December. She has been hinting that the solution to the warlike policies in Afghanistan that the new head of ISI, Ret Brig Shams Alrahman Kalo, has inherited is that this issue should be resolved through negotiations. In an interview with an American newspaper recently, Mrs Bhutto stated that a new approach on the Afghanistan issue will be adopted very soon, and this is not merely because the Jalalabad issue has been delayed, but because it would be better to have a political solution to this problem. She observed that following the evacuation of Russian troops, it was believed that an acceptable temporary government could be formed in Kabul which would rule until elections were held. She said losing this opportunity was a big mistake. The idea of attaining peace through talks instead of war is at variance with the policies of Pakistan's ISI.

After coming to power, Mrs Bhutto has said countless times that the ISI had a big hand in the creation of her rival Islamic Democratic Alliance and that the ISI has tried to defeat the People's Party in the field of elections. Such statements by Mrs Bhutto make it clear that she was not only suspicious of ISI's role in the country's internal politics but that she was definitely angry, the result of which has appeared in the form of Gen Gul Hamid's firing. Even though the Defense Ministry spokesman tried to make it appear that this action was a routine matter, an analysis of the conditions and the developments makes it appear to be a special 'repercussion'.

There is no doubt that on the basis of its work for the past years, the ISI won acclaim for its ability from all over the world, and in its professional field it had to face the Russian KGB, the Indian RAW, and in certain respects even the American CIA [Central Intelligence Agency]. Therefore, the powers to be have to consider that this transfer may not break the continuity of Afghan policy. Is this sudden change, directly or indirectly, giving an edge to Russia and India? Will it not put in doldrums the Afghanistan issue, for which countless sacrifices were made.

It is possible, some people may argue, that every new administration forms 'its policies,' just the way governments in the past have been doing but in this context, it should be kept in mind that the governments in former times never gave up plans and policies of national interest, but rather took them to conclusion. But one has a feeling that the elected prime minister, Mrs Bhutto, as she has said in countless statements, while discarding the former regime's (the regime of the late Ziaul Haq) policy remnants, she is rejecting 'popular remnants' (of policy) as well.

Even though various foreign information agencies have combined baseless propaganda, along with a lot of inventions regarding transfer of ISI chief Lt Gen Gul Hamid, their comments on the transfer in the context of Afghan policy have been more or less along the same lines. This clearly leads to the popular idea that he was removed in

connection with the Afghan policy. But in this context, one cannot overlook that behind this transfer lies the early return of Mir Martaza Bhutto, the brother of Prime Minister Bhutto. This is because ever since Mrs Bhutto assumed power, she has repeatedly stated, "Martaza Bhutto can return to Pakistan whenever he wishes. There is no restriction on him." Recently, the senior minister without portfolio, Begum Nusrat Bhutto, has also stated "Martaza Bhutto can return home any time. He will be fully protected."

In other words, the way is being cleared for Martaza Bhutto's return home, and it is the wish of Prime Minister Bhutto that Martaza Bhutto should return home soon and in this connection, (according to some political observers) the prime minister asked ISI's (dismissed) chief Gen Gul Hamid for a secret file on Martaza Bhutto who, in unpopular words, is the chief of the terrorist organization 'Alzulfiqar,' and figures prominently in court cases of a serious nature such as the murders of various politicians, bomb explosions, and plane hijackings in Pakistan and cases against him are registered at many places in Pakistan, and the record of all this (including secret reports) has been safe with the ISI in the form of a file, and when Gen Gul Hamid politely expressed his inability to produce this secret file, he was, as a direct result of this refusal, removed from the ISI.

Meanwhile, upon assuming power, Mrs Bhutto has accepted certain (in her view) unpalatable realities. Similarly, among other realities, this reality should also be recognized from the heart that to create disturbing unconventional changes in a sensitive national agency like the ISI, in order to achieve some special objective, is not in the nation's interest. And very politely, we feel it is necessary to bring to the prime minister's attention that if there is a tendency to resort to unprincipled actions, as was done in the past, the sun of democracy will set on Pakistan, this time for ever. It should also be remembered that during the rule of her father, the late Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, he took those steps (which were contrary to principles) as a result of which he lost government, democracy, and finally his life.

At this stage, when under these conditions various fears and possibilities are being expressed, the nation's president, Ghulam Ashaq Khan, should not remain a mere silent spectator, because we believe that the nation's president is a non-controversial personality who occupies a respectable office unsullied by party politics, and both the ruling benches and the opposition in the parliament attach weight to his pronouncements and happily receive them. That is why conditions and developments demand that, by a timely intervention, the country should be steered clear of the storm of dangers and possibilities facing the country.

### Commentary Praises MQM's Organizational Abilities

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[Article by Yunus Riaz]

[Text] It is an admitted fact that the free bazaar that the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] organized in Karachi last week is unique. In this bazaar over 100,000 persons bought free goods worth over 20 million rupees. According to an MQM statement, those buying goods included poor people of every color and race. Thus MQM cleared itself of the charge that it is a linguistic organization. The MQM leader, Altaf Hussain, himself declared in his inauguration day address that, notwithstanding all the charges made against his organization, it remains a fact that it is an organization of the poor and middle class. In its eyes a poor Punjabi, Sindhi, Baloch, and Pathan is as dear as a poor Muhajir.

In this context, it is also important that the goods obtained for the free bazaar were also collected from middle class areas. The relatively wealthy sections of middle class people in these areas took part in this good work with enthusiasm, but in affluent areas, according to the leader of the movement, they did not obtain the kind of success they had hoped for even though the rich had had the opportunity to use their resources for the good of their poorer compatriots and citizens.

This was a voluntary effort and some agencies did take part in this good work and sent their manufactured goods to the free bazaar, but the proportion of these goods was insignificant. Ideally, all agencies producing saleable goods should have sent their articles for the bazaar voluntarily but this did not happen. In fact, the MQM workers collected goods for the free bazaar by operating over 100 stalls for 1 month all over the city.

The most remarkable and praiseworthy aspect of the MQM's free bazaar was its discipline throughout. The discipline that was noticed from the stalls set up for 100 days in different parts of the city through the inauguration ceremony to the conclusion of the 2-day bazaar, that discipline (excuse us) is missing from the greatest political and nonpolitical organizations of our beloved country. There were hundreds of thousands of people massed on roads leading to the inauguration place (Tea Ground) but no individual or ordinary worker dared move from his place and force his way into the meeting place. In spite of the enthusiasm animating the assembly, there was no trace of chaos or indiscipline—so much so that even the applause during speeches was switched off at a signal.

The fact is that the MQM has a gift for conducting such unique experiments. Prior to this, a program was planned for showering flowers on ordinary citizens in specific areas. These flowers were showered on every citizen indiscriminately and it was aimed at fostering love and brotherhood in the city. Similarly, the MQM

celebrated its success in elections by lighting oil lamps. This mode of celebration was very different from that used by Ayub Khan's sons in 1965 following their so-called success and in which the people of Liaqatabad had to pay the price of only a single victory celebration by a sacrifice of countless of its residents.

In like manner, following its success in municipal elections, the MQM celebrated its success in the form of a cleanliness week. Although cleanliness weeks have been observed officially also, the distinction of this cleanliness week was that, before anyone else, it was the leaders who took brooms in their hands and even the top guns of the MQM felt no shame in taking part in this campaign.

The low-price stalls managed by the MQM on the occasion of Ramzan and Id were also unique. Especially during Ramzan, these stalls helped control prices of necessity goods. In many places it was noticed that as long as low-price articles were available at these stalls, other stores remained deserted.

The sum and substance of this is that the above MQM experiments are exemplary and praiseworthy. What is needed now is to put these experiments on a permanent footing and organize service to humanity as a regular agency. For instance, if low-price stalls are made permanent, this could provide employment to countless young people.

Employment is the biggest concern for the class that the MQM represents and for which it speaks. So far the MQM has managed the aforementioned task on a voluntary basis, but if under an appropriate plan these stalls are designated utility stores, these stores could provide employment for countless numbers of people. In view of MQM's discipline, it would not be unreasonable to hope that these stores will be free from those irregularities which are the hallmark of government utility stores.

As far as free bazaars are concerned, these can also be organized in different areas on a monthly basis, but for this, along with voluntary efforts, major agencies should also be involved. Publicity material for those agencies which contribute their goods to the bazaar may be kept in the appropriate stalls. One of the stalls of the free bazaar was given the name Bridal Palace. This stall was surely the most popular of all the stalls but perhaps, due to the paucity of resources, only 1,000 dresses were available for this stall. At least this stall can be given a permanent place in the MQM center.

Needy and deserving couples can be issued dresses from this stall. Clearly this calls for resources, but planning by MQM experts can provide these resources.

Obviously, for a political party, such public service activities look very strange but presently almost every political party has formed a department of social service even though the MQM has provided a new and unique concept in this regard. The way in which it has ended discrimination in matters of social service is an example in and of itself. There are innumerable such issues facing the city. Certain discerning newsmen have gone so far as to suggest that the MQM can very well resolve the city's traffic and transportation problems which, in fact, are at the root of the city's various problems. Clearly, the traffic problem cannot be solved by merely observing traffic week. The current transport and traffic situation in the city is not fitting for any civilized city. Nobody is prepared to obey the law. Obviously, not everything can be managed through police and force. As it is, the condition of the police is not hidden from anybody. The candle of love and brotherhood that the MQM has been the first to light, by showering flowers on citizens, is the solution to all the problems. Other political and nonpolitical organizations should also join the MQM and lend the MQM a helping hand in this venture.

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