

Dacca Rulers Shift, Seek Delhi Friendship

BANGLADESH. From A1 That's going to blow up in their faces."

But the military rulers have evidently decided that they are better prepared to contain such an internal explosion than to face armed Indian intervention. According to highly informed intelligence sources, five divisions of Indian troops have recently been moved into positions along this country's northern border with the Indian state of Assam and the eastern border with Tripura.

Asked about this, an Indian embassy spokesman denied absolutely that there has been any buildup. "There has been none any way, anywhere," the spokesman said. "The border is absolutely as it was before."

India has long kept the Assam and Tripura frontiers off limits to foreigners. The new Bangladesh regime has not yet allowed any foreign observers to visit its side of the borders either.

Travelers near both boundaries this week reported seeing substantial numbers of Bangladesh troops in trucks moving northward toward the town of Mymensingh and eastward from Comilla, however.

Observers here tend to discount any threat of an Indian assault on Bangladesh. Rather, they foresee large numbers of Indian troops remaining on the borders indefinitely, making an occasional foray a mile or two into the country, "to keep these boys tied up and on notice that one false move could mean trouble."

The "false move" is generally assumed to be an outbreak of rioting between the Moslem majority in Bangladesh and the Hindu minority, whose interests India closely follows.

The military government has so far succeeded in keeping communal tempers cool, and has thus deprived India of its most basic reason for launching a military move. But Bangladesh authorities are concerned about recent developments with India which they construe as not in this nation's interests.

Ranking officials are concerned and confused by Mrs. Gandhi's recent ouster of Defense Minister Swarn Singh, a longtime political ally and friend of the prime minister and her late father, Jawaharlal Nehru, and her taking charge of the crucial ministry herself.

Word that Mrs. Gandhi has given refuge in New Delhi to two daughters of the late Bangladesh president, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, has given rise to further speculation and nervousness.

The two young women were in Europe when Mujib and all other members of his immediate family were murdered by a group of young army officers on Aug. 15. They are Mujib's only survivors and as such could prove useful as symbols in any effort to reinstate a pro-Indian government in Dacca.

A government could be formed by former members of Parliament from Mujib's disbanded Awami League who have fled to India. There have been reports that as many as 50 of these men are now in Calcutta and other Indian cities, but Western observers believe that number is too high.

The most vexing concern is India's continuing policy of arming and assisting dissident Bengali guerrillas who were followers of Mujib. The Indians armed and trained many of these same guerrillas in 1971, when they fought against the Pakistan army prior to the Indian invasion of what was then East Pakistan. There have been no reports of armed clashes with either

guerrilla bands or Indian forces in the last few weeks. The most recent pressure, on three border outposts near the northern town of Haluaghat, was eased about three weeks ago, after a source linked closely to the new government revealed that the positions were in danger of being overrun by guerrillas supported by Indian army regulars.

This past Thursday, the director general of India's border security force said in Calcutta that he and the head of the Bangladesh Rifles, this country's border defense unit, had met and "agree with full responsibility that there have been no clashes."

His Bangladesh counterpart pointedly refused to comment. The Indian embassy spokesman in Dacca said the Calcutta meeting had a

"happy outcome" and that this has "cleared up a lot of misgivings my government had."

This appeared to indicate, as some Western diplomats here believe, that Mrs. Gandhi is prepared to live with the current Bangladesh government as long as it is not blatantly unfriendly toward India.

These diplomats note that if India were to invade Bangladesh now, its soldiers would face resistance every step of the way to Dacca, unlike the open arms and assistance they received four years ago.

"Bangladesh today is a tar baby," said one of these observers "and the Indians know that if they step in this time, they'll never be free of it. They'll have to maintain a military presence for years

and it would absolutely break them."

Bangladesh Foreign Secretary Tabarak Hussein and Justice Abdus Sattar, a special assistant to figurehead President Abusadat Mohammed Sayem, met yesterday in New Delhi with senior Indian officials in a further effort to improve relations.

Yet another attempt is being made through the controlled press. Editors were summoned to a meeting this week with Maj. Gen. Ziaur Rahman, the real power in the military triumvirate, and told that censorship was being eased, as long as the editors behaved "patriotically."

In the last two days, newspapers have carried brief but significant articles hinting at gradually improving relations with India.

Foreign journalists, who have been officially allowed to Bangladesh this week for the first time since Mujib's murder, have found that dispatches sent through normal telegraph or telex channels have been held up for several days and references to Moslem-Hindu unrest or the regime being anti-Indian have been censored out. Information Department officials had assured the correspondents that their reports would not be censored.

(This dispatch was filed by telephone and thus was not subject to government censorship.)

But perhaps the clearest indication of the new awareness that Bangladesh cannot afford to be hostile to its neighbor came from a ranking military source. Just three weeks ago he had given

full vent to his anger over alleged Indian intervention.

At that time, he and a number of other concerned Bengalis believed, or hoped, that should India attack, Bangladesh could expect support from other nations, most notably the United States, China and Pakistan.

Now, that hope has been snuffed out. "None of those three governments is going to get involved here, no matter what happens," said one Western diplomat. "I hope that the Bengalis have no illusions about that."

As if to confirm that the point was understood, the military source said, "Forget what I said the last time. This time, it would be much better if you would refer to me as 'pro-Bangladesh' and not 'anti-Indian.' Otherwise, no one will benefit."

Pressmen Reject 'Final' Offer by Post, 249-5

POST. From A1 average pressman earnings in the following ranges, depending on overtime worked:

First year of a three-year contract: \$19,802.72 to \$22,681.75; second year, \$20,960.06 to \$24,012.48; and third year, \$22,075.02 to \$25,212.77.

To earn the low figure in those ranges, The Post said, a pressman would work five days a week, take off all holidays and put in about 2 1/2 hours of overtime each week, above a normal 35-hour week. To earn the highest figure, the pressman would work all holidays and about 5 1/4 hours overtime per week. The latter is the average amount of overtime at the end of scheduled shifts that pressmen worked in 1974.

The basic wage under the old contract was about \$14,500 a year. The average pressman earned over \$22,000 in 1974, however, because of overtime payments.

The Post also offered to guarantee five days of work each week to every man who held a "regular situation" (that is, a full-time job) in the pressroom before the strike began—with 19 exceptions.

In a guaranteed job roster, which The Post submitted along with its contract proposal, 19 names of regular situation holders were dropped. These are men who The Post believes took part in violence in the pressroom on Oct. 1, just before the strike began. At that time pressmen severely beat a night foreman and caused damage to the presses that The Post estimated was "at least several hundred thousand dollars."

Joe Harrington, chapel chairman of The Post's pressmen, said after yesterday's meeting that the fate of these 19 men was not discussed at the meeting.

A federal grand jury is currently investigating the Oct. 1 violence at The Post, though its investigation has been stalled by legal disputes. The Post has also sued the pressmen for \$15 million in Superior Court here.

Reporters were barred from yesterday's meeting, but cheers and shouts were audible just before it broke up. Pressmen left the meeting and walked into bright television lights. Many of the men raised their hands in derogatory gestures and shouted obscenities against The Post newspaper and its publisher, Katharine Graham.

The men's anger, union officials indicated after the meeting, stemmed from The Post's efforts to eliminate union influence in the management of the pressroom.

Harrington, the chapel chairman, noted that under the newspaper's proposal 59 "floaters" would have to work whenever management told them to on 24 hours' notice. If these men refused a shift, he said, they would lose their guarantee of five shifts a week.

The Post's proposal would remove foremen and assistant foremen from direct union jurisdiction, so they would not be subject to union discipline. It would also allow the paper to hire nonunion pressmen if the union failed to provide

enough of its men to do the available work.

The company would also reduce current manning levels on the presses by 25 to 40 per cent, and would require pressmen to work combinations of day and night shifts in the same week for straight-time pay.

The company proposal would eliminate "doubleheaders," the practice of working two consecutive shifts. Another clause in the proposal, however, referred to the possibility of continued doubleheaders, an inconsistency the pressmen

noted yesterday. Mark J. Meagher, The Post's general manager, said this second reference "has to be a mistake," since doubleheaders will be eliminated under the proposal.

Under the old contract the union would invoke the "status quo" when management proposed a new practice or procedure, but The Post's last proposal would eliminate the "status quo" clause and abolish all existing practices in the pressroom unless the company explicitly agrees to maintain them.

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