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5 JUNE 1990



# *JPRS Report*

# Near East & South Asia

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# Near East & South Asia

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## U.K. Accused of "Racist Campaign" Against Arab Investors

### Second-Class Investors

90AA0122A London AL-DUSTUR  
in Arabic 19 Mar 90 pp 10-11

[Article by Kamal Samari: "From Harrods to the British Petroleum: Tempest Over Arab Investments"]

[Text] The series of campaigns against Arab investments in Britain recently took a dangerous turn, raising skepticism and the question of whether Great Britain wants the Arabs to be second-class investors.

This exclusion, indeed this racial discrimination, against Arab investments in Great Britain, where the free economy banner flies high, once again surfaced in the last few weeks with the publication of a report prepared by examiners Henry Brock and Hugh Aldous dealing with the fabricated "Harrods" case which some parties tried to turn into a tempest against Arab investments.

It was with regard to these persistent campaigns against Arab investors that AL-DUSTUR met with each of Muhammad al-Fayid, who, with his two brothers, own the famous Harrods store and for the last five years has been subjected to a fierce campaign, and Mr. 'Abd-al-Karim al-Mudarris, the secretary general of the Arab-British Chamber of Commerce.

The racial campaigns the so-called "popular" newspapers in Great Britain are in the habit of waging against Arab nationals and tourists are nothing new. The new phenomenon, however, that has surfaced in recent years is that this campaign is now being targetted against Arab investments in Britain. For some years ago, a campaign was waged against the Gulf News Agency for buying, as other investors did, shares in Reuters, the British news agency which was offered for sale on the financial markets, under the pretext that the Gulf shares might affect the objectivity of news disseminated by the British agency.

And when the British government decided to follow a privatization policy, offering for sale toward the end of 1987 its 33 percent interest in British Petroleum (BP), a similar uproar was raised when the Kuwaiti Investment Bureau came forward to buy 21.6 percent of the shares.

Even though this business transaction "saved" the British government at the time because stock prices were down and none of the companies or firms rushed to buy these stocks, the Monopolies and Merger Commission objected to this purely business investment under the pretext that the Kuwaiti shares posed a threat to the British public interest.

In the last few weeks, a series of incidents have been used to slander some Arab countries, from the Saudi Arabia case where a member of Parliament failed to declare money his campaign received for consultation services, to the financial aid which the British mass media alleged

the Libyan government offered the Miners Union during the 1985 strike, to the Iraqi businessman Sam Hashim who expressed his desire to buy the "Sheffield United" athletic club!

But the campaign that made the biggest stir in the last five years was certainly the battle the Fayid family has had to fight against the incessant campaigns waged by Tiny Roland, the president of the Lonro Company, whom the press calls the "Harrods' lunatic."

This campaign reached its climax two weeks ago with the publication of the report prepared by examiners Henry Brock and Hugh Aldous. This more than 750-page report contained abusive language and charges of "lying," "dishonesty," and other such libelous statements against the Fayid family.

This in itself is strange because such statements were included in a report prepared by men of law!

We sensed that these sentiments were shared by Mr. 'Abd-al-Karim al-Mudarris, secretary general of the Arab-British Chamber of Commerce, when we met with him to ask what he thought about this vicious campaign against the Fayids in particular and Arab investors in Britain in general.

Mr. 'Abd-al-Karim al-Mudarris said "I am very surprised at this uproar against the Fayid brothers who have been accused of all sorts of things."

The general prosecutor, Sir Patrick Mahew, declared before Parliament that the evidence in the Fayid case was insufficient and based on hearsay.

"More than that, the report itself, prepared by the two examiners, literally said: 'We were allowed to inspect freely all the files and documents belonging to the "House of Frazer" firm and we were able to question the firm's top management, including the Fayid brothers. These files and documents indicate that at no time did any third party control the firm's policy or influence its decisions (para 26/87). The report points out in para 26/88 that the examiners did not find during the investigations any indication shedding doubt on the Fayid family's ownership of this firm.'

"In para 26/89, the report affirms that the two examiners were convinced that 'the House of Frazer' management's relationship with the British financial market and the Tax Administration was irreproachable and that they did not find any evidence suggesting that the Fayid brothers engaged in behavior unbecoming the managers of the largest and most important firm.

"This data contained in the cited report were blacked out, as were all the press statements Mr. Muhammad al-Fayid issued to refute all the charges brought against him.

"As for your question about the ongoing campaign some parties are waging against Arab investment, I hope that Arab investors are treated like other investors.

"The Arab-British Chamber of Commerce has expressed its surprise at the incomprehensible contradiction in British economic policy regarding the Kuwaiti shares in BP [British Petroleum]. In an article published in London at the time, it underscored the following points:

- The Kuwaiti share (21.6 percent) does not give Kuwait the opportunity to dictate any decision to BP.
- Kuwait's repeated assurances at the time that the matter was purely an investment deal, as evidenced by the fact that Kuwait accepted a lower number of votes than its shares entitled it to.
- Great Britain has large investments abroad and many foreign investments in its various sectors. This decision against the Kuwaiti interest in BP will influence the way foreign investors rate investment in Great Britain.

"In this article I called attention to the position adopted by the British prime minister who, despite opposition by the then minister of defense, Michael Hazeltine, personally intervened to defend the sale of the 'Westland' helicopter company which manufactures strategic military products for American and Italian companies, based on a free market and a free economy."

So, does Great Britain want the Arabs to be second-class investors? This is the question.

One answer to this question was contained in the speech President Saddam Husayn delivered at the 4th Arab Cooperation Council summit meeting in which he proposed the transfer of part of Arab investments to the East European countries and the Soviet Union in an effort to fight Israel with the same weapons it has used against the Arabs.

#### Al-Fayid Interview

90AA0122A London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic  
19 Mar 90 p 20

[Interview with Muhammad al-Fayid: "Examiners Report Based on Hearsay"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [AL-DUSTUR] The general prosecutor, Sir Patrick Mahew, emphasized before the British Parliament that he refused to take any measures against the Fayid family because of insufficient evidence based on hearsay, while the two examiners, Henry Brock and Aldous, in their report accused you of "lying and dishonesty." How do you explain this contradiction between the two positions?

[Al-Fayid] It is obvious that putting out an official report defaming the Fayid family is in gross violation of due process. The general prosecutor himself has now acknowledged that the said report was based on hearsay, a term lawyers use to describe "tattle" and "gossip". It is customary in libel cases to file a suit with the Supreme Court to clear one's name. In such proceedings, evidence

based on gossip and hearsay is not admissible. Consequently, publishing a report based on gossip and hearsay is a very serious and greatly disturbing matter. What adds to the injustice is that there is no right of appeal against the examiners who prepared the report, even though there is a right of appeal against a ruling by a court that considers gossip and hearsay as inadmissible evidence.

[AL-DUSTUR] We have recently lived through the hideous racial campaign against the Fayid family. Do you intend to bring action against the parties who had a hand in this campaign?

[al-Fayid] We believe that the racial campaign in question lies in Parliament's conduct. It is unfortunate that many people have chosen to abuse parliamentary immunity to sink so low. The examiners enjoy the same kind of immunity and this no doubt contributed to the blazing language used in the report. Because of this immunity, slander and defamation issues cannot be raised.

[AL-DUSTUR] How do you explain the behavior of Tiny Roland and Dr. Ashraf Marwan during the developments in the House of Frazer case?

[Al-Fayid] I cannot explain Roland's behavior because he not only failed to come to buy the House of Frazer, but he sold 36.4 percent of the stock to the Fayid family.

As for Ashraf Marwan, he has to examine his conscience to determine whether his activities have enhanced the reputation of Egypt and the Egyptians in the world.

[AL-DUSTUR] Recently Arab investments have been the subject of numerous biased campaigns. Do you believe that Great Britain continues to be a safe haven for Arab investments?

[Al-Fayid] Hypocrisy and prejudice do nothing to attract investments.

[AL-DUSTUR] Some Arab observers have accused you of being more British than Arab. What is your answer to these charges?

[Al-Fayid] I was born an Egyptian and will die an Egyptian. I love my country and would not have left it if I did not have to. But, at the same time, I love Great Britain and the British people. I have been welcomed by the majority of the British people who have been good and kind to me. It is in a crisis that a person discovers who his friends are.

Our business clients would not utter the racial insults which some members of Parliament seem to hold in their hearts, whether they articulate them or not. I will do all I can to serve the British people and their just causes, but I will never forget Egypt, for my heart is still in Alexandria, and the people who know me are aware of what I have done for my country. But I am not the one to be talking about these things.

**Europarlament Delegate on Visit to ArSSR**

46050020A Paris HARATCH  
in Armenian 12 Apr 90 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Europarlamentarian Simonne Veil by publisher Arpik Misakian]

[Excerpts] Sponsored by Coordination for Aid to Armenia, a small European Parliament delegation which included former Parliament president Simonne Veil, former Parliament vice-president Nicole Perre and parliamentarian J. Vandemelbroucke paid a very brief, 48-hour, visit to Armenia from 29 March through 1 April.

We thought it would be interesting to have an interview with Mrs Simonne Veil on this occasion. She gladly accepted our request, and we talked with her for approximately 1 hour on the morning of Tuesday, 10 April, in her office in Paris.

Below is a translation of our interview. [passage omitted]

[HARATCH] You visited Yerashavan on the Nakhichevan border. What did you see and what impressions did you get?

[Veil] I would like to state that we went there very freely. The reason I emphasize this point is because in the past I have had the opportunity to visit other Soviet republics, such as Georgia, in an official capacity, and I got an impression which is difficult to describe. There was an oppressive climate. I could not take two steps on my own, except in my hotel room. Today, one notices this free climate immediately even starting in Moscow. Perhaps there are still microphones, but we can speak freely, and we go wherever we want. The difference in climate is clearly discernible, and this sometimes borders on anarchy. This is the first point. For example, we would never be able to go to that border openly in a car with Armenian individuals who said there was no problem. What caught my attention was that we stopped a few kilometers before the border—which is marked by a simple barbed wire—because there was a small police or military station there. There we changed cars—that is we continued in more ordinary cars. There were four or five soldiers who offered us mineral water and who talked to us. They accompanied us until almost the border. There, we were greeted by militia, or sympathizers of the Armenian Pannational Movement [APM], who were occupying that zone.

[HARATCH] Were there no Soviet soldiers?

[Veil] None. We did not see any in Yerevan either. The border, where clashes have been occurring, is guarded by these young men who are unarmed—at least for us—in a semimilitary mode. They explained to us that the situation on the other side of the hills is very tense. They welcomed us very warmly, and we chatted.

[HARATCH] You also visited the parliament.

[Veil] Yes, we did visit the parliament. We were greeted by members of the Presidium—Communists, but also members who are affiliated with the APM. We had a very open discussion. I would say that the conversation among the Presidium members was very polite, but each expressed his position openly and stated his views on very specific points. When the role of the central authorities was discussed, some expressed their hopes with regard to the upcoming elections. It is very important that these elections are held in an orderly manner, especially as regards the representation of the candidates. APM members explained to us that, because they are not an officially recognized party, there is a quota, and they are not allowed to field as many candidates as they would like. Everything must proceed in an orderly manner. That did not happen in 1989 because some people were in jail. There are clear dispositions for autonomy. They told us that Armenia should preferably enjoy a certain degree of autonomy and depend less on Moscow especially as regards the economy and the industry. There is a major concern about industrial pollution and hazardous chemical plants. They told us that some must be shut down, that Moscow refuses to do so, that the workers are on strike and so on. This, of course, creates a problem of employment.

[HARATCH] What about Leninakan?

[Veil] I must state that that was shocking for me. I never imagined that the city was so severely destroyed. Only a few buildings have survived. On entering the city, you think that there are houses, but when you get closer it is horrifying—they look like they have been torn down by bombing. The buildings which are semidestroyed will be repaired, but there is no assurance that they will be able to withstand another earthquake which is likely in the region. Whole areas have been razed and have become shantytowns. It is very disheartening. We went and saw them. At least now the cold season is receding. One can imagine how it was in the winter. We saw the monument that has been erected to honor the victims who are said to number over 100,000. We saw a population which is deeply frustrated because it sees no progress in the reconstruction work. Even worse, they live in very difficult financial conditions. Many, particularly the young, have no work. The R10 billion which has been allocated for reconstruction is, I think, provided fully by the central government. Better-paid workers are brought from outside while the Armenians go unemployed or, if they work, get paid less because they are local residents. Thus tensions are created. There is a mournful desperation. The people have not yet recovered from their mourning. We met with the staff of humanitarian organizations such as Medicine de Monde and Equilibre. Psychiatrists who work around the clock say that there is a need for permanent support. We saw very little construction in Leninakan. The construction is mainly on the outskirts of the city. The British school is being built very nicely, and Margaret Thatcher will open it soon. [passage omitted]

[HARATCH] That is what is so upsetting. The scale of international aid was unprecedented for an earthquake, and yet the victims did not benefit.

[Veil] That international aid is always there. It wants to stay. But the situation is bad. We heard that numerous children died of blood poisoning (septicemia). I was astonished. There are psychiatrists who cannot speak Armenian, but who manage to infuse the will to live in children simply by taking care of them. I must express admiration for the young women who live in these hard conditions and who do not even complain about their difficulties. They have virtually taken responsibility for the tragedy. What is more worrisome is that because the victims do not see an end to this tragedy and grief they may resort to desperate acts. The earthquake coincided with the arrival of the refugees from Baku and the blockade imposed by the Azeris. All this is piling up. The situation in the disaster zone is tragic—worse than we could imagine. I would not say that they have given up because we saw people who showed signs of vitality. But the population does not know what it will do. Perhaps spring will give them some fortitude. Of course, there is the international humanitarian aid. There is also solidarity offered by charismatic Armenian individuals like Khachik Stampoltsyan. He is an exceptional man as a human. He commands respect. The European Parliament has also sent aid but it appears that it has not reached where it is supposed to.

[HARATCH] You talked about humanitarian aid by the European Parliament. It also voted for a political resolution. Can that resolution have any practical consequences, or is it just a moral consolation?

[Veil] As I stated earlier, in the little time that we spent there we had the impression that what is important now is the elections. Much is expected from these elections. Those elections must proceed smoothly, and they must be representative. A clear outcome in favor of those who are demanding reforms would allow the creation of a true autonomy, the restructuring of the economy, easements in foreign aid and increased contacts with overseas with an eye to progress. Economic autonomy is essential because at this time Armenia, like other republics, does not have true autonomy in structuring its industry. There is a condition of interdependence. The production of one republic depends on another. Armenia must have more extensive means of survival, and there must be foreign investment. [passage omitted]

#### **APM Leader on Contacts, Elections**

*46050019B Paris HARATCH in Armenian 4 Apr 90 p 2*

[Interview with Armenian Pannational Movement Executive Council member Levon Ter Petrosyan in Paris; date not specified]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [HARATCH] I suppose it would not be superfluous to tell us about the real purpose of your visit, although we reported it in HARATCH.

[Ter Petrosyan] The occasion for this visit was the invitation we received from the Socialist Party in France to participate in the party's congress in Rennes which was held on 15 through 19 March. I and Babken Araktsyan were included in our delegation by the decision of the administration of the Armenian Pannational Movement [APM]. I am pleased to say that the Armenian Revolutionary Federation was also represented at the congress with a sizeable delegation.

I do not wish to elaborate on the truly interesting atmosphere that prevailed at the congress or its exceptional results, because those are probably known to the readers of HARATCH. I would like to concentrate only on some of the important meetings we had in the course of the congress.

For example, our meeting with Ms Catherine Lalumiere, the president of the Council of Europe, was interesting. Our conversation focused on political relations between the West and the Soviet Union. Ms Lalumiere was particularly interested in the following argument we made: The unreserved support of the West for Gorbachev with the purpose of helping to stabilize the Soviet Union can put Europe in a much more dangerous situation in the future if the negative aspects of Gorbachev's policies are ignored and the new political forces that were created on democratic grounds in the Soviet Union are not taken into account. [passage omitted]

[HARATCH] Let us return to Armenia. Where does the political situation stand in Armenia today?

[Ter Petrosyan] Before talking about the situation in Armenia, I think that it is essential to evaluate briefly the general political situation in the Soviet Union. Otherwise many issues may not be understood. The present economic, social and political crisis in the Soviet Union continues to deepen. There are disturbing signs of destabilization in all spheres of life, particularly in interethnic issues and the relations between the center and the republics. This situation is being exploited by the country's conservative forces to justify the necessity for more authoritarian measures. The presidential system which has recently been established and which gives practically unlimited power to the country's leader must be considered the result of that situation.

Even so it is hard to ignore the consolidation and growth of the country's democratic forces which have created a discernible change in the country's internal political life. Increasingly larger masses are becoming aware that the only way to bring the country out of its present crisis is to undertake radical democratic reforms and to improve the Soviet federation. At this time this is the only element which inspires optimism for the future.

As for the situation in Armenia, all the processes which shape the crisis of the Union are obviously present there as well. Just as obviously, there are other unique conditions which distinguish our republic from others (e.g. the Artsakh problem, the disaster zone, refugees etc).

The most important political factor that is evident in Armenia today is the power struggle between the nonnational nomenclatura which serves the interests of the center and the national-democratic forces. The official authorities of Armenia, having failed to defend our national interests and to solve the economic and social problems of the republic, have completely lost their political reputation in the eyes of the people. Their complete bankruptcy has thus been demonstrated. The biggest damage they caused to our people was the weakening of the people's vital forces and the disturbance of the people's spiritual peace—which may have serious consequences. Realizing that the official authorities do not defend their interests in the face of transgressions by the center and Azerbaijan and that they stubbornly resist all measures aimed at resolving national problems, for the last 2 years the people have been solving those problems themselves at the expense of enormous efforts and sacrifices by putting pressure on the parliament of the republic.

It is evident, however, that this situation cannot last long. As long as the people are not convinced that they have a truly national government which is capable of expressing their interests and realizing their aspirations, they cannot set themselves to peaceful creative work without which normal development is impossible in any country. Therefore, the foremost problem of the Armenian people today is the creation of a truly national parliament. This issue will be resolved at the elections that will be held on 20 May.

[HARATCH] Let us talk about elections and in particular the APM's position with regard to the elections. In other words, is the election campaign a battle for power for your movement?

[Ter Petrosyan] I think that it should be evident from what I said earlier that the APM places enormous, indeed momentous, importance on the coming elections. Therefore, the extensive preparatory work that the APM is conducting in that regard is understandable. I am not referring only to the election campaign, but also the formidable effort that the APM undertook in the recent sessions of the Armenian Supreme Soviet to have comparatively democratic election laws enacted. We were eventually successful in enacting such laws which may ensure free elections provided that irregularities do not occur. However, unfortunately irregularities have not been completely eradicated, and the government authorities resort to every means not to lose their positions. Even in the present phase of the election campaign, several violations of the law have been observed. We are seriously concerned that the authorities will not shrink from creating a state of emergency in Armenia by inflaming provocations simply in order to ensure victory for themselves—as happened in the March 1989 elections which were held in special emergency circumstances. The APM's mission is to avoid any provocative activities which may be used as pretexts and to ensure the peaceful progress of the elections.

As for the main election campaign, the APM is participating in it not with the mentality of a party but with an awareness of pannational interests. Rather than seeking the largest possible number of seats in the future parliament, we must work for nothing but making sure that that parliament is a truly national authority where the elected representatives of our people are seated. All candidates who enjoy the people's unreserved respect will have our unbiased active support regardless of whether they are members of the APM. [passage omitted]

#### APM Leader on Independence, Elections

46050018C Paris HARATCH  
in *Armenian* 24-25 Mar 90 pp 2, 3

[Interview with Vazgen Manukyan, member of the Executive Council of the Armenian Pannational Movement and the Karabakh Committee; originally published in issues 4 and 5 of Yerevan HAYK, official press organ of the Armenian Pannational Movement]

[Excerpts] [HAYK] In your opinion, what is the goal of our nation, and what did the past 2 years of the Movement contribute to the realization of that goal?

[Manukyan] Our people have two national and political goals: The reinstatement of its independent statehood and its territorial problem, that is the return of the lands that have been seized from us. As the final outcome of the realization of these political goals, Armenia can take the place it deserves among the other civilized nations. These two political goals are often combined into a single concept: The creation of a united and independent Armenia. It should be noted, however, that these two goals are in some sense mutually contradictory. Each of these goals, the reinstatement of independent statehood and the territorial issue, assume different allies and foes. Therefore, it is not possible to achieve both of these goals at the same time. We must choose, or give priority to, one first and then go on to the other.

Here, I would like to focus on the Karabakh issue as a separate problem. Today only two pieces of our historic Armenia remain still inhabited by Armenians: Our present republic and Karabakh. Today we face the problem of reunifying those two pieces.

In terms of realizing these two political goals, we must first decide which goal should be given first priority—the goal of reinstatement of independent statehood or that of regaining the occupied territories. We must decide which of these two goals is attainable today.

Before talking about attainability, let us note that it is essential to have an independent state in order to resolve the territorial issue. No territorial problem can be solved without an independent state. No one will donate a territory to us. No one will conquer territory for us. No one will do on our behalf what we must do ourselves. The last 2 years proved this political reality one more time. Consequently, at this time our people must concentrate



on the reinstatement of independent statehood. Territorial issues cannot be resolved, either through political or military means, without an independent state. It is not an accident that the Karabakh problem, which is not a simple territorial issue, evoked the concept of independence in our people. In taking all the basic steps toward the reunification of Armenia and Karabakh we considered ourselves an independent state. Only thus were we able to achieve certain results. There is now a legal issue over whether it is possible to reinstate our independent statehood today. Here, in general, two obstacles are mentioned. The first is that today our territory is under Russian occupation and that historical experience indicates that no state withdraws from the territories it has occupied voluntarily. Therefore, Russia will naturally block the reinstatement of our independent statehood. On the other hand, the current political situation in the Soviet Union is such that the solution of the problem appears to be close at hand. Having lagged behind other countries, Russia wants to solve two mutually contradictory problems at the same time: It wants to strengthen Russia economically, politically, scientifically and culturally while retaining the empire. It must use force to retain the empire, but it must give certain freedoms to the people in order to ensure the development of the country. Development can occur only in conditions of freedom. Freedom and democracy, on the other hand, give impetus to the centrifugal forces especially in conditions where the state economy is rapidly coming apart. On the path of resolving these two mutually contradictory problems, one way or the other, Russia will probably be compelled to let some republics leave its borders as it was forced to do in the case of some of the East European countries which were within its sphere of security. Consequently, the present situation inspires hope that, if a correct political struggle is waged, the general political situation of the Soviet Union will eventually give us the opportunity to declare independence.

Many people also cite the second obstacle: If we declare independence we may have to face powerful Turkey whose goal is to annihilate Armenia and to merge with Azerbaijan which has religious and ethnic commonalities with Turkey. Let me first answer the people who bring up this pretext against independence. We must understand that the Russian army is here not to defend the Armenians but because that is what the interests of the empire demand. The Soviet Union is a disintegrating empire, and sooner or later its interests will require it to withdraw its army from here. Therefore, one way or another we will have to face this problem.

Now let me turn to the issue of the reunification of Turkey and Azerbaijan. No two nations of the same ethnic ancestry have yet merged together under a single state in the 20th century. On the contrary, every ethnic group wants its own state. Consequently, rather than speaking about the reunification of Turkey and Azerbaijan, we must think about whether Turkey can conquer Azerbaijan through Armenia (if the situation ever gets to that point). Like all other nations, Azerbaijan also wants

to be independent. In Turkey, there is a political current which aspires for the merger of Azerbaijan with Turkey. There are certain political circles which pursue such objectives and which have declared that such a merger stems from Turkey's interests. However, the influence of the circles which see Turkey's interests in this manner is not substantial. The political forces peculiar to our time—that is those focused on the development of the country's economy, industry, trade, technology and culture—are predominant in Turkey as well.

It is hard to predict at this time which of these forces would prevail in the event of a change in the political situation, but that is true for all states in the world. No state has any assurance that its neighbor will not attack it. That is why each state pursues an appropriate policy and creates armed forces appropriate for its own situation. In 1918, when Armenia won its independence, its situation was very grave, but it was able to stave off Turkey's attacks. Those nations which want to benefit from the rewards that come only with independence but are afraid of independence are condemned to vanish, and the world does not grow any poorer as a result of the disappearance of such nations.

In the course of the 2-year history of the movement, tens of thousands of Armenians realized these simple political truths and came to the conclusion that we must abandon our pro-Russian posture to solve our political problems (let me add that abandoning our pro-Russian posture does not mean becoming anti-Russian). The people realized that, in pursuing our political causes, we must place our hopes on our own forces alone, without, of course, giving up the option of having allies. We must understand that we can attain independence only if we maintain appropriate and nonhostile relations with all of our neighbors.

[HAYK] I noticed that when you talked about our occupied territories you avoided using the word "demand." Was that accidental?

[Manukyan] No, it was not accidental. I think that behind that ridiculously arrogant word is hidden an incoherent policy: To appeal to the world demanding justice. I prefer the policy which wins justice on the basis of cold calculations, sensible plans and strength rather than the one which begs for justice at every street corner.

[HAYK] What political currents do you see among Armenians today?

[Manukyan] There are scores of political organizations on the scene, and new armies, fronts and organizations, most of them comprised of three or four people, are born every day. I even know of an organization which is comprised of one person. Gone are the days when engaging in politics was dangerous and when there were only two or three organizations on the scene. Today politics is a gainful occupation for some people. Every organization quickly drafts a program and its goals and tries to carve out a place for itself on the political scene. What we have is a complete chaos. But all that is on the

surface. On the surface one also sees human idiosyncracies, confrontations which seem incomprehensible to many and fake calls for unity. However, beneath the surface there is a silent, stiff and uncompromising battle between only two political directions. I described one of these political directions while answering your first question.

Which one is the second direction? The following reasoning lies at the root of that political current: We are a small Christian nation located in the middle of a Muslim ocean which is hostile to us. Therefore, in order to survive in this geographical location and to avoid being annihilated physically we have no alternative but to seek the protection of some powerful Christian nation. Having this concept as our departure point we are naturally attracted to Russia.

What is the price we must pay? We must give up our aspirations for independence, or we must utilize the strength of our protector and get it interested in recovering our historic lands by pointing out the commonality of our interests. It is only then that we can raise the issue of our independence. We must take advantage of an exaggerated pan-Turkist threat not only to Russia but to the Armenian people. We must allow everyone who has a problem with Turkey to utilize us.

We implemented this policy magnificently at the turn of the century and we had a massacre.

It is now proposed that we implement this policy one more time. First of all, it is not we who will tell Russia who its enemy is and what its interests are. That is ludicrous. Secondly, what does "common interests" mean? If we, the Kurds and the Russians want to take Van, that does not mean that our interests coincide because each one of us wants to have it for itself. If we forget for a moment that today Russia is a disintegrating empire and we assume that it has the means to continue pursuing its expansionist policies and that it occupies Van, then rest assured that they would not give Van to Armenia just as they did not give Karabakh and Nakhichevan. That was not a policy that was peculiar to the Bolsheviks. They did not do that because of Stalin's hostility toward Armenians. Nor was it the result of the corruption and the shortsightedness of the leaders in Moscow. That was the imperial interest of Russia. If we do not understand this we will remain condemned to repeating the same mistakes, each time paying with the lives of our compatriots and the land that our ancestors passed on to us.

By taking this policy line and by serving Russia's interests we only provoke our neighbors, including the Christian Georgians, gaining nothing and depriving our nation of the prospect of relying on its own forces and preventing or being prepared for any possible calamities using political and military means. The Galoyans and the Balayans who have proposed this political line and who are egged on by Moscow can go with the Russian

army, but our people will remain behind and suffer the bitter fruits of that shortsighted policy. [passage omitted]

[HAYK] What are the political problems that the APM will face in the coming months?

[Manukyan] The most important issue for the future is the election for the Armenian Supreme Soviet in which the people of Artsakh will participate for the first time. The APM will do everything it can to make sure that these elections are held in an atmosphere of graceful rivalry and that the people's choices will be elected. What do we expect from our future parliament or Supreme Soviet? The present political situation is often compared to the situation that existed at the turn of the century. Indeed, there are similarities, but there is also a very important difference. The most important characteristic of the present situation is that we have a state. It is true that this state is not independent and that it is semisubservient. Many bad things can be said about our republic. Nevertheless, there are government mechanisms which can be utilized to pursue our national interests. The Supreme Soviet elections and having a good parliament can make it possible to manipulate those government mechanisms in one way or another to extricate ourselves from slavery and to move step by step toward self-rule and independence. The present political situation allows us to hope that these problems are solvable—assuming that events follow their natural course.

However, the course of the developments in the Transcaucasus may change abruptly just as the course of events in Eastern Europe changed suddenly and unexpectedly in recent months. Therefore, it is imperative to maintain an organized self-defense capability and to be prepared for any possible developments. This is also an important issue which must be resolved in parallel with the work in connection with the Supreme Soviet elections. The proposition is simple: We must be prepared for war, but we must try to prevent it by political means. In this connection, we must also note that both our historical experience and the latest developments prove that nothing contributes to peace better than the awareness of our opponent that every time it strikes at us it will receive a hard counterstrike from us. [passage omitted]

#### **APM Scored for 'Failure' in Karabakh**

*46050016A Paris GAMK in Armenian 2-4 Mar 90*

[Article by Igor Muratyan, founder and former member of the Karabakh Committee and currently the leader of the Unification organization: "Artsakh: Reality and Decisions"]

[2 Mar 90 p 3]

[Excerpts] [GAMK editor's note] [Passage omitted] The Armenian people embarked on a new phase of their national liberation struggle with the Artsakh movement. The battle flag that flew over the eagles' nest in Artsakh had its sincere supporters in both the Motherland and the Diaspora who spared no effort to express their

solidarity with this pannational movement and to contribute to its triumphant course with all their means and the determination to do the impossible.

Igor Muratyan, an economist who lives in the Motherland, was one of the first to respond to the call by the people of Artsakh. He initiated the formation of the Karabakh Committee in an effort to harmonize the dispersed efforts of the people of Armenia to help Nagorno Karabakh. He served as the Karabakh Committee's spirit, inspiring force and source of imagination during the initial months of the Committee's activities. He remained a member of the Committee for as long as the Committee staunchly defended the unification of Artsakh with Soviet Armenia.

Subsequently, Igor Muratyan formed the Unification organization whose goal is to make every effort to bring about the unification of Artsakh with Soviet Armenia. This organization is currently waging its struggle under Muratyan's leadership. [passage omitted]

Below we publish an article by Igor Muratyan in order to expose the true political picture in Armenia. Muratyan sent us the manuscript for publication. In his article, Muratyan analyzes various aspects of the situation brought about by restructuring and democratization in Soviet Armenia and Nagorno Karabakh, the place the Artsakh movement occupies in that situation and the goals and postures of the various forces and movements in Armenia with regard to the regime, all-Union opposition forces and the Artsakh movement. He also points out the various maladies afflicting that movement, the causes of these maladies and his predictions about the prospects of Armenian reunification in the near future.

By publishing the article entitled "Artsakh: Reality and Decisions" by Igor Muratyan, one of the most prominent activists in Soviet Armenia, we hope to create a medium whereby our people in the Diaspora will have the opportunity to familiarize themselves with this aspect of the ideas that are being shaped and formulated in the Motherland.

[Begin article] Only two issues can arouse the Armenian people and merge its spiritual and physical forces. Those issues are Artsakh and independence. But the issue of national independence stands in the way of resolving the Artsakh problem and appears to be the key to the solution of the Artsakh problem.

In today's circumstances, when the destiny of our nation can be decided in the capital of a great power by the stroke of a pen, references to independence may appear to be ludicrous and unrealistic. Many people in the empire think independence is a vain abstraction. However, the concept of independence, like the concept of the reunification of the Armenian people, did not come about in a single day, and it still needs to go a long way and to experience many more triumphs and defeats before it can take its place in our reality as the concept of unification has. The present situation is notable in the sense that the concept of national liberation struggle is

being ingrained in the consciousness of the people replacing democratization as the ludicrous idea of national direction. The Karabakh movement that was born in Armenia quickly changed from a national liberation movement into a national-liberal movement with a decidedly autocratic and elitist structure. The so-called "Armenian Pannational Movement" [APM] in effect represents the interests of isolated social groups which aspire for political power and the privileges that are associated with it disregarding pannational interests. [passage omitted]

[3-4 Mar 90 p 3]

[Excerpts] The principal of objective of the APM at the present time is to maintain the status quo in the republic and to compete in the preelection campaign for the Supreme Soviet. It would seem that everyone who wishes peace for his people should welcome this policy. But such a posture excludes from the movement what is most precious for us: Artsakh. It is with Artsakh that our people will be reborn as an independent and sovereign nation. All prerequisites exist for such an outcome. First, the concept of what Nezhdeh calls "nation" has been born in our people. For the first time since 1921, Armenians took up arms to defend the honor and inviolability of their homeland. The Armenian youth was transformed from an immature mass into a battle legion before our own eyes. Having recovered from the initial shocks, which can be blamed equally on the Moscow's posture and the APM's Mafia-like activities, the intelligentsia is at present determined to strike back at those liberal standard-bearers at the coming elections. The desire for self-determination is maturing among the people, political maneuvers for the purpose of gaining power are being rejected, and the foundations of a national party which will represent the interests of the entire nation and not isolated groups are being laid. Unfortunately, this idea is not accepted by the overwhelming majority of the citizens, who have experienced political and social degradation. It is our deep conviction that the events in Armenia are the result and manifestation of the self-cleansing and rebirth of a sick society. We must tread through this difficult path to compensate for the degradation of the past 70 years. The APM must be abolished not only as an organization, but also as a concept while keeping the healthy elements which are part of it for the future. The discord in the nation is the result of not only normal processes, but also a deliberate policy by Moscow and the activities of its proxies. The APM was utterly defeated as a political organization on the Artsakh issue, in the work to rebuild our devastated cities and villages, in diplomacy and in the work to find allies among the democratic forces in other "simmering" parts of the country. In an ideal healthy society, an organization that suffers major failures withdraws from the political scene and loses its influence over large masses. In contrast, the APM continues to operate because it was born out of a sick society.

The national movement in Armenia and Artsakh is also hurt by political workers who have no visions for

resolving the problems and who do not take an unambiguous posture with regard to relations with Moscow. Included in this group are the Armenian Communist Party whose only objective is to retain its power, and activist deputies of Armenia and Artsakh. Neither of these two groups has so far manifested a clear political platform in its activities. Neither of the two groups bases its work on what has already been accomplished or relies on the collaboration of the people as its base of support.

Today, the nation needs to address two important issues to resolve the Artsakh problem. The first involves breaking Armenia's international isolation, forming alliances with the other nations and peoples of the Union and establishing at least limited Armenian sovereignty over Artsakh. Armenia's international isolation can be broken and the Artsakh issue can be raised in international forums only through the efforts of the Diaspora and, in particular, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation [Dashnak Party]. Neither the republic's Communist Party nor the APM have even tried to embark on such work despite extensive opportunities. [passage omitted]

The other important issue related to the unification of Armenia and Artsakh is that of concrete steps and measures. Such measures are also undermined by the liberal-communist-apparatchik alliance that has been formed in the republic, and this, too, is done in the name of maintaining peace. The work to integrate the economic, public and cultural institutions of Armenia and Artsakh, which is being carried out by departments, ministries, factory administrations and workers, is being boycotted by the leadership of the republic with the silent consent of the APM. The pretext of the transportation blockade that is given to explain this attitude is baseless because, first, a full blockade does not exist and, second, if desired the blockade can be successfully fought off. Artsakh's rebellion against Moscow's inhuman goal of subjugating it to Azerbaijan by the force of arms compelled Moscow and Baku to face a fait accompli. Today, Azerbaijan is vainly trying to recover Artsakh. [passage omitted]

In this stalemated situation, Armenia must not become a tool in the hands of the empire, and Armenian collaboration with the Russian army must be limited by our own interests. It is essential to implement a differentiated policy which can incorporate the high-priority battle for Artsakh within the framework of larger interethnic confrontation. Ideas about forming alliances with political movements in Azerbaijan and other republics, based on the pseudoprinciples of democracy, are in fact self-deceptive and politically bankrupt. The idea of forming an alliance with Azerbaijan against Russia could only be thought up by a madman or the leadership of APM. Then, what must our course be in resolving the Artsakh problem? Neutrality with regard to all pseudodemocratic and national-democratic movements that have sprung up across the Soviet Union, the active utilization of international forums and organizations to overcome isolation, the establishment of alliances with organizations in the Union which have a clear national character

(autonomous organizations dealing with different national and territorial issues), and avoiding activities which hurt the basic interests of the empire. In the domain of parliamentary action, declarative positions with regard to the solution of the Karabakh problem must be avoided, and an active struggle must be waged to resolve the special problems associated with the establishment of Armenian autonomy over Artsakh. The republic's presence in NKAO [Nagorno Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] must be gradually increased particularly in the present atmosphere of resentment against Moscow's actions. Elements of the total policy described above have existed in primitive form in all phases of the struggle and have proven their usefulness because they represent true national interests. All these can be accomplished by a national party which does not exist in the Motherland at this time. The active national organizations and individuals who stand on the positions described above are determined to implement this policy within the limits of their strength and means.

#### **New Federation Holds Political Rally in Yerevan**

*46050017B Paris GAMK in Armenian 24-25 Mar 90 p 1*

[Text] A political rally was held in Yerevan on 21 March with the sponsorship of the newly-formed Pan-Armenian United Front [PUF] which incorporates more than 40 groups.

More than 100,000 people participated in the PUF rally. The rally was addressed by several people including Feliks Safaryan, Ruben Sedrakyan, Grigor Guyumjyan, Akob Akobyan and Vache Ghazarian, the U. S. representative of the Democratic Liberal [Ramgavar] Party.

The speakers generally evaluated the current political situation and talked about the goals of PUF. They demanded the convening of a pan-Armenian congress, the granting of Soviet Armenian citizenship to expatriate Armenians and the return and legalization of organizations operating in the expatria [ardergir].

The pressures applied by the Soviet Army on Artsakh and the village of Berdadzor were condemned. The Soviet Army has recently stepped up its pressure to clear Berdadzor of its Armenian inhabitants. Soviet soldiers wounded a Berdadzor youth about whom no further information is available.

The goals of the PUF are:

1. The organization of a popular self-defense effort.
2. The bolstering of the campaign for the reunification of Artsakh with Armenia.
3. The reconstruction of the disaster area.

The organizations which are part of PUF include the Free Armenians [Azad Hayk] Association, the Armenian National Army [Hayots Azgayin Banak], the National Party of Armenia [Hayastani Azgayin Kusaktsutyun] (separated from the National Independence Party of

Armenia), the Society for the Defense of the Armenian Cause, the Armenian Women's League and other groups and organizations.

### ArSSR Election Campaign Detailed

46050019D Istanbul MARMARA  
in Armenian 10 Apr 90 p 2

[Text] Yerevan—The Armenian Communist Party has been making every effort to ensure the victory of its candidates in the elections for the Supreme Soviet on 20 May.

As a consequence of these efforts, Levon Ter Petrosyan, a member of the Executive Council of the Armenian Pannational Movement [APM], failed to have his candidacy endorsed by the Hayenergo enterprise. As is known, candidacy for the Supreme Soviet requires a minimum of 200 citizens' signatures or the votes of a majority of the members of an enterprise. Ter Petrosyan tried to win the sponsorship of Hayenergo for his candidacy twice, but failed as a result of pressures by the Communist candidate. Ter Petrosyan's opponent is the director of the enterprise. According to Motherland sources, the director managed to win the majority of the votes by resorting to pressure and bribery. Other sources have reported that Hayenergo is under the influence of the Association for the Defense of the Armenian Cause which opposes the APM and that that is the cause of Ter Petrosyan's failure (the APM's information center is not the source of these reports).

Ashot Manucharyan [another APM leader] who has been touring villages as part of the election campaign has also encountered difficulties with the people showing indifference and apathy toward him.

Meanwhile, Communist candidates, particularly the directors of large enterprises and regional party leaders, are employing influence, money and other means of pressure at their disposal to enlist signatures endorsing their candidacies. The party candidates visit each building and each enterprise and coerce the people to sign their candidacy petitions. Even in kindergartens, pressure is applied on parents through the principals' offices to sign the petitions of Communist Party candidates.

The APM and other nonofficial popular organizations have not yet released the list of their candidates. Only the Communist Party has released the list of its candidates to the press

A united popular front which can contest this concerted effort by the Communist Party is absent in Armenia. On the contrary, different popular movements and groupings neutralize and discredit each other by competing against each other and thus assure the victory of the Communist Party in Armenia, which may be a unique case in the entire Soviet Union where Communist candidates have been defeated overwhelmingly in every election.

### Rally by New Front

On 21 March, nearly 30,000 people participated in a rally in [Yerevan's] Liberty Square. The rally was organized by the United Front for Pan-Armenian Struggle which incorporates approximately 34 political groups, associations and organizations.

Oddly, both the central Soviet press and the propaganda and news organs of Armenia promoted this rally. This has created a certain disposition amongst the people against the organizers of the rally.

The individuals who addressed the rally on behalf of the Front deplored this stance by the central and republican organs charging that its purpose was to create suspicion and prejudice among the people against the organizers of the rally by making them look as if they had the patronage of the government.

One of the speakers at the rally was Feliks Safaryan who described the reasons for the formation of the United Front for Pan-Armenian Struggle and outlined its goals. Ruben Petrosyan spoke about the indispensibility of unity (Petrosyan is a former founder of the National Independence Party of Armenia; after being evicted from this organization last December he formed another party by the same name and began publishing a weekly which has the same name as the official organ of his former party: AYASTAN). Vachagan Sargsyan, delivered a speech deploring communism and Lenin. Mushekh Mkrtchyan, a representative of the Association for the Defense of the Armenian Cause, spoke about Berdadzor and criticized the APM for ignoring this strategically important village. Vache Kazaryan, a member of the Democratic Liberal [Ramgavar] Party from the United States, spoke about the need to form a pan-Armenian front. Grigor Guyumjyan declared that a congress which will propose the formation of a panna-national united front will convene in the fall of 1990.

Another speaker was Pavel Dallakyan, the representative of the Haykashen organization. He stated that Armenia must follow Georgia's example and that it must declare void Article 6 of the Constitution and endorse a multiparty system by convening a special session of the Supreme Soviet. One day earlier, on 20 March, the Georgian Supreme Soviet, in a special session, rescinded Article 6 of the Constitution, endorsed a multiparty system and postponed elections until the fall of 1990 to give the new parties an opportunity to compete on an equal footing against the Communist Party.

The rally on Wednesday did not proceed smoothly. Certain groups among the participants tried to drown out the speakers by shouting and jeering. These attempts at disrupting the rally are attributed to instigations by opposing groups and organizations.

### Defiance of NKAO Commander Urged

46050017D Paris GAMK  
in Armenian 17-18 Mar 90 p 1

[Article by M. Ishkhanian: "We Have Much To Do"]

[Text] If the elections in Artsakh are held as part of the elections for the Supreme Soviet of the United Armenian Republic, then they would violate the laws of the state of emergency and, as such, are punishable and prosecutable.

The statement above was made by Safronov, the commander appointed to enforce the state of emergency in Artsakh. The statement is not surprising and constitutes another link and a further step in the Soviet policy of returning Artsakh to Azeri oppression.

Does Safronov's statement mean that he is trying to intimidate the people of Artsakh, to subdue them and to keep them in fear? If the answer is "yes," then Safronov is making a mistake because no one from Stalin to Aliyev and his puppet Anarins and Bunyatovs could subdue the people of Artsakh who are more determined and resolute about their demands today than they ever were. At present they are in a state of general strike to protest these anti-Armenian measures by Safronov.

But the main problem remains. As the Kremlin's pro-consul or military attache in Artsakh, will Safronov carry out his threat? Will he prosecute and punish the people of Artsakh if they go to the balloting centers on the day decided by the Armenian Supreme Soviet and vote in accordance with their conscience to send a representative to the parliament of the United Armenian Republic? It can be argued that Safronov has the means to close down the voting centers. But that does not matter. The people of Artsakh have already elected their representatives, and on that day, they will reaffirm their choices by a counting of hands, they will reconfirm the election of Arkady Kukasyan, and they will tell Safronov: "Open your eyes for once and see who is the oppressor and who is fighting for the reinstatement of justice and the right of self-determination."

It is true that our compatriots in Artsakh are living in difficult conditions. It is also true that they are waging a battle for life and death. But it would be equally correct to say that the entire Armenian nation, in the Motherland and the Diaspora, must support them and help them at any cost so that they can continue the struggle.

Our struggle.

In this struggle, the people of Artsakh, who remain bound to their land and who are firmly determined to unite with the Motherland, have nothing to lose. They have raised the banner of "freedom from Turkish-Azeri oppression or death." But we do have things to lose in Armenia and the Diaspora.

We may lose another historic province of Armenia, Artsakh, which may one day have the same fate as Van or Sasun.

We may lose a part of our body which awakened us in February 1988 and which infused new life and blood into our veins.

Finally, we may lose our overall cause because the Artsakh movement forms an inseparable part of our general demands.

Glasnost, perestroyka, presidential system and multi-party elections are wonderful ideas. But they sound hollow if they are not implemented.

For us, the first stage of implementation at this juncture is the rescission of the notorious [USSR Supreme Soviet] resolution of 28 November 1989 which must be followed by the restoration of the right of self-determination of the people of Artsakh.

We have much to do in this direction.

### New ArSSR Constitution Examined

46050019E Istanbul MARMARA  
in Armenian 12 Apr 90 p 3

[Article by Ara Sahakyan, philosopher, and Bagrat Asatryan, doctoral candidate in economics: "An Analytical Overview of Armenia's New Constitution"]

[Excerpts] On 13 February, the Supreme Soviet of the ArSSR passed a measure with regard to changes and supplements to the republic's Constitution. These changes pertain to the electoral system and the structure and functions of the congresses of people's deputies and judicial organs and basically conform with a series of laws passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet. However, the popular surge that was created by the Karabakh demands and the social and political processes that developed in our republic soon made unacceptable some of the principles and norms that are incorporated in all-Union laws and which are portrayed as the greatest successes of perestroyka. The eruption and the massive growth in our people's national and political awareness over the past 2 years created real foundations to review various approaches and principles and to continue quests for freedom, independence and universal human values. Undoubtedly, the goals of winning autonomy for the Armenian republic and expanding the rights of its citizens formed the focal point of these developments. [passage omitted]

In this brief overview, we attempt to evaluate from a standpoint of the coming elections (on 20 May for the Supreme Soviet and on 8 July for the local soviets) and the associated stimulation of political life whether the new constitution will be commensurate with the present social and political situation in Armenia and whether we can have a real democratic and active parliament which can defend national rights after an interregnum of 70 years.

Unlike the constitutions which were imposed on the republic by various Soviet prime ministers in the past and which paid only lip service to the sovereignty of the republic, according to the new changes the soviets are considered fully authorized organs of state sovereignty across their entire region of jurisdiction; and the Supreme Soviet has the power "to examine and to resolve every issue related to the basic interests of the republic and the people." According to the changes the Supreme Soviet also reserves certain "forgotten" rights on issues such as the ratification "of the treaty establishing the USSR," the ratification and rescindment of international agreements, the definition of the basic directions of the internal and external policies of the republic, the holding of a referendum on seceding from the USSR and the taking of essential measures for the republic's security. These are important complements, and one must hope that in the near future the parliament of the republic will formulate and implement at an appropriate level a general policy that coincides with the interests of the Armenian people and that it will negotiate with Moscow the issues of reviewing the federation treaty of 1922, the creation of republic's own armed forces and other very important issues.

The Artsakh movement exposed the manifest dependence of the presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet on Moscow's authorities and its impotence resulting from that dependence. Today the presidium no longer has any wide-reaching powers. It has no power to authorize the arrest of deputies and it is no longer considered the supreme organ of government authority during intervals between the sessions of the Supreme Soviet. Such functions can be performed only by the Supreme Soviet, while the presidium primarily ensures the organization of the work of the Supreme Soviet.

With the new changes, the post of chairman of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet (currently held by Grant Voskanyan) is replaced by the post of president of the Supreme Soviet who is "the highest official of the republic and represents the republic inside the country and in international relations." [passage omitted]

At this point it is hard to predict whether the republics will be allowed to have their own presidents. Therefore the limits of the powers of the president of the Union and the presidents of the supreme soviets of republics (or the presidents of the republics) and their interrelationships will be determined in the future. It must only be hoped that Gorbachev will not seek to concentrate all power (party and government) in his hands and that his power will be checked by a democratic parliament. Thus, the Armenian republic will have a new Supreme Soviet and a new president of the Supreme Soviet (Grant Voskanyan has disclosed that he is withdrawing from politics) in the summer of 1990. According to the changes in the constitution, the president of the Supreme Soviet will be elected by a ballot separate from the one for the Supreme Soviet deputies.

Obviously, this brief analysis and the indications of optimism echoed in it must not create the illusion that we will have a perfect constitution soon and that Armenia will make great strides toward democracy in the future. Firstly, the present Constitution is not the constitution of a free and independent state; it essentially duplicates the all-Union Constitution and is a clone of it. Also, there are deep contradictions between the amended sections and provisions that have been in effect since 1978. But the amendments and the supplements have been endorsed, and the parliament of the republic must act quickly on the basis of the norms those changes establish. We hope that the positive intentions that are currently present in the Constitution will be developed by the newly elected deputies. The first step toward the creation of a permanently functioning parliament has been taken. The new shoots of democracy must be cultivated and perfected as befits a civilized country. Only then will the party committees which are performing the functions of government today concede their place to a permanently functioning representative parliament.

#### Work of 'Official Council' Outlined

46050020B Istanbul MARMARA  
in Armenian 18 Apr 90 p 1

[Text] The government of Soviet Armenia has approved the bylaws of the Veradznund [Revival] popular council [khorhurd]. On that occasion, Sargis Muratyan, a member of the presidium of Veradznund, parliamentary deputy and a painter, issued the following information about the goals of the official organization, the work it has carried out so far and its plans:

"Veradznund began its activity immediately after the Sumgait massacres when a large number of Armenians migrated to Armenia. Beside opening a bank account for the refugees together with USSR Supreme Soviet deputy Sos Sargsyan, we carried out work to settle them. The organization was born following a founding congress held last spring.

"The council works in three principal directions, by contributing to the assistance provided to the disaster zone, Nagorno Karabakh and the refugees [from Azerbaijan].

"One of our major activities is the procurement and distribution of aid from overseas. At present, seven Diaspora organizations as well as the [French] Blue Cross association deliver to us goods some of which is forwarded to Nagorno Karabakh, the Shahumyan rayon and the Gedashen subrayon. Soon an office will be opened in Yerevan where Diaspora organizations will have their representatives.

At present approximately 20,000 Armenian refugees from various parts of Azerbaijan are in Nagorno Karabakh. Their relocation and settlement in Nagorno Karabakh was the result of the work of our popular council. With the assistance of Veradznund a village is being built



in Karabakh for the refugees. We also plan to build a village in the disaster zone. That village will be built at the location of the completely devastated village of Gursal in the Spitak rayon.

Another objective of Veradznund is the preparation of specialists in different fields. In that regard, a group of young people will soon depart for England where they will be trained as managers, lawyers and political scientists.

### ArSSR Drive for External Economic Ties Detailed

46050018A Paris HARATCH  
in Armenian 22 Mar 90 p 2

[Article by Vahram Abajyan, "summarized and converted into Western Armenian": "Armenia's External Economic Ties"]

[Text] Radical political and socioeconomic change and genuine sovereignty for union republics is the only way to end the ideological impasse and the deep economic crisis that has been created in the Soviet Union over the last 70 years. This means that, in the final analysis, the republics must have the capability to resolve their political, economic, cultural and other problems in an autonomous manner.

Relations, particularly economic ties, with the outside world constitute one of the most important assurances of the sovereignty of the republics. The importance of establishing and developing external economic ties became even more evident in Armenia following the earthquake of 1988 and the blockade imposed around the Armenian republic and Nagorno Karabakh.

Let us first state that Armenia has all the prerequisites to engage in full-fledged international economic relations. Although we do not have a large array of natural resources, we have raw materials that are in short supply on world markets. One example is the country's store of building stones such as tuffa, marble, granite and obsidian. These stones, with proper processing, may enjoy substantial demand in international markets. The developed branches of industry and agriculture and the country's excellent reservoir of scientific and technological knowhow must also not be ignored. Armenia has a strong scientific and technological potential, whose proper utilization can certainly contribute to our advancement.

Armenia's network of organizations dealing with external economic issues has expanded considerably in the last few years.

The Hayardar [Armenian external trade] corporation [miavorum] was formed 2 years ago with the purpose of evaluating the production of domestic enterprises, finding overseas partners for them and identifying products that are the best candidates for marketing overseas. Another objective of this organization is to import

foreign technology in order to enhance the quality of domestic industrial production.

Several contracts have already been signed between local and overseas enterprises with Hayardar's assistance. For example, as a result of a contract signed between the Vaspurakan industrial corporation in Kirovakan and the Spielwaren company of East Germany, Vaspurakan is manufacturing different sizes of dolls and toy cars, planes and boats.

With the mediation of Hayardar, promising ties have been established with Kuwaiti business circles. A contract that has been signed envisages the export of the Jermuk brand mineral water, known for its therapeutic qualities, to Kuwait.

The Trade and Industry Center also contributes to the development of Armenia's external economic ties. One of the major tasks of this organization is to train knowledgeable specialists in the area of external economic relations. The Center sends specialists overseas for training, organizes courses taught by Soviet and foreign specialists and sponsors economic and practical consultations, seminars and other activities.

International exhibitions have an important role in this issue. At the "United States Business Ties" exhibition held in Moscow last October, delegates from Armenia and the United States had useful talks and signed cooperation agreements.

The [ArSSR] ministries also have the authority to engage in similar activities. For example, Armenia's Ministry of Local Industry has established practical ties with France, the United States, Ireland and other countries. These agreements cover not only trade and the exchange of goods, but also the establishment of joint ventures. Such ventures may produce high quality products which may be exported to foreign markets after satisfying the needs of the domestic Soviet market and may lead to the acquisition of modern technological and scientific knowhow.

The Armenian Ministry of Local Industry recently hosted a delegation from the Systherm corporation. The purpose of the visit was to continue the talks on the joint production of electric and oil-fired heaters. Such heaters may be particularly useful in disaster-stricken areas where the problem of heating poses serious difficulties. The first round of the talks ended with success in terms of realizing the previously drafted plans.

A center for international trade and scientific and technological ties with overseas is being built in Yerevan with the collaboration of the French firm, IJET Internationale. The work of this center will contribute significantly to overseas economic relations. Work on establishing a joint Armenian international bank is also continuing. The direct air link between Yerevan and Paris is envisaged to open this year. Meanwhile, a building has already been allocated in Paris for the establishment of an Armenian cultural center.



**Aganbegyan Urges Open-Door Policy for ArSSR**

46050020C Istanbul JAMANAK  
in Armenian 17 Apr 90 pp 1, 4

[Text] Moscow—Renowned economist Abel Aganbegyan, who heads the Soviet Academy of Sciences commission on assistance for the reconstruction, socioeconomic development and environmental cleanup of Armenia's quake-devastated regions, said in response to ARMENPRES correspondent L. Azoryan's questions that Armenia must adopt an open-door policy to improve its economy.

The said commission works jointly with Soviet Armenian organizations on issues related to the task of making the entire republic a free trade zone. One of these issues is "the establishment of a more liberal regime which allows closer ties between Armenia and foreign countries, chiefly the Diaspora Armenians. Particular attention must be paid to the severe rates of taxation imposed on planned joint ventures in the earthquake zone. More liberal customs regulations, the expansion of the role of Armenia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the granting of ArSSR citizenship to Diaspora Armenians who actively collaborate with Armenia and the scheduling of direct flights between Yerevan and foreign countries, such as France and American major hubs [must be considered]."

The commission is also conducting major work on expanding joint scientific research with the Armenian Academy of Sciences. Together with American capital, the commission played a major role in the establishment of a "business" school and the training of young managers.

Aganbegyan said: "We intend to create in Armenia the type of entrepreneur who will be able to make the republic rich."

The Commission will meet in Yerevan in April to examine the crisis that has emerged in connection with the Nairit chemical plant "to attempt to find any alternative ways out of the current situation, naturally taking into account principally the full protection and preservation of the environment of the city of Yerevan as well as the residents of all of Armenia."

Commenting on the current economic status of Armenia and its prospects, Aganbegyan said: "A consensus on an integrated popular economy has unfortunately not materialized in our republic. Many of us have the mistaken impression that Armenia has a full consensus on an totally popular economy. That is incorrect. If such a consensus did exist, it did by the standards of yesterday and was oriented toward solving yesterday's problems. That consensus was for an integrated economy spread across the Union with its corresponding ties and interdependencies. Today, the nature of those needs and interdependencies has changed fundamentally. Naturally, we must be able to determine the future directions of our development and the specializations of our economy. We must decide how our economy can become more harmonious and self-sufficient and what our economic ties must be with union republics and foreign

countries under those conditions. Therefore, the entire mechanism of economic relations must change. In my opinion, the most acceptable solution for Armenia today is the so-called 'open-door' policy, regardless of the fact that that brings its own difficulties with it. That is normal. The implementation of the open-door policy is complex just as the implementation of democratic rule is more complex and requires more agile mechanisms of government. Consequently, we must prepare all the components of such a system."

The commission Aganbegyan heads includes prominent figures such as Academician Yuri Osipyan, an adviser to the president of the Soviet Union; Stepan Sitaryan, deputy prime minister of the Soviet Union; and economist S. Shatalin.

**Refugee Problem in ArSSR Detailed**

46050020D Istanbul JAMANAK  
in Armenian 17 Apr 90 p 1

[Text] Yerevan—According to the officials of Soviet Armenian state commission for the resettlement of refugees, the 234,000 refugees in the republic have created a critical situation across Armenia and have particularly complicated the condition of Yerevan.

According to these sources more than 100,000 employable refugees are without work, and the 50,000 refugees wishing to settle in already crowded Yerevan have thrown the Armenian capital into crisis.

Henrik Azatyan, the president of the said commission told a representative of the Information Office of the Armenian General Benevolent Union: "These people do not need clothing or food. They need work." A substantial portion of the refugees still do not have any permanent housing and are staying in hotels and resorts. For example, more than 160 refugees are staying in the Youth Palace in Yerevan, and it is not clear how long they will stay there.

According to Azatyan, the refugees receive assistance from the government but the aid provided is far from satisfying their needs.

The president of the refugee commission further stated that the refugees must be encouraged to settle in Artsakh. Currently there are 170,000 Armenians in Artsakh.

Azatyan said: "We must raise that number to a quarter of a million." He added that many refugees have already expressed their desire to move to Artsakh.

**Armenians Arrested for Firing on Azeris**

46050019A Paris GAMK in Armenian 6 Apr 90 pp 1, 4

[Article by M. Ishkhanian: "We Have No Right Even To Doze"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The Soviet authorities and their military representative in Baku, an obscure general

known as Anatoli Kapliev, are engaged in acts of supreme political immorality.

The general has declared (perhaps we must get used to this new conspiracy) that "a coordinated security force has been formed to defend the border regions of Azerbaijan against attacks by Armenian extremists."

According to the general, 35 Armenians have been arrested and will be tried on charges of opening fire on Azeri territory. The general also declared, without further explanation, that 2,000 troops affiliated with the special detachments of the Soviet Ministry of the Interior will be dispatched to Armenia.

We would like to remind the reader that this is third commander of Baku since the declaration of a state of emergency 2 months ago.

There is also a small correction: Forty, not 35, men were arrested and taken to Kazakh. They were arrested while they were doing sentry duty.

The meaning of these declarations is obvious: The Soviet authorities want to weaken the self-defense capability of the Armenian people and to use our small homeland as a bait for Turkish-Azeri appetites.

Modern-day Armenian fedayeen who are defending the border regions of the Motherland having put aside their work and families, are portrayed as assailants, and the Turkish marauding bands are portrayed as people acting in self-defense. With this "reasoning" the additional 2,000 troops that will be sent will have every reason to disarm our fedayeen who are poorly armed compared to the bandits of the other side.

This is not all.

The military commander of Baku also spoke about "calls" made in the city he governs. He said that calls have been made "to resort to armed resistance against Armenian fighters."

These calls are not new. Azerbaijan has declared war against Armenia, but for some strange reason the 2,000 troops will be sent to Armenia and not Azerbaijan. How can we not remember Arkady Khukasyan's words: "It is time to open your eyes."

The Armenian nation has no choice but to continue its self-defense struggle to resist Turkish-Soviet intrigues. This is mandated by ancient history and the recent past.

We have no right to sleep, even to doze, in this immoral world.

### **Plan for Joint Commemoration of 'Genocide' Proposed**

*46050017A Paris GAMK in Armenian 22 Mar 90 p 3*

[Text] Yerevan—The [Soviet Armenian] Committee for Cultural Ties with the Diaspora Armenians has sent a

telegram to the administrative bodies of the three principal cultural associations in the Diaspora, namely the Hamazkayin [Pannational] [Dashnak-affiliated], Nor Serunt [Hunchak-affiliated] and Tekeyan [Ramgavar-affiliated] cultural associations, proposing a draft plan on "Joint Activities by the Committee for Cultural Ties with the Diaspora Armenians and the Diaspora Cultural Associations Dedicated to the 75th Anniversary of the Great Genocide."

The Committee states in the introductory segment of the telegram: "Pursuant to the agreements reached at the expanded meeting of the Presidium of Committee with the participation of delegations from cultural associations of the Diaspora on 8 through 12 December 1989, we present below our plan for joint measures for the commemoration of the 75 anniversary of the Great Genocide."

The plan proposed by the Committee incorporates the following measures:

"1. To commemorate the Genocide through joint efforts by all the associations and organizations of the Diaspora and in a united manner; to consider as essential assistance from representatives of Armenia's intelligentsia and scholars to deliver lectures on the Diaspora and the Genocide, to make public appearances and to participate in panel discussions.

"2. To publish in Diaspora newspapers and journals, the weekly HAYRENIKI DZAYN and the journal VERADZNVADZ HAYASTAN [Reborn Armenia], permanent columns for articles on issues related to the Genocide and to publish periodically writings by Soviet Armenian and Diaspora historians and scholars and foreign public and political figures.

"3. To expand the quantity of Genocide-related material sent by the press office of the Committee to Diaspora periodicals and, in particular, to ensure the dissemination of historic documents, scholarly materials and photographs in the Diaspora.

"4. To send to the Diaspora printed material, photographs and videotapes which detail the tragedy of the Armenian inhabitants of Sumgait, Baku and other Armenian-inhabited parts of Azerbaijan; to organize their dissemination and exhibition in Diaspora centers.

"5. To prepare jointly with the ArSSR State Museum of History and to send to the Diaspora the photographic collections entitled '75th Anniversary of the Genocide,' 'Artsakh' and 'Andranik.'

"6. To secure the participation of Diaspora scholars and public figures in the annual joint scientific meeting of the Armenian Academy of Sciences, the State University [of Yerevan] and the Institute of History, dedicated to the Armenian Genocide and to be held in Yerevan in the second half of April, as well as the general assembly of the Armenian Academy of Sciences.

"7. To hold with the Diaspora representatives in April a joint conference in Yerevan dedicated to the 75th anniversary of the genocide of Armenians in Ottoman Turkey.

"8. To organize a meeting of Soviet Armenian and Diaspora scholars and representatives of centers and publishing directors of Armenian studies in Yerevan in June, to discuss cooperation and joint publications on issues related to the Genocide and the publication of Armenian studies in foreign languages."

At the end of the telegram the Committee asks the administrations of the three Diaspora cultural associations to "communicate their observations and suggestions with regard to these proposals as soon as possible and to outline their plans on hosting lecturers from Armenia and obtaining photographic collections or other materials."

### **Strong Central Government, Self-Defense Ability Urged**

*46050017E Paris GAMK in Armenian 17-22 Mar 90*

[Interview in four installments with Professor Andranik Mihryanian, member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, by Apo Boghikian, editor-in-chief of Los Angeles ASBAREZ; date and place not specified]

[17-18 Mar 90 p 2]

[Excerpt] [GAMK] First I would like you to tell us about yourself. Where were you born? What education did you receive? What is your specialty? What work do you do?

[Mihryanian] I was born in Yerevan. My parents were victims of the Genocide. They were refugees—my father from Mus and my mother from Kars. They escaped to Russia and returned to Armenia in the 1930's to settle there. They are now deceased. But they had a large family. Five of the eight brothers and sisters are still alive. The rest of my family lives in Yerevan. Only I live in Moscow. I graduated from middle school in Yerevan. In 1967 I began studying at the Institute of International Relations in Moscow. I specialized in the ideological and political problems of the United States. I defended my thesis at the Institute of International Labor Movement of the Academy of Sciences in Moscow. Later, I taught at several institutes in Moscow. In the last 10 years I have been working in various institutes of the Academy of Sciences. At the beginning I was working on political problems and the theory of democracy in the United States and other issues related to the United States and other Western nations at the Institute of World Economy and Relations. During these years of restructuring, I changed my work and moved over to the Institute of International Socialist Economy, because this institute is closely related to the changes taking place in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Our institute is, in effect, considered the institute of restructuring because this is where the principal theoreticians of that movement have worked or are working. These

theoreticians include academician Bogomilov; prominent economist Nikolay Shmilyov; Otto Latsis, who is the first deputy editor of KOMUNIST, the monthly organ of the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] Central Committee; Lisichki, who is a member of the Soviet parliament; and our compatriot Yevgeni Ambartsumov who is one of our most prominent political scientists. [passage omitted]

[19-20 Mar 90 p 2]

[Excerpts] [GAMK] There is a certain impression that the Communist Party in Armenia has a stronger popular base [than communist parties in other republics] for historical reasons—that is, the Communist Party is more accepted by the people because of their fear of Turkey or pan-Turkism. What do you think about this issue?

[Mihryanian] [Passage omitted] Today the people do not care what you call yourself as long as you are able to serve the interests of the people. The Armenian Communist Party has been so badly discredited by its own representatives that there is a perception that local secretaries have not only failed to serve the lofty ideas they preached through the press and television, but have pursued their own personal interests. The people have seen this. The leadership of the party wants to change this popular perception, but that would be very difficult. In this sense, the unofficial popular movements have an advantage over the party institutions. On the other hand, in view of the republic's critical condition, we cannot afford to tear down the existing political structures and to create new ones which require greater sacrifices and hardships. An example is the situation that has been created in Azerbaijan where the national front is not so interested in Armenians or others as it is in seizing power. In our present difficult circumstances, common sense dictates that it is preferable to have collaboration and harmony over important issues, if the leaders of the Communist Party can play a responsible role with regard to the challenges coming from outside and the demands coming from inside.

[GAMK] Between the Armenian Pannational Movement [APM] and the Soviet Armenian government?

[Mihryanian] Yes. Because I do not see significant differences between these two sides over strategic issues and because the ideological element is progressively fading away not only in the Armenian Communist Party but also the central Communist Party while concepts which have no relation to communism—such as market economics, multiparty parliaments and presidential systems—are becoming increasingly dominant in the party. That creates better opportunities for the Communist Party to overcome contemporary problems on postideological grounds. It also makes it possible not to fragment the national movements in these critical and fateful circumstances and to generate cooperation between different forces.

[GAMK] How will a multiparty system be created in Armenia? Are there any prospects for holding the May 20 elections within a multiparty framework?

[Mihrianyan] Those elections will not be multiparty elections either at the republic or at the local levels because the law does not exist yet. Elections are already being held, and more will be held in the coming days. There are no laws even with regard to social organizations. I think that the present situation allows the Armenian national movement and all other movements to field their candidates. The law does not prohibit that. The law allows the fielding of such candidates through the local population, factories and other institutions. Party affiliation does not carry much significance at this point in time. What is important is the candidates' views and platforms. A party is not created by fiat. Intrinsic social interests are required to create a party. Today, there is only one interest in all the republics of the Soviet Union that is creating all the national organizations. We can say that the isolated APM represents that interest. The same is also true in Latvia, Lithuania and other republics. When real social divisions begin to become evident these fronts will begin to fragment. When such currents begin to emerge in the society, different parties will be created.

[GAMK] We said that the APM is far removed, structurally and ideologically, from expressing the general interests of the Armenian people in an organized manner. We would like to hear a qualitative assessment of what the APM represents outside the Communist Party. Where are its roots? Where does it come from and where is it going?

[Mihrianyan] The transition period has its interesting norms. It is not a coincidence that communist candidates won 97 percent of the seats in the [USSR] Supreme Soviet in free elections. The reason is that every intelligent, educated and active person who wanted to get ahead had to be a party member, because the local party committee's approval was needed for any position. It is interesting that those who were called "dissidents" in the old days are now Communist Party members in the parliament. Therefore, there were people who resented the reality but who were not prepared to offer new ideas. As it happens, such people gain great popularity at times of disintegration and crisis and become the leaders of popular movements by exploiting nationalist ideas. I may be wrong, but I think that, unfortunately, neither the Armenian Communist Party nor Armenia's state organizations nor the APM have been able to formulate a national ideology which could have been formulated by the large number of intellectuals and educated cadres and which would be acceptable to Armenians in Armenia as well as the Diaspora. But that must happen and it must be acceptable to the people. The party cadres disqualified themselves as the defenders of national interests by following Moscow's lead and by parroting its preachings. Although they have very good cadres and very well educated people, they served other goals with their structure. The national movements, on the other

hand, being opposition movements, have not yet formulated a national program or a national idea. I think that the situation is critical in this sense because the people cannot remain in a state of crisis and confrontation forever. That cannot be a long-term strategic goal. It is very important to have a definite plan in this time of crisis. The Armenians of Armenia, indeed the entire Armenian nation, must examine and resolve this situation together and find their identity as the Russians and other nationalities are doing. [passage omitted]

[21 Mar 90 p 2]

[Excerpts] [GAMK] If we had such a national plan how would it manifest itself in the pursuit of the Artsakh problem? In other words, what is your assessment of the Artsakh struggle of the last 2 years and where do you think it will lead?

[Mihrianyan] I think that the Armenian Communist Party took an erroneous posture at the beginning. The former reactionary leadership could not comprehend national interests and did not dare to defend those interests openly.

The national movement took a very correct posture on this issue at that time. The Artsakh movement could not have lasted this long without massive moral and material assistance from the [Armenian] republic. The national movement has maintained its correct position to this day. Delightfully, the Communist Party underwent dramatic changes over the past year and began taking an increasingly confident posture on this issue. In fact, its posture differs very little from that of the national movement. In my opinion, on this issue we have a consensus by all political parties and national movements and currents to defend the independence of Artsakh to the very end. Obviously it would be preferable if the issue of unification were brought up and resolved immediately. At worst, it can be demanded that Karabakh be brought out of Azeri jurisdiction and put under the control of the central government. I think that this is a correct posture, even though it is a position of compromise. Perhaps this is the biggest compromise Armenia can make. But that must be explained so that harmony can be achieved on this issue, so that the issue can be put before Moscow and so that Moscow can accept and defend this compromise. Otherwise, Artsakh has declared itself free of Azerbaijan. In that case, unfortunately there remains only one solution: Artsakh must defend itself and its independence as far as its strength permits. There is no other solution in the present circumstances. [passage omitted]

[GAMK] To what extent does the correlation of forces between Armenia and Azerbaijan over the Artsakh issue influence Moscow not to resolve that issue in accordance with this Constitution? Why does it not at least endorse the compromise solution? Why does it make that solution more difficult?

[Mihrianyan] There are two or even three answers to that question. The first reason—which I think is the fundamental one and I have written about this—is that regimes such those that existed at the time the Karabakh movement started are not disposed to resolve any problem which they have not created. They are faced with a problem that was created early on. The first reaction of such regimes is to preserve the status quo. By preserving the status quo, they created a critical situation in which Gorbachev and the central administration appeared to be supporting Azerbaijan at the beginning. This was nothing more than a desire not to change anything. We must remember that when restructuring began they did not envisage that national issues would become so predominant and take priority over other social issues. Clearly these problems must be solved. Democracy first creates the national idea and national interests and then all the other new interests.

The second concern was that if they permitted this issue to run its course, scores of other similar problems in the Union would be raised. This, too, was a strategic mistake. On the one hand they want to restructure and infuse dynamism into the society, while on the other hand they think that these movements can be frozen by telling them: "Wait until we solve the other problems; then we will get back to you." This organism is such that you cannot stop it. Consequently, there may be 18, 50 or even 100 problems. The truth is that they did not resolve this problem out of the fear that it could create many other problems (according to the central government), but other problems arose anyway. As a result, the central government found itself in a very foolish position. This problem was not solved while the other problems, bloodshed, fighting and killings spread across the country, and no mechanism was developed to solve such problems. It can be said that if they were able to solve this problem at that time, that solution would be a mechanism for them to resolve the problems in Uzbekistan, Georgia and other places. The basic mistake that was committed on this issue was the lack of principles. When they say, "you are right, but..." that is an unprincipled policy which brings with it vacillations and creates mistrust toward government organizations and in effect strips them of any authority—which is what happened. At the beginning Armenia, Azerbaijan and Karabakh appealed to the central authorities considering them as a power, authority and means of bringing about justice and a solution. But they stopped doing that later on. This happened not just in this region. All the Baltic republics also stopped paying any attention to the central authorities because the central government failed to formulate the principles on which it should stand—by even using force if necessary and saying that this is how the problem should be resolved. In effect, they avoided solving the problems, and that contributed to the aggravation of the crisis and bloodshed.

[GAMK] What measures will the Soviet Union take in the coming days to preserve its unity?

[Mihrianyan] I have written much about this issue in the press. I think that in the present circumstances if the central government does not use force it has no means of maintaining the Union as an integral entity and creating a truly federative state. That must be the only solution, because over the past year we saw that whenever the central government makes a decision, republican authorities defy that decision. [passage omitted]

[22 Mar 90 p 2]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [GAMK] There is a widely held view in at least some Armenian circles that the situation of 1917 can recur, that there may be a power vacuum in the Caucasus and that Armenia may be left alone if the Russian forces withdraw from the region. Is such a situation probable in your opinion, and if so, how can such a situation be overcome?

[Mihrianyan] The truth is that that possibility exists—that is a power vacuum may be created in Russia. That is why, I have exposed myself to the attacks of left-wing liberals and said that if I were given a choice between chaos and stagnation I would choose stagnation over chaos which can cause enormous human losses with incalculable and unpredictable consequences. That is why my position has been that the central government must be strengthened as much as possible in this period of transition.

It would be the same if this country collapses completely in this manner. Russia is great power and it must have its national geopolitical interests. It cannot be expected to cut itself off the rest of the world and pursue an isolationist policy. This is true of the United States and other great powers. In Brussels, where I went at the invitation of TIME magazine, Dominique Moisie said that the world has not yet seen a nuclear empire that has collapsed. At this time great powers cannot predict what will happen or in whose hands such weapons may fall. Until these powers come to their senses and decide what they will do, Armenian people in both Armenia and the Diaspora must understand that they must have the means to defend themselves for some time. Perhaps this may never happen, but even if there is a 1 percent chance that it may happen, we must be prepared for it. After all this is not the time when the mob attacks with picks and axes or even rifles and machine guns. Our recent experience has shown—the incidents of Sumgait and Baku—that in this time of moral degradation hundreds of thousand of people may be exterminated if precautions are not taken and an organized self-defense effort is not made. This must be a fundamental principle and must be understood in the republic, in Moscow and everywhere—that a small nation cannot afford the luxury of relying on others for its defense in this type of circumstances.

Of course we like the Russian people very much, we respect the central government, and we like the other civilized nations—the United States, France and others—but the political realities dictate that, as the Russian

proverb says, the salvation of the man who falls into the water is in his own hands—at least for a while, until the great powers can intervene.

### Rapprochement Process With Turkey Detailed

#### 'Extreme Caution' by Turkey

46050019C Istanbul MARMARA  
in Armenian 20 Mar 90 pp 1, 4

[Text] Today's edition of CUMHURIYET chronicles the recent initiative by Ambassador Volkan Vural, the Turkish envoy in Moscow, to visit Armenia and says that Ankara is exhibiting "extreme caution" with regard to similar moves to establish a dialog with Armenians. As is known, Ambassador Vural not only sent two telegrams of condolences to Catholicos Vazken I on the occasion of the death of Patriarch Shnork, but also attended a requiem mass in Moscow. Later, he had breakfast at a hotel with Archbishop Nerses, the representative of the Catholicos; Archbishop Diran, the prelate of the Armenians of Moscow; and two Armenian representatives who had traveled from Turkey to Yerevan. During that breakfast, the Turkish envoy expressed the desire to visit Armenia; Archbishop Nerses welcomed the request and promised to have an invitation issued.

Referring to these developments, CUMHURIYET echoes the interest and opinions of Foreign Ministry circles in Ankara. As a result of this initiative, the following question has been raised: "Are steps being taken to establish a dialog with Armenia?" It is notable that Foreign Ministry circles have taken an "extremely cautious" posture on this issue.

Foreign Ministry circles interpreted the said moves by Ambassador Vural as "an expression of respect because Patriarch Kalustian was a Turkish citizen." These circles said that "they would not be echoing the truth" if they interpret this act as "a quest for a dialog."

However, the same circles could not elucidate Vural's initiative with Armenian clerics. The "reticence" demonstrated by Foreign Ministry circles on this issue raises the question of whether "Vural embarked on this venture purely at his initiative."

The Armenian church has not yet responded to Vural's request "to invite him to Armenia" even though the request was welcomed initially.

Ankara is hesitant to establish direct ties with Armenia which it considers to be part of the Soviet Union. Hidden behind this hesitation is a worry over a proposal by U. S. President Bush that Turkey sit at the negotiating table with the Armenians. Ankara views this proposal by Bush with suspicion thinking that "no one knows what consequences it may have."

Commenting on this issue an official stated:

"Soviet Armenian officials recently made declarations to the effect that the border between Armenia and Turkey

was imposed on them in the past in the circumstances of that time. By this they implied that the border issue must be reviewed. In such circumstances, Ankara would obviously be opening a Pandora's box if it tries to establish direct talks with Armenia."

The same circles noted that some time ago the Soviet Union proposed to Turkey a border trade agreement to which Armenia would be a signatory. Ankara did not exhibit any significant enthusiasm to sign such an agreement.

On the other hand, Ankara found it interesting that Yerevan radio recently broadcast a positive program about the Armenians of Turkey and its mention that Turkey sent aid to Armenia's earthquake victims.

Foreign Ministry officials stated that they have not yet received a transcript of the said broadcast and that they will know what the significance of that broadcast may be after reading the transcript.

#### Yerevan Radio Broadcasts

46050019C Istanbul MARMARA  
in Armenian 21 Mar 90 pp 1, 4

[Text] In today's edition of GUNAYDIN correspondent Yemilhan Simsek reports from Kars in an article entitled "Rapprochement with Armenia":

The thaw that has come about between Turkey and Armenia has had an impact on Yerevan radio which until now has broadcast only anti-Turkish programs. Yerevan radio claimed for the first time that the 1.5 million Armenians killed in 1915 were murdered not by the Ottomans but at the instructions of German generals.

Bloody clashes occurred between Armenia and Azerbaijan in recent months and were stopped only after the Red Army took control of Baku. Since then the two sides have been seeking peaceful solutions.

Representatives of the popular fronts of Armenia and Azerbaijan held talks through mediation by first the Baltic republics and then Georgia. The clashes in Nagorno Karabakh have also stopped. Meanwhile, Turkey has begun sending assistance to Azerbaijan with the consent of the Soviet Union. A delegation headed by Sarkisyan, the president of Armenia's union of commerce chambers, arrived in Ankara and engaged in talks about establishing trade ties between Armenia and Turkey.

At about the same time, news arrived that Patriarch Kalustian of Turkey, who had gone to Armenia by Turkey's consent, has died in an accident. Ambassador Volkan Vural, Turkey's envoy in Moscow, promptly sent a telegram to Yerevan referring to Turkish-Armenian friendship. As a result, the Armenian parliament decided to invite Vural to Armenia.

Meanwhile, for the last 3 days Yerevan radio has been broadcasting programs with an eye to mending relations

with Turkey. The most interesting of these broadcasts was the one aired yesterday which said:

"There are 50,000 Armenians in Turkey. There are many Armenian communities in several countries across the world, but none of the communities is as comfortable and wealthy as the Armenian community in Turkey. Our Armenian kinsmen in the other countries are in a miserable state, while the Armenians of Turkey live in the most beautiful places. They have turned Istanbul into a center of art. The thousands of Armenians who live in Istanbul are the most contented Armenians in the world. The Turkish government has never blocked the material and moral assistance that the Turkish Armenians wanted to offer to their kinsmen in other countries. This was demonstrated after the earthquake in Armenia. The decision for the Armenian genocide was issued by German commanders who were deployed with the Ottoman army. The Turks would not kill our brothers if there were no Germans."

### Prospect of Rapprochement With Turkey Examined

#### Turkish Ambassador Meets Church Officials

46050018B Paris HARATCH  
in Armenian 24-25 Mar 90 p 1

[Text] [Istanbul] HURRIYET columnist E. Ozkok writes in the 20 March edition of his paper that he sees "interesting signs" coming from Armenia to Turkey. He accompanied the Turkish ambassador in Moscow to the requiem ceremony held in the Armenian chapel in Moscow on the occasion of the death of Patriarch Shnork of Turkey. Stating that Ambassador Vural was the most interesting person attending the ceremony, the columnist reports the note of condolences the ambassador sent to Echmiadzin and the "sincere appreciation" of Catholicos Vazken I.

After the requiem ceremonies, a group of nine people gathered around a dinner table: The Turkish ambassador, two Turkish diplomats, two Turkish-Armenians and four Soviet Armenians. The dinner began in a subdued atmosphere. There was a notable effort not to bring up Turkish-Armenian historical issues. The principal topic of discussion was the deceased patriarch.

Then, the Turkish ambassador rose and expressed a desire to visit Yerevan. This desire had been expressed once more in the past but did not receive any response. This time, the representative of the Armenian Church replied: "You would be welcome. We will certainly issue an invitation."

During the same days, a Soviet Armenian journalist phoned the Turkish embassy and asked for an interview. No affirmative response was given to this request. Yerevan's refusal to let in Turkish reporters may have played a role in this denial.

The Turkish columnist also refers to a broadcast by the Yerevan radio service in which reference was made to the "cultural growth of Turkish-Armenians."

Then the columnist writes:

"Turkey has the best relations with Azerbaijan and Georgia in the Caucasus. Its relations with Armenia are overshadowed by certain historical incidents.

"The truth is that Armenia needs the improvement of bilateral relations more than Turkey does. Turkey has no bones to pick with Armenians. It has always been prepared to forget the unfortunate events that have occurred in the past.

"Moreover, Turkey knows that the stability of the Caucasus is in the interests of everyone. The countries of that region are trying to make progress, while Turkey is becoming the region's strongest economic magnet as a result of the progress it has made over the past 10 years.

"A strong Turkish economy can play a leading role for the other countries in the Caucasus.

"It would not be very sensible to reject such a promising outlook because of certain incidents which must remain in the past."

#### Political Factors, Kurdish Issue Seen as Motives

46050018B Paris HARATCH  
in Armenian 24-25 Mar 90 p 1

[Editorial by editor-in-chief Arpi Totoyan: "Turkish Expectations and Questions"]

[Text] Turkish journalist E. Ozkok's article is not so much an identification of certain signals from Armenia but an interpretation of circumstantial evidence as such. This assessment is confirmed by Ozkok himself who, after noting the Armenian cleric's promise of inviting the Turkish ambassador to Yerevan, does not forget to add that no official steps have yet been taken in this direction.

The propensity of the Turkish journalist to see signals from Armenia is also underscored by the fact that he repeatedly states Turkey's desire to forget the unfortunate events of the past.

This desire, which has been expressed on numerous occasions in the past as a step toward improvement of relations, is this time accompanied by an economic perspective.

The page on which this article appeared also carries the summary of a U. S. report on external aid which states for the first time that "the Soviet threat against Turkey has declined."

This latest assessment is fully consistent with the process of relaxation in relations between Turkey and the Soviet Union. In this domain, too, there is an effort to build goodneighborly relations on mainly economic foundations. But is that precedent enough to explain the

Turkish journalist's disposition toward Armenia or are there other factors which may be playing a role? After all, how and to what extent can a country of 3 and 1/2 million people which has just begun to restructure its economy, industry or even agriculture interest Turkey, a nation of 50 million people? Of course, no one can be underestimated in the world of trade, but does such eagerness justify the cost of forgetting a tragic past? In addition, this comes at a time when the flames over the latest show staged by the U. S. Congress with regard to passing an Armenian resolution have just died down and when occasional references are made in Turkey about "Turks exterminated by the Armenians," probably as a preemptive measure against the 75th anniversary of 1915. The same Turkish press has even reported initiatives to erect monuments.

These are facts which are difficult to put together and to evaluate with any confidence because the contradictions are so sharp. In view of this situation, one is led to look for other factors to assess the Turkish journalist's attitude as correctly as possible. Once the dubious and not-so-persuasive economic factor is put aside, one is left only with the political factor.

It is no secret that Turkey is carefully monitoring the developments unfolding in the Caucasus and the unforeseen changes taking place in the Soviet Union. Even the slightest changes in borders, sovereignty and political systems cannot fail to have an impact on Turkey and cannot let it remain indifferent. Today, the entire world knows the potential for all types of change in the Soviet land.

In addition, one cannot ignore as a component in all projections for the future the growing serious Kurdish problem in Turkey's eastern regions which border the Soviet Union. Turkey knows the posture of the Kurdish minority in Armenia with regard to the country which hosts it, its language and its culture. It is also aware how that community assesses and interprets its sufferings and failed treaties at the turn of the century.

Would it be a leap in imagination to place the Kurdish issue next to the economic factor mentioned in the Turkish journalist's unexpected approach? Does not the prospect of a future with many unknowns and numerous possibilities suggest to Turkey to repeat the scenario of the turn of the century?

A scenario which is being restaged and in which Turkey may want to switch some actors?

### **Limits of Diaspora Aid Underscored**

46050017C Paris GAMK  
in *Armenian* 24-25 Mar 90 p 4

[Article by H. Balian: "Chaos in the Roots of National Sentiment"]

[Text] We will try to focus once again on the current state of the relations between the Motherland and the Diaspora—the visits, the assistance, the initiatives and the

ties. The ideas expressed below may be considered extreme, but the basic concern behind them is to have a strong Armenian nation.

Long live liberty! Today hundreds of official, semi-official and unofficial people, intellectuals, teachers, artists and individuals who wish to become artists visit the Diaspora from Armenia. Only a tiny fraction of these visitors are representatives from the disaster-stricken areas. Each visitor comes with his or her proposals and expectations with regard to developing some aspect of Armenia's institutions in the cities and the towns which were not damaged by the earthquake. We are led to believe that the earthquake has become an alibi for requesting assistance from the Diaspora.

One is confused by the large number of proposals and plans. One could not disagree with this statement if one saw all of them. But it must be understood here and there that the Diaspora is not a global power and that it could not rebuild Armenia even if it wanted to. At best, the Diaspora can only contribute to the creation of social, cultural, economic and industrial organizations in the disaster-stricken areas. It is absurd to think that today the Diaspora must think about building a factory in Dilijan as well as creating a computer industry in Yerevan. It is ironic that before the earthquake neither such proposals came from Soviet Armenia nor such aspirations were expressed by the Diaspora. That is why I say that the earthquake has become an alibi and that this not good either for the Motherland or for the Diaspora because there will come a time when the people and the organizations will run out of breath and will leave their place to disillusionment. We say all these so that visitors from the Motherland do not bring different proposals and plans and that they combine them after determining the priorities dictated by conditions and national needs. Even worse, each visitor wishes that the sums to be raised be put at the disposal of the organization to which he belongs. Nowadays, such organizations have multiplied there as well, and there is much confusion. Our public figures in the Motherland wait for invitations to visit the Diaspora. They come, and they try to accomplish great feats through the small—very small—organizations which invite them. Because the earthquake gave birth to numerous new organizations here as well, the diverse solicitations coming from Armenia multiply here in proportion to the number of our large and small associations. People over there should at least sit down, discuss and coordinate their proposals. People here should at least sit down and assess the available means and resources.

Visitors from the Motherland, should first see these realities before coming here and causing mutual pleasure during their visit so that they can help themselves and the Diaspora. They should also see that other reality: Associations and organizations do not all have the same weight, means and influence. One does not need to be a nuclear scientist to realize that the members of some organizations—if they have not been formed to satisfy



the ambitions or vindictiveness of one or a few individuals—can be counted on the fingers of one hand and that the character of these organizations is essentially local.

Our guests from the Motherland are welcome, but if the utilize their most basic common sense they will realize that their hosts are neither necessarily the shining lights of the Diaspora nor have any representative power in the Diaspora even if they are good hosts willing to take them on sightseeing tours.

The Diaspora, too, has its share of blame. During the days immediately after the earthquake it was possible to raise substantial, though not inexhaustible, sums of money thanks to the kind generosity of the Armenians and our friends. Today, relying on those sums we want to rebuild Armenia, and we cultivate and throw around ideas with that motivation. There has been a deviation from original goals; those sums were raised to provide relief to the disaster-stricken areas and to buy food, clothing, medicines, houses and schools. No one donated money to build factories in Dilijan, Erebuni or Nor Hachen, as important as such factories may be. If there will be deviations from the original goals, then we must sit down and inform the people, Armenian and non-Armenian, about this.

Today, visitors from Armenia as well as those who are working here are in effect, knowingly or otherwise, creating a chaos. It is hard to say how we can extricate ourselves from this chaotic situation. But we must at least begin respecting the fundamental goals and draw the limits.

Visitors from the Motherland should not hand out kudos left and right to associations and mini-associations whether to please themselves or us. Indeed, they must do that for the sake of the nation.

Finally, will voices be raised in our Diaspora communities to criticize unwarranted individual initiatives aimed at winning often very small accolades? Such moves have reached the point where passionate dreamers who have only recently discovered their Armenianness scream to have their initiative recorded in the annals of history? If they could write instead of just talk they would spell history with a capital "H." This not a myth.

Can the Armenian nation give birth to a Nazarene who can crack his whip and clear up the Armenian Temple where the people's suffering has been turned into a quest for vanities?

This is neither pessimism nor bitterness. This is deep national concern.

## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

### Al-Natshah Discusses Jewish Immigration, Intifadah

90AE0019A London AL-HAWADITH  
in Arabic 23 Mar 90 pp 38-39

[Interview with Rafiq Shakir al-Natshah, the Ambassador of Palestine to Riyadh in Riyadh; first three paragraphs are AL-HAWADITH introduction; date not specified]

[Text] Rafiq Shakir al-Natshah (Abu-Shakir) left Riyadh for Tunis to assume his new appointment in the Palestine Liberation Movement (FATAH) after spending 12 years in Riyadh as the representative of the PLO and then as the first Palestinian ambassador in Saudi Arabia, until it was decided to transfer him. Abu-Shakir has had visible positions in the Palestine National Congress [PNC] and the central committee of the Fatah movement regarding the peace process. He has also been entrusted with a number of missions to the Soviet Union and has met there with Soviet leaders and held numerous discussions with them.

AL-HAWADITH met with him as he was packing in preparation for travelling to Tunisia. It asked him about Jewish immigration from the Soviet Union and the East European states and its dimensions, as well as about the peace process and other issues. The following conversation took place.

[AL-HAWADITH] What are the dimensions of Jewish immigration and its effects on conditions inside the occupied Palestinian lands?

[Al-Natshah] We cannot treat or talk about this subject without going back to the roots of the Palestinian problem and the Jewish problem. The Palestinian problem would not exist were it not for the existence of two basic elements: The first element is the existence of colonialist states that desire to establish a base for themselves in the heart of the Islamic world from which to attack the Arab and Islamic nation and pilfer its wealth. This element stems from the appearance of national traits in Europe and the policy of European colonialist states to expand eastward. The second element is the presence of an alien element in the region of the Islamic world. This element appeared with the appearance of the Jewish problem, which arose from antisemitism, as it is termed by the Western and Zionist news media. They consider the Jews semitic, and they regard those who wage war against the Jews as waging war against the semites. Historically, Jews have migrated in pursuit of improved economic conditions or to flee from persecution or massacres. All of these factors have combined to create the alien element and the employment of the idea of Zionist expansionism to threaten the Islamic states. Indeed, they have established a settler state that has expansionist ambitions from the Gulf to the sea. Material for the state was found in the Jewish immigrants, who at the time numbered 900,000 Jews

who had arrived in the space of a half century. This entity's malady was diagnosed as a shortage of people. Therefore, the colonialist states, represented by the United States, are currently trying to facilitate the immigration of millions of Jews in the Soviet Union and East Europe and to settle them in occupied Palestine for the sake of the survival of the alien body that they sowed in the heart of the Islamic nation. In light of that, we can understand why the United States is paying the costs of transporting the Falashas [Ethiopian Jews], and why the Israeli authorities were compelled to accept them because they are Jews, although past rabbis refused to accept them as Jews.

Then came international agreement and secret agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States on a new deal which is the most dangerous phenomenon faced by this era. The Palestinian cause is no doubt one of the victims of this agreement. This wave of immigration will be the most dangerous phenomenon to be faced by the Palestinian cause, the Palestinian people, and the Arab people as a whole.

This means that the Israeli aggression states will increase their human, and hence aggressive, capabilities. The Palestinian people will be subjected to overcrowding inside the occupied land, which will lead to their banishment and expulsion from it and the implementation of the "transfer" policy about which there is unrestrained discussion. Many Arab states will pay the cost of this immigration, the first being Jordan. Therefore, the Arab nation, at its different levels, must oppose immigration with diplomatic, economic, and information means. We must start by contacting the Soviets to clarify the dangers of this immigration and to unambiguously make them understand that immigration runs counter to Arab interests in general and threatens the Palestinian entity in particular.

The second point, regarding which the Arab nation must take a firm stand, concerns the American administration. This immigration could not succeed if the American administration were not paying its full costs.

The third important point concerns the Palestinians. They must carry out many military operations inside the occupied Arab lands, so that the new immigrants will understand that they are not coming to a land of peace, but a hellish land, whose residents defend it. They should be made to understand that they will find live volcanoes facing them. We hope that our Soviet friends will adjust to this miscarriage by at least not compelling these immigrants to travel directly from the Soviet Union to occupied Palestine, and by allowing them an opportunity, as they did in the past, to find a safe place, other than Palestine, where they can improve their living conditions, because they will not achieve the goal of their immigration if they choose Palestine. They will never be safe from the jihad of the Palestinian people and the continuing struggle that will not stop regardless of whether immigration succeeds. These immigrants must

understand that they are not coming to the place for which they had hoped, the land of milk and honey, etc.

[AL-HAWADITH] Some view the changes in East Europe as favoring Israel completely. Do you support such a view, and why?

[Al-Natshah] Perestroyka has numerous results. I cannot say that all of the results are in Israel's favor. However, neither can I deny that world Zionism and the United States have benefited from the new Soviet policy. The question posed to the Arab world is: When will we benefit from this Perestroyka, inasmuch as we, as an Arab nation, possess investment and economic means, international importance, a strategic position, and the enormous capabilities of our Muslim brothers in the Soviet Union.

Perestroyka has also opened horizons to Muslims in general. With our range of abilities, planning, intelligence, and energy, we will be able to thwart the victories of Zionism there. As long as the opening is directed toward everyone, why should we, not just Zionism, not benefit from these changes, albeit at lower levels. As for the PLO, it is required to act before others. It has indeed begun to move in this direction, and we are awaiting the results.

[AL-HAWADITH] Are there announced figures regarding the costs of the Soviet immigration?

[Al-Natshah] The official figures have not been specified. However, initial details indicate a figure that is somewhere between \$1 billion to \$2 billion. The provision of \$500 million by the American Government has been announced. This, I believe, is a decisive indication that America is willing to finance all immigration activities, even if there are half a million immigrants in the first phase.

[AL-HAWADITH] Do you expect Israel to induce the mass immigration of Palestinian citizens from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in the near future?

[Al-Natshah] This is a natural thing that is studied along with the plans for immigration from the Soviet Union and the East European states. We learn from nature and the realm of politics that two bodies cannot live in one space. The Palestinian territory is not large enough to accommodate more than one people. When these immigrants arrive in the occupied land, they will naturally supplant the Arab citizens. Hence, we cannot discuss this topic outside the context of Israeli plans, which are supported by an America that believes that the solution to the Palestinian problem lies in east Jordan and the establishment of an alternative homeland for the Palestinians there.

Therefore, in the near future, they will expel the Palestinians from their land and uproot them to east Jordan according to the "transfer" theory that has been declared by Israeli authorities. There is a complement to this conspiracy, which is the process of military aggression

against the Jordanian Hashemite Kingdom and their attempt to occupy parts of it to cause a fundamental change in the existence of this dear, independent country. All of these matters are closely connected. If we do not confront them with uprightness and seriousness, this nation will record many tragedies that surpass the tragedies of the past.

[AL-HAWADITH] Do you believe that this immigration has exploded the peace plans that were proposed at the PNC [Palestine National Council] meeting in Algiers?

[Al-Natshah] I am amazed, and moreover baffled, by that statement, which indicates that there are existing peace settlement plans. I ask where these plans are. They are headlines in the press only. In reality, there are no plans. There are illusions of plans and initiatives. The Arabs and the Palestinians should understand that America does not want peace and that Israel is an expansionist, aggressive state that is calling for a greater Israel. Nonetheless, some still race after illusions of peace and the mirage of solutions. This is deceit within deceit. The truth is that there are no peace plans. We are offered only great lies. One proposal calls for allowing the Palestinians their land and a state for Israeli settlers and Jewish immigrants coming from the Soviet Union and elsewhere. This is a proposal. As for the elections being proposed by Shamir to the citizens living temporarily in Judea and Samaria under Israeli sovereignty and on Israeli territory, it is a kind of discharge of combative stench currently prevalent in the courageous intifadah [uprising].

What kind of peace plans are these? What is this deception by which the Palestinian people is being duped? What is this mirage that some are racing after? What is this anesthesia with which they are trying to anesthetize us with? God, the sublime, is my witness. There is no peace plan for giving the Palestinian people a single street or village in Palestine.

[AL-HAWADITH] What about the Baker peace plan?

[Al-Natshah] The Baker peace plan is no more than a nice formulation of the Shamir plan. I ask you, is there one word in the Baker plan about the rights of the Palestinian people? Is there one word about a Palestinian homeland? Is there one word about the Palestinian people? Therefore, I state confidently that only illusions of peace exist. It is not that we do not want peace, we just cannot find peace. Nor is it that we want war. It is just nothing lies before us except fighting, struggle, and combat.

Those who avert their eyes from these facts find a pretext in the initiatives and solutions to justify not mobilizing the Arab people, especially the Palestinian people to confront this colonialist attack. Whoever has a way other than struggle and combat should present his view to us.

[AL-HAWADITH] If the matter is as such, why did the unified uprising command issue orders not to use firearms?

[Al-Natshah] The intifadah does not employ firearms for two reasons. The first is that it does not have sufficient weapons with which it can fight inside Palestinian territory. The second reason is that the intifadah is fulfilling its objectives through mass, popular fighting. However, outside of the borders of the intifadah, and beyond the mass phenomenon, nothing is preventing the use of armed struggle and the striking of Israeli military targets. I am among those who maintain that fire arms should not be used in the intifadah. However, when there is an Arab land neighboring Palestine, through which the Arab, Palestinian leadership can provide the Palestinian people with military capabilities, the employment of weapons will be natural.

[AL-HAWADITH] Why have the commando operations ceased?

[Al-Natshah] That question should be directed to the Palestinian military command.

[AL-HAWADITH] Do you condemn the Israeli "bus" incident?

[Al-Natshah] Every day, I condemn the daily criminality that is breaking the arms of our children. I condemn the Nazi criminality that is burning our children in the furnaces of Hell. I condemn these barbaric practices by which tens of thousands of our youths and women are thrown into prisons. I condemn the use of poisonous gases against pregnant women and the throwing of bombs at peaceful families in their homes, where the splinters of their bodies are strewn here and there. I condemn this daily Israeli terrorism organized against peaceful persons, which attacks their fatherland and their history. When Israel refrains from this terrorism... What happened in Egypt and what will happen elsewhere is a natural reaction to this daily, organized terrorism practiced by the official and popular Israeli authorities against the Palestinian people in the interior and abroad.

As for the PLO's position on the "bus" incident, it was announced by the leadership in an official communique that condemned the incident and described it as barbaric. I adhere to what the PLO leadership issued regarding this topic.

[AL-HAWADITH] Are you reexamining the peace option?

[Al-Natshah] The peace option is still proposed and will continue so. The PNC initiated it. I completely reject any interpretations, statements, and deviational lectures that remove the PNC's initiative from its original line of calling for an independent Palestinian state on Palestinian land with its capital in Jerusalem and the return of the refugees to their country. We support this initiative based on an international conference. However, I am opposed to any concessions offered outside the framework of the PNC initiative, because no one, not even the PLO leadership, has the right to go outside PNC resolutions.

[AL-HAWADITH] You are leaving your post for another position. How do you view Saudi support for the intifadah or the Palestinian cause internationally and in the Arab world over the years that you have spent in the kingdom?

[Al-Natshah] God, the sublime, and history bear witness to the fact that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has not delayed for one day in completely and unreservedly supporting the Palestinian cause and taking care of the Palestinian people inside the kingdom. It sanctions all Palestinian activities at all levels. We have participated in these activities, conferences, and the camps that we have established in the different districts of the kingdom under the auspices of the amirs. I set great store by the large mass Saudi-Palestinian rallies. Also, Saudi support has not for a single moment stopped backing the intifadah and fulfilling the commitment made by the kingdom to it at the Arab summit. We consider the kingdom to be in the vanguard of states that have met their financial commitments to it. On the internal level, we are still receiving contributions, which now total more than 90 million riyals. The intifadah support allocations, which total \$6.02 million per month, are still continuing. By the consensus of the Palestinian leadership and organizations, Saudi Arabia is considered to be in the forefront of states that have supported the Palestinian struggle since the Palestinian problem began. They have received complete support and backing from the founder of this modern state, King 'Abd-al-'Aziz Al Sa'ud. It suffices to say that Saudi Arabia, since 1979, has provided more than \$1 million in aid to the PLO and has paid \$850 million of the total of its original support for Syria, Jordan, and the PLO, which was agreed to at the Baghdad Arab summit in 1979. The kingdom has also provided \$72.24 million dollars to support the intifadah, which began in December 1988.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my great appreciation to the custodian of the two holy sites, King Fahd Ibn-'Abd-al-'Aziz, the general chairman of the Popular Committees in Support the Intifadah. I would also like to express my deep love, appreciation, and thanks to the great Saudi people, which has helped and still is helping to effectively support the intifadah and the people in occupied Palestine.

## ALGERIA

### New Regulations Governing Worker Representation Discussed

90AA0097A Algiers ALGERIE-ACTUALITE  
in French 4 Apr 90 p 5

[Article by Malika Abdelaziz and Latifa Madan: "The New Deal"; first two paragraphs are editor's lead]

[Text] The SGT [General Workers Statute] and GSE [Socialist Management of Businesses] are finished. The law, an expression of the facts, decides and overtakes

them. The state as legislator sets up the new legal and social instruments needed for operation of the "autonomous" enterprise.

In the enterprise, whatever the nature of its capital (public or private), work relations will henceforth be governed by negotiation between social partners. Administered by the employer and management in a contractual relationship with the employee, work relations are conceived and organized based on double logic: economy and autonomy of the interplay of forces involved. The workers' capacity to organize and protect themselves is more than ever a stake. It is a key factor.

The state-employer has gone out of business. Passage of the law on work relations has put an end to the SGT's planned economy attempt to uniformly manage wages, indemnification, and the rights and obligations of hundreds of thousands of workers in industry, agriculture, and services.

According to the new law, areas reserved for the state have been reduced to a minimum: the administration, security, and so on. And yet, the government's determination to run everything remains present in the new texts, whether it be a matter of preliminary conditions for exercising the right to strike or participatory committees. Concerning the latter, the particulars of the law set forth the operating conditions or the prerogative to dissolve trade union organizations that the draft law on exercising trade union rights plans to grant to the "proper jurisdictions vested by the public authority in question or any other interested party" (Article 30).

The state as regulator emerges in this draft law, which outlines new working relations. It guarantees a minimum wage (SNMG) that will combine: "the average national productivity recorded, the consumer price index, and the general economic situation." Its establishment is no longer unilateral, but will come following "consultation with the most representative trade union associations of workers and employers." It is still the state that guarantees maintenance of standards and benefits acquired: the legal length of work shifts, injury, fines, protection of minors, women's work, and so on. It is also present in the rehabilitation of the role of work inspections or provisions providing for modification of the initial work contract when "the law, regulations, collective agreements or accords set forth rules more favorable to workers."

As fragile support for the need for the required financial profitability of businesses, the government establishes the preservation of jobs as an important objective. It authorizes dismissal for economic reasons, while specifying that it is the final resort after measures have been taken that "could reduce the number of dismissals," reduction in work schedules, part-time work, retirement, and the transfer of personnel to new activities or other businesses.

Reducing the number of employees is no longer subject to previous administrative authorization. It can be worked out between "social partners," employers and workers' representatives.

The area relinquished by the government is obviously full. The "boss," the public and private employer, remains and grows stronger. A new category even emerges: the "collective employer," organizations, trade unions of employers enjoying a broad field of intervention.

Confronting one another, employers and worker representatives will negotiate something that is a great innovation: a contract, a collective agreement. Here, the oneness of the management decision suffers from none of the ambiguities which management once blamed on the GSE. There will be but one master on board, the law on working relations guarantees it. But will he be the manager required by new methods of managing the economy and the business?

The fact is that even the notion of work and remuneration has been completely transformed by the bill passed by the APN [National People's Assembly] on 25 March. In principle at least, one goes from an administrative to an economic distribution of wages: "According to this law, 'wage' is to be interpreted to mean the base salary as it emerges from the professional classification of the employer; compensation paid based on the worker's seniority, overtime worked, or special working conditions (shift, injury, obligations); bonuses based on productivity and results." There is an attempt to break egalitarianism and establish the principle of equality: "Every employer is required to provide for work of equal value equal pay to workers with no discrimination." Finally, there is an attempt to introduce a certain flexibility into employment, giving a small boost to notions previously suggested only timidly: contracts having limited terms, part-time work, the possibility of reducing or increasing the legal work shift for jobs subject to particular limitations.

The place of the workers has the advantage of clarity, first of all in the work relationship. The authority of the hierarchy is reaffirmed. By-laws become a legal obligation.

By-laws take over the administration of discipline and punishment that the GSE entrusted to statutory commissions. Drafted by the employer, they are submitted "to participatory organs for their opinion before implementation."

Participation as codified by this new law introduces separation between trade union organs and the participatory organ. A participatory committee is set up based on double representation. Work places, the former GSE units, name "employee representatives." Organized at the enterprise level, they form the "participatory committee." Their rights? Information on the different aspects of business activity, follow-up on provisions regarding employment, health and safety, social security,

direct or indirect management of social projects. For the rest, involving the organization of work and planning, its opinion is required, but nothing more. Equal representation commissions made up of elected trade union officers and employers negotiate collective agreements. Their content is spelled out: "employment and working conditions." For pedagogical purposes, according to the governmental preamble to the law, Article 114 lists the points submitted for negotiation in detail.

They range from professional classification to the term of the agreement and include the basic minimum wage, conciliation procedures in case of disputes, the exercise of trade union rights. In all cases, once signed, the agreement remains in effect for at least a year.

All of this applies to businesses with minimum personnel, which the APN has reduced from 50 to 20, and all legal sectors of activity, both public and private. The result in practice is weak protection for workers employed by PME [small and medium-size], businesses essentially situated in the private sector. This is where one generally finds women and young persons under the age of 16, according to the law!

Severe punishment awaits those who fail to respect the mechanisms described and instituted by law. Penalties that are not deterrents (they are actually light) are provided for those who violate rights and protections provided for workers. In other words, the law pays more attention to institutional mechanisms that link the work force to government than the very protection of that work force!

Another logic therefore comes into play. It releases the interplay of ratios of strength and consequently makes representation and trade union activity the main instrument of defense of the workers' material and moral interests. The state as a protective shield no longer exists and in its wake is Article 3 of Law 88 128 making the UGTA [General Union of Algerian Workers] a precious collaborator: "The role of the UGTA is to organize and mobilize all workers around development tasks and ensure continuing improvement in their social, cultural, and political standing as well as their technical and scientific qualifications so as to make them capable of assuming the tasks of building socialism conscientiously and competently."

According to the constitution of 23 February 1989, the new trade union bill breaks the trade union monopoly of the UGTA. The right to found "trade union organizations or freely and voluntarily join existing trade union organizations" is taken over by the draft text. Recognition of the trade union is based on its representative nature: "Under a single employer, trade union organizations of workers will be considered representative if they group at least 20 percent of the entire number of workers...and/or have at least 20-percent representation on a participatory committee." This same value governs the rank-and-file component and groupings (unions, federations, confederations)

because a new notion is introduced: proportional representation. The trade unions' field of action is expanded: "They participate in the negotiation of collective agreements and accords; they participate in the prevention and settlement of work disputes; they are consulted on the evaluation and enrichment of legislation and work regulation, are represented on boards of directors of social security organizations, the equal representation council of the government, the national arbitration commission," and so on. In contrast and compared with the law of 1988, the number of elected officials is more limited and time off reduced to 10 (paid) hours a month. Detachments are totally excluded and the trade union headquarters is a right only if the "representative trade union organization has over 150 members."

Originally scheduled for this special session of the National Assembly, the vote on the bill concerning "conditions for exercising the trade union right" has been postponed until May.

Sources close to the Executive Branch explain this postponement by the extremely heavy agenda of APN committees. Consequently, there is reportedly no connection between this decision and the demonstration organized by the UGTA at the Assembly plaza. Nevertheless, for the second time the trade union machine demonstrated as soon as it was a matter of expressing in law the constitutional principle of trade union freedom, of which pluralism is one possible form. It is up to the workers to decide, as the bill recognizes.

But moving from talking into action is checked by bureaucratic resistance and an amalgam maintained by the concern for union, unity of the great majority of the workers, and the demand for "trade union unity," synonym for the monopoly heretofore exercised by structures and individuals in the name of the UGTA. Passage of the law on work relations brings workers' representatives, participatory committees, and processes of negotiating collective agreements into the game. It remains to be seen whether the workers will entrust these roles, responsibilities, and tasks to those at the local, sectorial, branch, and national levels who now speak in their behalf.

## EGYPT

### AL-WAFD Investigates Public Anger Over Gas Prices

90AA0143A Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 8 May 90 p 3

[Article by Ahmad Kamal-al-Din: "Egyptian Scene in Wake of Increased Benzine Prices; Taxicabs Without Passengers at Ahmad Hilmi, al-'Atabah, and Bab al-Luq Car Stops; Drivers: We Are in Limbo, and Blessed Be the Government"]

[Text] Drivers' voices have risen in protest since the latest increase in benzine prices. Meanwhile, passengers

have refrained from coming to taxicab and microbus stops. At Ahmad Hilmi, Bab al-Luq, and al-'Atabah stops, something akin to a general strike has developed. Drivers have been complaining of and protesting the increase in benzine prices and have declared that it is either civil disobedience or slaughtering the citizen with the new prices. AL-WAFD has proceeded to the Egyptian scene to observe the developments.

The Egyptian scene "is boiling." This is the message I encountered in the faces of the people I met yesterday morning and in their tense actions. Everybody is angry at the new and fearful price hikes. Even though my primary intention was to head for the microbus and taxicab drivers to ask them for their opinions on the increased benzine prices, I could not close my ears to the comments made by some citizens. The least that can be said about those comments is that they were "inflamed" and that this country's citizens made them with "clincbed teeth." A restaurant owner screamed: The price of a [gas] cylinder has risen from 175 piasters to 6 pounds. Is this reasonable? Will the government have mercy on me in order that I may have mercy on people? A group of people were standing around the cart of a vendor selling "cooked broad beans" for breakfast and one of them said: "It is unfair, Uncle Jum'ah, to increase the price of a meal by 15 piasters." Uncle Jum'ah responded: "Why don't you say this to the government, good counselor? Aren't broad beans also transported by truck? Are you aware how high the benzine price has risen?"

### Ghost of Stagnation

At this point and after being absorbed by the worried words issuing from the citizens' mouths like fire, I remembered the journalistic mission for which I had been dispatched. I headed for the Ahmad Hilmi stop, the oldest and best-known taxicab stop, only to be surprised by the presence of a large number of police officers and agents who had spread among the drivers in anticipation of any adverse reaction. Citizens have refrained from riding Peugeot taxicabs and minibuses and train platforms have become unbearably crowded. The citizens have also been crowding bus stops. At the outset, the drivers' voices mingled with each other and I asked them to organize their opinions. Muhammad Abu-al-'Ula, a driver who operates a Peugeot cab on the Tanta-Cairo route, said:

We have decided to raise our fares in order to make up for the difference in the benzine price. Whereas the Cairo-Tanta trip used to cost 3 pounds, it now costs 4 pounds. Some have even raised the fare to 4.5 pounds. You can calculate the profit margin left for us. Is it enough to meet the cost of car maintenance, of oil, of tire consumption, or the expenses of our homes and children? Despite the benzine price hike, we will be compelled to restore the old fares submissively should stagnation develop and should passengers refrain from riding with us. But we will not be able to provide for our families. Those who bought their cars on installment will

lose their vehicles or will be jailed! This means that all of us drivers will suffer the ultimate consequences of this hike. We have become used to not protesting. But it is certain that the protest is inside us. For your information, this is the second benzine price hike without a fare hike. But this time, the hike is unbearable and unexpected. However, the emergency law is a sword hanging over our heads and we cannot voice an opinion for fear of this law!

Sayyid 'Abd-al-Rahim, another driver operating on Shibin al-Qanatir route, said: I arrived at the stop at 0630 this morning to be surprised by the presence of a central security vehicle filled with officers, troops, and secret informers who spread throughout the place. I don't know if you are a policeman or not. However, I will speak my mind even if you are a policeman and regardless of the consequences. From Cairo to Shibin al-Qanatir, my microbus consumes 20 liters of benzine which used to cost 8 pounds. The trip used to net me 5 pounds, after the fuel cost and the driver's commission. Now, this sum has dropped to 2 pounds from which I have to meet my family expenses, car consumption, and taxes. Is this reasonable? I am aware that President Mubarak has approved this hike unwillingly. But a message has to be sent to him, namely that life has become insufferable.

The final comment came from Muhsin 'Abd-al-Karim who said:

They intend to kill us with new taxes, with the creation of new tax brackets, and by increasing the prices of life's essentials, food and drink. This compels everybody one deals with, such as machinists, electricians, plumbers, and painters, to raise their fees. And now comes the biggest disaster in the form of increased benzine prices. Help us. What shall we do?

### Al-'Atabah Stop Is Dead

The second step took us to al-'Atabah stop from which cars travel to Imbabah, al-Wayli, and Musturud. Most cars operating on this route charged a low fare of 25 piasters, which has now risen to 50 piasters, and a fare of 40 piasters, which has not risen to 60 piasters in the wake of the benzine price hike. The new fares compel the citizen to think twice before riding the microbus. In al-'Atabah, the cars stand in a long line, and no passengers. The drivers strike their faces with their hands in grief for their condition. My first question to them was: Why don't you restore the old fares so that people may again ride with you? Mursi 'Abd-al-Halim, a driver operating on Musturud route, said: Mister, the situation is dead. Even before we raised our fare, people had expected it and had decided not to ride with us. You can see for yourself the crowded minibuses and bus lines. Are the government officials pleased with this situation. Moreover, I operate in the central part of town, meaning that I consume more benzine than any other vehicle. Is it reasonable to operate my car at a loss? If the old fare is

restored, I will not be able to pay the car installments. Should I be jailed? Yes, I will be jailed in any case. So what is to be done?

Driver Majdi Muhammad screamed at me saying: What do you want me to say? Will my words restore the old benzine prices? Impossible. So what reason is there to talk? Brother, leave us alone. We and you have had enough useless words. AL-WAFD warned the government against hiking prices but the government paid no heed. Let them ignite it!

### Bab al-Luq...Another Problem

There was a different problem at Bab al-Luq stop but the situation was exactly the same: Total stagnation, cars without passengers, and drivers with their hands on their cheeks while waiting for relief. Sami Shukri, 'Abd-al-Sattar 'Abd-al-Ma'bud, and Samir 'Atiyah abandoned their cars and stood around arguing. I moved closer to hear their viewpoints and to listen to what they said they were going to do in the wake of the hiked benzine prices. One voice said: We cannot hike the fare without the union's approval so that we may not be penalized with the repossession of our cars. Another voice asked: And did they ask for our permission before they hiked the benzine price? A third voice said: What will our children eat?

I joined them so that we may talk frankly. Khalil al-Baywah said: I, and I alone, will shoulder the consequence of the hiked benzine price. Even though I am willing to shoulder it, the passenger feared a fare hike in advance and has refrained from riding. Sami Shukri took over to say: We heard the president's speech and we were somewhat convinced of this hike. But on the other hand, we are an oil-exporting country and we collect transit fee for every barrel of oil that crosses the Suez Canal to go to the west. This dictates a modest benzine price in our country. I assure you that we are working just to work and even though we don't feel like it! Should we shut our homes and starve our families?

Samir 'Atiyah said: Come, let us make an economic calculation.

The fare to Hulwan is 60 piasters and the car carries an average of 10 passengers a trip. This means that we get 6 pounds, of which we pay 60 piasters for commission. We are thus left with 5.4 pounds, of which the car consumes 5 pounds in the form of 10 liters of benzine. So our net income is 40 piasters per trip. The most we can make is five trips a day, meaning that the car produces an income of just 2 pounds a day. This calculation is a gift presented to the government officials in the hope that they will realize the hardship we are experiencing. Are we to spend on the car and our families and to pay the car installments from these 2 pounds? It is expected that most of us will end up in jail or that our vehicles will be repossessed for failing to pay the installments. In all cases, it means our ruin.

Ultimately, the [holders of these] opinions agreed to address to the president of the republic a message to the effect: Have mercy on us in order that God may have mercy on you.

I stopped a car driven by 'Abd-al-Khaliq Kamal who immediately told me: I have doubled the fare per trip and I tell this to the customer very frankly. But most customers do not appreciate the catastrophe that has afflicted our profession. It is ruination by all criteria. Ordinarily, the matter ends up in a quarrel [with the customer]. As you can see, I am driving without passengers. They are fighting our livelihood and this, by God, is unfair! They sit in airconditioned offices and they are not aware of the hardship we suffer. They make off-handed decisions to hike prices. Does this please our God?

While crossing a public square, I was surprised to see drivers circulating a paper saying: "Brother citizen, we are taking a manly stance because of the increased prices. There will be a strike on 9 and 10 May 1990 and every taxicab, privately-owned (public transport vehicle), and Public Transport Authority vehicle is totally forbidden from operating then. The old benzine, sugar, oil, and essential commodity prices must be restored."

My final interview was with Mahmud Jaballah, a fruit and vegetable merchant. I asked him if fruit and vegetable prices will rise as a result of the hiked benzine prices. He said:

Benzine is no longer a luxury. It is essential. To my knowledge, we fought with two weapons in 1973. One of them was the oil weapon which the government is now aiming against the people. Fruit and vegetable prices will, of course, rise because fruits and vegetables are transported by vehicles.

## ISRAEL

### Peace Now Allegedly Losing Ground

44230134D Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 6 Mar 90 p 7

[Article by M. Zakim]

[Text] For more than a decade, the Peace Now movement has been working toward preparing Israeli public opinion for peace with the Arabs, and just now, when this exchange is becoming a reality, they are not identifying with Peace Now. Furthermore, it appears that, recently, Peace Now has been losing its influence and public legitimacy. This paradox is crushing the current assumption that the position of the movement has been undermined because the public in Israel is not "ripe" to absorb its message, and it is not ripe enough because the political situation is taking center stage.

Public opinion polls indicate an additional paradox: Many are in favor of a political compromise and, recently, even of negotiations with the PLO, but they continue, in parallel, to vote for the parties of the right.



The necessary conclusion: If it is not the public that is distancing itself from ideas of peace, then Peace Now must be the one distancing itself from the public. This has political expression: From the effort to change positions among the Israeli public, the movement has taken the path of conducting peace processes on its own. That is, they are seeking allies among other societies, mainly among the Palestinian society. This policy is not flawed in principle, but it is accompanied by surrendering the expansion of the circle of supporters for the movement among Israelis. The question is raised: Why did the movement lose faith in its ability to measure itself in the streets of Israel?

It is a known fact that the public that thinks peace, but votes for the right, is primarily of Eastern origin. This public views the right-wing as a shelter from class absurdities. If the Peace Now movement had really wanted to wield influence, it should have viewed this group as its primary target. This conclusion is nothing new; nevertheless, the movement insists, even today, on differentiating between the struggle for peace and the social struggle, and justifies this by the necessity for building a wide-scoped political movement. It appears to me that, more than this separation having a history of a tactical decision, as mistaken as it is, it had a history of a social outlook.

This outlook was learned from words published by one of the Peace Now leaders, Aviishay Margalit, in THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW.

"The dovish left is composed mostly of Ashkenazi sabras, which, according to the testimony of foreign critics, have a self-assurance similar to the traditional American elite, the 'WASP.' They totally lack that traumatic fear of Arabs that characterizes the relatively new immigrants of the 1950's and their children, which now constitute greater than half of the population. The Yemenite immigrants swing between megalomania from Israeli strength, on one hand, and the radical feelings of self-pity and powerlessness, on the other."

The author, whom Israeli columnists do not support, chose to publish his words far from Israeli eyes, and not by coincidence. The American reader is not simply aware of the many double meanings in the text, and they reveal to the local reader the deep foundation of Margalit's outlook. Who are the immigrants of the 50's? Statistics and intuition would point to the "Eastern community." The ideological confrontation on the question of war and peace has become, therefore, in Margalit's hands, a "biological" confrontation between Ashkenazis (peace) and Eastern Jews (war). It is presented using hidden meanings that not only rank the Eastern Jew in an inferior class in Israeli society, but also describe him as an inferior human being. The Ashkenazis are "sabras" with "self-assurance," the "American-styled" "elite." In contrast to them, the Eastern Jews are "new immigrants," and even the generation born in Israel are not "sabras" but "the children of the new

immigrants." A separate word for the same "immigrants" (Eastern Jews, of course) is "Yemenite." In order to explain the Eastern phenomenon in depth, the author has to use a lexicon for psychiatry: "traumatic fear," "swing," "megalomania," "radical feeling," "self-pity."

Margalit explains the political composition through the creation of an imaginary reality, romanticizing between good and evil, and denial of the opponent, going as far as rejecting an entire group. This xenophobia is reminiscent of the ways of other elite groups who fear, in alarm, the destruction of their traditional position, and their reaction is despairing of politics. Margalit's definition of his opponents as the immigrants who arrived after him and now threaten his seniority in Israeli society attests to the fact that there is no confrontation here on the question of war and peace, but on the question of position and control.

Does Peace Now accept Margalit's terminology? Is it because of its Ashkenazi and content nature that the movement has gone outside of the struggle? Is this retreat and abandonment of the arena to politicians a phase of despair from politics? I'm afraid so.

#### Majority Against Airing Harassment in Territories

44230119B Tel Aviv HADASHOT  
in Hebrew 7 Mar 90 p 7

[Article by Oren Kohen]

[Text] A public opinion survey conducted by the Dahaf Institute under the direction of Dr Mina Tzemah indicates that 63 percent of the public supports prohibiting publication of reports on the harassment of residents of the territories by IDF [Israel Defense Forces] soldiers, and that 49 percent favor the destruction of the houses of persons suspected of terrorist acts before they are brought to trial. Fifty-one percent of the respondents supported the introduction of different methods of SHABAK [General Security Service] to investigate Arabs and Jews.

The survey, which included 1,005 interviewees, was conducted in February in preparation for a National Security and Democracy conference by the Policy Planning Institute. The head of the institute, Dr Ariq Karmon, indicated that the purpose of the study was to examine the public's positions on subjects that might create a conflict of interests between security needs and the values of democracy.

Those who supported prohibiting publication believed that publicizing harassment damages Israel's image. Thirty-four percent thought that such publications should be allowed so that the phenomenon which they report can be fought. The survey showed those who reject prohibiting publication mostly vote for parties of the left and center, are of Western origins, are college educated, and are in high-income brackets, whereas those who support the prohibition mostly vote for the

Likud, Moledet, and SHAS [Torah Observing Sephardim] parties, are of eastern [Afro-Asiatic] origin, and received a partial high-school education.

### **Military Industries Preparing for Changeover**

44230134B Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT (Financial Supplement) in Hebrew 2 Mar 90 p 5

[Text] The communications group, Tadiran, stood helpless. The Ministry of Defense decided not to equip itself with the new generation of communications instruments that they developed, and the losses swelled to tens of millions of dollars. In coming days, they are expected to see the first rays of light at the end of the tunnel: contracts for tens of millions of dollars for the sale of a new instrument to locate a stolen vehicle. Originally, the technology served to locate pilots in enemy territory.

The initiative came from a large American company called Pakbell, which received the rights to operate distress channels in 23 U.S. cities. The company developed an analog system to install in automobiles, which required many expensive receivers. Then it became clear that Tadiran had the digital technology that would lower the costs to a tenth. Pakbell provided \$1 million for initial development, which will soon be concluded.

By American estimates, the product is expected to have an annual \$2.5-billion market. Large trucking companies will use it, as well as private drivers. Orders are still expected in 1990. A similar system will also be set up by them in Spain to follow buses.

### **A Marketing Revolution**

The military's slice of the Israeli industrial pie is being eaten away. Only five years earlier, defense factories employed 60,000 workers. Today, fewer than 45,000 remain. The electronic defense exports have been reduced from 50 percent of the total electronic exports in mid-1988 to 45 percent this year. The Israeli defense budget has been cut, and defense-system acquisitions from military industries are being reduced. And, if that were not enough, the industries are afraid of the sound of the international clock: glasnost in the eastern bloc, reduction of defense expenditures in NATO countries (down from \$130 billion last year to \$80 billion in 1992); the European fighter plane, a \$37 billion project, was intercepted; NATO's battleship project was sunk; 50 percent of the weapons factories in the USSR are being renovated for civilian consumer products. The U.S. is reacting with a military budget cut of billions of dollars.

The shock wave has still not reached Israel. Contracts and orders have still not been cancelled, but the heads of the defense industries know that time is short. General (Reserves) David 'Ivri, director-general of the Defense Ministry, estimates that between two to four years are left for the industries, in order to complete the orders in the pipe line and to prepare for survival in a new, tough world.

Today, the heads of the Israeli economy are meeting to discuss the future of the defense industry. The Minister of Defense, Minister of the Treasury, General Secretary of the Histadrut, president of the industrialists, industrial representatives. The message: Begin to prepare today for the crisis that will occur in two to three more years.

How is Israeli industry organized for the change? Does a crisis necessarily await it? And are there already visible signs of it? We went to the policymakers, we visited production lines. The conclusion is clear: Ta'asiya Tzva'it [military industry] and Ta'asiya Avirit [aircraft industry], Elbit, Tadiran, REFA'EL [Combat Means Development Authority], Rada', and others all recognize the severity of the problem, and all are actually making efforts now to find alternatives. In actuality, the results are still meager.

The hurdles along the path of becoming civilian are greater than one would think. Yosef Ma'ayan, director-general of Tadiran, and former director-general of the Ministry of Defense, fears that the industries will find it difficult to adapt themselves to the awesome change. Military development, for example, is completely different from civilian. In defense products, the customers are the ones who initiate and characterize the product, and they wait for it for seven to 10 years. In the civilian market, says Ma'ayan, this would be suicide. The products must be identified alone and must be manufactured quickly, without bureaucracy. The difference is great, according to Ma'ayan, in marketing perceptions, as well. With a military product, the marketers work in a "business aquarium" and work opposite governments. In the civilian market, distribution and selling costs sprout up, on the order of tens of percents more.

Military factories, says the advisor for the defense system, Amri Tov, operate on the customer's money. Regular industry must obtain its own financing. All of the profitability calculations are different.

### **Without Big Inventions**

What happened to Ta'asiya Avirit with the cancellation of Lavi, thinks the economist Dr Ya'aqov Shaynin, is what is anticipated for all of the defense industry with the end of the weapons race. Instead of ingenious products on the front of global development, instead of "collecting the cream," Israel will become a well-equipped shed that will deal with repairs and improvements to existing equipment.

In the past, the defense industry deluded itself that it could compete with top manufacturers. This is the concept that gave birth to the grandiose Lavi project. A cut in the defense budget returned us to reality, says Shaynin of Economic Models. "We can no longer deal with big inventions. It will have to suffice us to provide good work as a subcontractor through our foundation of knowledge. Compensation will be single percentages alone. It is possible to hope that from the critical mass of

knowledge of Intel, National Semiconductor, Vichay, and so on, in the end the geniuses and inventors will blossom."

### They Began With 'Uzis and Pistols

Paradoxically, those needing renovation are actually the factories without the means to finance them. Klal's Ordan factory, for example, casts parts for the Merkava tank and is losing tens of millions of shekels per year. The heads of Klal Ta'asiyot are aware of their need to find an alternative, but have still done nothing in the matter. Also Kor's Sultam factory is in the searching phase. Uri Samhoni, the director-general, is looking for a product that will not require total renovation of the production lines. Meanwhile, he continues to produce vessels and pneumatic products, but they constitute only 8 percent of sales.

For Ta'asiya Avirit, which has always dealt with civilian products, it is relatively easy to undergo change. The company increased the production rate of the executive jet, Astra, following a recovery in demand. Recently, Ta'asiya signed a large contract for subcontract work with a large American manufacturer of airliners. The company's electronics division developed the "Cytoscan," an instrument for locating cancerous growths. The instrument, which was developed together with scientists from Bar-Ilan University, exploits military optical and electronic technology, and is expected to have a great future. No less promising is the communications satellite, Amos, being developed by Ta'asiya's space administration, for orbit in two years, and being funded by an international consortium. This is the first-born of the minisatellite family, whose cost is much less than that of competitors. According to estimates, the minisatellite is expected to have a \$2-billion market.

In Ta'asiya Avirit's electronics division, they are looking beyond the component industry. Together with a large European manufacturer, they are examining a proposal to install in the European car of the future, created in the Prometheus project, an instrument that will warn of the dangerous approach of other automobiles. The technology is taken from aircraft radar. Moshe Ortes, director of the electronics division and among the first who correctly read the map: "The big money lies in the civilian market, and there we must go."

And the Ta'asiya Tzva'it (TA'AS) already has actual sales in the civilian realm, and in the estimation of an executive there, within five years, 30 percent of the factory's products will be civilian. They started out with the 'Uzi and pistols sold primarily in the United States, and will continue—with telephones. Few realize that the public telephones in Israel are TA'AS products. In the final development stages, a very sophisticated telephone was made, which will be purchased by Bezeq and apparently also foreign customers.

Not long ago, TA'AS signed a production agreement for parts of a totally civilian flight system, which is likely to

earn much money. TA'AS has the equipment and the knowledge, say its executives. Now they must find work.

Elbit is almost the only military company that did not undergo a crisis in the mid-1980s, primarily because 30 percent of its sales were civilian. It owns subsidiaries that handle civilian computers, and an American company called Infra Matrix, which handles radiometry for scientific and medical applications. The company president, 'Emanu'el Gil, is trying to convert the alarm and observation systems for police and coast guard use. Recently, the company converted technology for the identification of military objects into a system that identifies manufacturing defects in textiles and leather. Initial contracts have been signed with a European company. According to Shlomo Haruvi, assistant director-general of Elbit marketing and development, the desire to move into the civilian market is what enabled them to contend for the bid to establish the relay station for Voice of America in the 'Arava desert. Thus Elbit also entered a partnership with Sha'ul Eisenberg of Playback, a company that produces imaginative toys. However, Elbit's decisive step to move into the civilian market was the acquisition of 70 percent of the shares of Elscint, a medical equipment company, in the early part of the year. Today, most of Elbit's sales are in the civilian market.

REFA'EL, which was given the task for developing weapons systems for the next war, is having a relatively difficult time in converting to civilian products. Its only business in weapons systems is in trouble. Executives in the defense system continue to claim: "REFA'EL is in charge of weapons systems, and it must perform without any deviations."

### To Read the Map Correctly

For a long time, the military departments of Tadiran have been operating at a loss, while the civilian ones, which constitute more than 50 percent of the activity, have been profiting. The communications group, Elisra and Ma'arachot, which produces primarily electronic defense equipment, as well as the Al-Uf plant for electro-optical equipment and fire control—is losing. The group for consumer goods and communications, which handles telephones, is profiting.

Elisra and Ma'arakhot, says director-general Yosef Ma'ayan, are seeking civilian alternatives, but so far, in vain. The consolation: Both have accumulated orders worth hundreds of millions of dollars for the coming years, which will provide enough time for the search. The communications group is the only one that has succeeded in executing a civilian conversion, with the instrument for locating a stolen vehicle.

Al-Uf tried years ago to take advantage of the laser technology for civilian usage, and get involved with ultra-sound equipment, but the product marketing failed. The director-general of the plant, Kobi Toran, made a fundamental decision to return to the civilian market. Nothing is happening yet.

One of the only companies that today is gaining from the global cuts in defense budgets is Rada'. The demand for its maintenance and test equipment is increasing, with the aging of equipment. Rada' also renovates equipment using aviation and military computers. Its equipment is being used to refurbish the Haqurnas airplane, and it is collaborating on refurbishments in most of the world's aircraft industries. According to its president, Hayim Nisanson, despite the cuts, the demand for computers in the battlefield will increase, for example, on vehicles. "If the budget cuts are not drastic, a company such as ours is likely to benefit." In parallel, Rada' is converting its test equipment for civil aviation, and they are developing, in collaboration with Hewlett Packard and Boeing, test equipment for civil aviation systems.

The bottom line, says Ministry of Defense director-general David 'Ivri, is that the proper proportion is 30 to 40 percent production for the civilian market, and the remainder for the defense sector. "In world parliaments, the economic measures have greater weight than defense measures. We must read the map correctly and prepare ourselves in time."

#### Uri Or on Relations With Politicians

44230119D Tel Aviv HADASHOT  
in Hebrew 7 Mar 90 p 21

[Interview With Major General (Reserves) Uri Or, former commander of the central and northern commands, by Rami Rotholtz; place and date not specified; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] In a book by Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'iri to be published shortly, treatment is given to the relations that developed in the course of the intifadah between the military echelon—the major generals—and the political echelon. On television, Schiff expressed the view that the major generals demonstrated a sense of control and responsibility in their attitude toward the use of force in response to the intifadah much more so than the political echelon. One receives the impression that relations between the military and political echelons were such that the major generals at one point said: This is what we will do—there will be somewhat of a relaxation, but the solution is in your hands. Major General (reserves) Uri Or matured amid these relations for 2 years as the commander of the central command and 3 years as the commander of the northern command, during which time he completed the withdrawal of the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] from Lebanon.

[HADASHOT] According to Ze'ev Schiff's comments on television on ZE HAZMAN [This is the Time], the major generals of the general staff understood that the intifadah could be moderated or pacified but not actually crushed by the Army. In that spirit, they reported to the political echelon. What do you know about our topic that we do not know?

[Or] What I do or do not know is not important at present. I can only project this onto my previous position, when I was responsible for Lebanon. Based on my experience, without wishing to generalize, I can say that it is to the credit of a large number of IDF officers that they realize the limits of power much more so than some of the politicians.

[HADASHOT] Where does this originate?

[Or] I do not want to enter into the political dimension. Officers are trained extensively in the use of force. As such, most of them are also well aware of the limits to the use of force, as exemplified in Lebanon in certain stages, and most certainly in Judaea and Samaria. Officers understand the damage force causes to the fabric of relations within the IDF and to our social fabric as Jews. It is understood that the ethical aspect is not subject to debate.

[HADASHOT] Are you certain of this?

[Or] If someone wishes to eliminate the intifadah tomorrow, I could drown Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza in blood. I do not think that this will solve the problem. It might pacify the field for an unspecified period of time, but it would damage the fabric within the IDF, which is composed of all of the people, and it would damage the social profile of Israeli society. I think that a large number of officers are more aware of this than the politicians.

[HADASHOT] I want to understand how the tables have been turned here, inasmuch as the officers need to restrain the politicians.

[Or] I will tell you exactly why the tables are turned. They become turned when you think about the image of officers' corps elsewhere. The IDF is different.

[HADASHOT] Isn't the officers' corps in the IDF hard-headed?

[Or] No. In most of the Western countries officers belong more to the conservative wing. In Israel, the officers' corps is not as such. I say this with full responsibility. The officers' corp is not conservative, it is open. I am generalizing somewhat, but so does Schiff. The officers' corps understands the processes. An officer is in battle daily, he was in Lebanon, he has experienced wars, he comes into contact with the population, you see him with a club or on a jeep. The image of a person in uniform is that of someone who gives beatings. As a matter of fact, he carries out what someone has determined for him to do.

[HADASHOT] According to your analysis, how do the politicians relate to the use of force?

[Or] I think that some of them do not understand the limits of solving a problem with force. Some of them also think in black and white. In my opinion, some of them do not distinguish between what they say as a political slogan for elections, which I also do not accept, and what

they really talk about at the decisionmaking table. Anyone who says he will eliminate the intifadah in 48 hours—and such people exist—does not know what he is talking about. I believe that such a person is dangerous, because he sees this more as an election ploy rather than something that can truly be implemented.

[HADASHOT] How does the senior officers' corps traditionally deal with the directives of politicians? Do they carry out orders, and that is the end of the matter?

[Or] I at least know how I operated. In many discussions with the political echelon, I attempted to the best of my ability to convince it of what I believe in. I think that we succeeded in exercising an influence regarding many matters. We certainly try to be very careful about not interfering in political considerations of a professional nature. The elimination of the intifadah is not a professional, military matter. Therefore, I think that it is an Army officer's duty to stick to his opinion, to clarify his opinion regarding all areas—in the military system, in the moral system, regarding his moral codes—and to broadcast this to the politicians.

[HADASHOT] Do you see a possibility, however fantastic, of a general staff rebellion in the event that completely insane orders are received from the political echelon?

[Or] A rebellion? I do not think that it will come to this. I think. It has not happened so far. The question is hypothetical, and I believe that it will not come up. The military echelon has a significant ability to influence, which is not so perceptible to the public. This influence is exercised in cabinet discussions and in consultation groups. In the AMAN [Bureau of Military Intelligence] systems, it is done all the time, and people cannot disregard it. The Army currently has all the tools to analyze and obtain a correct appraisal of the situation.

[HADASHOT] According to the book by Schiff and Ya'iri on the intifadah, these tools did not help intelligence predict the intifadah, and the authors argue that the intelligence failure in this case was more severe than the failure in the Yom Kippur War.

[Or] They could not predict the date. I will not enter at present into what AMAN said or did not say. When I headed the central command, we said that the situation would change one clear day. We did not need an intelligence estimate to say this. It could not be estimated when and where the change would be.

[HADASHOT] Did you have indications that such a development was liable to occur?

[Or] In my tenure, the civil administration was introduced. There was a period of 1 to 2 difficult months. I saw that the people were slowly organizing and that the level of education was changing. I saw the population undergoing these processes with the [establishment of] the universities. All of these processes that had been occurring since the Six-Day War had to lead somewhere.

[HADASHOT] Did you yourself witness the actual growth of a new kind of Palestinian?

[Or] Everyone saw it, just as a new kind of Russian or Hungarian developed. This is a new world. Everything is open, the media is operating, [there is] communication with Israel.

[HADASHOT] The processes were clear to the Army.

[Or] Listen, the PLO itself was surprised. There were intelligence estimates to the effect that something like the intifadah could happen. There was planning in the Army that took into account the possibility that if, God forbid, a war broke out, the residents of Judaea and Samaria could definitely organize and start something like the intifadah.

### Post-1967 Settlement of Jerusalem Outlined

44230119A Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ  
in Hebrew 7 Mar 90 p 2

[Article by Nadav Sarga'y]

[Text] Reports in the local and foreign media almost always speak of East Jerusalem. This designation is somewhat erroneous, inasmuch as areas south and north as well as east of pre-1967 Jerusalem were annexed to the State of Israel when the expansion of Jerusalem's area of jurisdiction from 38,000 to about 110,000 dunams was announced 18 days after the Six-Day War by the Interior Minister at the time, Moshe Hayim Shapira'.

In the first years after the Six-Day War, especially during the 1970s, several new neighborhoods were built pursuant to the government's decision within Jerusalem's new borders, on the other side of the Green Line. These neighborhoods were built around the perimeter of the city on the assumption that this would prevent its redivision.

About 120,000 Jews, or about a third of the city's Jewish population, currently live in these neighborhoods. They are distributed as follows: Ramat Eshkol and French Hill, 20,000 Jews; Neve Ya'aqov, 18,000 Jews; Ramot, 30,000 Jews; Gilo, 30,000 Jews; East Talpiyot, 15,000 Jews; and Pisgat Ze'ev, 5,000 Jews.

These neighborhoods were built on state-owned land, land confiscated from Arabs, and land under Jewish ownership. Construction currently continues in the area previously controlled by Jordan, in existing neighborhoods that are already built. The Israeli effort is now focussed on attempting to fill in the area between Neve Ya'aqov and the French Hill by settling Jews in Pisgat Ze'ev.

In addition, Israel has built different institutions in the area previously under Jordanian control based on a policy designed to underscore Israel's permanent presence in the entire area of Jerusalem's jurisdiction. The Israeli Justice Ministry and the Jerusalem District Court are located on Salah-al-Din Street in East Jerusalem, and

the Labor Court is located on the road to the Arab village of Shu'afat near the Jewish neighborhood of Neve Ya'aqov.

The Hebrew University campus on Mt. Scopus has been renovated and expanded. A government campus has also been built in the eastern part of the city in the Shaykh Jarah neighborhood. Located there is the current site of the Housing Ministry, the Police Ministry, and the national headquarters of the Israel police. The southern district headquarters of the police is located on the Jerusalem-Jericho Highway. The re-established 'Atarot Airport and the 'Atarot industrial zone are located on the northern border of Jerusalem.

Also, the Jerusalem Municipality has several departments in the eastern part of the city, the most prominent being the City Improvement Department located inside the old city next to Jaffa Gate. In addition, the Jewish Quarter, abandoned in 1948, has been restored, and about 500 families live there. The plaza adjacent to the Western Wall has been rebuilt and expanded, and several other sites holy to Jews in the old city have been refurbished.

In general, the Israeli policy not to settle Jews in densely populated Arab areas has been maintained, the one exception being the Muslim quarter of the old city, where Jewish fellowships have been active with the backing of government ministries despite the opposition of the Jerusalem Municipality.

## MAURITANIA

### Increased Role for Private Sector in Agriculture

90AA0129A Nouakchott CHAAB in French  
25 Apr 90 pp 3, 7

[Text] The trend now unfolding in the government's agricultural policy is to step aside and allow domestic private investment to take its place. The positive results obtained under this policy are confirming it as the right course. For this reason, the public authorities want to speed up liberalization but without hurting the farmers who received assistance from the government up to now.

Traditional farming conditions affected by rainfall variations have led the public authorities and business operators to focus their efforts on irrigation farming—the only sure farming method, although exorbitantly expensive. In the three-year period from 1985 to 1988, irrigated land more than tripled in area, rising from 4,500 hectares in 1985 to 15,000 hectares in 1988. Publicly funded areas increased from 4,000 to 6,500 hectares while privately managed areas expanded from 500 to 8,500 hectares.

In that short period of time, publicly funded lands operated by small farm managers yielded poor results and many small village plots in the remote areas of the upper river valley (where rain-fed crops are possible) were abandoned by the farmers.

It is clear that the privately funded and managed farming lands have succeeded whereas public land managed by small farmers are in danger.

It is estimated that 135,000 hectares of land could be irrigated if all the water controlled by the recently constructed Diama and Manantali dams is used. That is 10 times the area now under irrigation.

The data available for production and cultivated land area in 1988 and 1989 are summarized in the table below.

**Net Farm Output in 1988 and Estimated Irrigated Area under Cultivation in 1989**

Crops	Net Output 1988 in metric tons	Cultivated Area 1989 in hectares
Rice	30,570(1)	16,760(1)
Corn	1,300(1)	1,030(1)
Sorghum	1,140(1)	500(1)
Truck Farming	8,295(2)	695(2)
Fruit	9,400(3)	4,060(3)
Total	50,705	19,421

[Footnotes not published]

### Lessening the State's Role

The National Company for Rural Development (SONADER), which was formed in 1976, is responsible for turning valley land into productive land.

At the time it was formed, the company designed the studies and improved and operated the land for a two-year period. During this period, all production materials were free of charge.

At the end of this phase, the peasants assumed a portion of the operating and maintenance expenses on the improved land.

Irrigated land under SONADER supervision totals some 6,000 hectares made up of small and medium-sized tracts on which one crop of paddy rice is cultivated during the rainy dry season. Counting one-third of a hectare per family, an estimated 18,000 families cultivate rice in addition to rain-fed crops.

In reality, double cropping is practically nonexistent on peasant tracts although it is possible in theory and was even called for in the feasibility documents in order to recover the large sums invested (between 1 and 1.2 million UM [ouguiyas] for the large tracts and 140,000 to 160,000 UM for the small semimechanized farms.)

Rice is the primary cash crop for the small farmer. Rice, which was supported by price guarantees from the government, is a relatively profitable crop.

The table below provides an appreciation of the costs of rice production under the traditional system on large and small SONADER tracts.

**Comparative Production Costs per Hectare on Large and Small SONADER Tracts (in UM)**

Costs	Large SONADER Tract			Small SONADER Tract		
	TcKg	Price/ Kg	Value	Kg	Price/ Kg	Value
Operating Costs						
Seed	120	19	2,280	50	19	950
Urea [Fertilizer]	150	28	4,200	150	28	4,200
Water/Energy (lump-sum)	-	-	8,000	-	-	8,900
Plowing	-	-	3,800	-	-	3,800
Personnel	-	-	3,600	-	-	3,600
Fixed Costs						
Fees	-	-	10,400	-	-	7,500
Sub-total	-	-	32,280	-	-	28,950
Net Output	4,500	19	85,500	4,000	19	76,000
Net Margin	-	-	53,220	-	-	47,050

**Time Requirements**

	Broad-cast Sowing	2 days	Seedling growth	10 days
	Fertilizing	2 days	Transplanting	26 days
	Weeding	30 days	Fertilizing	2 days
	Harvesting	26 days	Harvesting	24 days
	Threshing	38 days	Threshing	35 days
	Total	98 days	Total	115 days

Source: SONADER

**Trends in Administration of Publicly Funded, Irrigated Land**

SONADER's role has changed considerably since it was founded. At the start, its primary mission was to improve land for farming. Little by little, it took on many other functions. They include farm credit services, mechanized equipment services, and maintenance.

The accumulation of multiple functions for which SONADER was not prepared and for which sufficient funds failed to be generated, overwhelmed the company, affecting it in the following ways:

- serious cashflow problems;
- poor management of funds;

- laxity at all levels; and
- poor execution of the company's functions and consequently, inability to ensure its services.

In 1985, as part of the measures designed to restore public finances to health (rural sector adjustment project), the Mauritanian Government launched a program supported by funding providers to restructure SONADER.

The program is aimed at refocusing the company's activities on monitoring and maintenance of irrigated land infrastructures and on technical counseling to farmers through farmer groups.

At the same time, SONADER withdrew from the functions it had assumed up to that time: credit, supplying materials, and the marketing and processing of paddy rice. Concurrently, SONADER would also cut back its personnel (particularly at the top management level) and reorganize its management practices to achieve greater internal coherence (realistic pricing, billing for services at actual costs, and attention to specific regional realities through a total of six regional subdivisions.)

**Implementing the Liberalization Program**

Several measures have been implemented since 1985 to liberalize in effect the management of irrigated land as desired by the government and funding providers.

These measures involve the gradual adjustment of farm input and farm product prices, withdrawal from marketing activities and farm credit, and personnel cutbacks at SONADER.

**Gradual Price Adjustments**

The prices at which grains are purchased from producers were increased by 20 percent in 1985 to bring them up to world levels, followed by a 30-percent increase in 1986. The consumer price of rice was increased by 70 percent from 1984 to 1988. Fertilizer and pesticide prices were raised in order to eliminate all subsidies, except in the case of farm inputs received as miscellaneous grants.

Water fees were charged for the first time in 1986 on public tracts built and maintained by SONADER.

**Withdrawing From Marketing and Farm Credit**

Rice fields owned by SONADER were transferred to the private sector. Similarly, the credit system was transferred to the Union of Development Banks (UDB), which assumed all SONADER credit programs for peasants and received 80 million UM from SONADER out of the planned 107.3 million UM.

While the memorandum of agreement signed in November 1988 by the two institutions provided for credit activity to be turned over to UDB, it also called for

transitional support of SONADER over a three-year period, in particular for the supply of farm inputs and marketing.

The memorandum stipulated that only the farmer groups created and assisted by SONADER and in good standing with SONADER would be eligible for credit.

In that regard, with the goal of improving credit conditions on existing lands, it was decided that SONADER would require repayment of all 1987-1988 debts and if necessary, reschedule debts incurred prior to 31 December 1986. As a result of this measure, certain groups were unable to obtain credits for the 1988-1989 farming season and a substantial portion of tracts (30 to 50 percent, depending upon the region) went uncultivated.

Small tracts were particularly affected. The draft farm credit program for the period 1986-1993 forecasts short-term credit needs of 180 million UM on SONADER lands, based on 8,000 hectares of improved land and a 1.5 intensification rate.

At the same time, medium-term credit needs (for motorized pump generators, tractors, hulling equipment) are estimated at 150 million UM a year in 1989, rising to 240 million UM in 1993. Long-term credit needs (farm buildings) fall short of 20 million UM.

Along the same lines, payment of irrigation charges was required and SONADER is soon to divest itself of its agricultural equipment (tractors, graders, etc.) and to begin charging for all SONADER services provided to peasants.

#### **Personnel Cutbacks at SONADER**

Out of a total staff of 600 (excluding land improvement), about 40 percent of positions were eliminated.

The consequences of liberalization are considerable for all parties involved: the state, SONADER, and the farmers.

Realistic pricing is the primary instrument of liberalization and while it reduces SONADER's costs and rationalizes its resources, it entails substantial cost increases for producers (between 20 and 30 percent, depending on the land area).

Although these measures are fairly difficult for small producers to bear, their effects are not entirely negative.

In fact, they make it possible to create the conditions for true competition in the agricultural sector so as to encourage the private sector to invest in it. In that regard, the Mauritanian Government's major objective—self-sufficiency in food—must be reached.

The state's guarantee that producers will be paid sufficiently profitable prices for their output and the purchase of surplus output by the Commission for Food Security (CSA) represent serious pledges to peasants who face a dynamic private sector brimming with initiatives.

The other equally beneficial effect is that private sector handling of the functions of land improvement and maintenance of farm machinery (tractors, heavy machinery, motorized pumps, etc.) will soon be organized.

In addition, the state's withdrawal from all roles in which its presence is not imperative enables SONADER to focus on what should be its primary missions: to improve new lands for farming and to be a respected counselor to producer groups.

There is, nonetheless, a need to explain the reasoning behind this policy in clearer terms. Peasants perceive the state's disengagement as a sort of abandonment and are therefore beset by uncertainty. One way to avoid the abuses of liberalization is to help them to organize themselves.

In this context, the practice of realistic prices and the billing of services at actual cost must be closely monitored to ensure that farmers are not bearing costs unrelated to their irrigated tracts.



## INDIA

**Kashmir Militant Party Chief Seeks Arms Licenses**

46001534 Madras *THE HINDU*  
in English 30 Apr 90 p 9

[Text] Jammu, 29 April—The president of the militant Panthers Party of Jammu and Kashmir, Mr Bhim Singh, has sought one lakh arms licences for the “army” he is raising to “liberate Pakistan-held Kashmir including Gilgit agency.”

Mr Singh recently announced that he was engaged in raising an army of 500,000 which would be used to do away with the Line of Actual Control of Jammu and Kashmir allowing what he termed as the reunification of Pakistan-held Kashmir with this side of Kashmir.

Addressing a news conference in Jammu the ebullient Rajput leader explained his plan of raising “Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Army” (JKLA) to counter the Pakistan-backed insurgency in the State and urged New Delhi not to hesitate in granting 1 lakh arms licences for the purpose.

Mr Singh claimed the purpose behind his plan was not to terrorise people but only to create conditions of peace. His aim was threefold—to counter the threat posed by “40,000 Pakistani commandos who have sneaked into the State and other parts of the country,” to foil the designs of militants now operating in Kashmir Valley and to scuttle the Pakistan-held Kashmir president, Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan’s action in sending “20,000 commandos to assist separatists in Jammu and Kashmir.”

The JKLA, he said, would comprise contingents to be raised in Jammu and Kashmir, the neighbouring State of Himachal Pradesh and Pakistan-held Kashmir and the recruitment drive would begin from 7 May. His plan had found supporters in Pakistan-held Kashmir where in Poonch and Mirpur districts alone “5,000 youth were ready to join JKLA.”

The Panthers Party chief said the training of JKLA men would start from May itself and the first training camp would be set up at Kangra in Himachal Pradesh to be followed five similar camps in the Jammu region.

Charge against Centre: Mr Singh said the Centre was practically doing nothing to safeguard the country’s territorial integrity “concerning itself only with international problems.”

As for Jammu and Kashmir he said he did not recognise Shimla Agreement or Tashkent Agreement reached between India and Pakistan.

**Indo-Pakistan Athletic Matches Forbidden in India**

46001507 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH*  
in English 1 Apr 90 p 1

[Article by L. P. Sahi and Shubha Singh]

[Text] March 31: The Indian government has decided that no Indo-Pak sports fixtures will be held at venues in either country because of the steady deterioration in bilateral relations.

The government, however, has no objection to such matches being played in a third country provided adequate security is ensured for Indian players.

Sources in the ministry of external affairs said relations between India and Pakistan were at their lowest ebb. Sports bodies and other organizations which had matches planned in March and April had been asked to put them off for the time being.

The government felt that if such matches were played in either country, there was every possibility that the occasion would be utilized by certain elements to create the kind of “unsavory” incidents that have occurred in the recent past.

Among these were the hostile treatment accorded to the Indian hockey team during the World Cup in Lahore in February as well as the abandonment of the Karachi one-dayer between India and Pakistan in December owing to crowd violence. Also, the Pakistan hockey team was subjected to ill-treatment at the hands of the Delhi crowd during the Asia Cup final. Pakistan and India played the title-round.

The government withheld permission for a series of Indo-Pak exhibition cricket matches which were to have been played in India. The first of these matches was scheduled to be played in new Delhi earlier this week in aid of the Indian Cancer Society, to be followed by matches in Bombay, Bangalore, Surat and Madras.

According to Mr K.K. Mehta, office bearer of the society who had gone to Lahore in December to finalize details with the Pakistani cricketers, the ministry of external affairs informed the society, “that the time is not opportune to stage India-Pakistan matches in India.” This meant that visas would not be issued.

Mr Mehta said the charity match would be rescheduled “once the tension decreases.”

New Delhi’s decision has also jeopardized the Pakistan cricket team’s proposed tour of India later this year.

### **Pakistan Cancels Joint Seminar on Indo-Pakistan Ties**

46001524 Madras *THE HINDU*  
in English 16 Apr 90 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 15 April—A three-day joint Indo-Pak seminar, which was to discuss the relations between the two countries was abruptly cancelled today by the Pakistani side just a day before it was to begin here on Tuesday.

The seminar, which had been postponed twice at the request of the Pakistani side, was to be held jointly by the Institute of Defence Studies and Analysis (IDSA) here and the Institute of Strategic Studies of Islamabad.

The IDSA director, Air Commodore Jasjit Singh, expressing his disappointment at the sudden decision, told UNI that the seminar was very much in keeping with the public statement of the Pakistani Prime Minister, Ms Benazir Bhutto, favouring a dialogue.

The seminar was to discuss the whole range of issues affecting the two countries and contribute to a confidence-building process at a time when the two countries badly need to keep the channel of communication open.

The IDSA has spent a lot on organising the seminar. Air Commodore Jasjit Singh said what was more upsetting was that the Pakistani side did not even inform their hosts of their decision not to participate in the seminar. It was just a casual telephone call by him to the Director of the Institute of Strategic Studies of Islamabad. Mr Ross Masud Hussein, informing him that all the preparations had been made when he was told of the decision.

### **Gujral Addresses General Assembly Special Session**

46001536 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 26 Apr 90 p 11

[Text] United Nations (PTI)—India has warned that unless emerging economic compulsions of developing countries are accommodated, the current trend towards global peace and harmony will be undermined.

“A detente devoid economic content is unlikely to endure,” the External Affairs Minister, Mr Inder Kumar Gujral told a special session of the United Nations General Assembly on International Cooperation.

In a forthright address on the opening day on Monday, Mr Gujral said, “The developing countries as whole felt excluded from the recent growth in the world economy.”

“Even though some of them have maintained the growth momentum, the vast majority of them are worse off, as compared to what they were a decade ago,” he said.

Mr Gujral said despite impediments, most developing countries were implementing wide ranging policy

reforms involving adoption of more open economic policies aimed at integrating their economies with the rest of the world.

Stating that the process involved both risks and opportunities, he told the industrialised nations that the success of these strategies required a much more open and cooperative world economy.

It needed “vastly expanded flow of concessional resources and renewed confidence of the developing countries in the multilateral trading system” Mr Gujral said.

The Foreign Minister said the current economic and social problems and the needs of the future called for a joint effort based on mutuality of interests. “No single nation can solve them in isolation,” he added.

“The management of the world economy needs to be more broad-based so as to reflect the interests of all countries and to evolve policies which can be supported and implemented by all,” he said.

The major challenge, he said, was to work out a package of measures which ensured the return of the world economy to higher growth trajectory.

Mr Gujral said accelerating development required a substantial increase in net concessional resources for revitalising the development process in developing countries and liberating them from external debt.

To achieve this, he called for the expansion of the resource base of International Financial Institutions. The events of recent past, particularly the emergence of the debt crisis, had shown that commercial flows were no substitute for multilateral flows, he said.

“What is needed is not only the management and eventual liquidation of the existing debt problems of developing countries but also the adoption of anticipatory measures, such as increased concessional financing designed to prevent the emergence of the debt crisis, in countries which have so far avoided the debt trap,” he said.

### **India Sounds Out Arabs on Security Council Seat**

46001503 Madras *THE HINDU*  
in English 4 Apr 90 p 8

[Article by F. J. Khergamvala]

[Text] Aden, April 3. India has begun sounding Arab Governments about the National Front Government's intentions of seeking a seat in the U.N. Security Council from next year and has already obtained a firm commitment of support from the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY) (South Yemen).

A highly reliable official source said irrespective of the probability that North and South Yemen would unite almost certainly by the end of this year, the commitment to India would stand. On another critical issue for India,

South Yemen has said that Yemeni unity would not jeopardize support for New Delhi's approach on resolving the Kashmir problem.

The PDRY Foreign Minister, Dr Abdul Aziz Al Daly, told this correspondent, "You can rest assured this position will not change. We are not going to disappear because of unity. We will be there and on this issue there should not be any qualms". He was replying to a question about complications that could arise in foreign policy positions in a post-unity Republic of Yemen on issues where the two present components, North and South Yemen, differed. Kashmir was cited as an example.

The Yemen Arab Republic (YAR) (North Yemen) has outlined its position on Kashmir as being supportive of a U.N. role as well as a bilateral approach. This is interpreted as a definite tilt toward the Pakistani stance. The South Yemenis have strongly supported the bilateral avenue to resolve the Kashmir problem.

Dialogue: Earlier, in an interview, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Supreme People's Council (Parliament), Mr Ali Ahmed Al Salami, in response to an identical question on foreign policy coordination said, "Nobody knows the depth of the entire issue (Kashmir) better than India and Pakistan and it is they, who are directly involved, who should have a dialogue on the subject."

The manner in which the dental surgeon-Foreign Minister of South Yemen (a non-permanent member of the Security Council) tackled the question is revealing. When it was posed to him in the course of the interview he avoided a pointed answer regarding Kashmir. But at the end of the session, as if for effect, he spelt out his position deliberately and slowly.

Mr Ali also said that before the Lok Sabha Speaker, Mr Rabi Ray, visited here a month ago, the last high level visitor from India to Aden was the former President, Giani Zail Singh, in August 1984. No Indian official has visited Aden in the last three years.

As yet, New Delhi is still exploring its chances of success in getting a nonpermanent seat in the Security Council, a tenure of two years. Once a fair idea of success probability is available, its diplomatic drive will become more open. Sources say South Yemen's conveying to new Delhi its firm commitment at this early stage is unusual and encouraging, because most countries even till the last stage of the ballot in September prefer to play it close to the chest and offer ambiguous responses like "positive consideration to your request".

### India, Malta Upgrade Diplomatic Relations

46001492 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 8 Apr 90 p 9

[Text] Valletta (Malta, April 7 (PTI). India and Malta today announced upgradation of their diplomatic relations and agreed to usher in a new era of closer cooperation in trade, economic and scientific fields.

The decision to open Indian resident diplomatic mission in this island republic of Western Europe in the middle of the Mediterranean was announced by the President, Mr R. Venkataraman, who arrived here today on a three-day state visit.

Speaking at a banquet hosted in his honor by the president of Malta, Dr Censu Tabone, at Valletta Palace tonight, Mr Venkataraman said "It is our fond hope that with the establishment of diplomatic missions we will be able to tap in a more satisfactory measure, the vast potential of Indo-Maltese ties."

India and Malta have diplomatic relations since the latter attained full independence and became a part of the Commonwealth on September 21, 1964. But India continues to be represented through its embassy in Tripoli (Libya) and Malta through its mission in Saudi Arabia. Malta is also a member of the non-aligned movement.

The much-awaited announcement of a resident diplomatic mission in Malta is expected to go a long way in giving the required impetus to the economic ties between the two countries.

Mr Venkataraman recalled the Maltese prime minister, Dr Fenech-Adami's visit to India in January 1989 and said: "We had discussed the steps that our two countries might take to increase the scope and extent of our cooperation."

Since then there have been further useful exchanges between the two countries, including a ministerial-level representation by India at Malta's independence silver jubilee celebrations in September 1989.

Mr Venkataraman paid his warmest tributes for the constructive role that Malta has played time and again in tackling problems common to mankind. "No one can forget, for instance, Malta's pioneering work for the laws of the seas," he said adding "we are happy to note that Malta has made spectacular advances in several directions."

The President referred to the changes taking place in Europe at "stupendous" pace—towards liberal democracy, reduction of tensions and reassertion of human rights—and welcomed the release of the African nationalist leader, Dr Nelson Mandela. "We trust rapid steps will be taken to end the abhorrent system of apartheid," he said.

The Palestinian people still wait for their aspirations to be fulfilled and in the global context, the challenges of

developments and disarmament call for continuing attention, the President said and expressed the hope that India and Malta will play a role in these tasks.

Mr Venkataraman told the Maltese leaders of the outcome of the ninth general elections in India and said "the orderly elections, barring stray incidents and the smooth transfer of power from one party to another have won the applause of the entire world."

This political maturity coupled with progress in science and technology and improvement in economic conditions have marked India as a nation on the march, the President said.

Mr Venkataraman made a special mention of the role India played for Malta's independence in the United Nations committee for decolonization in the late fifties and early sixties.

He also recalled his personal association as a member of the Indian delegation to the 14th session of the U.N. general assembly in 1959.

He hoped that the two countries will have an exchange of views at more intimate levels in international organizations.

Till 1989 economic relations between the two countries were confined to traditional items. India exported small quantities of tea, spices and textiles to Malta and Indian ships occasionally called at Malta for urgent repairs. In 1989 the list was expanded to include the sale of Indian automobiles. Malta is the first country in Western Europe where Maruti vehicles are being sold. Maruti Gypsy is particularly popular among the fun-loving Maltese and tourists.

Indian public sector company BHEL [Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited] also bagged a prestigious order for the supply of turbines for a modern power plant in Malta at an estimate cost of Rs 45 crores. This order was secured against stiff competition from European companies and it is regarded not only as evidence of BHEL's competence but also of Malta's interest in closer ties with India.

### **Singh Orders Measures To Check Price Rises**

46001525 Madras *THE HINDU*  
in English 26 Apr 90 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 25 April—The Prime Minister, Mr V.P. Singh, reviewed the price situation today and asked the respective Ministries to strictly ensure steps to contain the rising prices of essential commodities like sugar, edible oils, cement, tea and steel.

The Food and Civil supplies Ministry was asked to step up release of free sale quota of sugar instead of accumulating the buffer stocks. The Ministry was asked to build up a stock of 15 lakh tonnes against the projected 25 lakh tonnes, for the production of sugar this year has been good.

**Sugar release:** The Ministry was also asked to prepare a broad plan to check sugar price rise. It was asked to release 50,000 tonnes of additional free sale sugar for April over and above the 5 lakh tonnes released already. On 16 April, the Ministry released 6 lakh tonnes of free sale sugar for May this year, a spokesman said.

The Khandsari sugar manufacturers were directed to declare their stocks during May and June. The spokesman added that as a result of various steps taken, the retail price of sugar had dropped today to Rs 8.50 to Rs 8.70 from Rs 9.35 to Rs 9.55 a kg on 11 April.

Referring to tea, the Government has asked the trade to stagger the export and was hopeful to meet the demand till the new arrivals. Tea production was expected to go up by 18 million kg this year. As regards edible oil, the spokesman said the Government was thinking of importing some edible oil this year as the production was not good. The quantum would be decided after assessing the exact position.

**Dehoarding measures:** The Centre has asked the State Governments to strictly enforce the dehoarding measures to prevent the price rise or artificial shortage. It has also asked the States to fix a ceiling of the stocks to be held by the traders.

The Government also hinted at reintroduction of levy system in cement trade, although it said it would do so only if it was necessary. The price of cement which rose last month by Rs 13 to 30 has shown a downward trend following a meeting between the representatives of the cement industry and Mr B.G. Deshmukh, Principal Secretary last week. However, in today's meeting in which the Prime Minister reviewed the price situation, the Industry Department told the Government that if necessary "we should reintroduce levy system."

### **UNI reports:**

**Stringent measures:** The cement producers agreed at the meeting to roll back cement prices to the level prevailing on 31 March 1990. This would help reduce the prices at almost all consumption centres in the country, an official release today said.

At the instance of the Industry Minister, Mr Ajit Singh, the cement manufacturers association has already asked its constituents to immediately take appropriate action and confirm the same to the Industry Ministry.

**Prices falling:** According to the latest reports, prices have started falling. For instance, in Delhi, cement is reported to be available at about Rs 85/- to Rs 86/- per bag at the retail outlets against the earlier price of around Rs 95/- per bag.

At other centres also, reports of reduction in prices have been received. In Calcutta, there is a reduction of about Rs 5 per bag while in Bombay the reduction is about Rs 3 to Rs 4 per bag. Cement producers had also reported that short availability of wagons had hampered despatches to the major markets.

Directed by the Industry Minister, the matter has been taken up with the railway board and it has been agreed to move cement on priority basis to important consumption centres to make it available to consumers without any difficulty during the current peak construction season.

### **Indo-Soviet Economic Pact Promotes New Cooperation**

46001499 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 17 Apr 90 p 11

[Text] India and the Soviet Union have approved 36 joint ventures under a protocol to promote new forms of economic co-operation, signed here today.

The protocol was signed at the end of the second meeting of the Indo-Soviet working group on new forms of economic co-operation by the industry secretary, Mr A. N. Verma, and Mr I. E. Khotsialev, chief of the Soviet commission for foreign economic relations.

At the beginning of July 1989, there were 12 joint ventures between the two countries.

Ten joint venture proposals in the Soviet Union and 16 joint ventures in India are under consideration, according to an official press release.

According to the protocol, more than 40 joint ventures are at different stages of negotiation between the concerned enterprises and organizations in the two countries.

Earlier the Soviet delegation called on the industry minister, Mr Ajit Singh, and exchanged views on strengthening and expanding economic co-operation.

It was agreed to set up a monitoring mechanism in India under the department of industrial development and in the Soviet Union under the department for foreign economic relations to monitor the progress of various proposals for setting up joint ventures, exchange information periodically and assist in overcoming difficulties that may come up.

Both sides have agreed that establishment of joint ventures in agro-based industries, should be encouraged and the issue would be discussed in detail at a meeting of the working group on agriculture at Moscow next month.

The Soviet side intimated in principle its interest in establishing a Soviet trade center in India as a joint venture.

The two sides expressed satisfaction with the progress achieved in negotiations on establishing the India trade center in Moscow as a joint venture.

Prospects of co-operation in setting up joint ventures in health services, metallurgical and chemical industries, and the medical industry were also discussed and the concerned organizations directed to expedite technical and economic processing.

The two sides noted with satisfaction that during the last two years, development of production co-operation in the private sector had been activated. It was observed that 19 proposals were in various stages of finalization.

It was agreed that there was considerable scope for two-way transfer of technologies. Lists of technologies which could be of interest to concerned enterprises and firms in the respective countries were exchanged during the discussions. It was agreed that both sides would take expeditious steps to disseminate this information among their industry and business enterprises.

The inter-governmental agreement for utilization and repatriation of profits of the Indo-Soviet joint ventures in the Soviet Union would be finalized within the next three to four months.

The next meeting of the working group will be held in Moscow in September-October this year.

After the signing of the protocol, a memorandum of understanding was signed between M/s Tata Projects Ltd and M/s Sentroelectromonolog of the Soviet Union for setting up a joint venture in India for providing engineering and consultancy services in electrical installation work in India and other countries, the release added.

### **Reportage on U.S. Super 301 Sanctions**

#### **Washington Correspondent's Report**

46001529 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 29 Apr 90 p 9

[Article by Gautam Adhikari]

[Text] Washington, 28 April—India now remains the only nation listed by the United States as an unfair trading nation deserving retaliatory tariffs under the trade law, Super 301. Yesterday Japan was taken out of the list.

Brazil, after negotiations, was dropped from the list earlier. Japan reached an accord last week with the U.S. That now leaves only India. Mr Prem Singh, commercial minister at the Indian embassy, described the decision as "most unfortunate."

Last year, the U.S. trade representative, Ms Carla Hills, acted under the Super 301 provisions of the 1988 Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act to list Japan, Brazil and India as unfair trading nations. India was cited for its restrictive laws on foreign investment and for not allowing foreign companies into its insurance market. The problem for a country like India is that it is hardly in a position to take reprisals against the U.S. on similar grounds.

Unless some agreement is reached between India and the U.S. by 16 June, the law requires that U.S. retaliate by imposing high duties, as much as 100 per cent, on imports from India. If this happened, it would naturally sour economic ties between the two countries. But it

would also put considerable strains on recently improving political ties. Political ties in fact depends these days increasingly on the sustained improvement of economic relations between nations.

It appears that India is now being singled out by the United States in a manner that Japan could never be. To mollify trade policy hawks in Congress and outside, the Bush administration, perhaps, needs to keep the list going, even if there is just one name on it and even if the name is that of a nation with which its trade is a very small portion of its overall commercial activities.

The Indian government was perhaps aware of the possibility that something like this could happen. When the finance secretary, Dr Bimal Jalan, was here earlier this month, he had indicated that India was simply not going to negotiate its sovereign policies under threat from the United States or any other nation. At a meeting of the U.S.-India business council, Ms Hills made it clear that she was determined to make India change its laws.

India's stand also is that trade negotiations are going on at a multilateral level under the Uruguay round of talks of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT). At this point, such sudden pressure at the bilateral level was unwarranted.

In any case, India's other trading partners, like Japan or France or West Germany, had not complained about Indian foreign investment laws and had been increasing investments in India. Even Indo-U.S. trade had maintained a healthy growth and the U.S. remained the largest foreign investor in India, though the volume of total U.S. investments in India is still a tiny portion of overall American investment abroad.

The U.S., it appears, is unwilling to take into consideration the nature of law-making, and unmaking, in India. In a fiercely nationalistic climate, in a nation that grew into its current shape out of an anti-colonial movement for independence, perhaps no government in New Delhi can be seen to be buckling under pressure from a western power, especially the world's biggest political and economic power.

The Indian insurance market, which the U.S. estimates to be worth at least \$3 billion, is a nationalised one. Even Indian private companies cannot enter it. It would be difficult for any Indian government to change its nationalisation policy in this major field under pressure from a foreign source. It is the same with foreign investment laws.

The U.S. trade representative's office is apparently unwilling to appreciate New Delhi's difficulties or the fact that India is indeed liberalising its economic structure at its own practicable pace.

### Rajya Sabha, Other Reaction

46001529 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 1 May 90 p 7

[Text] The members in the Rajya Sabha today urged the government to be firm on its stand and not to buckle under U.S. pressure and termed the American administration's blacklisting India for trade under Super 301 as "sheer blackmail, unfair and an unfortunate" step.

Dr N. Thualsi Reddy of the Telugu Desam raised the issue through a special mention and later the deputy chairman, Mrs Najma Heptulla said the entire house agreed with the sentiments that under no circumstances should India bow down to U.S. pressure.

The TDP [Telugu Desam Party] member said the U.S. administration step in singling out India under the Super 301 trade embargo was a ploy to blackmail India in view of acute foreign exchange crises being faced by it to force it to give backdoor entry to U.S. multinationals.

The member said the United States wanted to take an unfair advantage of the Indian position to ask for easing of the Indian trade restrictions and said this amounted to gross interference in India's internal affairs.

Mr Kapil Verma (Congress), who was associated with the mention, said the government under no circumstances should change its just and firm stand.

The CPM [Marxist Communist Party] member, Mr Saifuddin Choudhary, demanded a statement by the prime minister, in the Lok Sabha on the reported decision of the United States to keep India on the hit list under its Super 301 Trade Act.

Raising the issue during zero hour in the house, Mr Choudhary said that the United States wanted to dictate India as to how it should run its economy and described the move of the U.S. to retain India under Super 301 as a clear affront on our sovereignty.

The house should unanimously condemn the United States for its action, Mr Choudhary demanded.

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) has described the U.S. decision as 'regrettable.'

India has problems of its own, such as adverse balance of payment position, rampant unemployment and low standard of living, which require a certain policy structure, the FICCI president, Mr Raunaq Singh has said in a statement. This policy structure cannot be abandoned overnight.

Nevertheless, gradual changes have been taking place to open the market more and more to foreign investment and import. This process of obalisation [as printed] of Indian economy is gathering momentum, Mr Singh said.

India does not discriminate against any country and while her trade with the U.S. is almost balanced, other

countries like Japan, West Germany, France and UK enjoy trade surpluses with India.

India is in the process of deregulation of its economy and this has been adequately explained to U.S. officials. Moreover, the problems of U.S. are 'predominantly internal' therefore, any forced entry into any market will not be accepted, nor will it be in the interest of U.S. itself, the statement says.

The premature announcement by President George Bush has created misgivings in the minds of the business community, Mr Singh said. It has conveyed an impression that the U.S. is not even prepared to wait till 16 June.

#### 'No Cause for Alarm'

46001529 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 4 May 90 p 11

[Text] Bangalore, 3 May—As India was now opting for a more flexible environment for import and export of capital goods, there was no cause for undue alarm over the sanctions imposed on it under the Super 301 by the U.S.A., Mr Tejendra Khanna, Chief Controller, Imports and Exports, union commerce ministry, said here today.

Mr Khanna, who was inaugurating a seminar on "Import-Export Policy 1990-93" organised by the Greater Mysore Chamber of Industry (GMCI) felt confident that India could come through this crisis by falling back on its own areas of interest and relying on the provisions under the general agreement on tariffs and trade (GATT).

Liberalisation of the import policy, particularly in respect of capital goods and import of raw materials by exporters, would become automatic once the balance of payments was effectively narrowed down, he pointed out. This had been stressed by Mr Bimal Jalan, finance secretary, during the recent bilateral talks with the U.S.A.

The government was reluctant to bring in zero tariff on import of capital goods until the situation improved, because this constituted nearly 40 percent of the revenue from tariffs, he said.

The other reasons for the mounting costs of imports were external inefficiency and infrastructural weakness. The industrial capacity utilisation was not up to the mark, and there were inordinate delays in clearing export cargo at ports. This resulted in the products reaching the buyer too late, Mr Khanna pointed out.

He was of the opinion that although a three-year limit had been specified to test the efficacy of the import-export policy, there was no reason why changes could not be made that were advantageous of the trading community if they were adequately justified.

In fact the commerce ministry was already contemplating such changes, in line with the liberal attitude to be adopted by the government, he added.

#### Bush Assent to 'India-Bashing'

460001529 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 1 May 90 p 8

[Editorial; "Patently Unfair"]

[Text] It is unfortunate that Mr George Bush has decided to single out India for grossly unfair treatment under Super 301, thus putting the imprimatur of the high office of the President on India-bashing, promoted by the protectionist American lobby to which Ms Carla Hills has been pandering in the most blatant fashion. The decision has caused dismay in India for it reflects the failure of the U.S. authorities to appreciate that India's new government has continued with the policy of external liberalisation inherited from the previous one, despite the severe pressure on the country's balance of payments. The U.S. has ignored that high on India's priorities is the servicing of its large external debt on schedule, whatever the consequent cost to its economic growth. This should have led it to realise the need for sensitively handling economic relations with India. The U.S., which has first-hand experience of the difficulties its banks continue to face in sorting out the debt owed them, has nevertheless decided to hold India under the threat of trade retaliation, thus brazenly destabilising the negotiated safeguards which India along with other developing nations have under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The U.S. penchant for riding rough-shod over multilateral institutional arrangements is also seen in its attempts to dominate the working of the Bretton Woods twins (IMF and World Bank) to the resentment of France and other major European nations as also of Japan. Far from taking a hostile attitude to India, the latter have sought to foster economic relations with this country on the basis of mutual advantage. Indeed, the current visit to this country of Mr Toshiki Kaifu, Prime Minister of Japan, has served to stress the perception of the two countries on the need to work together to avoid "unilateral action and exclusive arrangements" in world trade. Japan, whose private external investment is rapidly expanding the world over, including India, has shown commendable understanding of this country's position on the Uruguay round, which the self-centred U.S. finds irksome. It is time the U.S. protectionist lobby realised that its relentless antipathy to India can only trigger a reaction in this country against external liberalisation. India is seriously examining how the opening up of the economy should be phased, but it must decide the pace on its own terms, and not on those set by an alien nation. India-bashing is now beginning to harden the attitude of even Indian business against the use of U.S. state power to promote the interests of American corporations. This is hardly surprising in a country

whose major economic weapon is its struggle against colonialism was the boycott of foreign (British) goods.

### **India Advocated Third World Stand in Uruguay Round**

46001517 *Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH*  
in English 21 Mar 90 p 8

[Text] New Delhi, March 20: India has urged the developing countries to stand together to ensure that international economic relations are not reshaped to their detriment at the end of the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

In a message read out on the occasion of the first-ever meeting of senior officials of developing countries yesterday, the commerce minister, Mr Arun Nehru, called upon the participants to work out a common strategy so that the development dimension is not lost sight of and the developing countries emerge from the negotiations strengthened, and not weakened.

The minister said that the new round of multilateral trade negotiations presented an opportunity for the developing countries to preserve and strengthen the multilateral trading system, to make the international system more responsive to their economic situation and secure greater liberalization in areas of their export interest.

Mr Nehru voiced India's deep concern over what is being viewed as an attempt to restructure the international economic order in a manner which would strengthen the grip of the advanced countries on the world economy. He said a tendency had been noted on the part of a number of participants to try to enlarge the scope of negotiations to cover other aspects of international economic relations.

The commerce secretary, Mr S.P. Shukla, who chaired the opening session, said the purpose of the two-day meeting was to coordinate and protect the interests of the developing countries as the Uruguay Round approaches its final and most critical phase. He pointed out that while the industrialized countries had a number of mechanisms for holding consultations on trade and economic issues, including the OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development], the developing countries had not been able to establish any comparable forum for exchange of views. This meeting was intended to fill this vital gap, he added.

Mr Muchkund Dubey, secretary (ER), ministry of external affairs, said that this was the first round which was focussing not just on trade but other areas including the rules and regulations governing world trade. Also, for the first time, the negotiations were directed towards a group of countries. He felt that the developing countries would have no bargaining position without a common stand.

All participants, including the delegates from China, Pakistan, Brazil, Indonesia, Mexico, Kenya, Egypt, Jamaica and Peru were unanimous in stressing the imbalance in the progress of negotiations so far and the commonality of interests on basic issues which, despite the differing perceptions in particular areas, should help to evolve a common stand.

Presenting India's statement on an overview of the Uruguay Round, Mr Anwar Hoda, additional secretary, ministry of commerce, said that with about eight months to go for the conclusion of the negotiations, the developing countries did not have any cause for optimism on the outcome. This stems from the fact that the focus of interest of industrialized countries seemed to be only in new areas.

Citing specific cases, Mr Hoda said there was unwillingness to move on the crucial question of integration of textiles and agriculture into GATT, efforts to tilt the GATT framework in rule-making against developing countries by legitimizing selectivity in safeguards and proposals to enlarge anti-dumping and countervailing duties. However, in the new areas, efforts were continuing for obtaining cross-linkage between concessions on trade and new areas of economic policy which were in the domain of sovereign decision making.

In intellectual property and investment, the development dimension is being ignored and in services there is unwillingness to liberalize the labor intensive sectors which is the only area where the majority of developing countries have comparative advantage. Mr Hoda said the negotiations had evolved in this manner because the spirit of international economic cooperation which had guided GATT negotiations in the past seemed to have become non-existent. Coupled with this was a well-orchestrated attempt to sow division in the ranks of the developing countries by pointing out the differences in the levels of development.

### **India Regional Representative in FAO Panel**

46001535 *Madras THE HINDU*  
in English 28 Apr 90 p 6

[Text] Beijing, 27 April—The Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) Regional Conference for Asia and the Pacific today elected India to represent the region on the Consultative Group for International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) for a four-year term.

India was unanimously chosen as it is a leading country in biotechnology research in the region while Samoa, a western Pacific island country, was chosen to represent small nations. They will serve from 1991 to 1994, replacing Bangladesh and Thailand, which will end their terms this year.

At today's concluding session, the conference chairman and Chinese Agriculture Minister, Mr He Kang, expressed appreciation of India's offer to host the 21st regional conference in 1992.



The date and place would be decided by the Food and Agriculture Organisation Director General, Mr Edouard Saouma, in consultation with member States.

The Indian delegation to the conference was led by the Deputy Prime Minister and Agriculture Minister, Mr Devi Lal. Delegations from 28 member-countries and a large number of observers took part in the five-day session.

The conference also approved an amendment to include China in the Plant protection agreement for the Asia-Pacific region. China had been excluded from the agreement's geographic scope in 1955 when it was first adopted by the FAO Council.

### **Defense Studies Institute Predicts Indo-Pakistan War**

46001528 *Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 26 Apr 90 p 13

[Text] New Delhi, 25 April (PTI)—Pakistan's successful launching of a low-intensity conflict against India may blow into a full-fledged war, defence analysts feel.

The developments in the past few days indicate that the low-profile offensive by Islamabad may escalate into a full-scale armed attack any moment, experts at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) say.

A close scrutiny of the Pakistan behavioral pattern on the even of launching of a war against India shows that the civilian leadership was having problems with the armed forces before the past wars. However, the only exception, they say, was the war in 1948.

Whenever, the military has become predominant in Pakistan, the civilian leadership advocated a war with India to cut the military to size or to replace it. The wars in 1965 and 1971 were aimed at achieving these objectives.

Possibilities of a war, though undesirable, cannot be ruled out, experts maintain. "Pakistan has done it in the past and today's near parity in conventional weapons might tempt them to launch another offensive."

Besides, the internal political situation in Pakistan is now similar to that Islamabad was witnessing before the 1965 and 1971 wars. The army remains a dominant power centre potent enough to pose a threat to the Benazir Bhutto government.

Whenever the civilian leadership in Pakistan fails to make the armed forces subservient to its authority, it advocates an Indo-Pak war which automatically means an almost certain neutralisation of the military, experts point out.

Apparently, they say, Ms Bhutto is also looking for such a solution to silence the Pakistani army and its supporters among the opposition political parties. Foremost among the warring leaders raising their voice against the

PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government is the Punjab chief minister, Mr Nawaz Sharif.

In a desperate bid to survive, experts believe, Ms Bhutto might not hesitate to repeat history by launching an attack on India, however costly it may prove.

But the same does not hold good when the Pakistani military is in full command of the situation and relations between India and Pakistan deteriorate considerably.

For instance, during India's exercise 'Brasstacks' in January-February 1987, both the countries were about to go to war, but General Ziaul-Haq promptly proposed the foreign secretary-level meeting to be held in New Delhi to defuse the crisis.

In these circumstances, experts say, an obvious inference one can draw from the sudden spurt in Pakistan's support to the Kashmiri subversives could be the problems Ms Bhutto is having with the army chief, General Mirza Aslam Beg and other opposition political parties.

Even western intelligence reports confirm the training of thousands of Kashmiri militants in training camps functioning in Pakistan and Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK) in arms and subversion.

Again, the diversion of sophisticated weapons, including rocket launchers and Kalishnikov rifles, from U.S.-supplied Afghan aid stockpiles into the valley is a well-known fact.

But what seems alarming is the fact that Pakistan has "precipitated" the present war psychosis with India. Over the past couple of days at least 11 of the 21 divisions of the Pakistani army have reportedly been moved closer to the offence line near various sectors, putting Indian forces on the alert.

Some analysts also feel that the Pakistani perception the government in New Delhi is not very strong and is a minority one which can be bullied very easily. Such an attitude on the part of the Pakistanis may result in over-confidence and lead to an attack.

Therefore, the probability of an outbreak of hostilities between Pakistan and India is rated quite high by defence experts.

The next few weeks, experts feel, are going to be extremely crucial as the snow on high altitude mountain ranges will start to melt with the approaching summer, opening up the mountain passes.

### **New Anti-Indian Underground Group Found in Darjeeling**

46001505 *Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH*  
in English 9 Apr 90 p 5

[Article by Keshav Pradhan]

[Text] Darjeeling, April 1: A highly provocative leaflet, overtly anti-India in tone, has been circulated in the hills by a new underground unit named "Rajya Mukti Morcha."

The organization, which demands statehood for Gorkhas and opposes the hill council, has also sought the dissolution of the GNLFF [Gurkha National Liberation Front] and the Gorkha Liberation Organization (GLO) which continues to fight for a separate "Gorkhaland."

The "Rajya Mukti Morcha" has placed two alternatives before the government—either constitute a separate state for Nepalis or quit the land incorporated by the British under the treaty of Souguli. As per the treaty signed between Nepal and the East India Company after the Anglo-Nepal war of 1814-1816, Nepal ceded Darjeeling, parts of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Himachal Pradesh.

The organization, which has called on Gorkhas to quit the Army, has warned that it will not hesitate to seek foreign help if the government tried to suppress it.

The leaflet claims that the underground unit headed by Sudesh Azad was formed on March 10. The police are trying to identify the organizers. Local sources do not rule out the possibility of the involvement of Nepalese intelligence. They speculate that it might be Nepal's answer to the support lent by India to pro-democracy forces there.

Meanwhile, speaking to this correspondent at the GLO headquarters in Kalimpong, its president, Mr Chhatre Subba, said his organization would soon finalize its agitation programme. The GLO has sent a letter to Mr V.P. Singh on the "Gorkhaland" issue.

The letter dated March 23 warned the government of a possible outburst of "individual expressions" and "untoward incidents" if it continued to remain silent.

According to Mr Subba, who, shot into prominence as a militant leader during the GNLFF-sponsored 40-day strike two years ago, his party has been struggling for a separate state comprising the whole of Darjeeling district and the Dooars.

He claimed to have obtained the support of the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], Old Jana Sanghis and the Naxalite group headed by Mr Santosh Rana. Mr Subba, who fell out with Mr Subhas Ghising after the latter accepted the hill council, alleged that there was a "monetary transaction" between Mr Ghising and the government.

### **Mizoram Concerned Over Chin Liberation Army Activities**

46001498 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 19 Apr 90 p 7

[Article by Indiranil Shankar]

[Text] Aizawl, April 18. Villagers of Tlangsam, seven km from the Mizoram border with Burma, live in terror of attacks by the Burmese army in its bid to recover stolen arms from Chin Liberation Army (CLA) activists.

The Mizoram government, on the other hand, is apprehensive about the ramifications of the heightened

activity of the CLA, both at home and abroad. Intelligence agencies, especially the RAW [Research and Analysis Wing], are allegedly financing the CLA in a bid to ensure the end of martial law in Burma.

What worries the state government is the fact that the CLA is the same Zomi Reunification Organization (ZORO) which was formed at Champhai on May 18, 1988, by the former Mizoram chief minister, Brig Thenphunga Sailo, along with 12 other organizations from Tripura, Manipur, Bangladesh and Burma to amalgamate all Mizo-inhabited areas surrounding Mizoram to form a greater Mizoram.

Though for Brig Sailo, the ZORO is merely a matter of getting even with the chief minister, Mr Laldenga, whose Mizo National Front (MNF) has been a thorn in his side from when the former was chief minister, the ZORO movement has been gathering momentum. The ZORO with the Zomi Reunification Volunteers (ZRV) as its militant wing, is in close touch with its sister organizations, one of which is the Chin Liberation Organization (CLO).

Though the ZORO is sworn to a non-violent unification movement, it has claimed responsibility for the CLA activities in recent times.

On March 12, it is learnt that two CLA members, Mr Nghakaand and Mr Zuilliana of Tlangsam village, four km from Champhai, crossed into Burmese territory and procured six guns, including a stengun, for which a receipt was issued to the village chairman, Mr Khawlasiamia. In his March 15 letter to the sub-divisional officer, Champhai, Mr Khawlasiamia had requested return of the guns.

On March 17, another CLA activist allegedly snatched the stengun of a Burmese army corporal and ran into Indian territory at Vaikai village, seven km from the border. The Burmese army entered Vaikai and whisked away 104 Indian villagers, including 41 women, to Burma for interrogation regarding their links with the CLA. The next day, all but one person were released after a harrowing night of detention. The CLA then attacked some Burmese outposts for guns.

On March 27, the CLA extorted money from some Burmese nationals trading in Tlangsam at gunpoint. The Burmese traders informed the Burmese army of the incident the same evening. On March 28 morning, ten Burmese army personnel attacked Tlangsam village with G-3 rifles, a deadly German weapon, spraying the area with bullets. One person was injured in the shooting.

The Tlangsam village council president, Mr Laikunga informed that of the 300 households in Tlangsam, at least 70 belonged to a religious sect led by Mr Kiaulaia, who is suspected to be a cover for the CLO. According to information available from the state home department and Central intelligence agencies, Mr Kiaulaia and some of his members attended the Champhai convention where ZORO was born. Mr Kiaulaia also attended an arms training camp organized by the ZORO at

Sangau in Chhimtuipui district of south Mizoram bordering Burma from January 31 to February 3 last.

On raiding the training camp, Mr Kiaulauia and seven other top CLO leaders were arrested and interrogated by the police and intelligence agencies. The interrogations established somewhat that Mr Kiaulauia was the brain behind the CLO with religion as a deceptive front.

However, the CLO has its own share of intra-party troubles leading to a breakaway faction calling itself the Chin National Front (CNF). The CNF led by Mr Tialkhal had sought the help of the ZRV in ensuring the safe return of his son and grandson abducted by the rival group within the party on February 12. At least 14 ZRV personnel were directed to help Mr Tialkhal, allegedly with the knowledge of Brig Sailo, who was then busy in New Delhi trying to get his newly-formed Democratic Party associate membership of the Janata Dal. However, all 14 ZRV men were captured by the rival group within the CNF, of which ten were subsequently released. The state government, alarmed by the ZORO activities, swooped down on Mr Tialkhal and his deputy, Mr Tuidima, and arrested them at Sangau.

A top bureaucrat, who served the Mizoram government till September last, said that during his tenure, the state home department had been trying to verify rumors that the RAW had provided Rs 6 lakhs to pass on to the activists in the Chin hills of Burma. The rumor, however, has never been substantiated.

With Brig Sailo having signed the Democratic Party as an associate member of the Janata Dal in February, the party cadres believe that the ZORO, the ZRV, the CLA and the CNF and all other sister organizations have the tacit approval of the government of India. Burma, which is gearing for elections in May, is expected, on the other hand, to come down hard on all separatist elements especially along its borders with various countries.

### Information on 47 Bofors Suspects Submitted to Swiss

46001546 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH  
in English 18 Apr 90 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 17 April: A document purporting to be the Letter Rogatory issued by the Central Bureau of Investigation [CBI] in the Bofors probe mentions 47 entities (individuals and companies) and asks the Swiss to examine their "accounts or deposits in some banks in Switzerland."

The document belies CBI's claim that it is investigating the identities of the holders of five accounts with which Bofors paid commissions relating to the Indian deal as well as a sixth account about which the Bureau says it was informed by the Swiss.

The document, currently circulating in New Delhi, has made the Congress(I) angry because it includes the names of Mr Walter Vinci and Mr Val de Moro, both of

whom are married to Mrs Sonia Gandhi's sisters. It also mentions Mr Ottario Quottrochi and Ajitabh and Amitabh Bachchan.

Congress(I) sources say there is no prima facie evidence against any of these persons in the Bofors case and accuse the CBI of indulging in a political vendetta. Further, they allege, the inclusion of Mrs Sonia Gandhi's relatives in the list demonstrates that the CBI is determined to try and involve Mr Rajiv Gandhi without any proof.

Last week, a senior official of the law ministry, who requested anonymity, confirmed that the names had indeed been submitted to the Swiss but the names of Mr Vinci and Mr de Moro had since been deleted 'for lack of evidence.'

Following the publication of this assertion in THE TELEGRAPH on 15 April, the CBI denied that any names had been deleted. It refused, however, to confirm that Mr Vinci and Mr de Moro were on the list. Nor would it say anything about the Bachchans or Mr Quottrochi. In fact, it said, it would not reveal the identities of those it had asked the Swiss to investigate.

This statement has mystified many of those who have been following the Bofors case. In its earlier statements, the CBI had never mentioned that it had asked the Swiss to investigate anyone apart from those mentioned in THE HINDU documents or in the documents received by the government from Bofors. The suggestion that 47 names have been mentioned in the Letter Rogatory has come as a surprise.

#### The Names

1. Pitco	20. Emac Ltd
2. Moresco	21. Bast Ltd
3. Moineao SA	22. Bid SE
4. Svenska	23. Bid Engineering
5. A E Services	24. Jogerator
6. Anatronc General Cop	25. Arco Lab
7. Win Chadha	26. Arco Pharma
8. Hersh Chadha	27. Mrs Viscer
9. Mylese Stott	28. Walter Vinci
10. Major Wilson	29. Val de Moro
11. O. Quottrochi	30. K. Jajodia
12. Ajitabh Bachchan	31. A.K. Jajodia
13. Amitabh Bachchan	32. Bhupinder Singh
14. Mr Laford	33. P.C. Schlegal
15. Bernard Meler	34. J.P. Mollard
16. Emile Marshi	35. Hank Ekblom
17. Martin Ardbo	36. Yues Pirene
18. Cal Bedzel	37. Shivendra Parmar
19. Gravelin Shipping	Plus 10 others

The CBI will say no more. It will not reveal who is under investigation, nor will it refute the list of 47 names in circulation in Delhi. It has also refused to explain what prima facie evidence, if any, exists against Mrs Sonia Gandhi's relatives. This has angered Congress(I) MP [Member of Parliament]s who accuse the Bureau of seeking to gain political mileage out of the inquiry by smearing Mr Rajiv Gandhi's relatives.

### CPI National Council Calls for Strong Measures

46001545 New Delhi PATRIOT  
in English 22 Apr 90 p 7

[Text] The Communist Party of India (CPI) National Council has expressed grave concern at the rise in prices of essential commodities, leading to discontent among people, particularly the poor and middle classes, a party release said on Saturday.

Calling the 1990-91 budget inflationary, the National Council in its resolution adopted its meeting on Friday said, it exposed the hollowness of the claim of the Finance Minister Madhu Dandavate that the budget would not lead to any marked rise in prices.

"In spite of the promise by the National Front Government," the resolution said, "to bring down prices the budget did not propose any drastic action to prevent the price rise and now the Government has raised the issue price of wheat."

It said the industrialists hailed the budget as it did not impose any heavy burden on the corporate sector. "The people were already feeling the burden of price-rise as back-breaking and now has come this further ruse," it said. The hope of the people had been belied, it added.

The National Council has urged the Government to take urgent steps to control the price rise and reverse it as well as take strong measures against hoarders.

In another resolution, the National Council regretted the attempt of the government to water down its commitment in writing off loans up to Rs 10,000 of small, marginal farmers, landless cultivators and artisans.

It alleged that the Finance Minister diluted the scheme much and put many conditions which would further make the scheme a mockery eventually denying the rural poor any benefit.

While there was no such division between the loans taken from commercial banks and cooperative banks in the original commitment, it said, the Minister provided for only Rs 1,000 crore in the budget for the reimbursement to commercial banks and other banks for implementation of the loan waiver scheme; the resolution said.

For the outstanding dues to the cooperatives, estimated at Rs 1,842 crore by the Government, nothing was provided. On the other hand the Minister announced that the Central Government would assist the State

Government if they implemented such loan waiver schemes to the farmers on the model of the Central Government scheme.

The resolution also said as the scheme announced by Prof Dandavate excluded the current loans, forcible collections were going on in some States which the peasants were resisting.

### Gupta Meets Press After CPI National Council Meet

46001539 New Delhi PATRIOT  
in English 24 Apr 90 p 6

[Text] The Communist Party of India [CPI]'s national council meeting has expressed concern over the infighting within the Janata Dal leadership and urged them not to betray the confidence of the masses who had voted for them.

Briefing newsmen on the three-day national council meeting, CPI general secretary Indrajit Gupta and former general secretary C. Rajeswara Rao said a resolution passed at the meeting called for extending all support to the National Front Government and doing nothing to endanger its stability. "But, at the same time, we should not hesitate to sharply criticise its failures and shortcomings, or any of its policies and measures which go against the interests of the common man," they stressed.

The national council, the leaders said, formulated several tasks for itself in the coming months, including carrying on of a sustained movement in defence of national unity, secularism, communal harmony and for the protection of Article 370 of the Constitution.

The national council also called for concrete proposals to effectively implement the Government's declared policies on the 'right to work,' debt relief for the rural poor, democratic industrial relations, reform of the banking system, autonomy of electronic media, anti-corruption measures, incentives for the small scale sector and agro-industries, minimum wages and welfare benefits for unorganised workers.

The communique issued at the press conference also touched upon the situation arising out of disturbances in Jammu and Kashmir, and Punjab, the continuing price rise and Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute.

Addressing his first press conference after taking over from Mr Rajeswara Rao, Mr Gupta said although his party welcomed some of the measures to restore normalcy in Punjab, it felt the Government had no clear-cut policy on Punjab. The National Front Government should take immediate steps to evolve a national consensus on the Punjab problem by restoring the advisory committee, for speedy redressal of people's grievances in the State.

Territorial disputes with Haryana should be settled and the dispute over river water be referred to the Supreme

Court, Mr Gupta said. The party accused Janata Dal of diluting its commitments made to people and asked the party to stand by them.

Accusing Pakistan of blatant and open interference in Jammu and Kashmir, the party said all necessary steps should be taken to foil its game. However, India must make efforts to de-escalate tension and avoid another war and also resolve differences on the basis of the Simla agreement. Describing as a 'disquieting feature' the substantial gains made by BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] in the recent elections, CPI urged all secular forces to unite and fight against the BJP's attempt to project itself as the only viable political alternative of the future.

### **CPI-M General Secretary Urges Support for Front**

46001523 New Delhi *PATRIOT*  
in English 23 Apr 90 p 2

[Text] CPI-M [Communist Party of India-Marxist] General Secretary E.M.S. Namboodiripad, has called for a new political culture in which there is more co-operation among political parties on issues of development reports PTI.

Mr Namboodiripad told a seminar in Delhi recently that he was requesting the Congress and other Opposition parties in the State to reconsider their approach and support the creative programmes of the present government.

"This is important since after 34 years of political activity both the Congress and the Communists have not succeeded in destroying each other," he said.

He maintained that the "excessive anti-Communist approach followed by the Congress and its allies has so far been the single most important obstacle to Kerala's development."

This approach has been evident from the days of the first Communist ministry, which came to power in Kerala in 1957, Mr Namboodiripad said, speaking on planning for development of Kerala.

He asserted that his negative attitude continued despite the fact that the Government he headed initiated action for all round development of the State in line with the "progressive policy declarations" of the Congress and its government at the Centre and not a Communist policy.

Giving examples of these policies, Mr Namboodiripad said the Agrarian Relations Bill was introduced in the fifties to redefine the landlord-tenant relationship and was also based on the broad suggestions made by the Planning Commission.

Similarly, the Education Bill was aimed at wiping out corruption and malpractices in the system and to provide better living conditions to the people.

Another measure which came under attack was the District Council Bill which was aimed at bringing about a decentralisation of power.

### **Conclusions of CPI-M Central Committee Meet Reported**

46001506 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH*  
in English 3 Apr 90 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, April 2: In an oblique criticism of the government's inability to cope with key problems confronting the country, the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] Politburo today noted that "the threat to national unity posed by developments in Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir, Assam and the Ram Janmabhoomi issue has grown more serious than ever before."

Though the CPI(M) Politburo, which completed its three-day meeting here yesterday, refrained from attacking the government openly, its sense of disappointment and worry is clear from the wording of the communique.

On Punjab, it pointed out that the National Front government and all political parties, including the Congress(I), had agreed that the holding of Assembly elections should be postponed till conditions were created for it. It added, "It is regrettable that due to the inept handling of parliamentary affairs by the government and irresponsibility on the part of others who are interested the Constitution Amendment Bill extending President's rule fell through in Lok Sabha."

### **Kashmir**

The Politburo noted that the situation was "rapidly going out of control" leading to large scale exodus of refugees from the state. Criticizing the government further, the CPI(M) leadership said, "Though the all-party meeting took some initiatives and set up a advisory committee to deal with the Kashmir problem, no serious effort has been made to activate the committee."

It also said that the CPI(M) and other Left, secular forces had always held the view that political measures to bring normally to the state required an assurance that the identity of the Kashmiri people would be preserved and the special position occupied by it in the Indian Constitution (Article 370) continue to be in force.

In the context, the party noted, "The agitation carried on by the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and some Hindu organizations for the abrogation of the Article will only further alienate the people and help the secessionist forces in the valley."

### **Communal Situation**

On the Ram Janmabhoomi/Babri Masjid dispute, the Politburo noted that, "although the Prime Minister succeeded in persuading the Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] to put off its programme for four months, active preparations are going on for demolishing the mosque in

order to build the temple in June. The VHP is not prepared to agree to an amicable solution or abide by the judicial verdict."

It added that in such a situation, "the VHP-RSS campaign is inflaming communal passions and leading to riots which have recently erupted in many parts of the country." The Politburo therefore called upon all other Left and secular forces in the country to launch a broad-based campaign "for communal peace and national unity." It also decided to hold a national convention against the menace of communalism soon.

#### Assam

The statement noted that the situation created in the state by the activities of Ulfa "is threatening to bring back the dreaded days of the Assam agitation. Extortion of huge sums of money, kidnappings and murders are taking place." It hoped that the Left and secular forces would take a clear stand in defence of the linguistic, ethnic and religious minorities.

On the Union Budget, the Politburo reiterated its criticism and said despite the difficult circumstances inherited from the previous regime, "the Budget was disappointing in view of the wide expectations that the National Front government will make a break from the old policies in order to meet the aspirations of the people."

Welcoming the government's announcement of measures such as Central legislation for agricultural laborers, separate legislation for construction workers and assurance of protection of forest rights for tribals, the Politburo urged its mass organization to "continue their campaign to mobilize the people to ensure that these announcements are given concrete shape..."

On the international front, the Politburo repeated its desire that a lasting solution to the problems of the Tamil minority be found in Sri Lanka. It also expressed full support for the struggle for democracy in Nepal and appealed "to all sections of the people in India to extend their unstinted support for the struggling people of Nepal."

#### Basu Speaks at CPI-M Lenin Anniversary Celebration

46001541 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 24 Apr 90 p 18

[Text] Calcutta, 23 April—The CPM [Marxist Communist Party] leader, Mr Jyoti Basu's speech at Lenin's birth anniversary meeting, yesterday, gave clear indications that the CPM had serious reservations about what was going on in the soviet Union in the name of glasnost and perestroika. Mr Basu also criticised attempts to revert to capitalism in the East European countries.

Mr Basu gave a broad hint that the CPM might join some other communist countries in the world in opposing the conspiracy to bring back capitalism in the

Soviet Union and East European countries in the name of democratisation and liberalisation. Political observers feel that Mr Basu probably had Cuba in mind, when he said that, though he did not spell out the name of the country.

The veteran CPM leader said that much was being said about the multi-party system in the Soviet Union. But he refused to equate the multi-party system with democracy. Multi-party system was in force in Britain for so many years. Yet, this did not stop it from exploiting India for 200 years.

Again, Mr Basu expressed opposition to the move taken to amend the Soviet Constitution to rescind the leading role of the Communist party in the country. He wondered if that was done who would give leadership to the people in the right direction.

The chief minister was, however, most critical of the manner in which Stalin was being vilified in the Soviet Union. Some Soviet historians and research workers were not out to denigrate Stalin. "They are now identifying Stalin as an enemy of the Soviet Union." He said Stalin might have committed some mistakes, but the glorious role played by him in protecting the young socialist country from the fascist attack was now being ignored.

He expressed shock that in some of the East European countries, Lenin's statues were being pulled down along with Stalin's. He said there was no point dismantling the statues. One should read and re-read Marxism and Leninism because it was the wrong application of these principles that led to distortions in the East European countries. Marxism and Leninism was still very much relevant despite the sweeping changes taking place in the world, he asserted.

Mr Basu said that all these aspects would be discussed at next month's politburo and central committee meetings of the CPM. He pointed out that China had initially made some mistakes. It later corrected the mistakes keeping in view the needs of the country. Similarly, CPM would try to learn from the mistakes committed elsewhere, otherwise it would be alienated from the people.

#### CPI-M-L Scored for 'Extravagant Maoist Outlook'

46001513 New Delhi PATRIOT  
in English 27 Mar 90 p 4

[Editorial]

[Text] The rally on 23 March in Delhi, a very large gathering of peasants, tribals and workers under the banner of the CPI(M-L) [Communist Party of India-Marxist-Leninist], was an impressive demonstration of what may be seen as "Naxalite" power. This, together with a massive IPF [India People's Front] rally in Patna on 21 March to protest against the "criminalisation of politics in Bihar," shows that the groups which are

commonly held to be "Naxalite" have risen like a phoenix from the ashes these had virtually been reduced to, after the terrible events connected with the Maoist-inspired movement in the early seventies. Not that conflicts, killings and repression have ceased: indeed, in places like Andhra Pradesh and Bihar the chain of violence and repression has never stopped. The Naxalite groups, with some exceptions like the PWG [People's War Group] in Andhra Pradesh and the MCC [Maoist Communist Center] in Bihar, have adopted more broad-based tactics in order to break this chain. The progress of the IPF in Bihar is a significant case in point, even if others in the armed struggle find that party too "revisionist" by far. However, the CPI(M-L)'s 29-point charter of demands and memorandum, which were presented to the Prime Minister on Friday, contain two rather troubling features. By condemning "Soviet-Social Imperialism" and the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, the party displays an extravagant and old-fashioned Maoist outlook, despite the historic changes which have overtaken the Communist parties the world over. Whether purism and orthodoxy is necessary in the Indian context is something for the Indian Marxist-Leninists to reflect upon very seriously. The other question is about the demand for the removal of the special police and para-military forces in Punjab and Kashmir, along with laws like TADA and the Disturbed Areas Act. What the CPI(M-L) does not indicate is how it would deal with communal violence and terrorism. Nor for that matter does it clarify its position on secessionist armed struggles. Meanwhile, it must be recognised that in these deeply troubling times an earnest voice for the oppressed and exploited is being raised by them.

### Science Advisory Panel Releases Plan for 2001

46001544 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English No I, 22 Apr 90 p 5; No II, 23 Apr 90 p 3

[No 1, 22 Apr 90 p 5]

[Text] Bombay, 21 April—The food scenario for the coming years is alarming unless the production increased from the present annual figure of 150 million tonnes to 180 million tonnes by the start of the eighth five-year plan and then to 300 million tonnes by the turn of the century. "If this did not happen India is likely to face a food crisis that will be reminiscent of 1960."

This grim warning was given in a publication entitled "An approach to a perspective plan for 2001 AD; role of science and technology, recommendations for action." It was published by the science advisory council to the Prime Minister in November 1988 and released today.

According to the document, such targets cannot be attained without scientific breakthroughs backed up by an overhauled, vibrant innovative research and laboratory to land management.

Major science and technology inputs will be needed to get break-through in achieving higher genetic production

potential, efficient use of plant nutrients, soil and water management, tissue culture and arid zone cultivation.

"While expanding the irrigation facilities, greater attention will have to be paid to the improvement of drainage so that the soil-plant relationship is not lost sight of, the 50-page document states.

It says that urgent steps should be taken to grow crops suiting different agro-ecological conditions so that the concept of specialty agriculture can gain ground and all crops are not grown in all areas.

The approach plan states that the population has been increasing at an alarming rate. "In other words, in spite of the enormous amount of work done with social, science and technology and modern communication inputs, the end results have not been achieved," it states.

Without appropriate planning, the country's population must be limited to no more than 970 million by 2001 AD. "Should we fail to act in time, we may have to provide extra resources for an additional 55 million by that year. We believe that one of the most effective methods of population control is widespread education of women," the document says.

It adds that in order to strike a balance of population growth with opportunities by developmental plans, plans must be made for providing better opportunities to women and guaranteeing security for the old.

The approach plan states that there are conflicting reports regarding the present status of fertility antigens. Vaccination as a means of fertility control is today primarily experimental. The scenario places a major limitation on the science and technology inputs available in the area. However, this equally strengthens the case for renewed and massive science and technology efforts in developing new methodologies, the document says.

The document states that work should be done for providing health care to hundred million people who will be above the age of 60 to 2001.

About housing, a significant break-through in science and technology linked to the development of low cost and alternative building materials was necessary if shelter had to be provided to everyone, the document states.

According to the document, nearly 60 percent of the rural population in India will continue to depend on mud and thatch for housing for another two or three decades. However, possibilities existed for improving these materials with polymers.

According to it "the combination of providing rural housing with appropriate ecological plans and meeting domestic energy requirements should be a major focal point for village and block level development programmes which could be the quintessence of district level planning."

The document states that although over the years science and technology have provided varying inputs and models for rural housing, these have not been used extensively because of the problems of delivery on the one hand, and on the other, issues of architectural and civil engineering codes which need to be reassessed.

Regarding ecology, it says that the costs of environmental degradation and increasing use of resources is largely borne by the weaker sections of society while the benefits have accrued largely to those who are better off.

"Collection, analysis and interpretation of information concerning all aspects of the environment which is the mainstay of environmental research, should be a vital component of our scientific enterprise, but is largely missing today. It is an endeavour calling for a massive, decentralised effort. While this is fraught with difficulties, it affords a unique opportunity to involve large numbers of our people in a meaningful scientific effort," the document states.

With reference to energy it states that the demand will go up because of the development of agriculture and industry.

According to the document, there is some imbalance in power distribution in different regions. "Unfortunately the use of science and technology in the energy sector has been unsatisfactory. There is an urgent need to work out a national energy policy.

It says that in the area of coal there is growing concern that the average calorific value of noncoking coal is declining; coal beneficiation should, therefore, be accorded top priority, the document says. Natural gas is emerging as a major energy source and policy regarding its utilisation needs to be defined.

About 40 percent of the country's energy consumption is derived from non-commercial sources such as fuel wood, agriculture and animal wastes. Bio-gas plants with improved energy efficiency are critical. The importance of science and technology in such areas should not be underestimated.

The document warns that millions of two and three wheelers will be on roads in the coming decades. If the engine designs are not suitably modified, almost one million tonnes of hydrocarbons will be discharged into the atmosphere by these vehicles by 2000. This will be practically 15 percent of the total gasoline consumption in the country.

Finally, the document states the development of the energy sector has a high probability of success with the help of science and technology.

Touching on transport, the approach paper stresses that the development of energy-efficient practices, technological improvement of the present modes of transport and the promotion of a multi-modal transport system should

be given priority. Science and Technology can help to modernise the railways such as the signal controls, use of lightweight materials.

[No II, 23 Apr 90 p 3]

[Text] Bombay, 22 April—The perspective plan has stated that in the case of road transport there is scope for using new materials and it has also emphasised the need for modern methods of road construction.

It states that the automotive sector in India has undergone a major transformation. Science and technology had to ensure that there are fuel-efficient, environmentally safe and modern vehicles.

As far as buses are concerned, the approach paper regrets that both chassis and bodies continue to be built with outdated technologies.

"There is immense scope for improving comfort and reducing fuel consumption. Technological up-gradation of buses is badly needed," the document entitled, "An approach to a perspective plan for 2001 AD. Role of science and technology." It was published in November 1988 and released on Saturday.

New strategies for transport also need to be planned. An important area that calls for urgent attention is pipeline transport, which will ease the load on the conventional transport system.

Already some progress has been made in transporting gas, petroleum products and minerals. But, there are other areas such as coal, where this system of transport can be introduced.

There is a possibility of conveying 15 to 20 million tonnes of coal by this mode over distances ranging from 50 to 100 kilometres. According to the document, "this will not only be an energy-efficient but will also reduce the pressure on the railways, especially when wagons have to be used for short distance transport."

On information technology, the approach paper states that it will play a key role in all our national endeavours and its importance has to be properly recognised in the planning process.

The document has dwelt at length on the role of science and technology in industrial development.

According to the document the health of industrial research and development (R & D) in India is a matter of concern today since only 0.7 percent of the sales turnover is invested in R and D, most of it by the Central government. The output from most industrial research and development is poor, both in quality and quantity and not adequate to meet the challenges of today, let alone those of the coming years, according to the document.

It calls for modernising industries related to coir and silk. There are, however, several unhealthy trends on



account of which science and technology has not contributed to industrial growth. "Lack of long range corporate plans for R and D and dominance of defensive R and D linked to "depackaging" of imported technology are common features of R and D in the country," the approach paper states.

The document says that one excuse is that production in many sectors is not sufficient to warrant inputs in research and development. "This is clearly fallacious. We are the largest producers of bicycles, fans and sewing machines in the world and yet no R and D is done in these areas. We are the largest producers of sugar, but again our technology remains outdated. We are not competitive where we should be—say in the area of garments and steel" it said.

The lack of scientific inputs in these sectors is the reason for such deplorable conditions, according to the approach paper.

The paper says that the creation of the technology information assessment and forecasting council and the technology development fund are major steps. These can be used in promoting industrial research and development and encouraging the industry to make more use of science and technology.

The lower productivity of a worker in the Indian industry in comparison to those in advanced countries is often attributed to factors that are totally non-scientific.

About higher education and research, it says that a large number of universities are ill-equipped. Universities turn out a large number of graduates, many of whom end up unemployed or underemployed.

The quality of undergraduate science education is poor. The extreme rigidity of the curriculum has promoted substandard science courses. The approach plan, therefore, calls for a new institutional approach to provide education in science comparable in quality to the Indian Institutes of Technology [IIT].

Such an institutional structure should be linked to higher institutions of learning like the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, the Indian Institute of Science and the IITs.

In many areas of science and engineering a new system to link universities and national laboratories needs to be forged. A system of joint centres as it is in France with joint appointments and shared research programmes would be appropriate in India, it states. Selected laboratories could even be allowed to give degrees to those trained by them.

#### **New Chiefs Appointed to Southern, Eastern Commands**

46001542 Madras *THE HINDU*  
in English 20 Apr 90 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, 19 April—The appointment of two new Army Commanders, one for the Southern Command and the other for the Eastern Command, was

officially announced here today. Lt General B.C. Joshi has been named the new GOC-in-C [General Officer Commanding-in-Chief] of the Southern Command and Lt General K.S. Brar will be the new GOC-in-C of the Eastern Command. They will take over on 1 June.

Lt Gen Joshi is currently commanding a corps in the Eastern Sector which is busy combating insurgency in Nagaland and Manipur. Earlier he had been military adviser in Australia, chief instructor in the Armoured Corps Centre and school at Ahmednagar, Director in the College of Combat at Mhow. Additional Director-General of Perspective Planning at the Army Headquarters and Director-General of Military Operations at the Army Headquarters. He was commissioned in December 1954 in the Armoured Corps. During 1971 operations he had commanded an armoured regiment in the Western Command. He was also staff officer in the U.N. Emergency Forces in Gaza.

Lt Gen Brar was also commissioned in 1954—in the First Maratha Light Infantry. In 1971, he had commanded a battalion in Bangladesh and was awarded Vir Chakra. He also commanded an armoured brigade and an infantry brigade in the Western sector before taking over as Deputy Director of Military Operations at the Army Headquarters. He was also a recipient of Param Visishta Seva Medal and Ati Visishta Seva Medal. Currently he is commandant of the Defence Services Staff College, Wellington.

Lt Gen Joshi will take over from Lt Gen A.K. Chatterjee and Lt Gen Brar from Lt Gen R.M. Vohra.

#### **Akali Dal-M Chief Mann on Self-Determination**

46001538 Madras *THE HINDU*  
in English 25 Apr 90 p 9

[Text] Chandigarh, 24 April—The Akali Dal(M) chief, Mr Simranjit Singh Mann, MP [Member of Parliament]-elect, confirmed here today that he had "indeed said" that Sikhs would not feel bound to support India in case a war broke out with Pakistan as a result of current tensions.

At a press conference here, Mr Mann also confirmed that he had demanded the right of self-determination for Sikhs, under the U.N. supervision but said he had not used the word "plebiscite." He thought his demand, later confirmed in a resolution by the executive of his party, was "quite constitutional" since India was a signatory to several international treaties and commitments for people's right to self-determination.

"We are all democrats. Each of us has the right to say what he likes. Out party stands for free speech, democracy, freedom of the press and adherence to international law. After 40 years of India's freedom, Sikhs still find themselves in the dock, denied human rights and civil liberties. Unfortunately the state of affairs under the V.P. Singh Government is the same as under Rajiv Gandhi," he said.

Mr Mann talked of the Nuremberg trial of Nazi war criminals in the context of what he termed the "genocide of the Sikhs in 1984 in Delhi. International law on genocide is very clear. All will have to be tried, including Mr J.F. Riberio, who terrorised the people. Genocide can never be forgotten by me," Mr Mann said.

Questioned about the pictures of him shaking hands with Mr Rajiv Gandhi recently at the National Integrity Council meeting in Delhi, Mr Mann said: "I did not go from my seat to meet anyone. They all came to me and greeted me and I did them the courtesy of getting up and shaking hands with them. Rajiv Gandhi also came to me and I shook his hand."

Following are excerpts from his hour-long question-answer session at the Chandigarh Press Club:—

"No democracy:" Sikhs have no democracy. They live under a totalitarian, fascist State. Our (the Akali Dal-M) executive committee is representative of all shades of Sikh opinion inside and outside Punjab. There was therefore no need to consult Sikhs outside Punjab for passing the resolution on self-determination."

"Britain and her allies fought the war against Hitler to save democracy. India's war with Pakistan can have no such moral undertones. India wants to go to war to suppress the Sikhs in Punjab and the Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir."

"I have tried all constitutional means. I am the only Sikh leader who says I will abide by the Constitution. What I have asked for is constitutional. When George Fernandes talks of a confederation of India and Pakistan nobody takes him to task for it. Why is Simranjit Singh taken to task for anything he talks?"

"Constitution is not their grandfather's property to destroy and mutilate."

"You term my efforts as Jinnah-like. I cannot become Mohammed Ali Jinnah on my own. It is your Hindu press that will make one out of me. The Sikh press is not even a drop in the ocean. Look at the acrimonious editorials written against me in all papers with the exception of THE TRIBUNE of Chandigarh."

"Sikhs have been supporting India and fighting wars against Pakistan. Why has the situation arisen that they have militants, who according to the Central Government, are being armed by Pakistan. I have no direct knowledge that Pakistan is arming Sikh militants. Let us put our own house in order first."

"Today billeting of troops is taking place in Punjab's rural areas—particularly in schools and private houses. Punjab is being turned into a colony for exploitation. This is unjustified. Vigilante groups are again doing things they did during Mr S.S. Ray's regime to bring a bad name to Sikh extremists. The press takes little notice of it. The issues concerned with State police are not taken up by the press."

"Today Sikhs are No 1 on the hit list of the Government. Tomorrow the press will be at No. 1. You in Chandigarh have seen how your attempt to expose the Union Territory's administration on its attitude towards the Rock Garden brought you a rain of lathis."

"I should love to represent my people in the Lok Sabha. But I cannot sacrifice my principles which are constitutional ones. I am a Jathedar of the Panth and therefore carry my full length sword with me. It is my constitutional right to carry it. I have attended the Supreme Court and the High Court carrying it. I have been to the Prime Minister's residence with it. Why cannot I enter Parliament with it? I have written to the Speaker asking under what law I am being deprived of my right to represent my constituents. His verbal orders have no legal basis."

"I have the largest mandate but the Government does not listen to me. I am not yet disillusioned with Mr V.P. Singh. Only two days back I wrote him a letter to implement the rule of law in Punjab. When I welcomed him to Punjab he could move in an open jeep. But when we opposed him, people ignored his presence and there was little attendance at his meetings."

"Not only Mr Kuldip Nayar but others also conveyed to me the Centre's offer of revival of the Punjab Assembly and of making me the Chief Minister and transferring Mr Prakash Singh Badal to the Centre. My reply is that it is the masses who choose the Chief Minister. This office is not offered on the platter like this by others."

"The Punjab problem can be solved only through democratic thinking, norms and within the democratic framework. Dismissal of an elected Government (of Mr S.S. Barnala) by an unelected Governor was a murder of democracy—unheard of in the western democratic world. To solve the problem of Punjab the Rajiv Longowal accord was signed. Get it implemented first. The new Governor (whom Mr Mann repeatedly referred to as "subedar") is destroying the accord altogether. He is silent on the SYL. Even those who hammered out the accord have gone silent about it. Now it is left to S.S. Mann to perform this duty."

"If elections are ever held in Punjab, which I strongly doubt, my party will contest them. No one was terrorised during Lok Sabha elections to vote in our favour. By amending the Constitution and extending Presidential rule, democracy was murdered in Punjab. Mr V.P. Singh was wrongly advised about it by Comrade Surjeet, L.K. Advani and Rajiv Gandhi. He is surrounded by wrong advisers."

"Punjab problem can end only when the Government calls a spade a spade. I have been quite consistent. It is the Government of India that is not acting constitutionally. I am not afraid of militants. I go about freely saying that killings and extortions are wrong. This is having a salutary effect."

"The Janata Dal Government is confused on all issues from tehsil to international levels. They have retracted from their election manifesto."

"Giving peace a chance the plea of the Prime Minister, is the primary responsibility of the State. If the Government does not give a call for talks, the Punjab problem will never end. Such a dialogue has to be with some honourable person like Jimmy Carter (former U.S. President) presiding. They don't listen to me. Instead, they have me lathi-charged, even getting one of my men killed. Will they listen to me without some such person to preside over the talks?"

"We Akalis can never unite. That is what Rajiv Gandhi said. He asked with whom shall the Government hold talks. There is no unity of thought in the National Front Government or Central leadership. I ask: with whom do the Sikhs talk?"

"They are not consistent. It is we who are despite provocations from the Centre especially from those whose hearts are in Moscow but bodies in India. They have a confused mind and accuse us of confusion."

"I have attended and will continue to attend bhog ceremonies of militants. The Government has been honouring those violating human rights. Butchers are honoured and nobody raises a finger against these acts. It is within my right to counter this by attending the bhog ceremonies. I shall continue with it until State repression ends."

### **Naga National Council Chief Mizo Dies in London**

46001530 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 2 May 90 p 1

[Text] Kohima, 1 May (UNI)—Mr Angami Zapu Phizo, the legendary figure of Nagaland and chief of the Naga Nationalist Council (NNC), died in London yesterday, reports said today.

Mr Phizo, who was spearheaded the armed hostility demanding secession of Nagaland from India. He went into exile in December 1957.

He sneaked into Pakistan and reached London in the middle of 1960 to seek support from the west to "the cause of Naga independence." He was granted British citizenship and continued to "fight" till his death.

Under the leadership of Mr Phizo the NNC declared independence on 14 August 1947, a day before India attained freedom. He was arrested in July 1948 because of his uncompromising stand on the independence of Nagaland. He was released in the following year.

Towards the end of 1949, Mr Phizo was elected president of the NNC and continued to hold the post till his death. He was responsible for the boycott of the first general election in 1952 when no Naga citizen exercised his franchise at the call of the NNC.

Mr Phizo met the former Prime Minister, Mr Morarji Desai, when he visited Britain in 1977. But the talks ended without any positive result.

Mr Phizo, who started out as a tyre manufacturer, decided to become a businessman outside government control when he was expelled from school for anti-establishment activities.

In 1935, he left for Burma in search of fortune and lived there till 1946. The British government put him behind the bars in 1942 for collaborating with the Japanese in the World War. It was in the Rangoon jail that he had a paralytic attack and his mouth became deformed and twisted.

After his return to Nagaland in 1946, Mr Phizo joined the NNC. He went to Burma in 1952 with the intention of approaching the then east Pakistan (now Bangladesh) government for foreign aid but was arrested by the Burmese police.

### **Excerpts From Import-Export Policy for 1990-93**

46001504 Madras *THE HINDU*  
in English 31 Mar, 1 Apr 90 pp 10, 7

[31 Mar 90 p 10]

[Text] New Delhi, March 30. The Import and Export Policy for 1990-93 and the Hand Book of Procedures for 1990-93 have been announced today and published in the Gazette of India Extraordinary. The Principal objectives and the salient features of the new Import and Export are given below.

#### **Major Objectives**

The principal objectives of the Import and Export Policy, 1990-93 are:

(i) To encourage rapid and sustained export growth including export of services, with special emphasis on exports which generate higher net foreign exchange earnings;

(ii) To facilitate availability of necessary imported inputs for sustaining industrial growth including essential imported capital goods for modernization and technological upgradation;

(iii) To simplify and streamline procedures for import licensing and export promotion;

(iv) To support recognized indigenous Research and Development institutions for building up their scientific and technological capability for technology absorption and development; and

(v) To promote efficient import substitution and self-reliance.

### Validity

The new Import and Export Policy will have a validity of three years from 1st April 1990 to 31st March, 1993. Open General License [OGL]s have also been issued with validity of up to 31st March, 1993. (Para 3)

### Capital Goods and Instruments

Eighty-two capital goods have been added to the list of capital goods allowed for import under Open General Licence. These items are mainly electronic instruments/machinery, textile machinery, food processing machinery and sea food machinery.

Seventeen items of capital goods have been shifted from the Open General Licence having regard to their indigenous availability and quality. Machinery and equipment which do not appear in the Restricted List and Open General Licence List can be imported against an import licence granted on the basis of certification of essentiality and indigenous clearance.

In order to provide an opportunity to the machinery manufacturers of the country, intending importers were required to advertise their requirements of machinery where the value exceeded Rs 25 lakhs. The value limit for waiver from advertisement procedure has been increased to Rs 40 lakhs keeping in view the price inflation and exchange fluctuation. (Para 33)

In order to enable manufacturer-exporters to strengthen their export production base, import of permissible non-Open General Licence Capital Goods (Other than those in the Restricted List) will be permitted against their own earned REP licenses. In the case of merchant exporters, they will be permitted to nominate Actual Users (Industrial) to avail of this facility. Import of permissible non-OGL Capital Goods up to Rs 15 lakhs can also be made against. Additional Licenses granted to Export Houses and Trading Houses. Star Trading Houses will be eligible to import such non-OGL Capital Goods up to a value of Rs 50 lakhs for supply to Actual Users. (Paras 195, 220(3) (iii) and 227(3))

The special facility for import of capital goods by manufacturer-exporters exporting 25 percent or more of their production, subject to a minimum of Rs 1 crore or units exporting a minimum of Rs 10 crores, has also been continued. Import of capital goods would be allowed on the basis of price and delivery considerations notwithstanding the indigenous availability of such capital goods, provided there is a direct nexus with the product exported. (Para 43)

Import of computer systems and computer-based systems of the following minimum configuration or above will be allowed under Open General Licence provided import is made in one consignment:

(a) CPU with minimum of 32 bit word length with the operating systems software + (b) the main memory of 64

MB or above on each CPU + (c) the Disc storage capacity of 5000 MB or above + (d) I/O Bandwidth of minimum 100 mb/Sec.

Under this facility of Open General Licence, the number of terminals will be restricted to 10 only. However, the configuration will not include any Workstation. Open General Licence facility for import of computers will not be available in the case of second hand computer/computer-based systems and peripherals. Applications for import of computers, computer-based systems and peripherals other than those allowed under Open General Licence will be considered under the procedure for import of Capital Goods. Prior clearance of the Department of Electronics will be necessary for such imports. The facility for import of computer systems subject to export obligation under the Software Export Scheme has been continued. (Paras 41 and 42)

The policy for import of instruments has liberalized to facilitate import of sophisticated precision instruments and quality control instruments. Twelve instruments have been allowed for import under Open General Licence and two instruments have been taken out of the Restricted list of instruments while at the same time five instruments have been included in the Restricted List keeping in view the indigenous availability. Import of permissible instruments will also be permitted against REP licenses granted to registered exporters. This is for the purpose modernization and technological upgradation. (Para 36)

### Raw Materials, Components and Consumables

In order to enable actual users to meet with at least a part of their requirements of Limited Permissible and Restricted items, a Scheme of Automatic Licensing had been introduced so that production is not held up for want of critical components. Under this Scheme, Limited Permissible and Restricted items up to 50 percent of the value of previous year's Supplementary Licence can be imported while the regular Supplementary Licence application is made to the sponsoring authority for certification of essentiality and consideration by the Supplementary Licensing Committee. (Para 67)

Supplementary licenses can be utilized for import of any other item appearing in the Limited Permissible List and required by an actual user's up to 10 percent of the value of the Supplementary Licence. The value limit for import of a single item has been raised from Rs 2 lakhs to Rs 3 lakhs and the maximum aggregate value limit from Rs 20 lakhs to Rs 30 lakhs. (Para 68)

Repeat Operation of Supplementary Licenses in the case of manufacturer exporters, having the prescribed export performance, has been continued. (Para 66)

After taking into account the domestic production, demand and other relevant factors, 55 items of raw materials, components and consumables have been

added to the Open General Licence List for import by Actual Users (Industrial). These items include All High Speed Steel items.

The Import Policy contains a provision for grant of IRMAC (Industrial Raw Materials Assistance Center) licenses to public sector trading and service agencies, public sector Corporations, and State Small Industries Development Corporations for bulk import of raw materials and components for off-the-shelf supply to actual users. In order to make the Scheme operationally successful, the IRMAC scheme is being simplified so that release of raw materials and components to bona fide actual users can be made without insisting on production of valid Actual User Licenses as hitherto. (Para 127)

The List Attestation Procedure will not be required to be followed by Actual Users (Industrial) for import of electronic components appearing in the Open General Licence List.

Actual Users, subject to Phased Manufacturing Programme of indigenization will have to get the lists of non-electronic OGL components attested. The Sponsoring Authority will attest the lists within a period of 45 days failing which the Customs authorities will allow clearance on the basis of declaration by the Actual User. In cases where the Phased Manufacturing Programme of indigenization is over, Actual Users will be required to give a declaration at the time of customs clearance that the items imported do not include those which had been/were scheduled to have been indigenized. (Para 64)

A consolidated licence covering three years entitlement will be issued in respect of the following Spares Licenses, subject to utilization of one-third value in any one year:

(1) Restricted Spares Licenses granted to Actual Users for maintenance of installed machinery and equipment.

(2) After-Sales service spares licenses granted to machinery manufacturers.

(3) Licenses granted to Indian agents of foreign machinery manufacturers for import of spares for stock and sale. (Para 77)

Manufacturers of machinery and equipment will be eligible for grant of after-sales service spares licenses at the rate of three percent of the cif value of imported components during the last three financial years. (Para 80)

Spares, accessories and toolings required for the maintenance and operation can be imported within the overall value of the capital goods licence. The value limit of 10 percent has been raised to 15 percent. (Para 87)

Port trusts and irrigation departments have been given the facility for import of emergency spares under Open General Licence on the basis of release of foreign exchange. (Para 81)

The value limit for import of spares under Open General Licence by the owners of imported motor vehicles has been raised from Rs 5,000 to Rs 10,000. (Para 83)

Service Centers, approved by the Development Commissioner (Small Scale Industries) will be eligible for grant of Import Licenses for spares up to a value of Rs 1 lakh per year on the recommendation of Development Commissioner (Small Scale Industries) New Delhi. (Para 95)

The value limit for import of spares by Service Centers engaged in the repairs of consumer electronic items has been raised from Rs 10,000 to Rs 25,000 per year. Such Import Licenses will be granted against surrender of REP/Additional Licenses. (Para 95)

Import of spares required by the private companies operating aircraft and those engaged in the aerial spraying of crops will be allowed against Ad-hoc Licence on surrender of REP/Additional Licence of equivalent value and having a minimum validity period of three months. (Para 92)

The items canalized for import have been closely reviewed and, to the extent possible, import of industrial raw materials has been decanalized. These are:

(1) Tin (Shifted to OGL), (2) Dapsone di-amino diphenyl Sulphone, (3) Streptomycine Sulphate (shifted to App. 2B), (4) Paraxylene, (5) Copper Cathodes—(shifted to App. 3A).

Import of canalized steel items continues to be permissible up to the full value of REP licenses and full flexibility in respect of Additional licenses.

#### Public Sector Undertakings

For facilitating imports by important public sector undertakings for which specific foreign exchange ceilings are allocated either by the Ministry of Finance or the concerned Administrative Ministry, import of raw materials and components can be made under Open General Licence on the basis of release of foreign exchange and indigenous clearance. Import of Capital goods exceeding the value of Rs 1.5 crores will be allowed under Open General Licence on the basis of approval by the Capital Goods Main Committee headed by Secretary (Industrial Development) and list attestation by GDTD. Capital goods up to a value of Rs 1.5 crores can be imported on the basis of release of foreign exchange and indigenous clearance. (Para 106)

Import of Capital goods for modernization of Steel Projects at Durgapur, Rourkela and Burnpur (Indian Iron & Steel Company) can be made under Open General Licence on the basis of release of foreign exchange

and approval by the Empowered Committee headed by Secretary (Steel). (Para 104)

Imports by Indian bidders for execution of contracts from Oil & Natural Gas Commission (ONGC), Oil India Limited (OIL) and Gas Authority of India Limited (GAIL) either under Open General Licence or against Supplementary licence/Special Imprest Licence will be restricted to foreign exchange allocation made to ONGC, OIL or GAIL as the case may be. (Para 100)

Research & development units recognized by the Department of Science & Technology/Department of Scientific and Industrial Research as well as scientific or research laboratories, institutions of higher education and hospitals recognized by the Central or State government will be eligible to import machinery, equipment, instrument, raw materials, components, consumables, accessories, tools and spares under Open General Licence. Import of Restricted capital goods and instruments as well as consumer durables can be made by recognized research & development units on the basis of certification by the head of the institution that these are required for research and development purposes. (Para 44)

The existing limit for import of prototypes and samples up to two numbers and total value of Rs 1 lakh and Rs 2 lakhs in the case of Small Scale and Large Scale units respectively has been raised to 5 numbers up to a value of Rs 2 lakhs and Rs 5 lakhs respectively. Similarly, increase has been made in number and value limits for import prototypes and samples against REP licenses. (Para 38)

The value limit for import of designs and drawings under Technical Development Fund has been raised from Rs 30 lakhs to Rs 100 lakhs. (Para 162)

#### Facilities for Non-Resident Indians

Non-resident Indians/persons of Indian origin will continue to have special facilities in the matter of import of capital goods, raw materials, components and consumables required for the purpose of setting up of an industrial unit or participation in expansion/diversification of an existing unit in conformity with the industrial policy of the Government. Non-resident Indians can import capital goods which are in the Open General Licence list. The value limit for import under OGL of licensable capital goods has been increased from Rs 35 lakhs (land cost) to Rs 35 lakhs (e.i.f.). Import is to be financed out of the non-resident Indian's own foreign exchange earnings/resources abroad and no remittances will be allowed from India. Neither the capital invested nor the profits thereof shall be allowed to be repatriated abroad. (Para 156)

Import to aircraft against Customs Clearance Permits can be made on the recommendation of Director General of Civil Aviation under the Air Taxi Scheme. (Para 159)

#### Miscellaneous Provisions

Twelve items have been added to the List of life-saving drugs allowed for import under Open General Licence.

The existing value limits of Rs 50,000, Rs 10,000 and Rs 2,000 for import of drugs and medicines by hospitals, registered medical practitioners and individuals for their own use/professional use have been raised to Rs 1 lakh, Rs 25,000 and Rs 10,000 respectively.

Four items of life saving equipment have been added to the Open General Licence List.

Registered exporters whose f.o.b. value of exports during any of two preceding licensing years had been Rs 1 crore or more will be eligible for import of specified office machines once in two licensing periods. Registered exporters having exports of Rs 25 lakhs, but less than Rs 1 crore will be allowed import of facsimile machine against surrender of REP/Additional licenses. Export Houses and Trading Houses will be authorized to supply facsimile machines to their supporting manufacturers who had supplied goods of a minimum value of Rs 25 lakhs. (Para 124)

Electric/Electronic typewriters, word processors, teleprinters, electrically operated calculating machines, photocopying machines, slide projectors and 8/16 mm projectors have been taken out of the list of office machines permissible for import. New office machines allowed for import are: Synchronized slide projector; Electronic white Board with or without arrangements for taking hard copy; Cam-Corders; Digital paper; Telewriter; Microfilming equipment/Reader-Printer; Electronic diary/Memo-writer; Teleconferencing equipment (on the recommendation of Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and approval of Department of Telecommunications).

Facsimile machine, dictation tape recorder and paper shredding machine continue to be permitted for import. (Para 124)

The facility for import of PBX/PADX against Additional licenses has been withdrawn.

Booksellers having a minimum turnover of Rs 10 lakhs in a year have been made eligible for import of educational, scientific and technical books under Open General Licence. The condition of import of books from publishers or accredited distributors for India has been withdrawn. Importers will be required to send quarterly returns of books imported under Open General Licence to the concerned licensing authority.

The minimum value limit of Rs 5,000 in respect of import licenses issued to dealers engaged in the dry fruits trade has been raised to Rs 20,000. All importers will be required to fulfil 100 percent export obligation. In order to promote exports by small dry fruits licence holders, exports through a consortium of dry fruits exporters can be made. (Para 166)

Exporters of walnut/apricot kernels will be eligible to import dry fruits against REP licenses granted to them. (Para 166)

Exporters of products contained in Appendix 12 of Import and Export Policy, will be eligible for grant of ad hoc licenses at the rate of five percent of f.o.b. value of exports in the preceding licensing year for import of capital goods, instruments and spares having nexus with the products exported. (Para 132)

Import of cloves, cinnamon/cassia, nutmeg and mace will be allowed against licenses. Such licenses may be granted to those who have imported these items during the period from 1983-84 onwards. This will be subject to export obligation for exports of specified spices for 100 percent of value of the licence obtained during the preceding licensing year. Exports through consortium of spices exporters can also be made. (Para 167)

Import of packaging materials will be allowed against Customs Clearance Permit where these are supplied free of cost. (Para 131)

The requirement of indigenous clearance has been dispensed with in the case of import of construction equipment on re-export basis by a construction agency where the contract has been awarded under the International Competitive Bidding Procedure. (Para 50)

#### Import Policy for Registered Exporters

One of the main features of the new Policy is a simplified Import Replenishment Licensing Scheme. Under the new scheme, exporters are entitled to get import replenishment licenses to replenish the raw materials, components, consumables and packing materials used in the manufacture of products exported, so long as such inputs are in Appendices 3 and 5 A of the Policy. This would give greater flexibility to the exporters in the import of required inputs on the basis of the international marketing requirements. In the case of certain identified export products, import of inputs that are otherwise restrictive and also sensitive in nature, will be allowed, to a limited extent, in the interest of export promotion. (Para 185)

In the new Policy, REP Licenses will continue to be freely transferable and act as an important instrument of export promotion. (Para 199)

The benefit of REP, Licensing Scheme will continue to be applicable to all export products, except those that have been specifically identified in the Policy. The policy has been, therefore, continued with the concept of maintaining a very wide scope for this Scheme. (Para 184(4))

With a view to permit diversification of production base and to expose indigenous industry to international competition so that the indigenous industry becomes both qualitatively and pricewise competitive internationally, REP Licenses have been made totally flexible for import of raw materials and components listed in Appendices 3

and 5 A of the Policy. It is expected that this facility would allow import of raw materials and components necessary for indigenous industry, without going through the detailed procedures laid down in the actual users licensing policy. (Para 192)

The policy provides for widening the capital base of exporters by allowing import of capital goods, against their own earned REP licenses. This benefit would enable the exporters to utilize their licenses for import of capital goods and other balancing equipment without going through a detailed procedure under the actual users licensing policy. (Para 195)

To enable exporters to be internationally competitive, a scheme for import of capital goods at concessional rate of custom duty for export production has been introduced. Under this scheme, regular manufacturer-exports would be eligible to import capital goods up to a value of Rs 10 crores (c.i.f.) with an obligation to perform additional exports of products related to the capital goods importer, for a value equal to three times the value of the imported C.G. (Para 197)

Recognizing the need for encouraging export of higher value added products, the replenishment rates have been so modified that higher value added products are given an advantage under the scheme. Further, the number of replenishment rates has been reduced to just four basic rates. It is expected that this would greatly simplify the procedure for issue of such licenses and even from the exporters' point of view the simplification is expected to go a very long way in giving them a faster access to such licenses. (App 17 Part I)

The policy continues to give recognition to certain categories of supplies which result in saving of foreign exchange. In the new policy this status has been extended to supply of consumer durable items and vehicles to diplomatic personnel and members of trade missions, in cases where such supplies are paid in foreign currency. This is expected to increase the scope for giving international recognition to Indian products. (Para 206)

The policy has for the first time given recognition to the important role played by service exports towards export earning for the country. Service exports like software exports, computer consultancy services and management consultancy services abroad in connection with various utility managements, have been recognized for benefits under this scheme. Such exports will be entitled for a Replacement licence at the rate of 10 percent of the net foreign exchange earned. Further, such exports will also be considered, up to the full extent for the benefit of Export House/Trading House/Star Trading house status. (Chapter XVII)

The new policy continues to give special recognition to exporters exhibiting a high export performance. The concept of giving recognition to such exporters on the basis of the Net Foreign Exchange Earnings has been continued in the new Policy as well. However, the procedure for computing the Net Foreign Exchange

Earnings has been simplified, considering the problems that the exporters were facing due to the procedure laid down in the earlier Policy. (Para 218)

Recognized Export Houses and Trading Houses will be entitled for additional licenses at the rate of 10 percent of the foreign exchange earned. Such licenses will be freely transferable and, and therefore, would act as an important instrument of export promotion. (Para 220)

In the new policy the flexibility on additional licenses has been increased so that such licenses could be used for import of raw materials and components listed in Appendices 3 and 5-A. The flexibility on additional licenses will also be valid for import of permissible non-OGI capital goods. The flexibility limits have been increased to 15 percent of the value of licence in the case of export houses and 20 percent in the case of Trading Houses. It is felt that the widened scope of flexibility on Additional licenses would enable the indigenous industry to import raw materials, components and capital goods through a fast track mechanism without undergoing the procedural delays in Actual Users Licensing Policy. (Para 220)

The policy has recognized the need for allowing easy import of basic raw materials required by the indigenous industry. Considering the difficulties involved in import of such identified inputs through other policy provisions, their import has been allowed up to the full face value of additional licenses by the actual users of such raw materials. This facility would greatly benefit the indigenous industry in producing basic raw materials and thereby give a greater fillip to the industrial production of the country. (Para 220)

The policy for the first time has given a special recognition to exporters exhibiting a very high level of export performance. the scheme provides for certain special benefits that would enable such exporters not only to strengthen their marketing potential abroad, but would also result in further cementing the links with the indigenous industries. (Chapter XVIII Part-B)

Recognized Star Trading Houses will be entitled for Special Additional Licence for import of raw materials and components listed in Appendices 3 and 5-A of policy. Special Additional Licenses will also be valid for import of non-OGI capital goods up to a single item value limit of Rs 50 lakhs. The Star Trading Houses can supply the imported materials to actual users and thereby maintain their links with the indigenous industry. (Para 227)

[1 Apr 90 p 7]

[Text] New Delhi, April 1. The following are the further extracts of the principal objectives and salient features of the new import and export policy 1990-93, published in the issue dated March 31, 1990.

#### Duty Exemption Scheme

The duty exemption scheme permits the import of raw materials, components, consumables and spares meant for export production, on duty free basis. Over the years, this scheme has developed into an important instrument for export promotion. In spite of the immense popularity, the scheme suffered from very many procedural irritants. In the new policy, Blanket Advance Licensing Scheme has been introduced in favor of established exporters with a view to reducing the procedural irritants. It is expected that such established exporters will be free from many procedural irritants of the scheme and they can devote their whole-hearted attention to other important activities like export marketing, production etc. (Paras 253 to 260)

The policy continues to give importance to the Advance Intermediate Licensing Scheme, which is expected to enable indigenous industry to participate fully in the export efforts of the country. This scheme could not become popular for want of simplified procedures. In the new policy, an attempt has been made to simplify the procedures and to remove certain procedural bottlenecks that were coming in the way of easy operation of the scheme. It is hoped that the modifications made in the policy will make the scheme popular and enable the indigenous industry to fully participate in export efforts. (Para 339 of Hand Book Vol. I)

In the new policy, the Bank Guarantee and LUT provisions under the Duty Exemption Scheme have been simplified. This simplification is expected to greatly benefit regular exporters. (Para 348 of Hand Book Vol I)

Easy implementation of the Duty Exemption Scheme necessitates enlargement of the list of input output norms notified under the Policy. In the new policy, input output norms have been fixed for 50 more items. It is hoped that this will facilitate quick disposal of applications for licenses under this Scheme. (App. 13-C of Policy Vol. I)

This policy continues to extend the benefit of registration of export contracts to turnkey projects, civil construction projects and supply of capital goods having long manufacturing schedule. In the new policy this benefit has been extended to consultancy projects. It is felt that with the extension of this benefit, projects with long gestation period would get adequate protection from any subsequent changes made in the Replenishment Licensing Scheme. (Para 271)

Considering the contribution of this sector towards export promotion, the Government has decided to continue with the liberal schemes in favor of this sector. Recognizing the vast potential of export of gem and jewelry, the policy provides for enough scope to exporters in this sector. The Replenishment Licensing Scheme in favor of this sector has been continued. Recognizing the need for maintaining the special status of this sector and also for preventing any leakage of benefits from this sector to other sectors. Replenishment



licenses issued to this sector have not been extended the flexibility benefits available to other sectors of exports (Chapter XXI)

In the new policy, it has been decided to abolish the Import-Export Pass Book Scheme. This scheme was introduced in the policy period 1985-88 and was retained in the last policy with some modification. There have been cases of misuse of this policy provision and, therefore, it has been decided to withdraw the scheme and it is felt that with the introduction of blanket Advance Licensing Scheme the need for pass book scheme will not be felt by the exporting community. (Para 270)

In the new policy all possible attempts have been made to enable the industries and exporting community to avail of all the benefits of the policy as easily as possible. The simplification of procedures and the transparency of the policy provisions are expected to benefit the industry and the exporting community to a very large extent. Simultaneously, it is also necessary to ensure that adequate precautions are taken to keep a check on the possible misuses of the policy provisions. The new policy has introduced certain provisions to keep a vigilant watch on possible misuses of the Policy provisions.

#### Measures To Prevent Misuse of Facilities

Necessary provision has been made that items imported under Open General Licence are for home consumption and cannot be exported, without permission of the Chief Controller of Imports and Exports [CCI&E], New Delhi. (Para 63 and Appendix 6)

Conditions applicable to the Actual Users (Industrial) for import of Open General Licence Items excepting the Actual User condition will be equally applicable in case of imports of Open General Licence items against Additional licenses granted to Export Houses/Trading Houses.

Import of life saving equipment for stock and sale will be allowed only by those having after sales service arrangements as certified by Director-General of Technical Development or any other agency designated by the Chief Controller of Imports & Exports, New Delhi.

Emergency spares licenses of a value exceeding Rs 25 lakhs will be issued after obtaining recommendation of GDTD or on production of certificate from a reputed Public Sector consultancy firm. (Para 81)

A pass book in respect of each imported motor vehicle has been introduced for endorsement by Customs of the value of spares imported against a motor vehicle. (Para 83)

Second-hand capital goods continue to be allowed for import, on merits, subject to the condition that the second-hand machinery is not more than seven years old and has a residual life of not less than five years. Import in second-hand condition of capital goods appearing in

the Open General List will be allowed only against licenses. This is being done with a view to ensuring that technologically obsolete and outdated machinery is not imported into the country.

The role of the Grievance Committees constituted in the Office of the CCI&E and major Regional Licensing Offices has been clearly spelt out in the new policy. Such Committees are expected to meet every month preferably on 3rd Wednesday. The industry and the exporting community would, therefore, get adequate opportunities for the redress of their grievances. Free unbooked interviews will also be allowed every day by officers not below the rank of Asst. Chief Controller, to enable trade and industry to resolve their difficulties.

#### Export Licensing Policy

The export policy has further been simplified and made more transparent. Procedures have been clubbed and logically presented in one chapter. The rearrangement of the various appendices has led to easy readability, correlation and simplification of the items that are restricted for exports.

The requirement of Bank Guarantee for export of ceiling items has been dispensed with. This will provide substantial procedural relief to the exporters.

Powers are being delegated for the first time to the Regional Offices for revalidating the Export Licenses related to ceiling items. In respect of items placed on ceiling, hitherto there were two lists, one operated by the Regional Licensing authorities and the other by the office of the CCI&E, New Delhi. As a measure of simplification all items whose export is placed on limited ceiling basis will now be operated by the Regional Licensing Authorities only.

The export policy is being made more transparent by defining the constitution, functions and the methodology adopted by the Export Licensing Committee at Headquarters for clearing Export Licence applications.

Procedure for the export of goods for exhibition purposes has been simplified to facilitate better marketing of Indian merchandise abroad.

Exporters of machinery and equipment will now be allowed to export spares on more liberal basis. Earlier, the total value of spares supplied free of charge as free replacement did not exceed two and half percent of the FOB [Free on Board] value of the machinery/equipment exported. Now exporters of machinery/equipment will be allowed to export spares of machinery/equipment as free replacement up to one percent of the FOB value of the export during the previous licensing period.

Several items pertaining to flora and fauna have been restricted for exports from the environmental angle. Sometimes will not be allowed for exports such as fruits bats, live birds, some rare plants, sea shells, sea weeds; some will be allowed on the merits of each case such as

forest species. Besides, the ceiling limits of Peacock tail feathers and exotic birds have been curtailed.

The export policy for 1990—93 regulates the exports of a total number of 191 entries only. Against this 68 are not allowed for export, 31 are canalized and 48 are allowed under Open General Licence on specific condition. All other items are freely exportable under OGL.

### RSS Annual Report on Election Outcome

46001508 Calcutta THE STATESMAN  
in English 31 Mar 90 p 7

[Text] The Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh [RSS] feels that substantial progress has been made towards the creation of a Hindu state. Its assessment on this score is based on the outcome of the November general election and the recent Assembly elections.

Commenting on the electoral outcome, the RSS' annual report, which was presented at the Akhil Bharatiya Pratinidhi Sabha held recently in Nagpur, says: "A large section of Hindu voters have firmly indicated that Hindu feelings can no longer be taken for granted. They would no longer suffer sacrifice of their interests and points of faith and veneration at the altar of appeasement of so-called minorities by political parties".

The RSS believes that its call to Hindus, especially the appeal made by the Sarsanghachalak, Mr Balasaheb Deoras, has helped consolidate the "Hindu vote". The report says, "With this Hindu impact becoming more decisive in days to come, it promises to cure the minorityism infecting and perverting our national politics and set it on true democratic, nationalist lines".

The RSS leadership also gives credit to the Ram Janambhoomi-Babari Masjid dispute for contributing towards "consolidation" of the "Hindu vote". The report says that the "shilanyas" at Ayodhya and the "Ramshila puja" all over the country have "strengthened Hindu awakening and fervor". The movement, according to the RSS, has also "decisively drawn the so far neglected and backward sections of society into the mainstream of Hindu life". This obviously refers to the organization's successful year-long campaign of "Hinduization" of Harijan's tribals and members of scheduled castes.

In keeping with its policy of social justice for all, the RSS report does not outright reject the Government's reservation policy, although in most cases objections have been raised by caste Hindus, owing allegiance to the RSS. The report merely states that a committee of educationists, social workers and jurists should be constituted "to go into the plus minus results of the reservation policy as worked out so far by the ruling politicians, and come out with guidelines for ensuing social justice to the weaker and neglected sections without affecting overall administrative efficiency."

The report also takes note of the "shilanyas" ceremony at Ayodhya and says: "Through that incident the Hindus

(have) convincingly demonstrated that they can now close up their ranks and stand up as one man in vindication of their points of honor and faith". The RSS has welcomed the Ram Janambhoomi Mukti Yajna Samiti's decision to postpone construction work at the disputed site by saying, "the move has been welcomed by all those genuinely concerned with the amicable solution of the problem".

The RSS also lauds the fact that "for the first time the Prime Minister of the country has publicly committed himself to finding a solution and also set the deadline of four months for the same and it would be in the fitness of things to positively respond to his appeal". However, the RSS has not given up the demand that a temple should be constructed on the spot and the report says that the Government should "find ways and means of clearing the way for the construction of the proposed temple without any further postponement".

On Punjab, the RSS has denounced the outcome of the Lok Sabha elections in the State, saying: "It is very unfortunate that the recent elections to the Lok Sabha there have, instead of helping the peaceful democratic forces to assert themselves, only further strengthened the hold of extremists on the political groups". The organization has called for "isolating the secessionists at all levels, including political, and upholding social harmony and the country's integrity".

Referring to the crisis in the Kashmir Valley, the report blames "the previous rulers at the Center and in the State" for showing "softness towards the secessionist forces" and for their "abject failure in understanding the Pak-psyche". The RSS feels that "no half-hearted measures will serve any purpose, especially in view of the feverish preparations of Pakistan for inciting subversive forces inside Kashmir and provoking border skirmishes, as also mounting a propaganda offensive against our country".

Calling for the abrogation of Article 370, the RSS says that the Article has "been acting as the biggest psychological justification and provocation for separatism". The report condemns the swapping of terrorists in exchange of the kidnapped daughter of Mufti Mohammed Sayeed, and says "that such actions only add fuel to the fire of secessionist forces".

By all accounts the RSS' year-long campaign to commemorate the birth centenary of its founder, Dr Hedgewar was a success much beyond the organization's expectations. During the Janajagrana campaign, RSS cadres spread the word in 216,284 villages and "established contact" with 14,870,682 families. A total of 76,427 meetings were held and a sum of Rs 110,747,500 was collected for organizational activities.

However, despite the campaign, the number of RSS shakhas has not increased and the organization has now decided to strengthen upa-shakhas and form shakhas in new areas—in that order.

### Finance Ministry Gives Long-Term Statistics on Smuggling

46001540 Calcutta THE STATESMAN  
in English 24 Apr 90 p 7

[Text] There had been a whopping 25-fold increase in seizures of smuggled goods in India between 1981 and 1989 with gold and silver topping the list in terms of value, according to a report prepared by the Union Finance Ministry on smuggling. While the value of seizures in 1975 stood at Rs 27.82 crores, it rose to Rs 101.08 crores in 1984 and then shot up to Rs 600 crores in 1989. The report said that although the prices of smuggled goods had increased in India during this time, there hasn't been an equivalent price hike in eight years. Even gold which had risen the maximum compared to all other items had registered less than two fold increase.

The report said that it was difficult to specify the quantum of smuggling on the basis of seizures made. But higher or lower trend of smuggling could always be found from such corroborative evidence as the value of U.S. \$ and in the hawala market and the volume of inward remittances to India. The report said that going by the quantum of seizures made and other accompanying yardsticks there had been a phenomenal increase in smuggling of goods into India over the past 14 years.

Gold smuggling, according to the report, had risen sharply since 1984 going by seizures and average profitability in smuggled gold in India at the hawala market. While the quantity of gold seized in 1984 was 523 kg, it went up to 6,094 kg in 1988. The corresponding average profitability in 10 grams of smuggled gold at the hawala market shot up from Rs 201.98 in 1984 to Rs 454.09 in 1989. "Because of steady acceptability of gold as an item of barter in the smuggling, the profitability factor did not always decide the quantum of gold smuggling into India."

The report pointed out that bulk of gold was smuggled through the western coast of India from Dubai. Hong Kong based syndicates used airline personnel and also concealed gold in baggage or on persons. Singapore and Bangkok still remained the main direct take-off points from where gold bars and biscuits were carried to Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta and Madras. The other direct take-off points were Colombo (for Trichy and Madras), Hong Kong (for Bombay and Delhi) and Kuala Lumpur (for Madras).

Bangkok, according to the report, was very popular with Nepal-based operators who were utilizing it to bring contraband gold into Nepal for smuggling into India. Crew members of a neighbouring airline were being used as carriers between Hong Kong and Kathmandu. Intelligence reports also indicated that the land route via China-Lhasa and Nepal was still being used for smuggling gold. Nepalese operators were also using the Bangladesh route. Although coastal areas near Bombay

remained prone to gold smuggling, areas like Lakshadweep and coastal areas around Mangalore were also attracting smugglers.

The report said that with major syndicates concentrating on gold and silver, smuggling of textiles, electronics goods, wrist watches from Delhi into India had diminished considerably. The smuggling of Indian currency to Dubai as part payment for gold and silver in the reverse direction had continued in large scale mainly by air.

Gold, arms and ammunition, narcotics, wrist watches were among the goods smuggled into India from Pakistan. Srinagar in recent years, according to the report, had become vulnerable to smuggling operations specially from across the border.

Meanwhile, Mr Gurudas Dasgupta, M.P., in a statement in Calcutta on Monday said that despite abolition of the Gold control Act, the price of gold remained almost unaffected. If the rising trend of gold smuggling was to be stopped, India should cooperate with the adjoining countries in busting this racket.

### Home Minister Speaks on Situation in Troubled Areas

46001527 Madras THE HINDU  
in English 26 Apr 90 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 25 April—the Union Home Minister, Mufti Mohammed Sayeed, today warned that the law and order situation in Assam was deteriorating swiftly on account of the activities of the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), and said there appeared to be a 'slackness' in the State Government's handling of the crisis.

The focus of the Home Minister's spirited hour-long reply to the debate in the Lok Sabha on the demands for grants of his Ministry was, as expected, on Kashmir, Punjab and the communal situation in the country. In Assam, he said, the situation was worsening. He likened it to the scene in Kashmir about a year ago.

There was a distinct improvement in the situation in Kashmir and the Governor, Mr Jagmohan, had done a 'commendable' job by setting up an edifice which had faced the challenge of terrorism after starting from a situation where the writ of the Government simply did not run, he said.

### Fear Psychosis

In Assam, however, the ULFA had control over large parts of the State where the administration simply did not exist and a fear psychosis had come to prevail. 'We are seriously concerned about the situation because Assam is the nerve centre of the entire northeast,' he said.

The Mufti said both he and the Prime Minister, Mr V.P. Singh, had spoken to the Chief Minister and the Home Minister of Assam. The State administration had to be

revamped and the security forces strengthened. At present the non-Assamese in the State were being attacked. The ULFA had links with the NSCN [National Committee of Science and Technology] of Nagaland and had trained 200 of its cadres in Burma. The Centre had sanctioned funds for border fencing in Assam and to build roads running parallel to it. Now it was up to the State Government to build the fences as fast as it could, the Home Minister said.

On Jammu and Kashmir, the Mufti said the first priority was still to restore the authority of the administration in the State. But political forces with a nationalist outlook were "not finished" in the Valley, he added. When conditions were conducive and the National Conference, the Congress(I), and other nationalist elements in the Valley began their work, the people of Kashmir would 'start their journey back to the mainstream,' the Home Minister said to applause from the House.

Article 370 was not responsible for alienation in the Valley, he said. In Punjab, Assam, or Telengana (a reference to the naxalite trouble), there was no Article 370 but people were still alienated, he said. Mr M.L. Khurana, (BJP) [Bharatiya Janata Party], could be seen gesticulating and arguing back when the Home Minister observed that the trouble in Kashmir was primarily the result of the popular perception in the Valley that though India was a democratic country, the Kashmiris were never allowed to choose their own elected representatives.

Turning to the BJP benches, the Mufti said that though Lenin had given economic equality to the people in the Soviet Union, today even they were seeking their own identity. Thus, the Kashmir situation should not be surprising.

Responding to a query from Mr P. Chidambaram (Cong-I), he dismissed reports in the magazine TIME of refugee camps for Kashmiris in Pakistan occupied Kashmir, saying these were mere cover for training camps for militants.

The Mufti criticised the Akali Dal(M) leader, Mr Simrajit Singh Mann, for seeking plebiscite in Punjab and saying that in the event of a war with Pakistan Sikhs would side with Pakistan. Any dialogue in Punjab had to be within the constitutional framework, he said.

He also told Mr Chidambaram that allegations of the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] setting up a network in Tamil Nadu would be investigated.

On the naxalite problem in Andhra Pradesh and Bihar, the Mufti said the Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister was tackling the problem in a 'liberal and humane' way. He had done away with the Disturbed Areas Act, released undertrials, and had disbanded the greyhounds, the police organisation tracking naxalities.

On the communal situation in the country, he said Chief Ministers had been told to deal strongly with trouble-makers. He congratulated the Chief Ministers of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Gujarat for tackling communal situations speedily and effectively. The Government had decided to ban wall writings inciting hatred between communities and to take a serious view of the use of loudspeakers in religious places to spread communal propaganda, the Home Minister said. The attempt of the Government was to bring all communities together to solve the Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid tangle, he added.

The Mufti joined issue with Mr Vijay Kumar Malhotra, (BJP), who had said that the 15-point programme of the National Integration Council to deal with communalism was nothing but a programme to appease the minorities. The Home Minister said that as against the national literacy percentage of 35, the minorities had only about 15 percent literacy. "Should we keep them in the dark, in the nineteenth century," he asked. He also criticised the view that Muslims did not practice family planning because they wanted to increase their population.

### **First Indian-Built Missile Boat Launched in Bombay**

#### **Launched by Ramanna**

46001521 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 27 Apr 90 pp 1, 5

[Text] The minister of state for defence, Dr Ramanna, regretted here today that responsible leaders in neighbouring countries had been inciting their citizens to hate the people of India and creating a war hysteria by raking up problems which had been solved nearly 50 years ago.

"Belonging, as I do to the scientific community, I find all this wholly out of context, especially to rouse a nation to war, violence and disaster," Dr Ramanna declared while presiding over the launching of "Vibhuti," the first missile boat in a new series of warships being built by the Mazagon Dock Limited.

Mrs Malathi Ramanna applied kum kum, garlanded the vessel, broke a coconut on the stem of the ship and named it "Vibhuti" before pressing the button to launch the vessel. As the naval band struck "Sare Jahan Se Achcha," the missile boat sailed out.

Dr Ramanna quoted a German proverb which said "it is good to have the strength of a giant, but it is bad to use it like one. This was our basic philosophy and "we still hope that we will never be compelled to use it like a giant. I would look forward to the day when there is no giant or his strength."

The sub-continent was facing many problems of readjustment to a modern mode of life. While many of the activities connected with transformation were happy ones, there were many which lead to tensions, economic

competitiveness and political confusion. India, had fortunately remained a pure democracy and had been an example to the developing countries all over the world.

Sometimes, the country's progress provoked jealousy among others. "We have to overcome the evil aspects of development here and outside by showing great maturity and a readiness to be willing to fight for good causes."

Dr Ramanna said that this was the first time that indigenous construction of a large number of ships in a viable series had been undertaken. As envisaged, this has given encouragement for indigenisation agencies and equipment manufacturers. In other ships, the indigenous component will increase.

Though several missile boats were imported from the Soviet Union from 1971 to 1976, the government approved the acquisition of 20 missile boats by outright purchase from the USSR and 15 by indigenous construction under licence from the Soviets.

He was happy that the first stage of self-reliance had been reached in the construction of these missile boats with the transfer of technology by way of drawings, documents and assistance from the Soviet Union.

Of the 15 ships sanctioned for indigenous construction, six are to be built by Mazagon Dock and nine at the Goa Shipyard. In "Vibhuti" 70 percent of the equipment had already been installed inside the ship. The ship will be delivered to the navy in May 1991.

The chairman and managing director of Mazagon Dock Limited, Rear Admiral M.M. Puri, said that "Vibhuti" had special facilities to remain in the nuclear fall-out zone for a few hours without endangering the safety of the personnel on board. Construction of the ship began in January 1987. Initially, the programme had suffered a setback of about six months due to technical problems.

The boats were being built under collaboration with the Soviet Union. The hull was made of a low-alloy special steel and the superstructure of light alloy. The weapon package consists of surface-to-surface missiles, surface-to-air missiles, gun mounting for surface-to-air attacks and launchers for camouflaging the boat. The ship, was also equipped with a radar for surveillance, search and attack.

Rear Admiral Puri said that the boat was fitted with four gas turbines to achieve high speed. According to informed sources the cost of each vessel was approximately Rs 40 crores.

He regretted that the current level of capacity utilisation of Mazagon Dock, particularly its submarine and offshore yards, was low. "The need to keep this pioneering public sector shipyard fully utilised cannot be over-emphasised in the interest of continued self-reliance and save foreign exchange outgoes," Read Admiral Puri said.

Another corvette was ready and would be commissioned next month. The dock had also designed and built sever offshore patrol vessels for the Coast Guard.

The Flat-officer commanding-in-chief, Western Naval Command, Vice- Admiral S. Jain, described the launching as an historical milestone in the development of the navy. The ships of this class had an excellent anti-ship and anti-aircraft capability.

### Details of Ship

46001521 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 25 Apr 90 p 5

[Text] The vessel which will add strength to the navy is constructed of low alloy special and the superstructure is made of light alloy.

While constructing it for the first time the dock had employed "semi automatic inert gas shield welding technique." The boat belongs to the 'veer' class. The boat incorporating Russian design is equipped with four gas turbines to enable it to operate at high speeds. It is fitted with surface-to-surface missiles, surface-to-air missiles and a gun mount for surface-to-air attacks.

It has got surveillance, search and attack radar and also a navigational radar. The vessel can also carry a complement of 40 personnel.

The construction of the boat began in January 1987 and is scheduled to be handed over to the navy in January 1991.

The construction programme suffered a six-month setback on account of the "teething problems."

The indigenous content in the vessel is of a small percentage, but will increase in the subsequent missile boats to be built by the dock.

### Paramilitary Force To Fight Insurgents

46001537 New Delhi *PATRIOT*  
in English 25 Apr 90 p 1

[Text] Jashpur (Madhya Pradesh), 24 April (UNI)—Prime Minister V.P. Singh today announced that the Government had decided to raise a new para-military force called the "national rifles," mainly comprising ex-servicemen, to battle insurgency and cope with other kinds of internal disturbances.

Addressing a series of meetings during a hectic day-long tour of Madhya Pradesh—his first since assuming office—Mr Singh said the new force, to be raised by the end of the year, would draw three-fourths of its strength from ex-servicemen and rest through new recruits.

Mr Singh said this had become necessary because any weakening of India's internal security through communal and other disturbances only served to strengthen external forces threatening the country's unity and integrity.

The Prime Minister said the National Rifles would be commanded by serving army officers.

Mr Singh said the decision to recruit ex-servicemen, who normally retire from the army at the age of 35, was taken in view of the training and skills they had already acquired to cope with such problems.

By simultaneously recruiting younger people, the force would stay young and fighting fit. Apart from creating a new avenue of employment for ex-servicemen, the decision would also release the border security force and other para-military outfits for more important duties, he said.

Mr Singh said the main task of the new force would be to act as a "rear area security" outfit. He said the modalities of implementing the decision, taken in principle, were being worked out.

The Prime Minister addressed public meetings, rallies of tribals, gatherings of Janata Dal workers and those of ex-servicemen. He spent most of the day in the predominantly Tribal areas of Bastar and Jashpur before flying back to the Capital from Ranchi in Bihar tonight.

Cong played with nation's security: Mr Singh accused the previous regime of having "played" with the nation's security and promised to re-establish India's traditional military superiority over Pakistan.

Talking to newsmen aboard a special Indian Air Force aircraft on his way back from a day's visit to Madhya Pradesh, Mr Singh said the earlier government's "weak-kneed" policies on defence had led to a situation where India's military superiority over Pakistan had come down from the 2:1 ratio to just 1.5:1.

"I think the best guarantee against a war is our own strength," he said, pointing out that the government of the day had to spell its security goals clearly.

In his view, the previous government had not pursued the country's security goals properly, particularly at a time when Pakistan, had for the last 18 years, been single-mindedly increasing its military capabilities.

The Prime Minister said India could not stay "off guard" on security matters as long as Pakistan continued its support to insurgency strengthened secessionist forces in the country.

Mr Singh said Pakistan's continued interference in India's affairs came when there was not even one instance of this country having indulged in anything similar there.

"Friendship cannot come by good argument but by acts of good faith. There has to be an element of sincerity," he said.

He wondered how Pakistan could aim at inflicting the "ultimate damage" on India (by aiding secessionism) and claim it wanted friendship with this country.

In an unusually outspoken mood, Mr Singh ridiculed Pakistan's oft-repeated accusations of human rights violations in Kashmir.

"What about Karachi? What about human rights there? Don't we have a right to comment on that? What about the Mohajirs?"

Mr Singh said tanks were deployed on Karachi streets to curb violence and troops regularly fired on mobs. In Kashmir, he said, troops had been involved only in cross-firing.

### Press Reports, Comment on Indo-Pakistan Talks at UN

#### Talks 'a Draw'

46001520 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 27 Apr 90 pp 1, 9

[Article by Gautam Adhikari]

[Text] New York, 26 April—The talks between the foreign ministers of India and Pakistan yesterday did not produce spectacular results. None was really expected. But, for both, it was perhaps a necessary game to play out.

It was not quite a stalemate. It was more like a draw in which both sides made the moves they had planned and the game helped relieve a bit of tension. Pakistan had requested the meeting and its game plan probably was based on its need to demonstrate to the world its good intentions. India, not expecting much out of a meeting called by the other side for its own purposes, gained some public relations points nonetheless.

The press statement issued at the end of the talks between Mr I.K. Gujral and Sahibzada Yakub Khan might just as well have not been made. It appeared to be a joint communique, since a Pakistani official stood by smiling as an Indian official read it out. Later, the Indian side emphasised that it was not a "joint" statement or joint anything. It was "a similar statement" separately issued. Clearly, the Indians did not think the statement amounted to much.

Which it did not. The first point was about the chiefs of military operations in the two countries remaining in close touch. This they already are, so that's nothing new.

The second point was that "both sides should exercise restraint," which from the Indian point of view is meaningless since India has done nothing that could be seen as provoking Pakistan. In a limited sense, it could mean that each side should tone down its rhetoric against the other and that is something that remains to be seen.

The third point, about channels of communication being kept open, was as stale as the first. They are already open and have helped no end in averting conflict by accident. Mr Yakub Khan, however, appeared to think this was an

important step forward and expressed the hope that close contact between the two sides would defuse the immediate tension substantially.

A diplomatic source told TOINS, on condition of anonymity, that Pakistan was under considerable international pressure to sit across the table with India in a serious attempt to defuse the tension. It consequently asked for a meeting, realising that it could gain some P.R. points without having really to change ground realities back in the subcontinent. It could continue its stated support for and unstated active encouragement of the militants in Jammu and Kashmir and even engage in sporadic border skirmishes.

That much Pakistan clearly gained from the talks. It is a game that Pakistan has played well in the past. This time it has probably managed to avert a war but it can continue subversion. Of course, when a war is averted, everyone gains.

India also gained. The very holding of bilateral talks means that the framework and principles of the Simla agreement are in place, despite Pakistan's frantic attempts to internationalise the issue. The Indian side would not even agree to hold the meeting in the United Nations premises, a fact that appeared to bother the Pakistani side considerably. The Indians reserved a suite in the Waldorf Astoria hotel and invited the Pakistanis over.

Mr Gujral, remained adamant in his demand the Pakistan take "credible steps" to demonstrate its willingness to stop encouraging subversion and terrorism, not only in J and K but in Punjab as well. While Mr Yakub Khan said that the need to ease the tension pervaded the talks, Mr Gujral merely described the talks as "useful." He appeared to suggest that talks were fine to buy time, but real diffusion of tension could occur only when ground realities changed.

Mr Gujral also utilised the opportunity of a visit to the U.N. to press forward India's diplomatic case. As he told Indian correspondents later, virtually every nation today believes that India and Pakistan should resolve their problems bilaterally, within the Simla framework. He could manage to talk to a large number of Islamic nations, who were no different in their views. They all believe that internationalising the issue will not help the process of peace in the subcontinent.

As they said, the talks were "frank and businesslike." In diplomatic Islamabad's desire to tame "roused passions." That demonstration parlance, that means each side spoke out its mind. It also means that the minds did not meet. Pakistan flatly denied all the Indian charges. The Indian side, as Mr Gujral said later, pointed out that in their last meeting in New Delhi in January, they had asked for tangible steps from Pakistan that would demonstrate did not happen. On the contrary, Pakistan's encouragement of subversion and terrorism seemed to carry on regardless.

But India, perhaps, needed to examine Pakistan's current compulsions, suggested an influential source who declined to be named.

Pakistan's fledgling civilian government is just about managing to hang on to power, withstanding enormous pressure from political opponents, religious fundamentalists as well as from all those, including powerful sections of the armed forces, who believe that the good old days of military rule should never have gone. In the circumstances, otherwise reasonable leaders, like Ms Benazir Bhutto or even Mr Yakub Khan, have to indulge occasionally in the kind of rhetoric that is always effective in stirring nationalist passion in a nation that was created and continues to exist on almost an exclusive premise of its distinctive separateness from India.

Thus, even when the United States recently revoked the visa of Mr Amanullah Khan, the JKLF [Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front] leader, Pakistan felt constrained to tell the U.S. that Mr Khan was an important leader of Kashmir and "should be treated with respect." At least, that is what THE PAKISTAN TIMES reported yesterday (25 April), quoting a senior official of the Pakistan foreign office. The official said that Pakistan had told the U.S. the visa revocation could produce serious repercussions in Pakistan.

The very need to offer this kind of sop for domestic consumption shows the difficulties in Bhutto regime faces. In such circumstances, it would perhaps find it difficult to control rhetoric or to douse inflamed passions. Yet, unless it can exercise at least the degree of restraint, what good is a communique that advises the exercise of restraint "on both sides.?"

UNI adds:

Meanwhile, in London, the Pakistan Prime Minister, Ms Benazir Bhutto, has denied reports that the country's military intelligence network was providing arms training to Kashmir separatists without her knowledge.

In an interview telecast here last night, Ms Bhutto also declared that she would be "fully in charge" of the Pakistan army in case of a conflict between India and Pakistan and reiterated her resolve to continue giving "political, moral and diplomatic support" to the movement in Kashmir.

She emphasised the need for the two countries to prevent the outbreak of a war and find a political solution to the issue of Kashmir and claimed the "uprising" in the valley had "got out of hand for India."

"There is certainly a threat of war but the important thing is to prevent that conflict from becoming a reality," Ms Bhutto said over BBC Televisions.

"I believe that is the challenge that we have before the governments of India and Pakistan: "to rise above narrow considerations and to make sure that peace prevails above all other temptations."

She said it was "unfortunate that the government of India has spoken to teaching Pakistan a lesson," adding that Pakistan had stated "publically in parliament and outside, that we are prepared to talk about a political solution to the problem of Kashmir."

### 'Modest Outcome'

46001520 Madras *THE HINDU*  
in English 27 Apr 90 p 1

[Article by K.K. Katyal]

[Text] New Delhi, 26 April—The Gujral-Yakub meeting in New York was aimed at achieving a modest, limited objective—to check the drift towards the brink by India and Pakistan—which perhaps, it did. The emphasis was on keeping the channels of communications open, in the belief that the risk of armed conflict, through unintended actions or misunderstandings, is eliminated.

Otherwise, the outcome was expectedly unspectacular. Even the steps agreed upon by the two Foreign Ministers, Mr I.K. Gujral and Sahibzada Yakub Khan, were listed in separate, identical statements—not in a joint statement. They agreed that (1) directors-general of military operations of the two countries should remain in touch with each other; (2) both sides should exercise restraint; and (3) channels of communications should be kept open at all levels.

None among those familiar with the frosty state of India-Pakistan relationship, certainly not those like the U.S. which actively worked for the New York meeting, expected anything more than that. Incidentally, the Soviet Union fully backed the U.S. in the advocacy for a dialogue to de-escalate the current tension. At their recent meeting, the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr James Baker, and the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Eduard Shevardnadze, agreed "to do all they can to help find a solution" to Indo-Pakistani problems.

To the extent India and Pakistan agreed on gestures suggesting that none of them wanted a war, the New York meeting served its purpose. On other aspects of bilateral dealings, the two Foreign Ministers re-stated their position. Reports from New York make no mention of an agreement on the schedule for the meetings of the Joint Commission and the various sub-commissions. The issue could not but have been discussed during the 2- 1/2-hour talks between Mr Gujral and the Sahibzada, especially when the two Governments had considered various dates in the last three months.

The three sets of dates suggested by India did not suit Pakistan which promised to indicate its preference later this month. The votaries of the dialogue counted on the commission-level meetings to reverse the present negative trend.

For India, the New York meeting was an occasion to impress on Pakistan (1) that the unthinking manner in which it violated the Shimla Agreement was fraught with grave implications, (2) that it will lead to a free-for-all, not healthy for the delicate bilateral ties, (3) that there

will be no compromise on the territorial integrity of India and that this had been demonstrated through the firmest of steps, and (4) that the improvement of relations with Pakistan was the long-term objective, which would continue to be pursued.

Mr Gujral's 'no' to suggestion by the U.S. Congressman, Mr Stephen J. Solarz, for a superpower mediation between India and Pakistan does not seem to have caused any misunderstanding. Known for his feelings of warmth and friendship for New Delhi, Mr Solarz had suggested—out of good intentions, it is recognised here—that Mr Gujral and the Sahibzada join Mr Baker and Mr Shevardnadze, due to meet on 30 May in Moscow, for a discussion on Kashmir, and these discussions should pave the way for a summit, to be attended by the Presidents of the U.S. and the Soviet Union and the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan.

As Mr Gujral told Mr Solarz on 23 April, India was committed to resolving its problems with Pakistan through bilateral negotiations. The Congressman did not take it amiss—in any case, his first priority was a direct contact between India and Pakistan and talks between Mr Gujral and the Sahibzada meet this requirement.

The proposal was Mr Solarz's own and the U.S. Administration was not aware of it. According to the State Department spokesperson, they had no knowledge of the proposal for the four-minister meeting and that the U.S. had been daily calling for lessening tension between India and Pakistan. What Mr Solarz had in mind was the good offices of the big powers to facilitate a dialogue between New Delhi and Islamabad.

Nobody here expects Pakistan to back out—immediately and publicly—from its known position—that what the Valley witnesses these days is an "indigenous uprising" and that the U.N. resolution provides the way out. The Sahibzada and the Benazir Government have attracted sharp criticism from the opposition, IJI, for having agreed to talk to India without ensuring that Kashmir will be on the agenda. Of course, there are saner voices as well—calling for urgent steps to defuse the tension and avoid brinkmanship—but these are overwhelmed by the negative rhetoric. The scope of possible contacts in the near future is, thus, restricted to strengthening devices to de-escalate tensions.

The U.S. would like the two countries to not only tone down the rhetoric and thus bring down the temperature but also try to reverse the trend—through parallel processes of dialogue. This was the context for the proposal that they fix the time-table for the joint commission and its sub-commissions.

### Gujral London Remarks

46001520 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 29 Apr 90 p 1

[Article by L.K. Sharma]

[Text] London, 28 April—The external affairs minister, Mr I.K. Gujral, today charged his Pakistani counterpart



with violating the understanding reached between them in their talks in New York that both the countries would work to defuse tensions.

Mr Gujral's attention was drawn here to the anti-India outburst of the Pakistani foreign minister, Mr Yaqub Khan, in his press conference in New York after the two ministers had concluded their talks on a conciliatory note.

The two sides had also issued jointly agreed on press statement after the talks, which had attracted world attention because of the threat of another Indo-Pakistan war in the wake of the intensified terrorism in Kashmir and Punjab.

Notwithstanding the subsequent aggressive posture struck by the Pakistan foreign minister, the western media has recorded lessening of tensions between India and Pakistan since the two foreign ministers decided to meet and then actually met.

It revised its earlier alarmistic assessment about the possibility of a war. It sees sabre-rattling by the Pakistani leaders as a response to a domestic political requirement. It is understood that the Pakistan foreign minister went to Washington to meet the U.S. secretary of state, Mr James Baker, who also had a telephonic talk with Mr Gujral.

Mr Gujral, who had gone to New York for a special U.N. session and for the non-aligned foreign ministers' conference, is expected to meet Mr Baker in a couple of months to discuss bilateral issues. Mr Gujral reiterated India's opposition to any suggestion by Pakistan to involve a third party into bilateral matters. He said the Simla agreement had put behind such third party interventions.

India was keen to develop friendly relations with all its neighbours and all that Pakistan had to do was to stop interfering in India's domestic affairs and stop training terrorists operating in Kashmir and Punjab. He said India had provided evidence of this to the Pakistani leaders.

India had moved the U.S. to extradite Mr Amanullah Khan, a Pakistani passport-holder currently in the U.S. who had claimed credit for kidnappings and killings in India. Pakistani diplomats in the U.S. had approached the state department to treat Mr Khan with deference, according to a report in the Pakistani press.

Mr Gujral said Pakistan was interfering not only in Kashmir and in Punjab but it was also attacking India's secular character in order to revive the two-nation theory.

This theory was rejected long ago by the Indian Muslims who were playing a valiant role in the Indian nation. It was an insidious attempt by Pakistan to disturb communal harmony and stability in India which had not accepted religions as the basis of statehood.

Pakistan did not realise that such tactics could end the democratic order in the country and affect its own stability because of its problems in Sindh and Baluchistan.

UN Role Rejected (UNI from London): Mr Gujral had ruled out any necessity for the United Nations secretary general to mediate between India and Pakistan over the situation in Kashmir.

"What is there to mediate about?" Mr Gujral said at a press conference when asked about Mr Khan's statement that he had stressed "any steps, including mediation," in a meeting with the U.N. secretary-general, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar.

"The issue is Pakistan's interference in our internal affairs. No mediation is needed by us," added the minister.

Asked about the Pakistan Prime Minister, Ms Benazir Bhutto's comments that India had not been able to manage Kashmir, Mr Gujral replied: "I hope the prime minister of Pakistan has been able to manage Sind and Baluchistan."

#### Foreign Office Spokesman

46001520 Madras *THE HINDU*  
in English 29 Apr 90 p 1

[Words in italics as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 28 April—India today cleared the air about the repeated assertions by Pakistan about implementation of the United Nations resolutions on Kashmir by pointing out that not only were they time-specific and subject to several assurances, but that the 1972 Shimla Agreement superseded all previous arrangements.

In a hard-hitting reaction to the pronouncements by the Pakistan Foreign Minister, Sahabzada Yakub Khan, at a press conference in New York soon after his talks with the External Affairs Minister, Mr I.K. Gujral, the Foreign Office not only reminded Pakistan that India would not tolerate infringements of its sovereignty and integrity but that it would take appropriate measures to prevent such occurrences. "There will be no compromise on the measures necessary to protect our integrity," an official spokesman said here today. Asked whether this could mean across the border raids to smash training camps, he said "We rule out nothing."

Referring to the U.N. resolutions of 1948 and 1949, which Pakistan has been mentioning repeatedly, the spokesman said it was well known that they could not be implemented because of its refusal to withdraw its troops from occupied Kashmir as was mandated by these resolutions. India's acceptance of these resolutions was time-specific and subject to several assurances of the U.N.

Commission on India and Pakistan, including that Pakistan has no *locus standi* in Jammu and Kashmir. In the meantime, the basic purpose behind the U.N. resolutions was fulfilled by the adoption of a Constitution for Jammu and Kashmir by a freely-elected constituent Assembly in 1956. And numerous elections had been held through which the people had exercised their democratic choice.

### Rhetoric and Charges

By thrusting two wars on India, in 1965 and in 1971, Pakistan had changed the entire context of all bilateral relations and arrangements, the spokesman said. Consequently, the Shimla Agreement since 1972 became the basic framework for the conduct of bilateral relations. "When two States wilfully and consciously enter into a solemn agreement, constituting a bilateral treaty in full awareness of previous arrangements, there is no doubt that the commitments undertaken under the bilateral treaty supersede all previous arrangements," he pointed out.

About the statement of Sahabzada Yakub Khan, the spokesman said that it was regrettable that soon after his talks with Mr Gujral, he should have deemed it fit to indulge in rhetoric and allegations based on falsehood. "What the Pakistani Foreign Minister has said about civilians crossing the Line of Control is a deliberate and wanton attempt at rationalisation of blatant violations of the sovereignty of India and we would like to remind the Government of Pakistan that it is its responsibility to prevent infiltration taking place from their side of the Line of Control."

Recounting the recent events in Kashmir, the spokesman said the internal situation there was the creation of Pakistan-supported and assisted terrorists. These gun-toting religious fundamentalists had indulged in arson, kidnappings, terrorising the civilian population, killings of innocent citizens and murders of officials discharging their duty. They did not even desist from the abduction and brutal murder of a renowned Islamic scholar like Prof Mushir-ul-Haq. "These abhorrent activities constitute the real violence and the real denial of human rights in Kashmir," he added.

The Government of India was only discharging its responsibility of maintaining law and order, saving the lives of innocent civilians and protecting its own people from the terror unleashed by the trigger-happy militants. The Indian Government was doing this with the minimum force necessary. The law enforcing agencies had acted in an exemplary manner. Citing the example of Pakistan, the spokesman pointed out that in 1973, the Government there had used the Pakistan Air Force to bomb its own citizens in Baluchistan and it tackled the situation at a cost of 3,000 lives.

Commenting on the Sahabzada's reference to the "war psychosis having been created," the spokesman said he had omitted to mention, perhaps deliberately, that the

situation was the direct and inevitable outcome of Pakistan's attempts to train, arm, aid and abet terrorists directed against India. Added to this was the dangerously inflammatory rhetoric in Pakistan, including the talk of a thousand-year war and exhortations to terrorists to take to arms. This was backed up by attempts by the Central and provincial governments in Pakistan to raise funds for the support of insurgency. "These misleading and objectionable statements by the Pakistani Foreign Minister at his press conference in New York on 26 April were a negation of the approach he had indicated during this meeting with Mr Gujral on 25 April," the spokesman said.

### Press Reports on Developments, Problems in Kashmir

#### Human Rights Report

46001522 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 28 Apr 90 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, 27 April—Militancy in the Kashmir valley was far greater yesterday than when Mr Jagmohan took over the governorship of Jammu and Kashmir, says a report prepared by four human rights organisations. It was released to the press at a news conference here yesterday.

The People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL), the Citizens for Democracy (CFD), the Radical Humanist Association (RHA) and the Manav Ekta Abhiyan (MEA) had sent a joint team to the valley for a first hand assessment of the situation prevailing there. The team visited the valley twice between 9 March and 3 April.

The members of the team include Mr V.M. Tarkunde, Mr Rajender Sachar, Mr Amrik Singh, Mr Balraj Puri, Mr Inder Mohan, Mr Ranjan Dwivedi, Mr N.D. Pancholi and Mr T.S. Ahuja.

"Since this report was prepared, some salutary changes have been noticed in the government's policy towards Kashmir," the report begins and there is a promise of restoration of normalcy in the valley.

"One sees the hand of Mr George Fernandes, Minister for Kashmir, in the recent salutary changes in the government policy. If his hands are strengthened, the Kashmir problem will become less intractable than it is," said Mr Tarkunde.

One-third of non-Muslim population is still in Srinagar, the report says. Though there were no overt threats held out to the minorities from local Muslims, it is likely that they are apprehensive of such developments in the valley.

"Another significant demand which came from one and all was that they wanted Kashmiri Pandit families to return to their homes." The report says, according to

Kashmiri Muslims' contention, the Jaggmohan administration was creating panic among the Pandits by threatening to carry out house-to-house combing operations to find pro-Pakistan militants in which the Pandits may also get killed. For all this, the people blame the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh], the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the Bhartiya Janata Party. "So far the local Muslims have lined up to what they say in this regard. In quite a few cases the keys of the houses belonging to the Pandits are also left with their Muslim neighbours."

The exodus of non-Muslims is widely regretted by the common man in Kashmir. However, the team writes, one thing which the local people are particularly sore about is the permission granted to non-Muslim employees to leave duty and draw their minimum salary even when they are not on duty.

The Muslims complained to the team about the practice of giving salaries to non-Muslims who were in the relief camps but not to Muslim employees in the valley who could not attend their duties because of the curfew. "Similarly, the governor has preferred to pay compensation to families of non-Muslim victims who were considered to be informers, but so far, not a single penny has been paid to many more such families of Muslim victims," says the team while quoting the non-Muslims.

The report also mentions "a large number of excesses/atrocities by the security forces." Incidents where the forces have "fired without any provocation" on civilians are also detailed. "Everywhere the people gave heart-rending accounts of how security forces were gunning down innocent Muslims of the valley... instance regarding molestation of women in Chhanpura were brought to the notice of team members... there appears to be no system whereby individuals who suffer, can lodge complaints and seek redress."

"Indian media has lost its credibility," says the report and mentions as proof the faulty information regarding curfew timings given by the TV news relayed from New Delhi. "Similarly, the local people maintained that the news relayed regarding killings of terrorists by the paramilitary forces were either false or distorted. When a pregnant woman, her eight-year-old son and the driver of the three-wheeler in which they were travelling on 29 March were killed during curfew relaxation, the deaths were deliberately clubbed with the news of terrorists killed, without mentioning the death of the woman and her son, the report says.

The organisations have urged lifting of the curfew gradually and of allowing the people to demonstrate once the curfew is lifted completely. "But the government should inform the people that no violence by anybody in processions or demonstrations would be tolerated," they added.

They also urged the BSF [Border Security Force] and the CRPF [Central Reserve Police Force] to punish those in their ranks responsible for the excesses committed on the public.

Further, they urge free flow of information within Kashmir, replacement of the "present repressive policy by a policy of reconciliation with the people of the valley," formation of committees in the towns for redressal of the people's grievances, encouraging families to return to the valley and letting people form their own government once normalcy is restored through free and fair elections. "The government of India should announce in advance that the newly-elected assembly of Jammu and Kashmir will act under the constitution of that state and that it will have the rights guaranteed by Article 370 of the Indian Constitution," the report concludes.

### Migrants of Punjab

46001522 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 2 May 90 p 7

[Text] Chandigarh, 1 May (PTI)—About half of over 2,500 families who have fled, from separatist violence that hit the Kashmir valley, to Punjab and Chandigarh have taken shelter in the worst terrorist affected district of Amritsar.

About 1,200 families from the valley have opted to stay in Amritsar despite the fact that a number of local people have migrated elsewhere from the border district because of continued terrorist killings.

The remaining migrant families have taken shelter in other towns of Punjab, including Jalandhar, Ludhiana, Moga and Patiala. About 250 families have registered themselves with the Kashmiri Sahayak Sabha in Chandigarh, where two relief camps have been set up by the Chandigarh administration. The Sabha is the only agency in the region which is carrying on relief work in coordination with the administration.

There is one relief camp each in Jalandhar and Ludhiana. No other town in the state has a regular camp.

Among the migrants are employees and well off businessmen from Srinagar and other towns of the Valley who had left their flourishing trades and good jobs to lead the life of refugees with no source of income.

Another major problem being faced by the migrant families is that of schooling of the children. With the educational institutions having remained closed in the Valley since November last, the parents are unable to get the school leaving certificates of their wards. The Chandigarh administration has arranged for admission to government schools on a provisional basis.

The major chunk of the migrants left the Valley around 20 January, when militants issued warnings to members of the minority through loudspeakers in religious places. They find the situation in Punjab and Chandigarh much better than what it is in the Kashmir Valley.

Almost all the migrants were unable to sell off their properties. Some of them have now started giving out advertisements in the papers offering their residential premises on rent to defence officers, public undertakings

or banks. Others have started to search for people who would like to exchange property in Srinagar with property outside the Valley.

The refugees holding deposits in banks in the valley have suggested for the transfer of their accounts to banks outside in the same way in which the government has started disbursing pensions to the Central Government pensioners who had left Kashmir.

They have also suggested that the government make arrangements so that they could go to Srinagar and other towns to bring their belongings.

Mr P.L. Kaul, convenor of the Kashmir Sahayak Sabha Migrants Relief Committee, has urged the government to provide cash doles at the rate of Rs 1,000 per month to each family on the Jammu and Delhi pattern.

He said, the families registered with the Sabha were being lodged in the two relief camps, set up in the community centres of sectors 29 and 40. Besides accommodation, the inmates are provided free ration and some utensils, stoves and kerosene oil.

Most of the migrants in Amritsar belong to the families which originally inhabited the border district but went to the Kashmir Valley in search of greener pastures.

None of the political parties and social organisations have come forward to lend a helping hand to the migrants in Amritsar, nor has the district administration done anything since the state government has not chalked out any policy regarding such migrants.

The assistant commissioner, Jammu range, Mr V.P. Sharma, recently visited Amritsar to ascertain their problems and persuade them to return, but they refused to go back and demanded relief as admissible to migrants in Jammu.

### Vigil on Border

46001522 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 4 May 90 p 1

[Text] Srinagar, 3 May (PTI)—Army personnel have taken effective measures to plug "escape routes" in the border areas amidst reports that a large number of Pak trained militants planned to sneak into India once the snow started melting in the mountains, defence ministry sources here said.

The sources here said a strict vigil is being maintained along the line of actual control to stop infiltration from across the border.

As many as 187 subversives were apprehended and 245 killed in encounters with the army while they tried to cross into Kashmir with arms and explosives last month, they said.

Over 350 militants have so far been apprehended by the army during search operations conducted in different parts of the valley, the sources said.

Meanwhile, the Padma Shri recipient, Mr Mohammad-uddin Gujjar, the first to report about Pakistani infiltrators in 1965, was among the four persons killed in different parts of the Kashmir valley since last night.

Mr Gujjar was gunned down today by militants in his native village, Darakashi, in Tangmarg-Gulmarg, 45 km from here, official reports said.

In another incident, unidentified militants entered the house of Mr Chuni Lal, a police inspector in Kupwara town last night, and fired at him from close range. He died on the spot.

In Anantnag, Pir Mushtaq Ahmed, Anantnag block Janata Dal president was killed and in Srinagar, a National Conference activist was shot dead.

The militants also exchanged fire with security personnel in at least four localities of downtown Srinagar today, prompting authorities to reimpose curfew there.

Curfew was reimposed in Bohrikadal, Safakadal and within two kilometres of Rajouri Kadal as militants attacked patrolling security forces in four places in Srinagar.

Defence sources here, meanwhile, said as many as 187 subversives were arrested and 24 killed during encounters while they were attempting to cross into Kashmir with weapons and explosives during the past one month.

A huge quantity of arms and ammunition, including 32 AK-47 rifles, 46 pistols, 5 anti-tank mines and 128 anti-personnel mines were seized from them.

Over 350 militants have been apprehended by the army during search operations in different parts of the city during the same period.

The security forces, meanwhile, continued raids on the suspected hideouts of subversives in the valley. The rest of life in the valley remained unaffected as shops and business establishments remained open, because authorities relaxed curfew for nine hours from 9 a.m. in Srinagar and for varying periods in other towns of the valley.

New Delhi: Top officials today discussed the ways and means to seal the weak points along the line of actual control in Jammu and Kashmir and international borders in J&K and Punjab.

The defence secretary, Mr N.N. Vohra, the home secretary, Mr Naresh Chandra, and the director-generals of the Central reserve police force and the border security force were present among others at the meeting.

### Subversion From Pakistan

46001522 Madras *THE HINDU*  
in English 23 Apr 90 p 1

[Text] Srinagar, 22 April—The Union Home Minister, Mufti Mohammad Sayeed, told press persons here today

that there was no slackness in Pakistan's subversive and destabilising effort on the Kashmir issue, even though that country had taken the initiative for talks between the Foreign Ministers of India and Pakistan in New York.

He said in the last two days, a large number of intruders had been either nabbed or killed on the border with Pakistan. Weapons and ammunition, including AK-47 rifles, rocket launchers and electronic detonators had been recovered. Most of the 'nettings' had been effected in Uri, Kupwara and Rajouri in Poonch.

In the last 15 days, official sources said 200 intruders had been arrested on the border. Twenty one of them returning after completing advanced courses in terrorism and sabotage had been shot dead by the security forces. Five rocket launchers, 2 rocket-propelled missiles, 12 AK-47s, pistols and light machine guns had been seized from them.

The Home Minister came here on a two-day visit yesterday to review the law and order and security situation when Pakistani efforts to destabilise Kashmir were continuing even on the eve of the festival of Eid. He has had several rounds of discussions with the senior administration, BSF [Border Security Force], CRP [Central Reserve Police?] and police officials. The Governor, Mr Jagmohan, and the Corps Commandant of the area, Lt General Zaqi, have also been associated with the deliberations to evolve coordinated action against secessionist elements.

The Home Minister said from tomorrow curfew would be relaxed for eight hours between 9 a.m. and 5 p.m. as compared to the four-hour relaxation which began yesterday. For Eid, only a few days away, the administration has been instructed to make available essential commodities to the people. It has also been decided to open educational institutions, including technical colleges, by 15 May.

Mr Sayeed said people should cooperate with the administration during the non-curfew hours by not harbouring militants as they should understand that there was a "conspiracy" against the country.

Emphasising that there was no question of "Azadi," the slogans by the secessionists here, the Mufti appealed to the people of Kashmir that they should not be taken in by the propaganda and the violent method of the militants and should "start their journey back to the mainstream."

"If they (militants) have guns, we have bigger guns," he said in response to a question.

PTI reports from Jammu:

The Union Minister for Kashmir Affairs, Mr George Fernandes, has said that there are 40 to 45 training camps in Pakistan and Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (POK) where about 4,000 youth were being trained in arms and subversion.

Some of these youth were also being taken to the Afghan frontiers for joining the "guerilla warfare" there. Mr Fernandes told press persons in Jammu last night. He said this information was received during the interrogation of militants who had been arrested in the Valley during the past few months.

Mr Fernandes urged the State administration to ensure that innocent citizens were not harassed.

The Minister also clarified that he had not said there was any move on behalf of the Union Government for a confederation with Pakistan.

In a major raid on the hideouts of Kashmiri subversives, security forces today arrested 30 suspected militants from the border district of Kupwara, official sources told UNI. The sources said the arrests were made from Terhgam and Lolab Valley in Kupwara district.

### Students' Allegations

46001522 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH  
in English 12 Apr 90 p 4

[Text] Srinagar, 11 April—the Jammu Kashmir Students' Liberation Front (JKSLF) tonight alleged that the Kashmir university vice-chancellor's secretary, Abdul Gani, was shot dead by security forces after his captors had let him off.

A JKSLF spokesman read the statement on telephone to Srinagar newspapers saying the captors had released the private secretary last evening. He was picked up by the security forces who, after interrogating him for about half an hour, shot him dead. They later threw his body on the road where the captors had earlier left the body of Prof Musheer-ul Haq, the statement alleged.

The statement blamed the state and Union governments for the other two killings. A representative of the JKSLF, it said, had talked to the Union minister in-charge for Kashmir affairs, Mr George Fernandes, and the state's chief secretary on law and order, Mr Hameedullah Khan, both of whom showed no interest in securing the safe return of the hostages.

They it alleged, told the representatives of the JKSLF that the government would not release the militants even if the hostages were released by the militants unharmed. "Their rigid stand forced us to take the extreme step," the spokesman said condoling the murder of Abdul Gani.

Various Kashmiri Muslim politicians and the supporters of the ongoing agitation blamed the state government and also New Delhi of "playing with the lives of the innocent hostages."

The rigid attitude of the government authorities led to the executions, Moulvi Farooq, Kashmir's chief priest and leader of Opposition People's Action Committee,

said, adding, "The heavens would not have fallen by letting off the three militants in order to save three precious lives."

He said when the home minister's daughter was abducted by the militants four months ago, the government readily agreed to release as many as five top jailed militants to secure her freedom. "But this time the governments at the Centre and in the state did not bother about three people, perhaps because they were neither politicians nor related to politicians or the people at the helm of affairs," he said.

Moulvi Abbas Ansari and Mr Abdul Gani Lone, leaders of the Muslim United Front, also criticised the state and Union government. They said by holding hostage the entire population of the valley by imposing curfew and inflicting atrocities on innocent people during the raids and searches at their houses, the government only instigated the captors.

In Jammu, several political and non-political organisations and prominent citizens condemned what the brutal killings by the militants. They demanded stern action against the people responsible and those supporting them. The Governor, Mr Jagmohan, said no effort would be spared to punish the murders. He was sanctioned ex gratia relief of Rs 100,000 to the kin of each victim and offered jobs to one adult member of each family.

## SRI LANKA

### LTTE Chief Prabhakaran Interviewed, Discusses Future Role

90AS0050B Zurich DIE WELTWOCHEN  
in German 12 Apr 90 p 15

[Interview with LTTE Chief Velupillai Prabhakaran by Martin Stuerzinger; date and place not given: "I Would Like To Take Care of the Disabled Children"]

[Text] In 1972, while still a teenager, Velupillai Prabhakaran founded the Tiger movement and so began the armed struggle for an independent Tamil state in north-eastern Sri Lanka. A mysterious figure while still in his youth, he seldom appeared in public. From the start, his Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) were viewed as a highly disciplined guerilla group characterized by deadly decisiveness. Alcohol and cigarettes are prohibited; members may not marry until they have been with the organization for five years. Each fighter wears a cyanide capsule around his neck to keep him for committing treason in case he is tortured after capture. More than 200 Tigers are said to have died from cyanide poisoning after biting down on the capsule.

For years, Prabhakaran was Sri Lanka's most wanted man. When the Indian Army arrived in Sri Lanka in late 1987 with the goal of disarming the Tigers, Prabhakaran went completely underground. From his jungle hideout he directed the struggle of his men against an Indian force numbering almost 70,000. All Indian efforts to

capture him were to no avail. Last August, a member of the Sri Lankan Government announced that Prabhakaran was dead. Since that time, more and more people believed he had really been killed by his deputy Mahattaya.

But after the last Indian troops left Sri Lanka in late March, Velupillai Prabhakaran suddenly reappeared. Under heavy security precautions he spoke for the first time in early April about his years in the jungle, his views on the peace talks, and the future prospects for the Sri Lankan ethnic conflict. Before granting us this interview, he read off a prepared statement that had been provided to the local media. The statement characterized the present situation as a turning point in the Tamil liberation struggle. He praised the Premadasa government for its peace initiative and announced that the Tigers would continue their struggle by democratic means via its political party which was legalized in December.

Nonetheless, he sharply rejected demands that the LTTE lay down its arms immediately. Although the situation has quieted down, the problems of the Tamils have not been resolved by any means. In this connection, the statement contained a strong warning to the Colombo government: "Although the Indian Army used all of its military power against our movement, it did not achieve its goal of disarming us. We sincerely hope that Sri Lanka will not make the same catastrophic mistake."

Prabhakaran presented his views in greater detail in a conversation lasting about one hour. Surrounded by heavily armed fighters, Prabhakaran met with us wearing a camouflage Tiger uniform without insignia. The 35-year-old Prabhakaran is married and has two children: a five-year-old son and a three-year-old daughter. Others present at the interview included Gepalswamy Mahendrarajah alias Mahattaya, Prabhakaran's deputy and leader of the Tiger political party; Yogaratnam Yogi, the general secretary of the party; and Anton Balasingham, the Tiger spokesman and ideologist.

The LTTE leadership group presented itself in a good mood and seems to work well together. Prabhakaran spoke in Tamil; Balasingham translated excerpts of the conversation.

[Stuerzinger] Up until today rumor had it that you were dead. But quite obviously you are in the best of health.

[Prabhakaran] That was a maliciously planned campaign by Indian intelligence and the opposing groups. (Laughs at Mahattaya, who is sitting next to him) They said that this man here killed me. As you can see, we understand each other extremely well.

[Stuerzinger] You were last seen in public on 3 August 1987 when you gave a speech on the India-Sri Lanka peace treaty. Why have you been underground for so long?

[Prabhakaran] I organized and directed the struggle against the Indian occupation army from the jungle. My

intention was not to appear in public until after the last Indian soldier had left our country.

[Stuerzinger] The Indians tried again and again to find you. Did they ever get close to where you were?

[Prabhakaran] Sometimes they were only 50 or 100 meters away. At other times I could feel the shock waves from the 250 kg bombs they dropped close by.

[Stuerzinger] What are your feelings toward India now that the two-and-a-half-year struggle is over?

[Prabhakaran] I have very bitter feelings toward India because a large number of civilians were senselessly killed by the army.

[Stuerzinger] The Indian Army—which is the fourth largest in the world after all—withdrew from Sri Lanka and subsequently the Tigers took over the entire north-eastern province. How do you explain this victory?

[Prabhakaran] The resolve of the Tigers and their willingness to die for a just cause are the basis of our success. The other factor is the active participation of our entire people in the struggle against the Indian occupation. For instance, villagers would walk miles into the jungle to bring us food. Others nursed our wounded back to health.

The military technology which we specially adapted to the jungle also helped us in successfully resisting the Indians. As in the Vietnam War we, too, had much success with contact landmines. For all that, we developed and produced most of the mines and many other weapons ourselves.

On occasion, our fighters battled one-on-one against the famous Gurkhas and came out on top. Col. Bakshi, the renowned Gurkha commander, was killed in battle. The Indians fled without retrieving his corpse. In the end, we gave him a proper burial.

I would like particularly to emphasize the courage and resolve of our men who sometimes fought for as long as 48 hours at a stretch. Our Black Tiger suicide squads also successfully carried out various missions.

[Stuerzinger] How strong is the LTTE? How many Tigers are there?

[Prabhakaran] (Laughs out loud) Don't embarrass me by asking such questions. No liberation movement would ever give out information on its strength.

[Stuerzinger] At various times pictures have appeared showing boys 10 years old or thereabouts in Tiger uniforms. Does the LTTE train child soldiers?

[Prabhakaran] Children come to our movement as a direct consequence of the Indian war of aggression against our people. Wherever wars of aggression take place throughout the world entire populations, including teenagers, are drawn into the conflicts. That was the case in Kampuchea and elsewhere. It is not our aim to train

these young people for war. They are now given a proper education. We give them a chance for occupational training.

They came to us because of the war with India. Some of them saw the most terrible atrocities committed against their parents and that is the reason they wanted to join the fight. Others were sent to us by their parents so that they would not be recruited by our opponents, the Tamil National Army. Now we will return them to civilian life.

[Stuerzinger] According to the most recent reports the Tigers are in the process of buying new weapons and building new bunkers and military hospitals. Are you in the process of preparing for war against the Sri Lankan Army?

[Prabhakaran] Up to now, at any rate, we still have to go to the Jaffna hospital for treatment. These stories that we are making military preparations are totally unfounded.

[Stuerzinger] Does that mean that you hope a lasting peace can be achieved?

[Prabhakaran] (Hesitates) For a movement that was established for the purpose of gaining independence for our people the only hope is that peace will be secured. Our hope is for a lasting peace.

[Stuerzinger] Many Sinhalese believe that the LTTE went into negotiations with the Colombo government solely to get rid of the Indian Army. The distrust is still very great.

[Prabhakaran] There is distrust on the Tamil side, too—much distrust because we have had the bitter experience of being betrayed by the Sinhalese on various occasions.

[Stuerzinger] And you trust the Premadasa government just the same?

[Prabhakaran] We have been holding peace talks with that government for almost one year. These talks have been sincere and constructive. Progress had been made on the basis of mutual trust and understanding. Today we have peace and normalcy as a direct consequence. The current government appears to have realized that the problems of the Tamil-speaking part of the population cannot be resolved by means of racial and military oppression. I would say that the courageous and radical steps taken by President Premadasa have brought about the present peaceful climate.

[Stuerzinger] When will you personally go to Colombo and meet with President Premadasa for the first time?

[Prabhakaran] I have not made a decision on that as yet.

[Stuerzinger] Would you now be prepared to accept less than Eelam, i.e. an independent Tamil state?

[Prabhakaran] (Weighing his every word) Up to now the government of Sri Lanka has offered us no real alternative to Eelam. If we are offered an alternative, we will take it under consideration.

[Stuerzinger] And what of your own future role? Will you become prime minister of the northeastern province?

[Prabhakaran] That post was offered to me before and I did not want it at that time. (Smiles at Mahattaya) Now Mahattaya is the leader of our party. He will make the decisions on such matters.

[Stuerzinger] But what will the supreme commander of LTTE do once the war is over?

[Prabhakaran] If the peace is a lasting one, I would like to care for the socially disadvantaged and invalid children or widows. In a word, I will concern myself more with the reintegration of the disadvantaged. Once a war is over, it is these multiple victims that keep on suffering the most.

[Stuerzinger] Are you saying that unlike Daniel Ortega you have no political career in mind after waging a successful guerilla war?

[Prabhakaran] I would rather work on social issues than become a political leader.

[Stuerzinger] Can you really imagine returning to civilian life after spending 18 years of your life as a guerilla leader?

[Prabhakaran] We love neither war, nor violence. All of that was forced on us.

[Stuerzinger] How do you feel today—having finally left the jungle? Are you happy?

[Prabhakaran] Although we were in the jungle, we were always in touch with the population. Thus this is not a new experience for me. (Laughs) And since I have been used to "wildlife" ever since my earliest childhood, I have begun to love life in the jungle.



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