

# For Sharon, an unlikely legacy



FAREED ZAKARIA  
writes from Washington

THE real story about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is not what happened at the International Court in The Hague last week but what has been happening inside Israel for the past few months. Consider these facts. In the elections of January 2003, the Labour Party leader, Amram Mitzna, ran on a single issue, unilateral disengagement from Gaza. He was roundly denounced as a peacenik and Labour suffered its worst defeat in history. One and a half years later, Ariel Sharon is implementing Mitzna's plan. The withdrawal from Gaza has the support of 60 percent of Israelis and 75 percent of Palestinians. At a time of tension and anger on both sides,

there is a chance for progress. Whether he intended it or not, Sharon has now made a Palestinian state inevitable. A hard-line Likud general who built most of the settlements in Gaza has now pledged to destroy them. Why? Because Sharon understands the Israeli people. After being elected prime minister, Sharon gradually realized that while the public had voted for a right-wing prime minister, it still favoured the left's

spent his life opposed to a Palestinian state, now explains that it is inevitable. He has recognized that there is no alternative. Israel cannot remain a democracy and rule millions of Palestinians against their will indefinitely. The prime minister now routinely cites the demographic realities that he had long brushed aside. By 2020, only 16 years from now, the population in Israel plus the occupied territories will be 6.4 million Jews

means a national government with Labour or new elections, Sharon is pressing ahead because he knows he has the broader public with him. This extent of the reversal in policy has been masked by two factors: antiterror operations and the wall. The Israeli Army is determined not to repeat the experience of the withdrawal from Lebanon, which many Israelis believe emboldened hard-line Palestinians. So it has been

Barak, among others. Likud opposed it because it believed that there would be a wall to be constructed, it would inevitably demarcate the boundary of the Palestinian state. If what's on one side of the wall is Israel's, on the other lies Palestine. Sharon is hoping to deny this inevitability by building parts of the wall beyond the 1967 lines. But much of it is being built on that border. And the recent monumentally important decision by the

deal that was discussed at Camp David, Taba, and Geneva. The proposed withdrawal is having a fascinating effect on the Palestinian community in Gaza. Faced with the prospect of real power and sovereignty, Palestinian groups are beginning to rise up and challenge Yasser Arafat's rule. Because Arafat has been the symbol of the resistance to Israel's occupation, he was untouchable. As the occupation in Gaza draws to a close, Arafat is losing that status and being seen for what he is -- a corrupt autocrat.

**The withdrawal from Gaza could set off a chain of positive trends -- if it works. But it might not work. The Saban Center at the Brookings Institution has issued a report pointing out that if the withdrawal produces chaos, a collapse of local authority, warlords, mafia-style corruption and a renewed terror offensive, it will be seen as a disaster by all and actually retard progress. If, on the other hand, it is done with careful planning, international support, investment in Gaza and coordination with local groups, it could have a big payoff.**

solution: two states. Israelis had wanted to achieve this goal through negotiations. When these failed in June 2000 and terrorism mounted, they came to the view that they still wanted a two-state solution. But now the goal could be achieved only through unilateral disengagement.

And so Ariel Sharon, who had engaged in aggressive operations in Gaza, striking any and all targets it views as suspicious. This has made it much more difficult to portray what's been done in Gaza as "running away" or being "chased out."

The second factor, of course, is the wall. This too, was a Labour Party proposal, advocated by Ehud Israeli Supreme Court has declared that building the wall must take into account the rights of Palestinians. Thus the new plans will be even closer to the 1967 lines. The International Court's decision reinforces this trend. If and when negotiations over the final status ever take place, these precedents make more likely the kind of final

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# Shakhari Bazaar: Sustaining in the cultural context

DR. SHAYER GHAFUR

DURING war, can an occupying force save a village by bombing it, to prevent its falling into enemy hands? It does not require a great deal of imagination to realise that the implications of a positive answer for any native, living in the village, would be disastrous. Whether one agrees or not this diabolical saving is metaphorically true, especially, for people living in the historic quarter of Shakhari Bazaar. Out of its total 142 buildings, nearly 32 are listed structurally vulnerable, i.e. unsafe for dwelling, by RAJUK. Later, RAJUK served notices to the owners to demolish their respective unsafe houses. Recent collapse of a building of more than 200 years old due to unauthorised expansion (over a weak foundation), with a death toll of 18 people, has created a crisis for the authorities concerned. Authorities concerned in Dhaka, I reckon, are in line with the metaphor in their attempt to save Shakhari Bazaar by executing a demolition plan. Instead, shouldn't we opt for a plan for sustaining Shakhari Bazaar in its cultural context?

Time and again, prevailing wisdom has remained ignorant of the fact that city dwellers' physical well-being is not something separated from the non-physical well-being. Although one complements the other, it has been repeatedly situating our problems of well-being only in the physical context. Urban planning and design consequences of this negligence have not been producing any good for Dhaka lately. The cases of recent unplanned construction in Sher-e-Bangla Nagar and the proposed demolition plan for Shakhari Bazaar are the relevant examples of this unresponsive planning wisdom. It is time that we bring change in this dominant (physical) mindset. From my understanding of Shakhari Bazaar (started in 1987, as part of a four year architecture

As the listed buildings become dangerous to live in, intervention options of either 'demolition' or 'conservation' can become physically biased. These options identify the dilapidated buildings as physical objects for engagement. They would hardly take other uses and their users into consideration. Demolition and the subsequent redevelopment would dislocate people against their will as being unable to afford the redevelopment costs; in the process, dwellers will lose their home and distinct way of living. Conservation or restoration, on the other hand, will also displace them due to gentrification from within (and outside) their ethnic community. The third alternative course of action suggested here -- sustaining Shakhari Bazaar -- takes a more realistic and user responsive approach.



restoration project), I argue that broader well being issues there demand attention from the cultural context. One that includes the physical context, but is not necessarily confined within it. We must note at this stage, after Agnew et al (1983), that our situating Shakhari Bazaar crises in

the cultural context implies two things: First, networks of practices and ideas exist that emerge from the shared experiences and histories of social group. Second, these practices and ideas are responsible for specific patterns of settlement growth and form. They help us appreciate, first and foremost, the significance of the listed 32 buildings in the cultural context.

Shakhari Bazaar is a historic quarter, and has been a sanctuary of a specific ethnic (business) community for more than three centuries. Eminent sociologist Prof. Najmul Karim informed us back in the mid 20th century that history of Dhaka is incomplete without Shakhari Bazaar. Here we should note that the historic Shakhari Bazaar is more than a collection of three-four storied dilapidated buildings. Unique urban life, a way of living, pulsates there.

Observed life-style has a long history, and is part of a tradition that dates well beyond the age of these ruinous buildings. The pace and practice of life found there mix and mingle with other parts of Old Dhaka with due harmony. The exuberant diversity of life and its colourful expressions, in part, give that part of Old Dhaka a true sense of urbanity. These observations, taken together, suggest the presence of a space that is different from the visible physical space -- a social space for an ethnic group. Events like annual puja festivals and daily rituals as well as visible signs and symbols embedded in the walls of now-dilapidated buildings suggest the symbolic presence of this social space. This social space, contained in the physical space,

general. As the listed buildings become dangerous to live in, intervention options of either 'demolition' (followed by redevelopment) or 'conservation' can become physically biased. These options identify the dilapidated buildings as physical objects for engagement. They would hardly take other uses and their users into consideration. Experience from different parts of the world suggests that demolition and the subsequent redevelopment would dislocate people against their will as being unable to afford the redevelopment costs; in the process, dwellers will lose their home and distinct way of living. Conservation or restoration of Shakhari Bazaar, on the other hand, will also displace them due to gentrification from within (and outside) their ethnic community.

The third alternative course of action suggested here -- sustaining Shakhari Bazaar -- takes a more realistic and user responsive approach. My selection of the word 'sustaining' instead of hitherto preferred conservation or restoration is not without reason. The notion of sustaining presupposes the existence of a system (of some sort) at work. Actions or interventions aimed to sustain a dis-functional part of that pre-existing system do not aim to replace it with a new one. Actions merely put the dis-functional part back into operation. As a key advantage, the pre-existing set up and balance between the different component parts are not altered in significant ways. Besides the listed buildings -- the physical object -- people's way of living and livelihood are also considered with due importance.

Shakhari Bazaar crisis is an emotive cultural issue as much as it is a down-to-earth housing question. An intervention has been long due to address both these issues and questions. In preparation of a progressive sustainable intervention, this paper concludes by suggesting the following key courses of actions:

1. Short Term Structural Crisis Mitigation: A detailed technical study of the listed vulnerable buildings should be the first step to restore the structural safety without demolition; methods used by reputed local firm Shaheedullah & Associates Ltd. can be considered in this regard.
2. Long Term Housing Crisis Improvement: We need to devise special financial schemes for the repairs and renewal of residential buildings having a larger number of occupants, especially, for those located in the historic quarters of Old Dhaka. The following policies adopted by the 'National Housing Policy of India' for the 'Conservation of Housing Stock and Rental Housing' (Clause 4.6.1) can act as pointer to develop our own: (iii) fiscal and property tax incentives and financial assistance for expansion and upgradation of dwelling units and for proper maintenance of buildings; (iv) access to materials and technical assistance.
3. Stakeholders Participation: Decision making process at all levels must involve meaningful participation of the stakeholders, especially the Shakhari Bazaar panchayet.

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**Dr. Rubaitul Murshed**  
All health information to keep you up to date  
Minor-major accidents and golden moments

HOPEFULLY you may never have been in need of emergency treatment -- but it is always wise to know something which you can apply to someone else before a qualified doctor comes. We often experience critical situation which is related to accidents injurious to health. Each and every second is important at that moment -- in fact we can say 'golden minutes or moments' as success of emergency treatment mostly depends on immediate management. You could be called upon to help an injured at any time who requires first aid in these situations. First Aid means immediate attention and treatment given when someone suffers an injury or any sort of sudden illness. It is unfortunate that most of our responsible citizens are not aware of basic life-saving techniques of resuscitation for which you do not need to be doctor; but it is very important that you are taught and practice under a qualified doctor or instructor (you can contact Bangladesh Red Crescent). Always remember that staying calm, supportive and being compassionate are important part of the management. Reassuring is also a useful part.

On the other hand there are situations when you should always look for urgent expertise help from doctors and hospitals. Like when --

- \*Someone is unconscious - his/her life is in severe danger. The airway may be blocked; breathing may have stopped along with blood circulation.
- \*Someone is having difficulty in breathing and his lips are going blue.
- \*Someone has a deep wound and that may be bleeding badly.
- \*Someone has a serious burn caused by dry heat, wet heat or acid.
- \*Someone has chemical or suspected irritants in the eyes.
- \*Someone specially, child, has drunk or eaten anything which may be poisonous.
- \*Someone has suspected broken bones or is bleeding through ears.

However, remember in above situations: Please do not leave a casualty alone. Try your best to send the injured (proper way) for medical help immediately. Sometimes you may be the only one present in such a situation and help is unlikely to arrive; and you will have to go for help yourself almost immediately. Time has come -- we need to develop a culture of 'First aid treatment' in each and every home. Undoubtedly we will be able to prevent lot of fatal casualties.



## International Labour Organization Invitation for Action Programme Proposals

The ILO is going to execute a project titled "Combating child trafficking for labour and sexual exploitation." The objective of this project is to contribute to the reduction of trafficking in children for labour and sexual exploitation in Bangladesh.

Keeping in view the above objectives the ILO is inviting Action Programme Proposals from experienced and competent agencies for the following target groups and interventions. The targeted beneficiaries of the programme are children under the age of 18 years, who are vulnerable to trafficking or victims of trafficking. (a) Vulnerable: 5,000 boys and girls will have to be prevented from trafficking through community-based prevention programme; (b) Child victims of trafficking: A minimum of 100 children will have to be identified and provided with effective rehabilitation and reintegration services through appropriate strategies; (c) Micro-enterprise development: 300 families (100 from each district) at risk will have been provided with economic empowerment services including adequate training on the techniques of running a small business suitable for the local market and (d) Awareness raising on the dynamics and the negative consequences of trafficking through theatre for awareness.

Target area: (a) Panchagarh 40 schools X 30 children; Thakurgaon 60 schools X 30 children; Dinajpur 67 schools X 30 children; (b) all over Bangladesh; (c) & (d) Panchagarh, Thakurgaon and Dinajpur districts.

**Nature of interventions/services:** (a) Appropriate programme interventions towards the reduction of vulnerability of communities, families and their children to trafficking in high risk sending areas through a combination of interventions. The main tasks include provision of NFE, multipurpose children's centres (5 in each district), vocational training for adolescents, recreational and sports activities for children, formation of community vigilance teams (CVT), training and mobilization of CVTs and representation in district task force/district surveillance committees. (b) The main tasks include support to improving the services to rescue, intercept, rehabilitate and reintegrate child and adolescent survivors of trafficking through the provisions of food and shelter, non formal education, skills training, psychosocial counselling, medical care, case management, social reintegration. (c) The main tasks include development of income generation programme along the SIVB (Start & Improve Your Business) model or the best available enterprise development models, identify the most vulnerable families in collaboration with local partners, assist the families in developing small business enterprises with a view to improving their economic conditions and follow up of the activities. (d) The successful bidder should perform at least 60 open air shows. Tasks include script writing, team development and training on child trafficking issues, conduct rehearsal, conduct open air drama.

The proposed action programme proposals should clearly reflect the objectives, outputs and specific activities; internal consistency among all these elements is a pre-requisite. A detailed budget breakdown for all of the proposed activities should be included in the proposal. Preference will be given to organizations with proven relevant experience on specific activity/ies, in particular child labour, children's rights, gender issues, human rights and anti trafficking programmes. The proposals should be aimed for 18 months. The implementing partners must meet the following minimum criteria:

- A. Necessary experiences, technical competence and legal requirements:**
    - (1) Substantive technical experience in combating trafficking in children and/or women.
    - (2) Direct experience in programme implementation in the respective areas of technical intervention in which the partnership is proposed (project office, site office and other settlements in place).
    - (3) Organizational capacity in terms of skilled manpower to implement the proposed interventions. In the light of this criterion, staff profile of the interested organizations will be assessed.
    - (4) For the rehabilitation of the trafficked victims/survivors, the implementing agency must have (i) adequate and acceptable physical facilities for providing residential services; (ii) prior experience and good record of successful rehabilitation; and (iii) well trained staff/specialists required for the rehabilitation of traumatized survivors.
    - (5) Geographical coverage and decentralization of organizational framework at implementation level should be suitable for effective implementation of the programme activities in the districts of Panchagarh, Dinajpur and Thakurgaon.
    - (6) Appropriate registration/accreditation with the relevant agency in the country -- if non-governmental organization.
    - (7) Experience in particular on trafficking interventions with other agencies like UN/EC/World Bank or other international agencies will be considered as additional strength.
  - B. Financial competence:**
    - (1) Effective financial management system in place;
    - (2) Authority and ability to maintain ILO funds in a separate bank account;
    - (3) Should be able and willing to make a contribution of at least 10% of the total programme cost in cash or in kind to the action programme for which partnership is being proposed.
  - C. Criteria for the selection of Action Programme Proposals:**
    - (1) The objectives, outputs and activities of the proposed AP would be appropriate in producing the desired end results in combating child trafficking;
    - (2) The proposed technical interventions are in line with the ILO technical framework in combating child trafficking;
    - (3) Strong emphasis on gender;
    - (4) Relevance to the need of the target group and
    - (5) Inclusion of a monitoring system.
- Interested parties are advised to collect proposal outline format from the ILO Area Office Reception and submit complete proposals along with necessary documents/proofs including last annual report, last audit report and list of board members on or before 30<sup>th</sup> July '04 to the Director, ILO Area Office, House # 12, Road # 12, Dhanmondi R/A, Dhaka. Only the short-listed organizations will be communicated with as necessary. ILO reserves the right to reject or accept any proposal without assigning any reason.

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