Dhaka, Wednesday, January 8, 1997

Seeing would be Believing

The country's President and Prime Minister made some highly thought-provoking remarks to the student community and the political parties on Sunday. They took the inter-related issues of campus violence, terrorism and extortionism from the frying pan to the crucible in a manner of speaking. President Shahabuddin Ahmed, who is also the Chancellor of universities, said at the JU convocation that students were embracing lethal weapons in place of books to serve the petty interests of political parties. He urged the latter not to use the students. Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina expressed her hopes at a Chhatra League re-union in observance of the AL student wing's 49th founding anniversary that students would no longer run after tenders or go for capturing halls. She has also reiterated her stand on rounding up possessors of illegal weapons regardless of the political party labels they wore or took shelter under.

The President has sounded sharply diagnostic of the ailment with his characteristic call-thespade-a-spade uprightness, but because this resonates one time too many from him, the still elusive curative treatment of the disease of terrorism by an all-out political intervention is a disappointment.

Those were good words uttered by the Prime Minister: but much as we know that she alone cannot set things right on the campus there is also a growing public belief that her high stake in making the government work dictates that she adopt a surgical approach to terrorism. Rhetorics could worsen into gimmicks so long as what is being promised can not be seen to be believed.

The reality on the ground is that the arms recovery drive has petered into a whine from a roar. It is during some factional fights within the BCL that arms have surfaced evidencing their illegal possession. The government's seriousness in not sparing its own followers in Tangail and intermittently elsewhere, too, earlier on, has earned public applause for it, to be sure; but indeed there remains so much to be done in the fundamentals even after six months of the present administration to build public confidence in law and order.

Frightening Spectre

The latest revelation about arsenic poisoning in the country is frightening. Tens of thousands of people drinking water from shallow tubewells have shown the symptom of the malady. There is the chilling prospect of nearly half the population - more than 50 million - suffering from the arsenic blight in the future. This frightening spectre is no figment of imagination but the conclusion of a scientific survey carried out by a leading expert on the subject from Jadavpur University, Calcutta. We do not know how much of the looming disaster can be averted or minimised, but some claims for its containment have been made by our scientists at the seminar where the bad news was disclosed. These concern handling of the arsenic contamination problem. Our scientists and experts are on record that tackling the problem wouldn't be expensive and they blamed the lack of government initiatives in this regard.

Let us take note of the Indian expert's recommendation for drinking surface water and using shallow tubewell water for washing, etc. His survey found deep tubewell water safe for drinking. So naturally that is the other alternative. Now the focus turns on to the local scientists' claims. If tackling the problem is so inexpensive, why don't they come up with detailed plans and programmes for that? This arsenic contamination began quite a long time ago. How nice and comforting it would have been if our scientists and experts volunteered to conduct a survey and came to a conclusion like the one reached by the West Bengal scientist! If they suggested measures of their own for dealing with the problem, on the basis of their findings, that would have been more convincing.

Now someone from another country taking the pains to underscore the looming threat of arsenic poisoning, the local scientists have suddenly found a scapegoat in the government. This does not help their credibility. Some performances in scientific domain hardly require any government involvement. If the results at the laboratory test level are encouraging, ask for the government's help- financial or otherwise. Where will our scientists prove their ability, if they do not do so in cases like arsenic poisoning?

Creeping Martial Law

Pakistani President Farooq Leghari's decree, allowing the army to play a formal advisory role in government affairs, by all accounts, is a serious set-back for democracy in that country. The country's unhappy alliance with the army has exacted quite a price and this new move is only expected to prolong and intensify the travails of its people. We in Bangladesh had a somewhat similar experience in the Ershadian regime.

In Pakistan, the behind-the-scene actor has most of the times of its history been the army. Now they will have an opportunity to spell out their wishes in a framework of power-sharing.

By taking this step, Leghari gives the impression that he has been playing into the hands of the mili-

Notwithstanding her abuse of power and corruption — which, many believe, she committed when in power — Benazir Bhutto now emerges as the defender of democracy in Pakistan. Her crimes will get lost in the confusion and chaos created by the new developments in Pakistan politics. Pakistan's democratic future now looks more uncertain than before. This is symptomatically a creeping martial law.

MEASURING PUBLIC OPINION

It's the Economy, Stupid

An analysis of the polls show that economic issues dominate the public mind and it is their perception that PML (N) leader Mian Nawaz Sharif has the ability to deal with economic issues that make him the most popular leader presently and thus makes PML (N) the leading party.

across the country. In trying to measure public opinion preelections. Research and Collection Services Ltd (RCS). a private company engaged in market analysis, targetted two age groups in both the sexes. male and female, to determine areas. The ground realit is that the answers to a number of 40 per cent of the population is questions, some of which are in the rural areas and 60 per politically operative in the concent is urban-based. In effect, text of the Feb 3 elections, viz (1) we have disenfranchised alwhat do you rate as the two most 20 per cent of the urban most important political issues population by not having fresh in the country among (a) unemcensus and demarcating new ployment (b) inflation (c) corconstituencies. ruption (d) illiteracy (e) poor Nevertheless, the crude poll health system (f) restricted was enough to give some early freedom of expression and (g) indications of the present aristocratic ruling class ? (2) trend. For example 31 per cent of those interviewed left that your favourite political party? (3) why ? (4) what do you like "corruption" was the most imabout the leader most (a) honportant political issue facing esty (b) personality (c) political the country followed by the 28 views (d) ability to speak (e) per cent to who felt that "unability to manage the economy employment" was more imporand (f) religious views? (5) what tant. Among the other issues in party are you likely to vote for ?

ERCEPTIONS aside, the

real feeling of the people

can only be gauged by

evaluating the results of a poll

The groups that were requested to answer were (a) selfemployed (b) professional (c) clerical (d) skilled worker (e) semi-skilled worker (i) farmer (g) unskilled worker and (h) student. The questionnaire was spread over 30 towns and cities in all the Provinces.

and (6) comment on the politi-

cal system. The age groups tar-

getted wise (1) "age 18 to 30" and

(2) "age 31 and over" in both the

There are inherent flaws in a correct evaluation as 70 per cent of the answers were obtained from the urban population and only 30 per cent from the rural population whereas today's Assembly-seat calculations are based on the inaccurate and old census which gives 60 per cent of the seats to rural areas and 40 per cent to urban

HINA for a long time

enigmatic power and

an array of contradictions

marked its security postures.

which betrayed rational anal-

vsis. It had a strong negative

image as an actor in the milieu

of international politics, even

while articulating positive doc-

trines of international rela-

tions. It projected itself as a

bulwark of socialism', with an

assertion of fraternal solidar-

ity with the third world, and

was committed to promote a

symmetrical order of interna-

tional relations; yet the histor-

ical legacies of 'hegemonic' as-

pirations or at least some ele-

ments of power consciousness

seem to guide the broad thrust

of its security endeavour. 119 co

China is an exponent of

panchsheel' or the doctrine of

Five Principles of Peaceful Co-

existence, but it has also been a

weapons supplier to class war

exponents and potential revolu-

tionaries as well as to con-

tentious parties in conflict. At

the same time, it had been bent

on demolishing the existing

frame of international power

structure and establishing itself

as an independent global centre

of power. China is acclaimed

both as a champion of world

revolution and as an advocate

of harmonious state-to-state re-

lations; yet it is also sometimes

condemned as an aggressor'.

Finally, Beijing stands for

"complete prohibition and

thorough destruction of nuclear

weapons": nevertheless, it has

been continuing to develop and

perfect its nuclear weaponry

system, offering at the same

breath a positive security as-

surance' undertaking "not to be

the first to use nuclear weapons

at any time or under any cir-

cumstances" and "not to use or

threaten to use nuclear weapons

against non-nuclear weapon.

Thus Beijing's security im-

age has been of varying order,

with a constantly shifting be-

havioural manifestations. It

had its periods of alliance and

independence, active involve-

ment and isolation, dogmatism

and realpolitik, radicalism and

moderation or de-radicaliza-

tion, ideologically-guided secu-

rity formulations and of de-

ideologisation. A mix of con-

tentious territorial disputes

over the Paracels and Spratly

Islands or over maritime areas

such as the Senkaku islands are

also currently causing unease

in the region about China's in-

difficult to offer any generaliza-

tion on China's security be-

haviour, for the country has ex-

perienced some unpredictable

shifts in its security postures in

every decade since its libera-

tion. Now that China is steadily

Apparently it would be very

It is widely known that

viewed as an

thereby putting some doubt as to the accuracy of the poll. Among the qualities the public aspired for in their favourite leaders was "honesty" at 33 per cent followed by "political views" and "ability to manage the economy" at 14 per cent

> "Personality" seekers were registered at 13 per cent while "ability to speak" got only 7 per cent just ahead of "religious views" at 6 per cent. The results

or undecided as yet. Obviously Ms Benazir Bhutto's support percentage will go up considerably when counting the rural votes but even then the polls indicate that she has taken quite a beating and while she may retain support in the rural ar-eas she will not be able to draw votes away from Mian Nawaz

mains firm. In Sindh the result are even more startling inasfar as TI at

Sharif whose vote bank re-

ASISEEIT

Ikram Sehgal writes from Karachi

may not be that accurate but do show clear trend as far as the public support for political parties/political leaders is concerned. In Punjab 42 per cent of the people support Mian Nawaz Sharif and PML(N) followed by new entrant Imran Khan (Tehrik-i-Insaaf) at 18 per cent followed by Ms Benazir Bhutto at 15 per cent. Imran Khan's strong showing is at the cost of PPP. Qazi Hussain Ahmed's Jamaat-i-Islami gets a support of 7 per cent (this poll was earlier to the boycott) with Ghinwa Bhutto's PPP (SB) and Altaf Hussain's MQM at 1 per cent each, with 15 per cent supporting miscellaneous candidates

16 per cent and PPP (SB) at 8 per cent have taken away the once-solid vote bank of PPP lestimated at newly 45 per cent in 1990), leaving the party at a meager 13 per cent as compared to PML (N) at 16 per cent. Because of the urban orientation of the polls, it is not surprising that MQM leads the pack at 21 per cent but its votes are concentrated in certain constituencies giving it a formidable seatacquisition capacity in the urban areas that it contests. In the rural areas PPP vote bank will certainly transcend that of Tehrik-i-Insaaf (TI), which like the PML (N) does not have "critical mass" which can translate

its 16per cent into "safe" seats The Jamaat-i-Islami (JI) remains steady at 6 per cent.

Whereas it was expected that PPP Superstar Aftab Sherpao will hold his own in the NWFP. again Imran Khan at 18 per cent has severely eroded PPP's vote bank and reduced it to 14 per cent but remains behind PML (N)'s 24 per cent . Again Jl remains at 6per cent . ANP gets about 9 per cent approval but its appeal is concentrated in the Peshawar Valley and as such enough to translate into quite a number of seats. Unlike ANP. TI is spread out and does not have credible leaders who can convert its popular support into Assembly seats. Fully 25 per cent of those questioned are undecided voters or likely to vote for independents, leaders who are strong in their own constituency but without a party label.

In Balochistan PML (N) is clocking in at 40 per cent followed by PPP at 17 per cent . though surprisingly PPP (SB) has 5per cent but a vast segment of 26 per cent are undecided while others are splintered into smaller parties with concentration in their own areas giving them 1-3 seats each on the same pattern as in the last 2 elections. In the Islamabad Capital Territory, the results are again reflective of the overall trend, with PML (N) very strong at 47 per cent followed by Tl at 14 per cent with a vast majority undecided at 21 per

duced to being neck and neck with JI at 6 per cent. Two more poils will have to be conducted before the elections before anything can be said with any certainty but at this moment PML (N) is clearly in the lead PPP's vote bank has eroded spectacularly with main beneficiary being Imran Khan's TI. both in the Punjab and NWFP while in Sindh, PPP (SB) has got a fair segment of the PPP vote bank in Sindh, enough to be a credible opposition to the once formidable PPP electoral power house in the Sindh rural areas. If PPP (SB) manages an electoral adjustment, PPP could end up being on the wrong side of a lop-sided result. Imran Khan's problem will

cent. PPP at 7 per cent is re-

be to translate his overall 17 per cent votes into seats, so we are likely to hear a lot more about Proportional Representation (PR) after the elections. He will certainly benefit more from frustrated JI voters than anyone else. While it may not win many seats. TI's message of Accountability (Ehtasab) seems to have caught the fancy of the masses. This may not be enough to deny PML (N) a maximum number of seats but even with the support - its ANP allies short of the magic 108 number in the National Assembly (NA).

An analysis of the polls show that economic issues dominate the public mind and it is their perception that PML (N) leader Mian Nawaz Sharif has the ability to deal with economic issues that make him the most popular leader presently and thus makes PML (N) the leading party. In the US 1992 Presidential elections, President George Bush kept on harping on the platform of his primary strength, foreign policy, while the voters were sending a very different message to him, "it's the economy, stupid!"

China's Security Concerns: Emerging Patterns

by Dr Abul Kalam

A realistic projection of China's future security posture or direction of its security behaviour can hardly be made on the basis of its historical manifestation of its foreign policy at a time when "transition to the post-Deng era might begin at any moment."

emerging as a power player in the polarity of international security system, it is imperative to unveil Beijing's security concerns as it enters the 21st century and is destined to play a leading role as a global actor in the reshaping of the interna-

double digits were "inflation" at

15 per cent and "illiteracy" at

14 per cent . Interestingly

enough only 3 per cent gave

weightage to "freedom of ex-

pression" and 4 per cent to the

vagaries of the "aristocratic rul-

ing class", behind the 6 per cent

who felt "health" was a more

important issue. Predomi-

nantly 28 per cent of the fe-

males of the "31 and over" age

group felt "inflation" was more

important, double the national

Collectively, "unemploy-

ment" and "inflation" indicated

that "economy" was the domi-

nant issue in the coming polls.

A large number who volun-

teered to answer the questions

were "professional" people, ei-

ther "self-employed" or "cleri-

cal". Most reluctant to answer

questions were "farmers" repre-

senting the rural population,

average of 14 per cent

tional system. 'Positive Defence'

China sees its basic security policy goals as consolidation of national defence, resisting foreign aggression, defending nation's sovereignty over its land. sea and air as well as its marfilme rights and interests, and safeguard national unity and security. In the realm of military strategy, while adhering to a policy of positive defence and to the idea of people's war. China sees its national defence work as being subordinate to and in service of the nation's overall economic construction upholding the principles of "combining peacetime with wartime" and "integrating the army with the people." To attain such strategic ends, Beijing candidly views that it "needs a peaceful environment in order to be able to devote itself completely to its socialist modern-

ization programme." Good-neighbourliness

Beijing's post-Cold War security strategy pays much attention to establishing friendly and good-neighbourly relations with surrounding countries, as China sees itself as an Asia-Pacific country and hence is especially concerned with the security, stability, peace and development in this region. Accordingly, Beijing has modified its earlier strategy of "luring the enemy in deep" and formulated its present strategy of positive defence, adhering to the princi ple of self-defence. Therefore, while safeguarding the coun try's territorial integrity has always been one of China's objectives for national security, it is also committed to the principle of non-first-use of force in settling boundary differences.

Indeed, since the end of the Cold War, China has respectively reached boundary-related agreements of various types with a number of countries, namely, Russia, Kazakhstan, Tajikstan, Kyrgystan, India, Laos and Vietnam. It has also placed a priority on developing bilateral security cooperation with its neighbouring countries, at the same time pursuing a more active and energetic policy of multilateral security cooperation, with mechanisms such as the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), commit-

ting itself to a cooperative security strategy. **Nuclear Stance**

Despite its adherence to the notions of positive defence and good-neighbourliness. China seems determined to develop and perfect its nuclear weaponry system. The security concern in Beijing seems to be in this case is that it has to be treated as an equal major power actor in the international system - as a permanent member of the Security Council of the United Nations", and not to be pushed around by others. For the perception in Beijing is that "the world is still amid complex and profound change and to preserve and promote peace is still an arduous task" and the "norms of international relations" are yet to be firmly established. Firm in its opposition to what is perceived as international oligarchies indulging in power politics or arms twisting'. Beijing is inclined to believe that the world was moving towards multipolarity and that countries in the Third World should stand to-

bullied. No 'Principal Enemy' Given the global context of the complex pre-requisites of the transition from the capital-

gether so that they do not get

ist to the socialist system and then passing through 'socialist modernization to international socialist market economy', China's global strategic outlook was bound to involve "a very long and tortuous process, full of complicated struggles, and it is inevitable that in the process there will be different alignments of the world's political forces in the different periods". Currently. having dedicated "itself to the lofty cause of peace and development", it is difficult to readily identify any country as China's 'principal enemy', for Beijing has expressed its readiness to work with all countries in making unremitting efforts to usher "in a new world of peace. stability, prosperity and hap-

piness into the 21st century." **South China Economic**

Sphere' One may, however, suggest that a potential rivalry looms large between China and Japan for spheres of interest and influence in the Asia-Pacific region. With Hong Kong and Macao returning to the mainland in 1997 and 1999 respectively and a speedily growing business relationship between the mainland and Taiwan.

China already perceives South China economic sphere' a reality, which has become "the hot area with the world's fastest economic growth." Rich in natural resources and situated in the middle of the western coast of the Pacific and bestriding Northeast and Southeast Asia. it joins the Pacific and the Atlantic with the railways network system linking itself with distant ports like Rotterdam in Europe. It also has a multi-level scientific band technological force working on various sectors of industry, swiftly catching up with the newly developing economies, making it attractive enough for forging cooperation. Thus China can con-

extended influence competing in economic strength with Japan which would be expanding further.

The Future A realistic projection of China's future security posture or direction of its security behaviour can hardly be made on the basis of its historical manifestation of its foreign policy at a time when "transition to the post-Deng era might begin at any moment." Everything indeed turns on the future state of China itself. For over a decade and a half Deng provided the thread of legitimacy holding China together. Now the question arise whether China would continue on its present course of reforms: follow a liberalized

system of macro-economic management, remain calm and promote stability in the new era' after Deng's departure and demise; or whether it will be led to a pathway to Soviet-type break-up or collapse.

The recent history of China is replete with examples of a swing between postures of radicalism and moderation, violence and harmony. The question pertains to China's security outlook whether Beijing will continue its onward-looking development strategy or revert back to a restricted relationship with the outside world. There are even suggestions that there is a 'high likelihood' of China becoming more assertive in the region, feading to clashes with neighbours such as Vietnam. Taiwan and even with the

US. To hard of (To be concluded tomorrow)

The author is Professor of International Relations, University of Dhaka.

IN MEMORIAM B M Abbas AT

by Amjad Hossain Khan

NTERNATIONALLY reputed water expert BM Abbas AT died on 26th December 1996 at BIRDEM at the age of 85 of old age com-

fidently look toward

During his long career he held various top positions in the erstwhile Government of Pakistan including that of Chief Engineering Advisor and when EPWAPDA was created he became its Commissioner (water) and later on promoted as Chairman, EPWAPDA. After creation of Bangladesh in 1971 he became Advisor to the Prime Minister and later on to the President of Bangladesh. During his distinguished career of over three decades, he was associated with water sharing dispute with India on the Ganges. Teesta and other rivers. The relation with India at that was although, not very cordial but he fought for the rights and previleges on the basis of equitable share of the Ganges and other

After the unprecedented floods of 1954 and 1955, the attention of the then Government of Pakistan was drawn to the problems of flood mitigation in the then East Pakistan. The East Pakistan Flood Control Commission was created in 1955 to investigate and formulated schemes to mitigate the damages causes by floods. Mr Abbus was appointed Chief Engineer, Flood Control. The Government of Pakistan requested the US to help East Pakistan on the flood problem. A United Nations technical commission known as Krugg Mission came in 1956-57 to investigate the matter. Mr Abbus had a leading role to play in helping the Mission on their task. As per recommendations of the Krugg Mission, East Pakistan water and Power Development Authority was created in 1959 and Mr Abbas was appointed as Commissioner, Water Development in EPWAPDA. During the period from 1960 to 1968. five expert level and five Secretary level meetings were held with India on water sharing. He was associated in all these meeting and played a dominant role 'o project the views of East Pakistan.

Mr Abbas joined the Government of Pakistan as Chief Engineering Advisor and joint Secretary in 1966. He came back to East Pakistan in 1969 and joined as Chairman, East Pakistan Water and Power De-

After emergence

Bangladesh he was appointed Advisor to the Prime Minister and later on to the President of Bangladesh on Flood Control. Irrigation and Power. He became Chairman of the Indo-Bangladesh Joint River Com-

mission in 1972. With the change of govern ment in August 1975, and due to unitateral withdrawal of water of the Ganges by India at Farakka, Bangladesh went to the United Nations in September, 1976. During this critical period, he presented the Bangladesh case forcefully at the United Nations and other international for a over world news media including the BBC and VOA, national and foreign news papers. Radio and Televi-



Mr Abbas became Member of the Presidents Advisory Coun cil in 1977 and later on Member of the Council of Ministers in 1978. He fought resolutely against the Farakka Barrage Project of India and tried to reach an agreement on sharing of the Ganges water once the Farakka Barrage was commissioned. After the consensus resolution of the UN, he was the Negotiator for Chief Bangladesh to reach an agreement on sharing of the Ganges water. Those were the hectic days occasionally leading to frustration. But he kept his cool and tried his utmost for the agreement, which was signed on 5th November, 1977 at Dhaka.

From his long experience of the water resources in Bangladesh and India, he was concerned about the upstream withdrawals water which could alter the availability of the Ganges water at Farakka. He was successful in including the 80 per cent guarantee clause of Bangladesh share in any ten day period in the schedule in case of any shortage of avail

ability of water at Farakka. The unilateral withdrawal of the Ganges at Farakka from 1975 to 1976 was a serious blow to the economic development of Bangladesh particularly in agriculture, control of salinity instrusion and maintaining

The 1977 Ganges Water

ecological balance.

Agreement, considering the situation at that time was badly needed and welcomed by the people of Bangladesh. On the issue of augmentation, he was very forthright and proved that problem of water shortage in the Ganges could be solved from the Ganges basin itself with facts and figures of Nepal high dams. He believed that a river system had to be considered as a whole from its source to its outfall for the optimum development of its water resources to get best results. He thought of a broad outline of a plan concerning the entire drainage basin to ensure coordinated and harmonious development of the various works in relation to all the reasonable possibilities of the basin. He believed that Bangladesh and India as good neighbours have to live in amity and mutual cooperation in the interest of both. Sharing of river water on the basis of existing low flows to be meaningful for Bangladesh must guarantee the continued availability of the water flows. For longterm arrangements for sharing river water can only be done from storage in the river system for which Nepal, India and Bangladesh should agree to

a basin wide development plan. At the fag end of his life, due to old age and other complications, he could not see the recent development - the 30-year Water Treaty signed by Bangladesh and India on 12th December, 1996. He would have been very happy to see that long and arduous exceises on water sharing and regional/sub-regional developments were ultimately off to a meaningful dia-

logue. Those of us, who worked with him for a long time are deeply indebted to him for his advise, guidance and understanding of the complex problem. It is now for us to shoulder the responsibility and to build a proper water resources development plans for Bangladesh. His life long struggle for establishing our rights for a fair and equitable share of common wa-

ter will not be forgotten. The writer is ex-Chairman, Bangladesh Water Development

First things first

The newly-elected government is still governing on an ad hoc basis, and has yet to come down to routine level of administration, which is very very difficult in developing countries; where, generally, the opposition is more vocal and disruptive; and the party in power have a long pending list of party priorities to dispose off before settling down to confine their gaze at the lowly files.

So, instinctively, the first priority is self-preservation through consolidation of power. This takes a long time before the second or third gear is applied to executive work. The public image is sought to be built up through the spoilt art of demagogic oratory, still cultivated as a traditional pastime than for moving the country forward. When the political parties fight it out among themselves, the citizens become spectators (excluding the paid activists — there are no unpaid volunteers in this business).

The politicians on both sides look upon one another as enemies, leaving the people and the country floating. If appears that the priorities allotted by the politicians and the non-politicians are quite different. The following priority list may be considered

First priority: Anti-corruption campaign should be a loud. high-profile, and a 52-week activity, non-stop. The liberation image has to be 'restored', and anti-corruption punishment has to be made deterrent, at the same level of priority. The former is not effective without the latter; when the enforcer is no longer in power. What action have we seen during the last six months? Nothing visible or loud enough to talk about. If it

is top secret, tell us what is top secret, without naming names. High profile anti-corruption case is reported to be in the offing against the former PM. Second priority : anti-bakshish campaign round the year. Need not be explained what it

Third priority: Anti-bribery slogans by all the ministers during 50 per cent of the time they speak in public. It should become an obsession, as we find on some other topics. Fourth priority: Pay atten-

tion to the non-political evildoers and corrupt people in the public and private sectors. Less than two per cent of the citizens are politicians, but they cause more than 90 per cent of the trouble and damage. Fifth priority: The above

velopment Authority.

A Zabr Dhaka