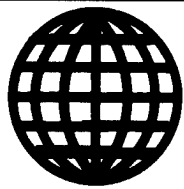


JPRS-NEA-90-050  
14 SEPTEMBER 1990



**FOREIGN  
BROADCAST  
INFORMATION  
SERVICE**

# ***JPRS Report***

## **Near East & South Asia**

**DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A**

Approved for public release;  
Distribution Unlimited

19980515 029

REPRODUCED BY  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE  
NATIONAL TECHNICAL INFORMATION SERVICE  
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

**DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 3**

# Near East & South Asia

JPRS-NEA-90-050

## CONTENTS

14 September 1990

### NEAR EAST

#### REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Israeli Chemical Weapons Threat Assessed [London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT 1 Aug] .....	1
Arab States Urged To Consider Multiparty Systems [London AL-DUSTUR 9 Jul] .....	2

#### ALGERIA

Hamrouche on Major Issues Facing Government [EL MOUDJAHID 11 Jul] .....	3
---	---

#### EGYPT

Opposition, Religious Leaders React to Iraqi Invasion .....	4
Muslim Ulema Condemnation [AKHIR SA'AH 8 Aug] .....	4
Opposition Party Leaders' Statements [AKHIR SA'AH 8 Aug] .....	7
Anis Mansur Attacks 'Arafat for Supporting Terrorism [AL-AHRAM 26 Aug] .....	8
Dialogue Forum Between Government, Public Suggested [AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI 16 Jul] .....	8
State, Business Cooperation Proposed To Boost Investment [AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI 20 Jul] ..	11

#### IRAQ

Saddam Husayn's Military Power Assessed [Istanbul TERCUMAN 18 Aug] .....	12
--	----

#### ISRAEL

Chemical Attack Described by Survivors [MA'ARIV 6 Aug] .....	13
--	----

#### LEBANON

Economic Reports Indicate Higher Prices [London AL-TADAMUN 30 Jul] .....	13
--	----

#### REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

Official Interviewed on Military, Political Unification [AL-THAWRI 14 Jul] .....	15
Editorial Comments on Houston Economic Summit [AL-THAWRI 14 Jul] .....	20

### SOUTH ASIA

#### AFGHANISTAN

Only Solution to Afghan Problem Is Unity of Mujahidin [Tehran ETTELA'AT 16 May] .....	22
Petroleum Products Availability, Prices Reported [HEYWAD 14 May] .....	26
Farmers Party of Afghanistan Changes Name [PAYAM 12 May] .....	26
Mayor of Kabul Accused of Beating Journalist [PAYAM 20 May] .....	26
Mayor of Kabul Responds to Accusation of Beating Journalist [PAYAM 26 May] .....	27
Commentary Urges Battle Against Narcotics [HEYWAD 12 May] .....	28

#### INDIA

President, Prime Minister Address Governors' Meet .....	29
Venkataraman Speech [THE HINDU 28 Jul] .....	29
Singh at Closing Session [THE HINDU 29 Jul] .....	31

Papers Report, Comment on V. P. Singh Moscow Visit .....	31
23 Jul Talks, Banquet [THE HINDU 24 Jul] .....	31
Joint Statement [THE HINDU 24 Jul] .....	33
Singh-Gorbachev Talks [THE HINDU 25 Jul] .....	34
Economic Relations Discussed [THE TIMES OF INDIA 25 Jul] .....	35
Currency Exchange Problems [THE TIMES OF INDIA 26 Jul] .....	36
More on Exchange [THE HINDU 25 Jul] .....	37
Visit Evaluated [THE HINDU 26 Jul] .....	37
Return Flight Press Conference [THE HINDU 27 Jul] .....	38
Remarks in New Delhi [THE HINDU 27 Jul] .....	39
Moscow University Ceremony [THE HINDU 25 Jul] .....	40
Report on V.P. Singh Interview With 'NEW TIMES' [THE TIMES OF INDIA 19 Jul] .....	40
Indo-Soviet Protocol on Bakreswar Examined [THE STATESMAN 26 Jul] .....	41
Analyst Reviews Progress of Indo-Soviet Relations [THE HINDU 8 Aug] .....	42
Communist Paper on Indo-Soviet Relations [PATRIOT 30 Jul] .....	44
India Rejects Islamic Conference Mediation Offer [THE HINDU 8 Aug] .....	46
Reportage, Comment on Pakistan Government Change .....	46
'Low Key' Gujral Statement [THE HINDU 9 Aug] .....	46
Opportunity in Kashmir [THE HINDU 8 Aug] .....	47
Delhi Analysts' Opinions [THE HINDU 8 Aug] .....	48
Effect on Indo-Pakistan Talks [THE HINDU 7 Aug] .....	48
Paper Reports Gujral's 22 July Amritsar Press Conference [THE STATESMAN 23 Jul] .....	49
Ramahatira Seeks Indian Business Expertise [Port Louis L'EXPRESS 8 Aug] .....	50
CPI-ML Decision on United Action With Left [THE SUNDAY STATESMAN 29 Jul] .....	50
Janata Dal Party Elections Postponed From October [THE TIMES OF INDIA 20 Jul] .....	51
Maharashtra Elections Likely on 15 October [THE TIMES OF INDIA 2 Aug] .....	51
Air Force To Induct Nonindigenous Fighter Planes [THE TIMES OF INDIA 28 Jul] .....	52
Papers Report, Comment on Missile Technology Development .....	52
Defense Expert's Article [THE TIMES OF INDIA 13 Jul] .....	52
STRATEGIC ANALYSIS Article Reported [PATRIOT 28 Jun] .....	53
Nag Missile Tested [THE HINDU 25 Jun] .....	54
Upgrading of Agni [THE HINDU 23 Jun] .....	55
AITUC Secretary Denounces Industrial Policy [THE TIMES OF INDIA 9 Aug] .....	55
Foreigners To Take Part in Oil Exploration [THE TIMES OF INDIA 1 Aug] .....	55
Correspondent on Conditions in Tin Bigha Corridor [THE STATESMAN 27 Jul] .....	56
Press Reports on Amnesty International .....	57
1990 Report Quoted [THE TIMES OF INDIA 12 Jul] .....	57
Opposition From Gandhi [THE TIMES OF INDIA 3 Jul] .....	58

## IRAN

Reasons for Accommodation With France [Paris LIBERATION 30 Jul] .....	58
Rice Harvest Begins in West Azarbaijan [KEYHAN 5 Aug] .....	59

## PAKISTAN

Murtaza Bhutto's Return, Legal Status Viewed [JASARAT 13 Aug] .....	59
Political Patronage Criticized, Overthrow Recommended [THE NATION 21 Jul] .....	60
Commentary Views PPP, Accountability, Blame [JASARAT 13 Aug] .....	61
Sindh: Army Use Seen Inappropriate, Political Solution Urged [THE NATION 21 Jul] .....	62
Article Examines 'Political Use' of Islam in Country [DAWN 28 Jul] .....	64
Commentary Urges Consolidating Democratic Tradition [THE NATION 25 Jul] .....	65
Commentary Views Use of Army, Political Stability [THE PAKISTAN TIMES 20 Jul] .....	66

## SRI LANKA

Prolonged Guerilla War Foreseen [Zurich DIE WELTWOCHE 5 Jul] .....	68
--	----

## REGIONAL AFFAIRS

### Israeli Chemical Weapons Threat Assessed

90AE0217A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
1 Aug 90 p 13

[Article by Dr. 'Isam Nu'man]

[Text] Israel usually surrounds the capabilities of its weapons with a thick veil of secrecy and inscrutability, protecting its secrets with strict military control. However, in a rare deviation from this tradition, Yuval Ne'eman, the Israeli science minister, stated to the Israeli broadcast media last Friday that Israel has the means to respond to Iraqi chemical weapons with weapons of the same type. The Israeli minister was keen to point out that, on the eve of the Six Day War in 1967, Israel warned Egypt against using poisonous gases, and that "these warnings have proven their effectiveness."

Ne'eman's remarks prompt this observer to examine his background, the timing of his remarks, and their meaning in the present circumstances.

Yuval Ne'eman, in addition to being science minister, is a leader of the rightwing, extremist Hachiyah Party, which favors the collective transfer of the population of the West Bank and Gaza Strip to Jordan. As a nuclear physics researcher, he also heads the Israeli space research program, and he formerly was deputy chief of intelligence of the Israeli Army and director of the Israeli nuclear program. It is unreasonable to think that his remarks to the Israeli broadcast media express his personal views alone, in view of his prominent role in government and politics. His scientific standing also lends weight and importance to his remarks.

The remaining question is: Is something to be indicated by the timing of Ne'eman's remarks?

It is not lost on this observer that Ne'eman's remarks coincided with two events: the circumstances related to and preceding the OPEC conference in Geneva, and the announcement of the imminent testing of the Hetz [Arrow] anti-missile missile in Israel.

Regarding the OPEC conference, Ne'eman's remarks might have been designed to insert Israel artificially into the pre-OPEC conference milieu with the aim of causing tension in relations between the Arab oil-producing states.

If we try to understand Ne'eman's remarks in the context of preparations for the testing of the Hetz missile, it could be said that the remarks were intended to highlight the advantages of this missile, which, Ne'eman stated, provides protection against missiles carrying chemical warheads, i.e., those possessed by Iraq and several Arab states.

The preceding pertains to the timing of the remarks. The meaning of Ne'eman's remarks can be interpreted in a number of ways.

The first interpretation is that the remarks are tantamount to a warning. This is indicated by Ne'eman's citation of the warning against using poisonous gases that he claimed that Israel directed at Egypt on the eve of the 1967 War. However, the correctness of this interpretation is weakened by the fact that stronger warnings were made previously by Yitzhaq Shamir, Yitzhaq Rabin (then Defense minister), and General Shomron, the chief of staff of the Israeli Army, on the day after President Saddam Husayn threatened Israel in early April.

A second interpretation regards the remarks as an attempt to dispel the threat by Iraq's president and constrain the determination of Iraq's leadership by demonstrating Israel's ability to blow up Iraqi chemical missiles in the air before they reach their targets. However, the correctness of this interpretation is weakened by the fact that the Hetz missile is still being tested and will not be manufactured in sufficient quantities for military use until the mid-1990s.

A third interpretation considers the remarks an attempt to direct the attention of the Iraqi leadership to Israel's deterrent ability. Perhaps the Iraqi leadership is acting on the assumption that Israel lacks a margin of maneuverability due to its inability to use nuclear weapons in response to an Iraqi use of chemical weapons, an inability that would leave Israel vulnerable to chemical weapons. Thus, the goal of the remarks in this case would be to stress to Iraq that Israel does not possess nuclear weapons alone, but also chemical weapons of the same type that Iraq might use. This would allow Israel to achieve the necessary balance regarding deterrence. However, the correctness of this interpretation is weakened by the fact that the Iraqi leadership is fully aware of Israel's possession of chemical weapons, inasmuch as a country able to produce nuclear weapons would be all the more able to produce something lesser, namely chemical weapons. Therefore, the intended purpose of the remarks would be contradicted, especially if the intended result in the estimation of the Iraqi leadership is that the employment of chemical weapons remains a useful option despite Israel's possession of both chemical and nuclear weapons.

A fourth interpretation would consider the remarks an attempt by the Israeli government to boost the morale of the Israeli population amid an intensified Israeli Army campaign to train the population in the use of protective masks. This interpretation is given some credence by the high status that Science Minister Yuval Ne'eman enjoys inside the scientific and military establishments in Israel. Perhaps persistent reports of the ineffectiveness of the masks in neutralizing the effects of binary chemical weapons required calming the Israeli public by focusing on the effectiveness of the Hetz missile.

A fifth interpretation regards Ne'eman's remarks as a carefully considered, patient attempt by the Israeli leadership to persuade the Iraqi leadership (and other Arab leaders) to enter into a discussion regarding the rules of

the game that must be adhered to subsequently, because war, like politics, is a dialogue of wills. One of the aims of the parties to this dialogue is to arrive at a "mutual understanding" regarding the foundations for waging the struggle. Perhaps Israel wishes to attempt to "convince" Iraq of the futility of using chemical weapons in view of Israel's ability to respond with the same weapons. If Iraq becomes convinced of this, the alternative type of weapons in the struggle would be conventional weapons, i.e., all types of non-nuclear and non-chemical weapons. Should there be reliance on such a foundation, Israel would achieve superiority in the struggle because it has more powerful weapons and better trained personnel than Iraq, and it employs intelligence and the achievements of modern technology more extensively than Iraq. However, this interpretation is undermined by the fact that the Iraqi leadership is familiar with all of these considerations and is resolved—despite, or because of them—to respond with chemical weapons. Why? Perhaps because it calculates that a resolute decision to respond chemically, along with a willingness to bear the damage caused by an Israeli retaliation would be sufficient to deter Israel from taking the initiative, because Israel is unable—given its small size and limited population and resources—to withstand a strike that destroys a fourth or fifth of it, even if it is able to inflict greater damage on Iraq. The destruction of a fourth, or even a fifth, of Israel would in effect lead to the collapse of the Zionist enterprise as a movement and a state sooner or later.

Whether the fourth interpretation is the most probable or the fifth one is, or even if the goal of Yuval Ne'eman's remarks can be interpreted in a way not presented here, two solid facts remain, which were disclosed by the indirect dialogue of wills now going on between the Arab and Israeli sides. The first is Israel's perception that the Arabs have acquired the will to fight, and the second is Israel's conviction that, for the first time since 1948, it will not be able to keep a war from reaching its rear, as it has done by waging past wars inside Arab territories. Conventional or non-conventional (chemical) intermediate-range missiles possessed by the Arabs and Israel alike have rendered the strategic depth of both sides a certain battle field in the next war, with all of its woes.

Is this not a sufficient reason for Israel to attempt to reach a prior "mutual understanding" with the Arabs on the rules of the game, i.e., the rules of engagement?

Is this not a sufficient reason for Israel and its supporters to desist from examining the "rescue" of Israel in the battle field?

Or is it that war is Israel's fate, by which and for which it exists until it loses a war—forever?

### Arab States Urged To Consider Multiparty Systems

90AA0246A London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic  
9 Jul 90 p 15

[Text] In some Arab countries, there are on-going dialogues about the regulation of party life. These dialogues have begun to assume a serious character since the doors were opened to the multiparty system in several countries, whose officials and decisionmakers are now faced with the following question: Do parties have unrestricted and unconditional freedom, or do specific rules regulate the formation of parties? Debate over this question is continuing, especially in three countries: Tunisia, Yemen, and Jordan.

In Tunisia, despite the promulgation of the "covenant" some time ago, and despite the holding of general elections, dialogue regarding party life has continued, because the authorities have refrained from authorizing several parties, including religious-political organizations and nationalist organizations. In Yemen, the Political Organization Committee, almost two weeks ago, produced a plan that determines the general orientations of the political organizations law. The plan deals with the above-mentioned question and "rejects political organizations that are considered a branch of a foreign political party or organization, or which are associated with foreign political organizations, parties, or groups." Such a determination would seem to pave the way for banning the activity of branches of nationalist parties. In Jordan, the National Covenant Formulation Committee is studying the same problem. The committee has not reached a final conclusion yet. However, some, inside and outside the committee, are demanding something similar to what was recommended by the Political Organization Committee in Yemen, i.e., excluding some parties, especially the nationalist parties, from having the right to engage in party activity.

These orientations merit concern, because they affect the future of the multiparty system and political stability in the region. There is no doubt that discussions of the regulation of party life in the concerned countries is a necessity, which must aim primarily at immunizing the democratic experiment against any force seeking to abuse or terminate it. In this context, those who have auspices over this experiment are entitled to limit the right of party activity to democratic parties alone, and to withhold this right from parties, groups, and organizations that do not believe in democracy, prefer autocratic rule, and use violence or brandish its use to reach power. The truth is that some "nationalist" groups followed this path in the past and are still willing to follow it in a way that threatens democratic life. However, this does not apply to all nationalist parties. Some of these parties actually believe in democratic action and are prepared to assume a responsible, constructive role in implanting and deepening the multiparty experiment. Opening the field to these parties to play their role fully in public life

is necessary to ensure the success of the democratic experiment for the following reasons:

First, because these parties have a palpable influence on public opinion: They call for Arab unity, which is a goal close to the hearts of citizens, and a goal that strengthens the position of all who advocate it. It is probable that the influence of these parties will increase in the future, because the democratic opening will provide them—if not with a legal permit to operate—with an opportunity for considerable contact with citizens to rally the popular bases. The current and projected importance of these parties and their democratic course lend urgency to the need to grant them freedom and legal permission to operate from the standpoint of developing Arab public life. At the same time, denying these parties this right will lead to the spread of feelings of alienation and disenfranchisement among their members and supporters, which will expose them to the development of undemocratic trends within their organizations. The repulsion of nationalist citizens from the democratic transformation process does not serve political development in the concerned Arab countries. However, if these parties are given the right to operate openly and legally, they will play a positive role in protecting the democratic experiment from any damage, expanding the popular base of the experiment and providing the experiment with national support. This is to say that the branches of the nationalist parties in the Arab countries will help spread an Arab climate that is sympathetic to the democratic experiment in those countries that grant the nationalist parties freedom to operate.

Second, granting freedom to nationalist, democratic parties will strengthen the credibility of the ruling elites in the concerned countries. These countries are members of the League of Arab States and regional Arab councils. They were established primarily on the basis of belief in the idea of Arab unity and a commitment to strive to achieve it. This was clear in the speeches delivered by senior Arab officials on the day the charter of the Arab League was announced in 1945, as well as in its covenants and agreements. This position is repeated in the announcement of the Arab Maghreb Union pact, which regards the union as a step toward comprehensive Arab unity. It is also repeated in the agreement to form the Arab Cooperation Council, which stipulates that Arab unity is the "highest goal of the Arab nation." Thus, the goal of unity is an important foundation on which the legitimacy of the concerned states is based. It was the basis for the achievement of the unity of Yemen, one of the most precious achievements of the current, Arab political period. It is also the basis of the Jordanian state in its capacity as a historical extension of the great Arab revolution.

These positions and unions that bind the concerned Arab countries to the cause of unity require opening the field to the nationalist parties, so that they can undertake their legitimate role in public life. When the Arab states are members in a regional organization that is working to achieve unity among its member-countries, it is illogical

and unnatural for citizens of these states to be prohibited from forming parties that call for achieving this same goal. Similarly, it will become difficult for the citizen to understand the positions of Arab officials and leaders when they affirm the importance of solidarity, cooperation, and unity among the parts of the one fatherland, while the actions of citizens who assemble and advocate the same goals advocated by these leaders are considered null and illegal. This discrepancy will reduce the credibility of the national positions and policies adopted by the concerned governments if they ban the nationalist parties from operating openly and deprive them of legal legitimacy.

Third, the responsible authorities in the concerned countries have permitted, or are in the process of permitting, international parties. This effort is praiseworthy because it conforms with the principles of the multiparty system. However, the discrepancy becomes greater here, when parties calling for world unity are permitted, while parties calling for Arab unity are banned from operating. If we fear for regional sovereignty on account of any unity plan, why do we single out the Arab unity plan, and not others, as the object of fear and doubt? Why do we place obstacles in the path of those striving to achieve Arab unity, and not others?

These considerations are worthy of being taken into account by those concerned with regulating party life in the Arab countries, so that they can anchor the democratic structure on firm foundations and open the field to other democrats of different intellectual and political currents in the Arab fatherland to participate in public life. In this way, democracy will grant them victory over those who oppose or are averse to it.

## ALGERIA

### Hamrouche on Major Issues Facing Government

90AA0294A Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French  
11 Jul 90 p 24

[Interview with Prime Minister Mouloud Hamrouche reprinted from ARABIES; date and place not given]

[Text] (APS [Algerian Press Service])—"Any attempt to democratize economic and social life leads to a challenge of certain private interests, among other things the numerous cases of unearned income, linked both to monopoly situations and the informal exercise of economic activity," Prime Minister Mouloud Hamrouche said during an interview published in the monthly periodical ARABIES.

This is connected with one of the goals of the reorganization policy being pursued by the government for the purpose of establishing the conditions needed for economic recovery. Mr. Hamrouche explained that in its efforts, his government is coming up against four major difficulties, which he described as follows.

- "The major decline (more than 40 percent) in our foreign payment resources within a short period, because of a number of factors resulting from the international situation, has reduced the potential for economic recovery, increased foreign indebtedness, and made clear the capacity and the limitations of the production apparatus;
- "The multiple macroeconomic imbalances," among them "the budget deficits that are generating a relatively high rate of inflation, the disparity between supply and demand for numerous types of equipment and consumer goods, which are a source of tension; the rigidity caused by the bureaucratic management of the economy; and finally, the shortfall when it comes to the creation of jobs."
- Problems connected with "social impatience" and resulting from the "protests by the various social groups that are suffering the effects of the crisis." However, he noted, "the initial stages of dialogue and negotiation among the social partners...have caused some turbulence on the level of the enterprises, which are currently becoming less clearly defined."
- The "evidences of resistance to which any reform movement inevitably leads."

Going on to discuss the battle against "the black market," Mr. Hamrouche emphasized that "it is, of course, a question of combating the speculative income that goes along with the informal market, but also the reincorporation of all commercial actions, whether locally manufactured products or imported ones are involved, in a legal framework. And this is why the government has approved a series of measures designed to organize the exercise of all commercial operations, both on the domestic level and in foreign trade."

He went on to recall that "the parallel market gives rise, among other things, to tax fraud and evasion, as well as the development of hidden income. It distorts the profound value of labor and legitimate profit, and halts the development of a productive and fertile economy."

The prime minister noted the special effort, often little known, made by his government with a view to the employment of youth.

In addition, he emphasized the need for consistent actions in guiding young people, stating that:

"To speak of employment for young people is to postulate first and foremost a profound reform of the educational system. It must simultaneously put an end to massive waste and guarantee a constant improvement in qualifications, closely coordinated with the development of the job market.... This goal also requires that concrete solutions be provided for the problems related to access to culture, to the system of leisure activities—in a word, the suitable use of free time."

Emphasizing the impact of the process of democratization in Algeria, the prime minister noted that "in such sectors as the economy, the administration, the local collectives, social relations, information, and culture,

new regulations and practices oriented toward pluralism are confirming the definitive abandonment of the partisan system."

On the subject of recognizing a religious party in Algeria, he responded that "the process of reform cannot deal with the different political forces that exist on the basis of two weights, two measures. Our constitution allows all political families to express themselves, within the bounds of respect for our institutions and the free play of democracy."

After recalling that the process of democratization in Algeria has resulted in the existence of more than 20 parties and some 12,000 associations, he added:

"The political maturity revealed by all of the citizens, who have demanded their right to live in freedom and happiness, has been the dominant characteristic. Debate between contradictory viewpoints has become a feature of ordinary daily life. I see therein a healthy challenge to any dogmatic approach and an exemplary aspect of the Algerian advance toward pluralistic expression in society."

Speaking, in conclusion, of the role of religion, he noted aptly that "for 14 centuries, Islam has been the basis of the constituent elements in our national personality." At the same time, he announced that "the government will initiate a reform of the educational system, which will necessarily have to ensure that the demands of the modern era and respect for the profound values of the nation are reconciled."

## EGYPT

### Opposition, Religious Leaders React to Iraqi Invasion

#### Muslim Ulema Condemnation

90AA0269A Cairo *AKHIR SA'AH* in Arabic  
8 Aug 90 p 55, 11

[Article: "Islamic Scholars Discuss Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait and Islam's Nonacceptance of That Invasion; Islamic Law Condemns Intervention in Political Regimes of Countries"]

[Text] Islamic scholars affirmed that Koranic texts and the prophetic tradition indicate that Iraq's invasion of Kuwait is unacceptable in Islam. They affirmed that modern international laws and conventions agree with the principles of Islamic law when they condemn intervention in any country's political system and when the law of the jungle is allowed to dominate our logic. If a dispute over the borders or over interests occurs, Islam forbids fighting to settle the dispute regardless of the reasons for it. Instead, Islam advocates the peaceful settlement of such disputes and the use of arbitration. Islam advocates that foreign intervention be avoided because it makes no sense for Muslims to be fighting

each other. Iraq's invasion of Kuwait has shattered all the beautiful dreams of achieving Arab unity.

And now Islamic scholars, speaking from their Islamic point of view, will address the matter of Iraqi forces and their occupation of Kuwait.

Dr. 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Nimr: "First, everyone must know that when I personally did everything in my power to stand by Iraq during the war, which ended in victory, I did so because I was standing by the Arab right which Iraq was defending. And today, I stand by the Arab right too when I condemn Iraq's aggression against Kuwait.

"What Iraq did is considered 'a tragedy' by all Islamic, Arab, and humanitarian standards. No one imagined that President Saddam [Husayn] would take this step which destroyed all hope for Arab unity in the future. What the Iraqi president did undermined the Arabs' argument in their campaign against Israel. And Israel, having now found an Arab country that attacks [another] Arab country, has an argument for its subjugation of the Palestinian people and for aborting every appeal that is made to denounce it.

"President Saddam [Husayn] delighted the Arab world when he declared that he would defend any Arab country that is subject to foreign aggression. People expressed affection for him, and Arab unity was on its way to becoming a reality. But, while Arabs started making preparations to celebrate this Arab unity, Saddam crushed their hopes. He dealt them a blow that was so heavy no one knows when they will be able to recover from it. He also created sharp divisions in their midst. It is Saddam who made the Arabs turn to outside forces so these forces can save them from his evil and tyranny. Meanwhile, President Husni Mubarak continues what he has been trying to do since the Baghdad Summit meeting to avoid this serious juncture in the Arabs' lives. He has been trying to dissuade President Saddam [Husayn] from taking this step, and he has been trying to persuade him to turn to negotiations, to be patient and deliberate, and not to use force and arrogance in dealing with a fraternal, Arab country that stood by Iraq throughout the years of war and made considerable sacrifices in its support for Iraq. But President Saddam [Husayn] was not willing to listen to President Mubarak's plan. Instead, he relied upon his own power to the detriment of the cause of brotherhood and Arab unity."

#### **Iraq's Attitude Towards Kuwait**

"During the Iraq-Iran war we relied on this holy verse from the Koran to decide between Iraq and Iran: 'If two parties of believers take up arms the one against the other, make peace between them. If either of them commits aggression against the other, fight against the aggressors till they submit to Allah's judgment' [Koran, 49:9]. We decided that Iran was the aggressor because it turned down Saddam's peace offer. Now we are using this verse to judge Iraq's position on Kuwait. According to this verse Iraq is the aggressor. It is Iraq that attacked a fraternal country. Iraq attacked the fraternal people of

Kuwait who are considered the closest people to Iraq. That is why it is the duty of all Arab countries together to take a firm stance. First, they are to reach an understanding with President Saddam [Husayn]. (I believe all of them did that, but Saddam would not listen.) Now, it is their duty to boycott Iraq politically, economically, and in every way.

"When the late President Anwar al-Sadat, may God have mercy on his soul, conducted talks with Israel, President Saddam [Husayn] took a stand at the Baghdad Conference and insisted that Arab countries boycott Egypt completely. This actually happened. Although the talks were to be beneficial, the boycott continued for years. Isn't Iraq's attack against Kuwait and the manner in which it was carried out far more serious and more repulsive than talking with Israel? Wouldn't it be more appropriate for all the Arab countries to take a firm stance against such an attack?

"To let President Saddam [Husayn] triumph over his prey would be to allow the strong to devour the weak, and that would be evil."

#### **Going Back to the Charter of the Arab League**

Dr. Ra'uf Shalabi, consultant to the specialized national councils and former vice president of al-Azhar: "From an Islamic standpoint, the prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation, said, 'If two Muslims come together and one uses his sword against the other, both the killer and his victim will perish in the fires of Hell.' If, however, a Muslim were to attack an unarmed person, God Almighty says, 'He that kills a believer by design shall burn in Hell for ever. He shall incur the wrath of Allah, Who will lay His curse on him and prepare for him a woeful scourge' [Koran, 4:93].

"According to Islamic tradition Muslims are forbidden by the prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation, from intimidating other Muslims. It is on that basis, in accordance with the Koran and the noble tradition of the prophet, that Iraq's invasion of Kuwait is unacceptable in Islam.

"If we were to go back to the charter of the Arab League, we would find a provision defining the manner in which Arab countries are to conduct talks with each other when they have differences. Armed conflict is not one of those ways that were defined. If the question of Palestine is the Arab nation's main issue, particularly in the face of the massive number of immigrants who want to build a greater Israel, then Iraq's crime has to be considered national treason because by making the world's powers reach a unanimous agreement against it, Iraq placed itself in the position of paving the way for the establishment of a greater Israel. Iraq also placed the Arabs in a shameful and difficult historic position because it divided them over the Iraqi-Kuwaiti dispute. It is unfortunate that when there are differences, Arab politics forgets its values. If the Arab nation in its entirety had held Iraq accountable for its actions in accordance with the charter of the Arab League, all the Arabs would have



stood together against the invasion. Had the Arabs held Iraq accountable for its conduct against Kuwait regarding the main question of Palestine, they would have all stood together, shoulder to shoulder, against the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Had they held Saddam accountable for what he said at the successful Arab Summit in Baghdad when he declared that he would burn half of Israel, Arabs would have rallied around him because this is the main objective of the Arab nation. How then can President Saddam [Husayn] point his guns at Kuwait and not at Tel Aviv as previously said he would?

"All the conferences that were held in Baghdad for President Saddam [Husayn] contributed to this Iraqi military invasion of Kuwait because President Saddam [Husayn] continued to win over the Arab nation's scholars, politicians, and intellectuals so he could rally the nation around him. But then he stabbed the Arab nation in the back. Therefore, scholars and politicians should go back to the charter of the Arab League, if they believe in that charter, and they should hold Iraq accountable for its actions. Islamic institutions should declare what Islam thinks of this invasion, and they should do so clearly and unequivocally to save the Arab nation's face in front of the world."

#### Islam's Prohibition Against Fighting

Justice Dr. Jamal-al-Din Mahmud, member of al-Azhar's Academy of Islamic Research: "Islamic precepts, which govern what happened between Iraq and Kuwait, are not limited to what is mentioned in the Holy Koran and the prophetic tradition. Agreements and conventions between Arab countries, such as the charter of the Arab League, joint defense agreements, and the UN charter, concur with legal precepts that are found in the Koran and the prophetic tradition. The Islamic nation accepted these precepts and signed these agreements, which do not conflict at all with the principles of Islamic law. God Almighty ordered us to honor agreements and pledges. It is more fitting that Muslims do so among themselves.

"Islam prohibits Muslims from shedding the blood of other Muslims and seizing their property. The interdiction against Muslims' property includes their legitimate interests. Muslims individually and collectively are forbidden from shedding the blood of other Muslims and seizing their property. Thus, it is not lawful for a Muslim country to violate the sovereignty of another Muslim country or to use armed force to interfere in another country to impose a regime there or a certain way of life. Modern international law is also based on the principle of non-intervention in the political system of any country. It is also based on the principle that conflicts are to be settled peacefully. All Islamic countries have accepted this regulatory principle, and all of them are duly bound to observe it because it is on the whole consistent with the principles of Islamic law.

"If there is a dispute over the borders or over financial, economic, or political interests, Islam prohibits Muslims, whatever the reasons for the dispute, from resorting to warfare to settle the dispute. Islam calls for negotiations and arbitration by a third party or by other Islamic parties. If a proposed solution is rejected by one of the two parties and if the other party had justice and fairness on its side, Islam calls upon the whole nation to order the two parties to reconcile. Reconciliation, however, does not come about spontaneously since it would make the situation worse. Also, mediation efforts which are being made by the Muslims' rulers must ultimately lead to a peaceful solution to the conflict. These efforts must also avoid foreign intervention whose aim, undoubtedly, is to weaken all Muslims. It makes no sense for someone to call upon Muslims to fight each other even if the purpose of the fight were to achieve a just settlement of a conflict. Measures that are being taken by Islamic countries in accordance with the provisions of Islamic law and international conventions make the restoration of security and peace possible. No Arab and Islamic country would bear the burden of condemnation, and none would suffer a boycott and an interruption of mutually advantageous trade between it and the entire Islamic and Arab nation. That Arab countries would fight each other or fail to achieve a peaceful settlement poses a major danger. It would open the door to foreign intervention whose aim is to destroy the Arabs' economic and military power."

#### Iraq Miscalculated

Shaykh Mansur 'Ubayd, an Islamic thinker and general manager of the Ministry of Awqaf [Religious Trusts]: "Islam loathes violence and forbids the undue use of force. God Almighty said, 'If anyone attacks you, attack him as he attacked you' [Koran 2:194]. When we consider these divinely inspired words, we realize that we are being told not to attack others unless they attack us. We are told that we are not to hurt peaceful people because Islam is synonymous with well-being, peace, security, and safety.

"Differences of opinion, however, are inevitable in our daily dealings with each other. I might have a difference of opinion with my friend and even with my son. Islam tells us here that differences of opinion do not compromise friendship. If, from my point of view, something is advantageous to me, I should listen to the other opinion. That person's need may be greater than mine.

"This is the reasoning we use to say that Iraq miscalculated when it launched its vicious attack against peaceful Kuwait. Every bullet fired from Iraq against a Kuwaiti undermines the Muslims' and the Arabs' strength and enables the enemy to use his influence against us. If we Arabs are dealing with each other in this manner, then we should not blame Israel for what it does to the Arabs. Let us not forget that every time an Arab turns his gun on another Arab exclamations of joy are heard in Israel.

"We confirm there are differences. Egypt had differences with Libya in difficult situations, but the political leadership in Egypt and in Libya employed the wise saying which tells us to join forces with our cousins against strangers.

"We know that strangers are lying in waiting for us everywhere. From an economic standpoint we are both rich and poor. If the Arab homeland were to use its resources properly, the countries of the world would be beating a path to our door. Such disputes, however, whose main causes are a mystery to us, are ruining everything for us. It was only yesterday that Iraq was fighting a war with Iran. Arabs stood behind Iraq and supported it with funds and with men. Many conferences that were held here and there condemned Iran and described it as the aggressor. We were calling for peace, and Iraq called for peace conferences many times. As scientists, intellectuals, and writers, we used to go to these conferences and tell the world that we were seeking peace and that our quest for peace was based on the precepts of our religion and inspired by the tradition of our prophet. Our quest for peace followed the course pursued by great leaders like Salah-al-Din al-Ayyubi. Is it right for us, as peace seekers, to turn against each other now that Iran has withdrawn and responded to the voice of peace?

"What a shame! The Arabs said it a long time ago, and I say it now: 'A roaring lion at home, an ostrich in the fray'."

#### **Opposition Party Leaders' Statements**

90AA0269B Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic  
8 Aug 90 p 11

[Article by Zakariya Abu-Haram: "The Position of Egyptian Parties: What Do They Have To Say About the Invasion?"]

[Text] All political, popular, and intellectual forces [in Egypt] condemned Iraq's invasion of the state of Kuwait which occurred on that black Thursday in the history of the Arab nation. All political parties in Egypt also condemned Iraq's invasion of its Arab neighbor, Kuwait. They rejected a military solution to settle a dispute between fellow Arabs on the grounds that religious and fraternal ties make it necessary that dialogue be pursued to find a solution to any problem.

In the National Democratic Party Dr. Yusuf Wali, the party's secretary general, pointed out that disputes between Arab countries have to be settled in a spirit of fraternity. Parties to the dispute must believe that Arabs have the same destiny and the same goal. "No one stands to benefit from these disputes except those who are lying in waiting for the Arab nation. Arab brothers must heed the voice of Arabism, and they must not ignore their blood ties. They must do that to avoid conflicts that could lead to foreign intervention and that seek nothing for the Arab nation but its fragmentation and division.

In the New Wafd Party, party president Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din said that the events warn of dangers threatening Arab security as a whole. He said the Wafd party rejects the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait because it is necessary to respect international covenants and the principle of law and order. It is also necessary to reject aggression on other people's territory. This attack is considered an act of aggression on a sovereign, fraternal country. It is a blatant violation of all international conventions and of the charter of the Arab League as well. Iraq should have tried to settle its dispute with Kuwait by peaceful methods.

#### **A Balanced Policy Is Required**

Dr. Nu'man Jum'ah, vice president of the New Wafd Party, pointed out that the occupation of one country by another was a violation of the law and a regrettable act. "What happened, however, is not unusual on the international scene where the law of the jungle prevails. Some months ago the United States occupied Panama, handcuffed its president, and took him to the United States to stand trial. Israel has been occupying south Lebanon, and Syria has been occupying north Lebanon. Before that the United States unjustly attacked Vietnam, and even before that Britain tore up the entire Middle East and turned over Palestine to Zionist gangs."

Dr. Nu'man Juma'h said, "This confirms the fact that what Iraq did is not new. I was hoping that out of concern for Egypt's interests, official agencies and the press would take a moderate position because international relations are not based on emotions but rather on the interests of nations. It is not in Egypt's interests to be pulled into blatant hostility with Iraq. Egypt must not forget that all the Gulf states broke their relations with Egypt when Egypt signed the Camp David Agreement. They used that as a pretext even though they were the ones who were supporting Israel by depositing their funds in non-interest bearing accounts in Jewish banks in America and in Europe. It should be enough for us to know that what the Gulf states earn in oil revenues in one day is enough to pay back all Egypt's debts. It is also enough for us to know that it is extremely difficult for any Egyptian to go to any one of the Gulf states. The interests of nations supersede all considerations. America is not being moved by its alliances but rather by its own economic interests in the region."

#### **An Arab Solution Is Required**

Mustafa Kamil Murad, president of the Liberal Party, said that it was necessary for the presidents of the Arab Cooperation Council [ACC] and the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] to hold an urgent meeting to confront this problem and come up with a decisive and objective solution. Arab forces have to intervene between Iraqi and Kuwaiti forces. They must help Iraqi forces withdraw to their borders so that outside forces do not take advantage of the situation and strike Iraq.

'Ali-al-Din Salih, president of Misr al-Fatah [Youthful Egypt] Party, said that he does not support this invasion because it violates Arab unity and constitutes a dangerous precedent among Arab countries. "How can an Arab country occupy a fraternal Arab country when we are denouncing and condemning Israel's occupation of Palestine? Iraq has to know that Arabs must not use force against each other. Iraq took this action because it believes that it is stronger than Kuwait. In other words, its action was guided by the logic of power, not by that of what is right."

#### **The Invasion Is Harmful to Muslims**

Al-Ma'mun al-Hudaybi, representative of the Muslim Brotherhood, condemned Iraq's intervention in Kuwait. He said: "We do not approve of an attack and a military invasion that one Arab country carries out against its Arab neighbor. We do not think such an action is beneficial or permissible. Differences among fellow Arabs must be settled by friendly methods and understanding. We are advocates of unity, and this unity must be achieved by mutual consent. Everyone involved must believe in that unity, and everyone must feel a sense of common interest and a sense of self-respect. God Almighty says, 'Believers are a band of brothers' [Koran, 49:10]. A sense of fraternity and brotherhood must prevail in our midst, and Muslims should not be using their weapons against fellow Muslims."

In the Labor Party Dr. Hilmi Murad, vice president of the party, said that the attack was a surprise. He said that what happened was regrettable because it was an armed conflict between two Arab neighbors and it was taking place at a time when the enemies of the Arab nation were lying in waiting for it. "Iraq's acceptable demands could have been met, especially since all the Arab countries had stood by Iraq in its war against Iran. We care about Iraq, and we do not want it to be used by those who want to attack it and to realize imperialist goals in Arab countries."

In the Grouping Party Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, the secretary general of the party, said that the party thinks that Iraq must act promptly to carry out its commitment to withdraw immediately from Kuwaiti territory. He said Iraqi forces must go back to the borders from which they had started their move against Kuwait on Thursday, the first day of August. Iraq must do that to guarantee the interests of the Arab nation and the interests of Iraq itself. Iraq must do that to make a quick settlement of the crisis possible—a settlement that would realize the interests of all parties with regard to the differences which broke out recently between Iraq and Kuwait.

#### **Anis Mansur Attacks 'Arafat for Supporting Terrorism**

90P40129A Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic  
26 Aug 90 p 12

[Text] There are three who have harmed the Palestinian people: Yasir 'Arafat, Yasir 'Arafat, and Abu-'Ammar

[Arafat's nom de guerre]. Abu-'Ammar is described as a moderate man, but I don't know this meaning of moderate; i.e., not radical. If there is a choice, he usually prefers less heat, more delicacy, and greater innuendo and sensitivity; i.e., not resorting to violence. No one has seen him use a pistol or pull the pin on a handgrenade or head a meeting for a terrorist operation.

I personally know nothing about that. One cannot see all these activities. We however see a single picture and that is his white beard and mustache. His eyes stare to the right and to the left. But it is natural that he is fully aware of everything that the organizations do because he is the one who holds the checkbook and collects funds for them from the Gulf emirates and Saudi Arabia. He is also fully prepared to apologize for all these violent activities from time to time. At the same time, he is the first to announce his renunciation of terrorism and recognition of Israel's right to exist along with all of the Security Council resolutions.

Since this [renunciation], many terrorist activities have occurred. These activities have cast doubt on his intentions and have proved that he is a man who wants to be a dove publicly and a hawk secretly. This is extremely embarrassing for all who support him: Arabs, Americans, and also Jews.

It is quite natural for Abu-'Ammar to wash his hands of any activity by a Palestinian organization because liberation movements which become obstructed in their courses renounce rational speech.

Abu-'Ammar's position in Lebanon is what spurred murderers like Sharon to destroy Sabra and Shatila on top of [the Palestinians] and forced the Palestinian forces to withdraw.

Finally, President Abu-'Ammar decided to stand by Iraq, sacrificing Saudi and Gulf emirate money. When his ambassador in Egypt attempted to voice an independent opinion in defense of Palestinians living in Egypt, they threatened him with dismissal. Then they saved his neck by saying: He is not authorized to speak. Anything he says is a personal whim!

President Saddam [Husayn] hung up the telephone on Abu-'Ammar while he was trying to speak to him within earshot of Colonel al-Qadhdhafi!

The Palestinian people have no choice except to sacrifice Abu-'Ammar soon. Abu-'Ammar will be the winner in this deal because he will write confessions excusing himself from what is past and rueing what will come!

#### **Dialogue Forum Between Government, Public Suggested**

90AA0284A Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic  
16 Jul 90 pp 26-27

[Article by Dr. Ihab Salam: "Election Awakening Isolates Opposition Deputies"]

[Text] Perhaps political action in the coming days requires two things: the voters' awakening and the candidates', and subsequently the deputies', competence. In this article, we will explain and analyze the voters' awakening.

Most voters have absented themselves from the various election campaigns for a period of time. There have been numerous reasons for this absence, especially indifference on the part of the voters because of the lack of confidence that their election vote will have any weight and their feeling that the results are known in advance, regardless of whether they like it or not. Why should the citizen make an effort to leave his home, present his voter card, fill out the election form, and return only to be surprised to find that his vote has had no weight and has been concealed, as have other votes?

The second reason for the absence of the majority of voters from the election processes is the fact that their names are not registered in the voter lists, either intentionally or due to laxity. Those who have not registered their names intentionally have divorced politics for good. As for those who have been lax in registering their names, they have found that the influence they exert has no value. Consequently, they have decided to equate influence with non-influence.

The third reason is the intervention of men to prevent women from registering their names because of the power of the father, the authority of the husband, or the strength of the brother.

It is true that there are men (and women also) who encourage women to register their names with the purpose of achieving election objectives. But most men, especially in Upper Egypt, prevent women from doing this. Women themselves may be indifferent to this registration. This is why the low number of voters in Egypt is due to women, as well as young men, lagging behind in registering their names in the voter lists.

The situation will continue to be as it is unless an awakening develops among the voters' ranks. I believe that this awakening will materialize only through the following changes:

#### **Basic Education**

First, if the majority of the voters turn from illiterates to literates who have acquired a basic education. If parents commit themselves to seeing their children acquire the basic education certificate and if the state lies in waiting for those who sneak away from or who are truant in seeking such an education, then the illiteracy rate will drop drastically.

On the basis of this and of the efforts the state makes through the illiteracy-eradication programs, the voter's qualities will be enhanced and the people will join the ranks of those who read and write, thus educating themselves with sciences, familiarizing themselves with values, realizing the dimensions of public rights and

liberties, and learning that they will remain like sheep if they do not exercise their voting right.

How long will the enlightenment and enhancement processes take if they are embraced seriously?

Training children to have a voice in the nation's political action may take 10 to 20 years, provided that citizens enjoy full freedom with which the infant grows, which the child sees, and which the youth exercises without disappointment.

Training the people or the voters to acquire weight in political action requires no more than opening the doors of popular participation to all without discrimination because of affiliation with a certain party, a certain race, or a certain faith and opening the windows of dialogue with the people so that they may turn into observers and critics steering the government and the other state institutions.

In this regard, I propose that the government establish an official paper to answer the people's answers. The government answers the queries submitted by the People's Assembly deputies, so why should it not open the door to answer the people's questions? Does not such an approach entrench democracy?

The questions must be general, brief, clear, and objective.

As for private, lengthy, and vague questions, then those asking them should be told in the same newspaper that they are so. If a question contains a personal complaint, the paper should point out that the complaint has been referred to the official concerned to be examined and that the person making the complaint should contact this official.

Such a paper will alert the government to mistakes which are committed without the minister's knowledge or which are ignored by the minister. It compels the minister's employees to be vigilant and to think twice before they commit a wrong deed because the dirty laundry will be aired for all to see. If the laundry is dirty, then it will be known that those who washed it are negligent or wrong or have exceeded their authority. If it is snow white, then it will be known that those who washed it are capable, energetic, and competent.

The quantity and quality of the questions will develop the better read and more aware the voters become. The questions will reveal the orientation of public opinion.

Such a paper must be issued daily so that it may keep up pace with the questions received from citizens. Every question must be recorded under a certain number and the cabinet minister or government agency concerned must be notified of the question and must answer it within two weeks or else the question must be published unanswered. The official concerned can remedy the situation by immediately supplying the paper with a written answer to the question. There is no doubt that

publishing the question unanswered will greatly embarrass the minister or the government. Therefore, the minister must set up a section to answer the people's questions so that this section may prepare the answers which he can then approve and send to the official paper.

The publication of such questions and answers will completely eliminate all rumors and will eliminate all confusion. Rather, the heart of the matter will be announced to the people clearly and plainly.

The matter should not be confined to questions but must extend to constructive criticism. In case of injurious criticism, the name of the citizen making the criticism should be published, along with a comment from the editor stating that the criticism is injurious and that its publication would violate the law. The people may also alert the government to issues of which it is unaware. When public complaint reaches the level of ceaseless persistence, it is the government's duty to intervene and to change conditions in a manner compatible with the public interest. In case of repeated questions, the editor may refer the citizen to the answer to such questions in previous editions. The paper's chief editor and editors must be independent, must not be subject to dismissal, and must be appointed for a certain term and remotely from the influence of the executive authority in general.

Such an awakening will not develop among the voters unless the citizen is educated and unless he is encouraged to read and write and only when the image of citizens traveling in public transportation means is transformed from the image of lax and withered citizens to the image of citizens who kill their time with reading and whose minds are active and whose hearts are ready and enthusiastic.

#### **Fruitful and Rewarding Activities**

Second, another conditions required for the citizens' awakening is that their work be productive and financially rewarding. A wretched worker who is engaged in unproductive work for 16 hours a day and whose main concern is to secure a ful [broad beans] or falafil sandwich or a worker who has saddled himself with a brood of children for whom he tries to secure a piece of bread that may be available one day and unavailable for days should not be expected to aspire to political action. Such miserable jobs are embodied in roving vendors who hawk their goods in public transportation facilities, those who till the land for one hour and sit bored for 23 hours, and those who serve in workshops, factories, and shops in return for a meager wage.

We await a day when such jobs disappear from our country. When such jobs disappear, when beggars disappear from the streets, when the sight of vendors climbing public transport facilities vanishes, when citizens who have no job other than to kill their time in cafes and streets disappear, and when the sight of women who cannot stay home and who fill the streets going and coming for more extravagance and more consumption disappears, then the voter awakening will materialize.

But how will this happen?

The conscience of Egypt's wealthy must stir. These people must immediately launch their investments through cooperation with each other. Joint-stock companies are a well-known vessel for attracting and investing savings without posing heavy risks, unlike the joint-liability companies. There are numerous areas in which such companies, or even individuals, can make profits, such as land reclamation and cultivation, fishing, livestock farms, poultry farms and animal production in general, food industries, hotel construction and management, tourist services, and transport and communication. The interest in such activity will intensify if the new cities grow and are built far apart.

This is in addition to financing the training of people on the crafts required for such projects. Training promotes and elevates people and enhances work productivity. Training may not last more than six months and may not exceed one year.

It is not just the conscience of the wealthy that needs to awaken. The government must also awaken and must prevent this calm which is achieved by appointing new graduates to unproductive and unrewarding jobs. The state can set up new projects and enroll in them a large number of these new graduates, as well as a number of veteran employees capable of managing and operating such projects soundly.

The state knows what it lacks and what the citizens lack. Excessive employment is a process that is not acceptable economically and its consequences are grave in the short run and the long run. Projects set up by the government can be then delivered to those who work in them when it is felt that they have the ability and the firmness to manage and operate the projects. The state will not give them these projects as a charity because the workers will have to pay a project's full value from their wages.

I believe that the spheres of productive work are well known to the government. The government will not be impeded by a law prohibiting the importation of machinery with certain technology or a law prohibiting it from embarking on a certain activity.

These projects must be set up in the vast part of Egypt that is not overpopulated. I do not believe that a single graduate will hesitate to work in a remote area if this area offers housing and a livelihood and if the graduate believes that his work is productive and his wages are rewarding, that he will enjoy a fair vacation, and that he will be permitted to form a family that lives close to his workplace.

#### **Individualism**

Third, the voters' awakening will not materialize unless people of the same opinion gather in a single party without shackles that impede such gathering. As individual nations exist no longer and as they disappear and vanish and while consolidated and cooperative nations

are the path to the future, individuals are also strengthened by unity, solidarity, and fraternity in the same thought and by dialogue with other ideas and are weakened by division and by clinging to one opinion and to individualism. If unity, solidarity, and fraternity develop in Egypt, then the voters' awakening will become a certainty because everybody will belong to a certain party, will defend his party's opinion, and will vote for it in elections. But if individualism, independence, and non-affiliation permeate the people, then the voters' votes will go to election candidates without any specific control and in a haphazard manner, thus electing by chance deputies who represent the people in the assembly.

Eliminating shackles, urging the citizens to affiliate, blessing such affiliation, and promoting free dialogue will create committed voters who have their opinion and who do not confiscate the free opinion of others. If the people could read and write, if every citizen had a productive and rewarding job, if every citizen affiliated himself with certain thinking, if the door of dialogue between the people and the government, between the people and their deputies, between the people and the intellectuals, and between the people and party leaders were opened, the voters would turn from idle into active voters.

We await the voters' awakening in the 21st century, and our wait will not be long.

#### **State, Business Cooperation Proposed To Boost Investment**

90AA0244A Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI in Arabic  
20 Jul 90 p 6

[Text] There is a notable development in the area of economic activity in Egypt, namely the role of business persons, who are now showing concern for all-encompassing issues and comprehensive economic reform. I came across a study by Sa'id al-Tawil, the chairman of the Egyptian Association of Businessmen, in which he calls for cooperation between the government and businessmen to promote the investment climate. Sa'id al-Tawil advocates joint thinking about creating a true marriage between the state's work force and its capital as a way to build a strong productive base.

Sa'id al-Tawil's most important message is perhaps his call for concentrating on investments aimed at building the human infrastructure, exploiting our human resources by opening the field, and developing a partnership between the government and businessmen regarding projects of the specialized vocational training centers.

Dr. Sa'id al-Tawil states: There are broad areas in many fields in which the government and the business sector can cooperate and make efforts to promote the production and investment climate in general.

From the outset, we must agree that the prosperity of any nation is created, not inherited. A country's prosperity does not stem from its natural resources, the size of its work force, or the value of its domestic currency. Rather, prosperity is generated by an increase in production and the development of productivity.

In order to achieve that, there must be a strong productive base that is founded on the model employment of a marriage between the state's labor force and its capital. Such a combination doubtlessly generates high production characterized by superior specifications, quality, and competitiveness in domestic or foreign markets. This is what we call the competitive advantage of the state economy. It requires each of us, the business sector and the government, to become familiar with our respective roles in developing our competitive advantage, so that Egyptian products can achieve renown, both as sufficient, superior, competitive products for the Egyptian consumer, and as products that we can introduce to foreign markets.

The role of the Egyptian business sector, whether private companies or state-owned companies, bears great responsibility for developing production. This can be achieved through the exemplary investment of the business sector's capital, the exploitation of its natural and human resources, and the creation of a suitable climate for developing innovation among its workers. We believe that investment in the development of innovation, and the allocation of financial programs for that purpose, are currently more urgent than the need to channel investments to new projects. In this connection, we call on those involved in production in the different sectors to develop their products, lest they become stagnant and unable to keep pace with comparable, competing products. We see this around us in many productive sectors, such as the electronics, electrical, automotive, textiles, and other industries.

Perhaps it would also be preferable for us to direct our creativity and investments toward reducing production costs, because this will affect the sale price of our products, bringing them within reach of Egyptian consumers on limited incomes. In this way, we will also be giving our products a competitive advantage in world markets.

Innovation and the development of production does not necessarily require a new invention to which thousands and millions of pounds and dollars are allocated. However, the business sector, producers, and investors must search for new ideas, and they must invest a portion of their earnings in learning about new ideas, which frequently stare us in the face, but remained untapped, and which our competitors in the same sector may have also perhaps overlooked.

The development of our products will come about only by first strengthening competitiveness in domestic markets, and then in export markets. In this respect, Egyptian businessmen and investors at home and abroad bear

responsibility for knowing the criteria and competitive features of foreign markets. Such knowledge will yield a quick return to any investments directed abroad.

Access to information regarding world markets—be it the needs of a particular market, the specifications of a product, the consumption pattern of a foreign society, and, most importantly, the prices of raw materials, intermediate and finished products, and services—is an urgent need and a national duty that must be fulfilled by the Egyptian business sector.

Also, the availability of this information in a timely fashion before it reaches other competitors will have the greatest effect on promoting the competitive advantage of Egyptian products, Egyptian industry, and the Egyptian economy in general.

On another note, we must be aware that there is no one state or economic unit in the world that has the unique ability to produce everything and compete in all markets. In taking a comprehensive look at international economic society, we find that production and commerce have become areas of integration and cohesion between states and between producing companies. One party produces intermediary commodities, another provides technology, a third produces the product in its final form, and a fourth markets the product in international markets. Such cooperation cuts costs and deepens the concepts of specialization, innovation, and affiliation with a particular industry or profession.

Opinions differ regarding the role that governments should play in promoting their national products. This has been the topic of many debates and discussions. Some believe that government's role is basically to support domestic industries, and that government must impose policies that directly help to protect its strategic and traditional industries, such as banning imports, imposing protective customs duties, and creating monopolistic markets for certain economic units.

Others believe that the government must distance itself from national industries and leave them to free market theories without any restraints or controls.

We believe that both views are incorrect. The first would lead to an erosion of the competitiveness of Egyptian products and would preclude opportunities for innovation, and the development of production and productivity. Examples of this first view abound. The second view would permit competitors from other countries to destroy our domestic industries.

We believe that the ideal role of government is to encourage and push economic units to compete with the goal of promoting production and productivity. The government must also lift its control over economic units and not interfere in their policies. Government should rule, not manage.

A basic duty of our government is to create a climate that will generate a competitive advantage instead of a climate that will permit direct intervention by the government in the affairs of national economic units. A competitive advantage can be created by encouraging innovation and importing technologies.

In addition, the government must, along with the business sector, finance research and development programs in the universities and research institutes, with the understanding that these programs will be applied, practical programs.

Our government has undertaken its role in the best way regarding the infrastructure and development projects, and the social structure.

However, we call on it to also undertake its role regarding concern for human infrastructure programs and to exploit the human resources abundantly available in Egypt, resources which we often regard as a burden on development, whereas, in other societies, the increase in population has been a basis for development, the best examples of which are countries in southeast Asia.

## IRAQ

### Saddam Husayn's Military Power Assessed

90ES1191B Istanbul *TERCUMAN* in Turkish  
18 Aug 90 p 8

[Article by Mukbil Ozyoruk "Saddam's 1 Million Phony Troops"]

[Text] One can only marvel at the casualness being displayed at news and commentary on the Gulf crisis; a crisis which everyone knows is being watched seriously and sensitively by the whole world and especially by Turkish citizens. I cannot help but be bewildered when I read such frivolous so-called news and flippant commentary.

Heading the list is the mass of exaggeration about the ferocity (!) and magnitude (!) of Saddam Husayn's armed forces. Yes, sheer exaggeration!

According to rumor, Saddam has a standing army of 1 million. And Saddam has been able, if you will, to add 1 million more to this within 24 hours.

Be my guest, let's add it up together:

According to Iraq's own official estimates, the official population (and you can be sure it is somewhat embellished) in 1989 was 17,610,000. Let's round this off and say 18 million.

Half of this population is female. There are no female troops in any Arab army or in any of the front and rear services in Iraq.

Subtract half and that leaves 9 million.

Forty-five percent of the Iraqi population are children under the age of fourteen. That makes 8,100,000. Half (males) of that would be 4,050,000. Subtract that from 9 million and that leaves 4,950,000. Five percent of the population are 60 years of age and older. Half of these are males, which would be 450,000. Subtract that. You get 4,500,000.

There are 45 ages between 14 and 60. Say each of them has 200,000 people. You can't put 15-, 16- and 17-year-old kids in the military. They would be a drawback. The males of these three categories would total 300,000. Subtract that. You get 4,200,000.

You can't put people between 46 and 59 in the service. At best, they could be given civil defense service. These 14 ages would amount to 2,800,000 people. The male half would be 1,400,000. Subtract that.

You get 2,800,000 left as the active male population that could be put under arms.

According to official figures, half of the Iraqi population is agrarian. That means half of the 2,800,000 are involved in agriculture. Well, let's say you take them off the farm and replace them with women. Okay, then what are all the other services in the country? Police, gendarmerie, PTT, transportation, a bare-bones bureaucracy, education, health, food, manufacturing, war industry and all the other services that are not discontinued in wartime, but on the contrary become more important. Think now, which country in the world, in what war, has been able to get one-third of the active male population into the military service? Search your mind or go to the library.

In modern warfare nine people are needed for every soldier at the front.

So you show me Saddam's 1 million man army out of 2,800,000 people! ...Just like a magician pulling a rabbit out of his hat.

But don't stop there, let's see you add 1 million more to this million overnight.

Gentlemen, either you've been hit over the head or you don't know how to count.

Well, now I learn that Saddam has just added the Kurdish population to the military. There are 4 million Kurds in Iraq. We didn't subtract those males from this 1 million. Take the Kurdish population out of today's figure!

What do you mean, gentlemen, when you crow about "the Iraqi army of 1 million and the Turkish army of 650,000"? Whose morale are you trying to demolish, who are you trying to frighten or intimidate?

Do you know that Saddam's great army does not exceed the number of ground troops that America is bringing to Saudi Arabia? Have you read the stories about the American 101st parachute division in the battles of

World War II? This division is now waiting at the Gulf along with the 82nd Airborne. If Saddam does not leave on his own or is not soon overthrown by a coup, military intervention will surely take place. Then you will see what these two airborne divisions will make of the 1 million man Saddam army!

The story of Saddam's aircraft and tanks is the same. He is supposed to have 510 planes, but how many trained pilots does he have, do you know?

Fifty pilots, sir! ...510 airplanes and 50 pilots. TIME magazine knows it.

Didn't the eight years of the Iran war show this to be the facts anyway?

## ISRAEL

### Chemical Attack Described by Survivors

90P40105A Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 6 Aug 90 p 2

["Survivors of Iraqi Gas Bombardment Immigrate to Israel"]

[Text] Two sons of a family that immigrated from Iran recently were wounded by chemical shelling by the Iraqi Air Force during the Iran-Iraq War. Their respiratory systems were damaged, and after treatment they were released from the hospital.

In an interview with QOL YISRA'EL yesterday, the sons said they lived in a village that was attacked with chemical weapons during the war by the Iraqi Air Force. In their words, the village was attacked with gas before the Iraqi soldiers entered and occupied it. The two boys said: "Our mother complained of a headache and dizziness. She had burns on her eyes, could not see, and had difficulty breathing. Most of the injuries were in her respiratory system." They said that whoever breathed the gas was harmed and those who successfully escaped were those who did not breathe.

The immigrants reported that the Iraqi soldiers arrived after the shelling. They were well-equipped, wearing appropriate clothing that covered them from head-to-toe, including gas masks.

## LEBANON

### Economic Reports Indicate Higher Prices

90AE0214A London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic  
30 Jul 90 pp 32, 33

[Dispatch from Walid Zahr al-Din in Beirut: "The Lebanese Economy at its Worst: Plenty of Action But Terrible Prices"]

[Text] What happened during the first half of this year to drive up prices of products, of food, and of consumer and luxury goods in Lebanon?



Beirut merchants can not answer exactly because they could not keep with the insane escalation in prices, propelled by fluctuations in the value of the Lebanese lira vis-a-vis the U.S. dollar.

There is really no problem with that. The real problem emerges when the manager of a chain of consumer cooperatives volunteers to answer the question and admits that, even at the cooperatives which are supposed to be much cheaper than stores, prices during that period shot up by 39 percent on the average!

### High Prices

That ratio is astounding. Heads would have rolled had this [price escalation] occurred in any other country but Lebanon. Everything is possible in Lebanon in times of war but this does not help alleviate the economic crisis that this [high ratio] would indicate.

Munir Farghal, manager of a chain of cooperatives, explains: Political, economic, and security conditions that prevailed since the beginning of this year have caused turmoil and disarray and pushed consumer prices upwards. Prices continued to rise without any noticeable respite lasting a reasonable length of time, ostensibly because U.S. dollar exchange rates were also rising in general. The exchange rates moderated for short periods every now and then but not significantly enough to cause a general decline in prices with the exception of Beirut cooperatives that instantly reduced prices to the extent that the rates declined. Such corrections, however, were marginal in view of the general upward spiral of prices in the first half of the year.

He [Farghal] recently issued a bulletin in which he analyzed price trends for 96 basic foods and consumer goods that fall in seven general categories. Says Mr. Farghal: "The Bulletin shows that prices of foods and consumer goods rose an average of 39 percent in the first half of the year, compared with their level at the first of the year."

Median price increases for the seven basic categories are as follows: 51 percent for baked goods, appetizers, and desserts; 50 percent for milk and dairy products; 42 percent for detergents and paper towels; 43 percent for cereals, rice, and sugar; 30 percent for meats, eggs, and fish; 30 percent for vegetables and canned preserves; and 28 percent for butter and cooking oils.

The bulletin also indicates that the prices of a group of 49 items increased at a higher rate than the median 39 percent while a group of 44 other products experienced price increases that were below the average. Of the latter, 12 products had price increases lower than 20 percent, 4 rose by less than 10 percent, and only two were at the median general increase in prices. Only the price of native bread stabilized at the edge of the price rise in foods. The U.S. dollar's rate of exchange, meanwhile, climbed by 31.5 percent from 505 liras at the beginning of the year to 664 liras on 30 Jun.

Following is a summary of the price index for a basket of foods and consumer goods in the first six months of 1990:

The basket includes 96 basic food items and consumer goods divided into seven general categories. The figures are based on prices charged by the self-service facilities of branch cooperatives at al-Hamra', al-Ramlah, al-Bayda', Verdun, Sabra, Burj Abu-Haydar, and al-Musaytabah.

Prices on 30 Jun were used as a basis for comparison with prices at the start of the year.

The comparison indicates that:

The prices of 49 products increased at a rate higher than the median 39 percent.

The prices of 44 items increased at a rate lower than the median. Of those, the prices of 12 items rose by less than 20 percent. Only four items experienced price increases of less than 10 percent.

The rise in prices of only two products matched the general median.

Only native bread remained price-constant.

Farghal concluded: "Lastly, it must be pointed out that dollar exchange rates rose by 31.5 percent from 505 liras at the beginning of the year to 664 liras on 30 Jun.

What does the General Federation of Workers have to say?

The manager of a group of cooperatives in the Lebanese capital brought up an issue that could be an embarrassment to the General Federation of Workers which embraces more than 100 trade unions and professional associations and which has failed in its attempts over the first six months of the year to bring prices down. Why?

Federation secretary general Habib Zaydan responds: In fact, all this took place under conditions of continued destructive and tragic events of war in the eastern region and of fighting in al-Tuffah area and in the western region, causing tremendous human, material, and economic losses; under conditions of aggravated social problems caused by immigration and the resulting human and brain drain; and under menacing political conditions that endanger the people, their institutions, and the unity of the land. The crises of living are reaching tragic proportions and are grinding down citizens be they laborers, workers, employees, of limited income, or others. The purchasing power of wages has reached record lows as the value of the lira plummeted because of inflation, speculation, overspending, and waste, as well as the negative attitude of the government, the policy of hands-off by the legitimate authority, and the breakdown of social services and public utilities such as electricity, water, telephones, transportation, and sanitation which are increasingly burdensome to maintain.

How to resolve these crises? Mr. Zaydan answers: We have several political demands.

On the national front, we demand the cessation of hostilities in the eastern region and we commit to the legitimate authority's quest for conciliation, peace, and reform based on the al-Ta'if agreement as long as the legitimate government works to extend its authority over all parts of Lebanon.

Living conditions: We reject the official policy which resulted in the non-resolution of economic, social, and living crises. We call upon the government to adopt emergency measures to halt the decline of the lira and to work with dispatch to maintain various public services, protect the national social security fund, and safeguard the employees' cooperative.

The General Federation of Workers has been constantly on the initiative since security and living conditions began to deteriorate, especially because of the destructive war in the eastern region and because of lapses in security in al-Tuffah and certain areas of the western region. The federation has communicated to officials that conditions in the country's have become critical because of the legitimate authority's inability to meet the dangers of constant war which has undermined the national structure. The government must rationalize spending and put a stop to the current fiscal dissipation of Lebanese treasury funds.

We also demanded that emergency laws be adopted to stop this constant hemorrhage in Lebanese currency values which has negatively impacted living conditions and to bring an end to the frivolity of officials in charge.

That meeting was to follow up on that initiative and to mobilize the people in the hope of implementing a program of action by all populist groups represented in the General National Conference of Unions. It was resolved at the conference to invite the follow-up committee to meet next Monday in order to approve this program of general action in all areas of Lebanon.

Mr. Zaydan was asked: Do you believe that political and security conditions in the country are conducive to the success of your projected program of action? What does it take for it to succeed?

He answered: Political and security conditions, no matter how bad, never were and should never be an obstacle to any populist labor movement. The federation has in past years implemented a program to confront social conditions similar to those we are experiencing today. We organized open strikes, demonstrations, and sit-downs. The federation will maintain its struggle against this negligence of and indifference to the motherland and its citizens.

#### **The Collapse: How Long Will It Take? Where Is It Headed?**

Those were the highlights of remarks by two people involved with living conditions and labor union affairs.

If their explanations are golden, then silence, in the eyes of federation president Antoine Bisharah, is also golden. Why?

He says: There is too much talk about reasons for high prices and low wages. Our efforts in that area are well known. Even better known are citizen complaints, suffering, and living and financial crises. But all that is of no consequence in the absence of the state and its authority. The state, which is supposed to be capable of bringing an end to all that, is non-existent. There is no doubt that we have reached a critical point of collapse. Even more crucial is that there is no end to it in sight. It is best therefore to work in silence. If our talk, fruitless so far, is made of silver, it should be golden. Between the silver of demonstrative action and the gold of hope for better conditions, citizens are teetering on the brink, afraid that one day they will be unable to buy the simplest sustenance, neither from stores nor from cooperatives.

"God Save Us" has become the constant cry of citizens in the street.

## **REPUBLIC OF YEMEN**

### **Official Interviewed on Military, Political Unification**

*90AE0233B Aden AL-THAWRI in Arabic  
14 Jul 90 pp 4-5*

[Interview with Colonel Doctor Husayn 'Ali Hasan, director of the Armed Forces' Political Guidance and Morale Department, by Ibrahim Ma'ruf: "Director of the Armed Forces' General Department of Political Guidance and Morale Tells AL-THAWRI, 'Political Action and Morale Considered Most Important Tasks in Building the Military for the Unity State; Our Foremost Premise Is the Supremacy of Country's and People's Interests and Their Precedence Over All Considerations and Narrow Ideological Interests; Protecting National Unity of Individuals Serving in Armed Forces Is Main Thrust of Political Activity To Safeguard Morale; Agreement Between Party and Congress Encompassed Some Controls and Standards To Regulate Partisan Activity in the Armed Forces During Period of Transition; Keeping Up With Dynamic Developments and Radical Changes in Military Arts and Sciences Will Be the Main Basis of Training and Qualifying People';" date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] After several recent and not so recent attempts to establish its pro-unity entity, the military did establish such an entity before the start of Unity Day, 22 May 1990, thereby providing a strong guarantee that the unity state and the republic's stronghold will be protected.

Before the armed forces were united, many questions were being asked about how that unity would be accomplished. These questions are still being asked after the armed forces were united. Questions are also being asked about the extent of the armed forces' national and

political unity, about the armed forces' unity of thinking in the face of the challenges and changes of the stage, and about how the armed forces could become a staunch and fundamental guarantor of the unity state.

That is why we were fortunate to obtain this interview with Col. Dr. Husayn 'Ali Hasan, director of the armed forces' Department of Political Guidance and Morale. The interview reflected optimism and confidence in this national institution, and that induced us to ask Dr. Hasan about many other issues. This interview ensued.

[Ma'ruf] On behalf of AL-THAWRI we wish to congratulate you for assuming the esteemed position of being responsible for political guidance and morale for the army of the Yemeni Republic. On this occasion we wish to start our interview with you by asking you to give us a brief idea about the most important stages in the process of uniting the two armies. We would like to ask you to give us a quick review of the political and guidance aspects of uniting the two armies and what was done in that regard until the day unity was declared.

[Hasan] First of all, I would like to thank AL-THAWRI newspaper for its interest in the armed forces and for the major role it plays in the course taken by the revolutionary process in our country. AL-THAWRI has always been striving to strengthen and reinforce its organic ties with the masses. I hope such a noble and extremely important patriotic action will continue to be one of the most conspicuous approaches to political activity and media publicity taken by this and other national newspapers. I hope these newspapers will upgrade this role to make it rank equally with that of a momentous historic mission. There is no doubt that we consider the outstanding, patriotic role of this institution one of the most important elements of Yemeni unity.

With regard to your question about the stages involved in uniting the two armies, I would like to point out that we need no evidence and assertions to prove that we are one Yemeni nation, not two. Unity continued to be the main foundation of the country, whose division was a relative stage and an aberration. Time proved that to be true.

The army, or what used to be called the two armies, is an integral part of this nation, manifesting on a smaller scale the brilliant and outstanding history of the Yemeni people's struggle and their patriotic, pro-unity activities at every stage of their social development. This army is qualified to play a conspicuous and sometimes a decisive role in the history of this country. It earned the right to play such a role because members of the armed forces, as well as millions of Yemenis, were involved in the country's great, revolutionary historic events. Members of the armed forces were involved in pro-unity activities and in the country's tragedies and social upheavals. Together with millions of Yemenis they experienced the sweetness and bitterness of wars between the two parts of Yemen. What the armed forces did in these wars exemplified the national unity of millions of Yemenis: their entry into

the field of political and social activity was marked by awareness, perception, and a keen sense of responsibility. What is more important is an objective fact which must be promptly pointed out: the September and October army (the army of the united state) is basically an extension of two branches of the same national tree. Yemeni nationalists from various parts of Yemen who joined the army voluntarily to defend the September Revolution make up the vanguard of the September army. Some of these nationalists, who returned to start the October Revolution, formed the liberation army which became the nucleus for the October army.

Although the nature and underlying principles of the military makeup of the September and October armies show the relative differences that exist in the natures of the two political regimes which existed before unity, the two armies continued to be the two groups of people with the closest ties to the national cause. This is because they are made up of a broad cross section of nationals whose internal unity is strong and whose methods of political education are mature. The two armies have very close ties to the national cause because they were affected by the division more than others and they paid more than their share for the tragedies that resulted from the division of Yemen. That reinforced their commitment and devotion to the cause of Yemeni unity.

The Yemeni armed forces did not stay out of the talks that were held to unite the two Yemens. Joint security and military committees were formed for that purpose, and these committees were charged with the task of laying down the objective and legal principles and drafting the various laws under which the two armies would be merged into one. From 1972 till the eve of November 30, the day the historic agreement was signed, these committees held a lengthy series of joint meetings. A number of basic tasks and organizational issues were wrapped up during those meetings and a few military laws and regulations were finalized. Other tasks and issues are now in the process of being wrapped up.

Although these meetings were important, it was the joint agreement between the two chiefs of staff that may be considered the decisive and fundamental turning point in the course of the military's pro-unity activities. The troops which had been confronting each other were withdrawn from the contact areas in accordance with this agreement. The two armies were allowed to conduct joint maneuvers and to become engaged in tactical planning and joint political activity. The agreement allowed units of the two armies to be moved between the two Yemens at a later date, and it confirmed that all manifestations of the military would be moved out of the political and economic capitals of the Yemeni Republic. It was the movement of units between the two Yemens that was tantamount to driving the last nail in the coffin of division. That was the point at which the two contradictory histories of the Yemeni armed forces came to an end.

The political and morale aspect of the pro-unity effort was based on an effort to break the psychological barrier and the divisive tendencies that existed among members of the armed forces who had been facing each other on opposite sides for more than 20 years. And that implied all the political and military implications of a military confrontation. But the aim of political and morale activities associated with these pro-unity efforts is to create a new, pro-unity, patriotic climate and to overcome all the difficulties and obstacles which military men could place on the road to unity. The enemies of unity had been counting on such difficulties and obstacles becoming stumbling blocks that would delay and bog down the course of unity.

It is my opinion that the true and widespread spirit of pro-unity which existed among members of the armed forces in both Yemens was a strong factor in the birth of one Yemen. Military and political leaders dealt positively and promptly with all the pro-unity changes, and they corrected some misconceptions about methods for achieving Yemeni unity. They devised more realistic morale-boosting methods and ways of political and educational activity to anticipate the pro-unity changes which are taking place in Yemen now or to stay in step with those changes so that these activities can interact positively with all the changes. In this regard a supreme committee was formed for joint political activity and morale in the army, and that committee, which held several successive meetings, was given the task of defining the common tasks and duties involved in the political activity which is to be carried out by the Political Department and the former Directorate for Political Guidance and Morale. Political activity would be carried out among soldiers and commissioned as well as noncommissioned officers, and this committee would make the necessary arrangements for merging the two political bodies and streamlining approaches to subsequent political activity and matters of morale.

[Ma'ruf] We would also like you to clarify for us the nature of the agreement between the Yemeni Socialist Party and the General People's Congress. This is the agreement in which the two organizations dealt with political and partisan activity during the period of transition.

[Hasan] You are well aware of the fact that the armed forces symbolize the nation's sovereignty and represent the defensive might of the unity state. Above all else, however, they symbolize the country's national unity which manifests itself dynamically in each unit of the armed forces. The armed forces provide support for the survival and victory of unity. The future of the Yemeni state and its ability to withstand the various domestic and foreign challenges of the age depend upon the armed forces' role and their growing standing on the political scene. That is why political activity and morale in the army are thought to be the biggest and gravest tasks in building the military of the unity state. Many of the factors and elements of the armed forces' cohesiveness

and their success in carrying out their great, national historic mission depend on this political activity.

Besides, this political activity is a powerful tool to ensure that soldiers' morale and moral values remain high. Such political activity guarantees that the troops remain efficient, competent, and combat ready. That is why the task of making arrangements for partisan, political activity and morale in the army of the unity state was entrusted to the highest political organization in the country: the pre-unity United Political Organization Committee. During the period of transition that committee defined the objective principles and the general approaches to partisan, political activity and morale in the army. These principles guarantee that the partisan activity carried out by the General People's Congress and the Yemeni Socialist Party is protected, and they also guarantee that the party will not expand or promote partisanship in this institution. The committee is to devise a joint program for the purpose of moving gradually to solve existing partisan conditions. It is to purge security and defense institutions, and it is to remove manifestations of partisanship from them so they can remain neutral and supreme as I already mentioned.

And here it must be affirmed that no fundamental differences developed in the view held by the Yemeni Socialist Party and the General People's Congress about the nature, principles, and goals of political, cultural, and educational activity in the Yemeni armed forces. This is because each one of these activities stems from the principle of preserving Yemen's unity and combining in a proper fashion the tasks of completing the process of building the united Yemeni state and defending it capably. This can be achieved by ensuring the properly coordinated development of all the elements of a mighty defense for a united Yemen, by continuing to develop our armed forces, and by taking into account the new characteristic changes in society and in the army in Yemen. Today, more than any other time in the past, these changes require that the national pro-unity, political awareness of members of the armed forces be heightened. These changes require that members of the armed forces become more active and more tenacious in the struggle to protect the country's unity and security. They require the armed forces' constant readiness and willingness to defend this great historic achievement.

[Ma'ruf] What in your view are the common denominators of political activity and guidance, which were required by the circumstances of the armed forces in both parts of Yemen, to maintain morale in the Yemeni armed forces? Based on the political education of the past in these two institutions, how did you achieve one, uniform program for political activity and morale?

[Hasan] Permit me to answer the second part of your question first because I want to correct some faulty notions and perhaps misconceptions about the essence and functions of the political education which was available previously to the September and October

armies. The essence of this political education, regardless of differences in some laws and political principles and regardless of differences in the forms, methods, effectiveness, and, as I mentioned, the influence which this educational political activity had on the two institutions, was tied to the army's characteristics and to the nature of its social role and the tasks it sanctions. The essence of this political education was also tied to the somewhat similar characteristics of the two armies' military organization. This means that the general nature of the intellectual, political, and moral education of the September and October armies was purely Yemeni and patriotic. It was instrumental in developing the Yemeni soldier's morale as well as his political, patriotic, pro-unity, and combat characteristics. Teaching fighters loyalty and fidelity to the principles and goals of the September and October revolutions was the mainstay of this education. Fighters were taught loyalty to the country and loyalty to the people of Yemen and to their ancient, humane history. Patriotic ideals, moral values, and lofty, Islamic and humane nationalism were the mainstay of this education.

The goals of education rested mainly on strengthening the unity between the armed forces and the public and giving the armed forces a greater role in the course of the country's social, economic, and political revolutionary process. The goal of education was to ensure outside conditions that would be conducive to peaceful, constructive efforts; to maintain a high level of combat readiness and preparedness; and to master the use of technology and modern weapons. An even more important goal was to align the fighters' ranks, to strengthen their internal unity, and to reinforce their constant commitment to the destiny and future of Yemen and its people.

I believe that the essence and goals of political education, besides representing the main sources of success in the field of educational, political activity, are also important as the underpinning for unified, political activity and morale. I believe that this political education should encompass the functions, characteristics, and conditions of the present and subsequent stage. This means that the organization for political activity and morale in the army of the Yemeni Republic would be upgraded to a new level of quality and that its form, content, and methods of action would be upgraded. It also means that the language which is used to address the masses of fighters would be upgraded.

Regarding the first part of the question, nothing is being said today about common denominators for political activity and morale in the armed forces. Instead, people are talking about the new basic elements of quality. They are talking about the new essence of the revolution and about the political premises upon which this activity will be based in the subsequent stage. These premises are inspired by the national, pan-Arab, and humane dimensions of the third Yemeni revolution: Yemeni unity.

It should be pointed out that the new revolutionary substance of political activity and morale-building which should be carried out amidst the Yemeni masses—and that includes members of the armed forces—is to preserve and strengthen the foundations of unity and to ensure its survival and total victory. The aim of this political activity is to reinforce the close unity of the Yemeni people behind the Yemeni Republic, whose preservation and continued progress and advancement depend to a large extent on the level of the people's political and cultural maturity and their tenacity and national unity.

The armed forces undoubtedly represent the guarantee of a strong defense for the unity state. They are the country's safety valve and the means by which it can achieve its decisive victory. But the new revolutionary substance for preparing fighters politically, morally, and educationally; for providing them with guidance; and for preparing them psychologically is a distinguished component of the new military which is being built. This is a legal matter made necessary by several important objective and historical conditions. The most important of these conditions are:

- First, the extent to which the armed forces succeed in performing the constitutional duties entrusted to them by the people depends on the quality and effectiveness of the political, moral, and military education received by members of these armed forces. Success depends on the fighters' level of political and cultural awareness and on the degree of their faith and loyalty to the cause of Yemeni unity. Success also depends on their precise and unambiguous understanding of [their] national and military functions and duties.
- Second, the army's ties to the people are to be strengthened. The armed forces are to play a bigger social role in the process of comprehensive development, and they should become directly involved in solving the complex tasks of the stage facing society. Accordingly, this would enhance the social homogeneity and organic unity between civilian and military elements in society.
- Third, we have to cope with the sweeping changes in the field of military science and arts. We have to stay on top of the technological revolution in military tactics, and we have to stay in step with the various methods of armed conflict. All this requires a large measure of military know-how and a keen sense of cultural and political responsibility to ensure an ideal grasp of modern military knowledge as well as an understanding of modern weapons and the ideal way to use and maintain them capably and efficiently.

[Ma'ruf] What are your most clear-cut tendencies with regard to political guidance institutions in the armed forces? What do you think about their programs and qualifications? What do you think of the approach taken in political courses, and what do you think about the coordination between these institutions and fraternal and friendly countries?

[Hasan] I pointed that out in my answers to previous questions, but I would like to reaffirm that the most important tendencies and functions of political activity and morale in the country in general and in the armed forces in particular are first and foremost to guarantee that the country's unity is safeguarded and to defend the country's sovereignty, security, and stability. To do this what is required, above all else, is to see to it that national unity within the armed forces and among individuals in the armed forces is strengthened. This requires that the commitment which members of the armed forces have to the public be reinforced; it requires that lingering feelings about the division of the country be eliminated; and it requires that persistent psychological barriers, if any, be broken. This will ensure the creation of a new, patriotic, pro-unity awareness that can digest the variables of the stage and come to terms with what are major, irreversible social changes.

This brings us to a discussion about the subsequent program of the General Directorate for Political and Moral Guidance which encompasses the national, pan-Arab and humanitarian functions of the unity state and represents the lasting national and historic heritage of the Yemeni people and their customs, traditions, and Islamic faith. These customs and traditions manifest themselves in the goals and principles of the September and October revolutions. The most clearly defined political premises of this program involve placing the supreme interests of the country and the people above all the narrow, ideological considerations and interests of individuals or parties. This means that the function of the program is not limited to ensuring appropriate outside circumstances for the security and unity of Yemen. Instead, the program relies basically on reinforcing the participatory role of the military institution in carrying out the state's plans and programs in the various fields of social development. After all, this military institution is a school for the education of young generations.

With regard to the question of qualifying and preparing personnel, the general tendency of subsequent activities is based on the notion of staying in step with the sweeping dynamic developments and radical changes which are taking place in the military arts and sciences. These developments and changes require us to continue upgrading the intellectual, theoretical, and scientific readiness and preparedness of the Yemeni army. Thus, the people and the country can be assured that this army will be up to meeting the requirements of Yemeni security and the conditions of the military development which is taking place in the world. This means that the scientific aptitudes of qualified military personnel and leaders are to be sharpened since they are the ones who will assume the task of getting this army in working order, leading it, and supporting it with the most important achievements in political and military science and modern techniques. It is only through the fruitful and joint cooperation of our brothers and friends who had previous experience in this regard that such matters can

be solved. But it must be pointed out that local, military, and civilian educational institutions are to play an important and decisive role in solving a whole body of major and complex tasks which are required to build a modern, scientific and political army. There are several reasons for that. The most important one is the fact that the army is more in touch with daily life in Yemen and its pressing requirements.

These institutions are more capable than others are of addressing questions raised by the present age. They are also more capable than others of addressing the particulars and requirements of national defense. Also, what must be done to prepare fighters and units and to train individuals and crews has become more diverse and dynamic. Such preparation and training must be done in a short period of time during which fighters must absorb a whole body of highly specialized knowledge. This is a problem that only local educational institutions can solve. What is even more important is the fact that students or officers in these local institutions can study the customs, heritage, and traditions of their people in depth. They can also study the history of their heroic struggle, the history of their humane civilization, the experiences of building a military organization, and the methods of fighting a war on Yemeni territory. In other words, theoretical knowledge in the various branches of the sciences is linked with practical applications on a national scale.

Local educational institutions offer the possibility of a systematic study of the laws and norms that apply to the evolution of society and its armed forces and military beliefs. This would help us formulate and develop a new, patriotic and theoretical concept for defending the country. Such a concept would combine the local particulars of building the military with what is required to furnish the forces with modern military equipment. It would enable individuals to grasp the lessons of the past, understand the requirements of the present, and discern their place and their role as defenders and builders of this country.

This means that reliance on the local educational establishment in getting the Yemeni army to be prepared after unity is a decisive matter. It means that these educational institutions must be developed; they must be staffed by high level and highly skilled scientists; and they must be equipped with a variety of equipment and modern technical devices to ensure that they can take their place alongside advanced educational institutions in many fraternal and friendly countries.

[Ma'ruf] Statements made by officials about partisan activity are somewhat contradictory. Some of these statements indicate that political leaders dealt with the subject of partisan activity in the army and that the agreement between the party and the Congress affirms that an effort is being made to put an end to partisanship in the army. On the other hand, there is the view that this matter will be taken up in the Political Parties' Act. Where can we find the truth in this matter?

[Hasan] There is no contradiction in the numerous statements that are being made by officials; but there is a contradiction between the statements and how they are construed and formulated by the media and then understood by the people. People understand these statements as they see fit, and they interpret them according to how much they know about them. People then promote these statements according to how they understand them. Although this has created confusion in the awareness of military personnel and others, it does not, in my opinion, constitute the principal contradiction here. The contradiction manifests itself in the discrepancy between what is required to start building a military organization under multiple parties and the fact that a tendency to have a narrow military presence inside a sovereign, national military establishment continues to emerge. It is our ambition that the mission of this military establishment will be to serve all the people and all the country. This is what its mission should be.

What was agreed to in this regard is obvious and in my opinion quite satisfactory to the party, the congress, and all the people, and that includes the people's political and social forces. I have already referred to this in my answer to the second question. This matter was also discussed at length in the various popular print and audio-visual media. The agreement was an objective one, and it was a foregone conclusion because the two parties had a prior presence in the armed forces. The agreement, which was made from a responsible position, encompassed some controls and standards for becoming engaged in partisan activity in the armed forces during the period of transition, and it prohibited such activity after the end of the period of transition.

But opinions which are being expressed here and there are sometimes governed by narrow selfishness favoring the party and the congress. Other opinions are realistic, stemming from a responsible, patriotic position whose goal is to preserve the unity and cohesion of this national institution which defends the country. Proponents of these opinions realize that any narrow, partisan activity would be dangerous to this national institution's unity and cohesion because its national functions are public and of concern to all the people and the country.

An accurate understanding of these vital issues can be found in a draft of the main tendencies in the Political Parties and Organizations Act. AL-THAWRI took the initiative of publishing this document which prohibited parties from recruiting members in the armed forces and security forces. A political party's or a political organization's means of promoting itself were limited to political organization in military or paramilitary formations. These are obvious matters which are quite clear and unambiguous.

### **Editorial Comments on Houston Economic Summit**

90AE0233A Aden AL-THAWRI in Arabic  
14 Jul 90 p 17

[Article by Ma'ruf Haddad: "Procrastination Characterizes Decisions To Delay Action"]

[Text] The seventh summit meeting of the leaders of industrial countries, which was held in the state of Texas in the United States of America between 9 and 11 July, ended with what may be described, to say the least, as procrastination and action delaying resolutions with regard to the situation in eastern Europe. These resolutions also encompass the open door policy which was declared at dawn on the last day of this past week. The United States announced that it would offer only what it described as technical assistance, and it linked that assistance with what it has been alleging is its fight against terrorism, namely, an end to eastern Europe's support for Third World countries. At the same time the American administration did nothing more than express the hope that it might offer eastern Europe assistance in the future. In addition, it linked this assistance with the question of stopping production of intermediate range missiles. The remaining industrial countries which were participating in this seventh summit meeting did not wander too far away from the circle of American demands.

Based on the outcome of their summit meeting, the leaders of the seven industrial countries were not able to resolve their differences about their attitudes toward ongoing reforms in eastern Europe, toward the Third World debt, and toward the growing trade deficit in the industrial countries themselves. These differences were clear before the summit was held, since the industrial countries themselves were making different bids and suggestions about these matters. Whereas the United States, Britain, and Japan opposed the extension of quick aid to eastern Europe, France and West Germany stressed the need to offer such assistance quickly. Furthermore, France was demanding that attention be paid to the African continent's and the Third World's \$1.3 trillion foreign debt. It was obvious that some major industrial countries were striving to place political conditions on the assistance they would offer, and it was no secret that sheer political hypocrisy was involved. These countries which were adopting such a hard-line approach were overlooking the fact that the next century will make it incumbent upon the various countries of the world to contemplate broad prospects for their political and economic cooperation. They were overlooking the fact that we are all together in the same boat and that anything that goes wrong in any part of that boat, or anywhere in the universe, threatens us all. Any such threat would bring everyone down, the poor as well as the rich. That is why everyone's cooperation represents the only hope for saving the world and guaranteeing its continued progress.

The outcome of the summit meeting for the seven industrial countries disappointed many optimistic observers who had based their optimism on their belief that the dangers of an armed confrontation between the East and the West, which existed previously, had been brought to an end once and for all by the policy of broad reforms which not only covered the eastern part of Europe but also spilled over into other continents. Also,

the numerous areas where the political democracy movement was flourishing were worrisome trouble spots. The summit meeting for the industrial countries made it clear that past allegations about threats and an armed confrontation were nothing more than scare tactics used by the industrial countries to stimulate the armed arsenal of the weapons industry. How else can one explain the failure to assume an unequivocal position on the matter of offering eastern European countries and Third World

countries the required assistance to shore up their failing economies? The threat of armed confrontation has come to an end, and profound economic reforms have been carried out in many countries and areas. The only thing that remains to be done is that a new and sincere spirit of international cooperation prevail so that economic foundations based on mutual cooperation can be laid down. Such cooperation will shower its blessings on the entire universe which we all share and in which we all live.



## AFGHANISTAN

### Only Solution to Afghan Problem Is Unity of Mujahidin

90AS0164A Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian  
16 May 90 p 12

[Interview with Master 'Abdul-'Ali Mazari, spokesman for the Islamic Unity Party of Afghanistan, by ETTELA'AT; date and place not specified]

[Text] Master 'Abdul-'Ali Mazari, spokesman for the Islamic Unity Party of Afghanistan [Hezb-e Vahdat-e Eslami-ye Afghanistan], in an interview with ETTELA'AT discussed the 11-year experience of the Islamic resistance of the people of Afghanistan influenced by the division in the ranks of Afghan Mujahidin—especially among the Shi'ites of this country. He considered the formation of the Islamic Unity Party of Afghanistan as an appropriate answer to the struggle requirements and a necessity for solidarity among Afghanistan's Moslem Mujahidin.

Master Mazari considered the Islamic Unity Party of Afghanistan as a protecting umbrella for the Shi'ite Moslem Mujahidin of his country. Previously, as a result of their scattered ranks, they not only found their efforts colorless due to the efforts of the propagandists connected with global arrogance, but also faced many dangers from the Kabul regime and other hostile forces.

The spokesman for the Islamic Unity Party of Afghanistan talked about past records regarding the realization of the ideas for creating this party. He then referred to the efficiency of this party on the present Afghan scene and also discussed the views of the party regarding current plans for resolving the Afghan quagmire.

Excerpts of this conversation are presented as follows.

ETTELA'AT Foreign Service

[ETTELA'AT] Mr. Mazari, please tell us, the Islamic Unity Party of Afghanistan consists of what groups and what has been its activities on the politico-military scene inside and outside Afghanistan?

[Mazari] The Islamic Unity Party of Afghanistan was formed after two years of relentless efforts inside and outside the country. These efforts began, at first, from 1367 [21 March 1988-20 March 1989] inside the country and continued in Afghanistan's border regions such as Punjab, L'al, and Behsud. Finally, in Jaghuri, six groups signed the "Charter of Solidarity." They also dispatched a delegation outside of Afghanistan to invite other groups to solidarity. On this basis, Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Arfani was dispatched abroad as the envoy of the party and held many meetings with representatives of other parties. In this direction, the "Solidarity Commission" was formed but, although the groups had sent written notices to their central committees, nothing materialized.

Anyhow, based on the Jaghuri meeting's decision, the next gathering was scheduled to take place in Bamian. Therefore, the party leaders and ranking commanders gathered in Bamian at the end of Spring. Those who were abroad were allowed in by receiving authorization from their central commissions or their leadership. After discussions and an exchange of views, finally in Khordad of 1368 [22 May-21 June 1989] the "Pact of Solidarity" was signed. So far, ten groups have been integrated which consist of: the Nasr Organization of Afghanistan [Sazeman-e Nasr-e Afghanistan], Guards of the Islamic Holy War of Afghanistan [Pasdaran-e Jihad-e Eslami-ye Afghanistan], Islamic Movement of Afghanistan [Harekat-e Eslami-ye Afghanistan], Shura-ye Ettfaq-e Enqelab-e Eslami-ye Afghanistan [Council of the Alliance of the Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan?], Jebheh-ye Mottahid-e Enqelab-e Eslami-ye Afghanistan [United Front of the Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan], Nehzat-e Eslami-ye Afghanistan [Islamic Movement of Afghanistan], D'avat-e Eslami-ye Afghanistan [Islamic Call of Afghanistan], Niru-ye Eslami-ye Afghanistan [Islamic Force of Afghanistan], Hezbollah-e Afghanistan, Jebheh-ye Fajr-e Eslami-ye Afghanistan [Islamic Dawn of Afghanistan Front].

It has been ten months since the "Pact of Solidarity" has been signed by these groups and all have accepted the solidarity. There used to exist a series of clashes and problems inside Afghanistan prior to the signing of the "Pact of Solidarity" which were resolved due to quick action on behalf of Hezb-e Vahdat. Refugees who had left their regions returned to their homes. Security was restored in all areas under the influence of Hezb-e Vahdat, and joint military fronts were established for assaults on the Kabul regime. Fortunately, great victories were achieved by Hezb-e Vahdat and the joint operations were quite successful.

In addition, certain plans were designed to capture the capitals of Ghowr and Ghazni. However, regretfully, these plans have not been implemented yet and we hope to proceed with them in the future. Also, we have received information that military bases of the northern regions of the country have been fully integrated and in other regions, also, emissaries are in the process of implementing this plan.

In addition to the activities of Hezb-e Vahdat inside the country, a 15-man delegation traveled abroad to announce the formation of Hezb-e Vahdat-e Eslami-ye Afghanistan and, also, integrate the representative offices of the parties in order to solve the problem of refugees through a single and unified channel, being Hezb-e Vahdat. Fortunately, Hezb-e Vahdat has enjoyed the widespread reception of our refugee compatriots. However, in a departure from the initial stages, some of the leaders of the old parties have brought up some conditions which have been the subject of various meetings in this regard. Unlike now, they all used to adhere to the idea of solidarity. Again, efforts are being made to solve these political problems.

### The Political View:

All institutions of the Islamic Republic of Iran have agreed to recognize Vahdat and solve the refugees problem through this channel. During the holy month of Ramadan, we had an audience with the exalted leader of the Islamic world. His Eminence, by emphasizing on the need for solidarity, extended his congratulations on the occasion of the formation and endorsement of Hezb-e Vahdat. While expressing his pleasure, he pointed out that, "We seek solidarity among all Moslems and welcome this solidarity which has been formed there (in Afghanistan). We hope that it propagates among all Afghan Mujahidin because the path to salvation of the people of Afghanistan is through solidarity." His Eminence boosted our morale by these beautiful words.

[ETTELA'AT] What is the level of presence of Hezb-e Vahdat-e Eslami-ye Afghanistan inside the country and what areas are under the control of Hezb-e Vahdat?

[Mazari] Hezb-e Vahdat-e Eslami-ye Afghanistan has active military presence in all Shi'ite regions and has formed an anti-government front. For example, the following provinces can be named: Bamian, Meydan, Parvan, Ghazni, Kabul, Herat, Helmand, Nimruz, Ghowr, Badghis, Jowzjan, Balkh, Samangan, Baghlan, Lowgar, Paktia, and etc. However, in the Western fronts Hezb-e Vahdat-e Eslami-ye Afghanistan is active in the following regions: The northern territories (such as Sar-e Pol, Mazar-e Sharif, Salang axis in areas of Samangan and Baghlan), around the city of Kabul, Ghowrat, Ghazni, Meydan. From the strategic point of view, Hezb-e Vahdat-e Eslami is in control of most of the sensitive regions of Afghanistan. This consists of the regime's logistics transportation route (Salang axis) as well as economic (such as fertilizer production and the power plant of Mazar-e Sharif, the coal mines of Balkhomry, Baghlan facilities, gas [?field] of Sahbarghan, and other industrial facilities) which are within the sphere of activities of Hezb-e Vahdat. Therefore, Hezb-e Vahdat is a clear threat to the crucial interests of the Kabul regime.

[ETTELA'AT] Please tell us about the economic situation of the people in areas under the influence of the Hezb-e Vahdat. Are they facing difficulties?

[Mazari] The central regions of Afghanistan, due to economic reasons, have been in a dire situation. This has been as a result of the despotic policies of the governments and their lack of attention to these areas. Lack of roads, non-utilization of underground and natural resources in these regions, in addition to extreme the cold, have always confronted the people of these areas with numerous problems. During ten years of revolution, those meager feeding resources have been destroyed as a result of bombings and the war. Particularly during the past year, due to extreme cold, the agricultural harvest was destroyed and the people were forced to obtain their required wheat from Pakistan and other regions. This is considered a grave danger to the people of these areas.

Therefore, in order to strengthen the economic capability of the region and to prevent famine, Hezb-e Vahdat-e Eslami-ye Afghanistan has prepared economic plans, the implementation of which will lead to great strides in the economic development of the central regions of the country.

[ETTELA'AT] It has been two months since the delegation from Hezb-e Vahdat-e Eslami-ye Afghanistan has arrived in the Islamic Republic. In this period, the decision for integration of the old [parties'] offices have been announced several times. However, this has never come to realization and the parties continue their activities in the form of party and groups. What is the reason for this?

[Mazari] When the Vahdat delegation came abroad, it held some meetings with leaders of the previous groups. A majority of them stated that they have no opposition to Hezb-e Vahdat and whenever it desires it can integrate the offices and form the offices of Hezb-e Vahdat. The leaders of a couple of the groups brought up some conditions. However, the Vahdat delegation decided (and this was also the view of Hezb-e Vahdat-e Eslami-ye Afghanistan) that all the parties that have signed the "Pact of Solidarity" should rally around a party (Hezb-e Vahdat) and implement the signed "Pact of Solidarity".

On this basis, negotiations are in progress and this is the reason why the offices have not been integrated yet, so as to allow the views of all parties involved to be collected in order to prevent any future problems to occur. We hope this problem can be solved in the near future and the office of the party can begin to function by integration of other offices.

[ETTELA'AT] These days there are many attempts to force the Mujahidin to negotiate and come to terms with the Kabul regime. In this regard, even the head of the Peshawar based Mujahidin provisional government refers to such negotiations as a [possible] solution. What are your views in this regard?

[Mazari] In our view, the solution for Afghanistan depends upon solidarity among the Mujahidin, and as long as this has not been achieved problems will persist. The main problem stems from the selfishness and monopolistic attitude of some individuals. These people do not understand the conditions and sensitive situation of the country. If they consider the rights of all those who have been at their side during the fighting and Jihad of the past ten years, and accept the fact that without coordination they cannot succeed, then it may be said that there is a solution for Afghanistan.

If there is a united view among Afghan Mujahidin and they act in a united front against the Kabul regime, naturally the puppet regime of Russia will not last long. If a political solution is adopted...in our view, it is not possible except through military means. Without the desire of the Mujahidin and without their mutual understanding this [overthrow of the Kabul regime] will not

come to realization. Therefore, Hezb-e Vahdat-e Eslami-ye Afghanistan considers solidarity among the Mujahidin and combatant Afghan groups as the sole solution to the Afghan problem. It has endeavored in this path and has had some success so far. It is our hope that others adopt this path also.

[ETTELA'AT] International organizations related to refugee affairs have announced that Afghan refugees residing in Pakistan have declared their willingness to return to their country. On the other hand, the UN has sought a Peace Zone in Afghanistan so that refugees can return to their country with ease of mind. What do you think about this? Are the Iran-based refugees also ready to return to their homes?

[Mazari] In connection with the issue of the Pakistan-based refugees that you mentioned, I must say that several views have been expressed so far. Mr. Sebghatullah Mojaddedi has said that the refugees should return and a Peace Zone must be declared so that the government does not bomb the returning refugees. On the other hand, Mr. Sayyaf has stated that, until the war comes to an end, the refugees shall not return. Here is where the Pakistan-based refugees disagree on this point.

In our opinion, there are problems with both the views of Mr. Mojaddedi and Mr. Sayyaf:

1. Mojaddedi says the refugees will return on the condition that the government does not attack them.... If the people of Afghanistan are not in a state of war with the regime of Kabul and the puppet regime of Russia accepts this point and refrains from bombing these areas, then they cannot be called refugees because they have become refugees because of the war. On the other hand, the people of Afghanistan have a covenant to continue to fight until the collapse of the Kabul regime. Obviously the Kabul government will not go along with this. Therefore, such a plan, at this time, is not a solution.

2. And the view of Mr. Sayyaf, who says the refugees will not return until the end of the war, poses international problems. It is obvious that international assistance is of great importance to the Pakistan-based refugees. If this assistance was to be cut off, the refugees will not be able to live there. This is where the Mujahidin must reach mutual agreement and consider the circumstances.

However, the situation is different for the Iran-based refugees. Refugees who come to Iran after a short period of quarantine are dispersed across Iran and begin to work. This means that the financial aid and assistance that the UN provides in Pakistan are not available in Iran.

The view of Hezb-e Vahdat-e Eslami-ye Afghanistan in regard to the Iran-based refugees is that, the territories under the influence of Hezb-e Vahdat are such that during the past ten years the government and Russian forces have not been able to capture these areas. The only problem was civil war that, with God's blessing, it ended and presently there are no obstacles for the return

of the refugees to their land. However, it is a lie if we say there is no war and it has been such during the past ten years. The government has not had the strength, otherwise it would not allow these central areas to be free for even one day.

As far as Hezb-e Vahdat-e Eslami-ye Afghanistan is concerned, there are no problems for the return of refugees. The refugees have their own prerogative. However, we promise to maintain the security of these areas. As a matter of fact, the problem of these central areas is of an economic nature and not political. If friendly sides provide economic assistance to the people, we hope to alleviate the economic problems of the compatriot refugees. Therefore, we ask the UN and other charity organization to assist us in this regard.

[ETTELA'AT] How do you assess the solution to the Afghan problem? Has there or hasn't there been coordination with the Pakistan-based groups regarding the future of Afghanistan?

[Mazari] In regard to the solution to the Afghan problem, as we expressed our view previously, it hinges on the mutual agreement of the Mujahidin and the other Jihad forces. Regarding the question of coordination with the Pakistan-based groups, yes we have had some talks with representatives of the group of six and the tripartite groups. The group of six proposed a plan for elections which we recounted its weaknesses and rejected it. We also told them that if they resolve the weak points, we agree to discuss it again (about the election and future of the country).

Among the points on which we emphasized was election on the basis of population number and not the region. The other point was participation of women in the election which, regretfully, some Pakistan-based parties do not wish to give women the right to vote in the elections.

In regard to the elections, we proposed the formation of a commission composed of representatives of all the groups in order to monitor the elections instead of the provisional government which, in our view, is not legal. Also, since its time has expired, it does not consider itself as legal either. They heard our views and left for consultations with each other. Later they informed us that they agree with some of the conditions and there must be further discussions.

Here, it is necessary for me to mention that we have prepared a comprehensive plan for elections which will be published shortly on the condition that we realize the Afghan problem will be solved in this way.

[ETTELA'AT] During the past ten years, despite internal and war problems, the Islamic Republic of Iran has considered the support of the Moslem Mujahidin of Afghanistan as a principal of its foreign policy and has always supported the right of the Afghan people to self-determination. Under the present conditions, in which the active diplomacies of the West and the East

have geared up to solve the Afghan problem through diplomatic means, what is your expectation from the Islamic Republic of Iran?

[Mazari] With appreciation for the fundamental position of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the past, our present and future expectation from the esteemed officials of the Islamic Republic is to support, as in the past, the right of our people to self-determination and to defend the Moslem Mujahidin of Afghanistan against the plots and conspiracies of global arrogance so that the position of the Mujahidin can be widely and extensively considered in the international arena.

[ETTELA'AT] What could be the effect of the events in Kashmir and the worsening of Indo-Pakistani relations on matters related to Afghanistan's Jihad?

[Mazari] In regard to the issue of Kashmir, from both the international and Islamic point of view the government of India is guilty. From the international perspective, it has been determined by the UN that these people shall determine their own future and be free to join Pakistan or form an independent country. The government of India disregarded this agreement and violated this international law.

From the Islamic point of view, Kashmir is an Islamic country and the wish of its people is to form an Islamic government. India has no right to suppress the Moslem people of Kashmir and prevent them from exercising their religious rites. We support the uprising of the people of Kashmir in their quest for achieving self determination and condemn the action of the government of India for violating the Islamic and international rights of the Moslem people of Kashmir. We praise Pakistan for its support of Kashmir because it is the duty of all Islamic countries to support the just cause of the people of Kashmir and other Moslem peoples in the world. As for the effect of the Kashmir issue on Afghanistan's Jihad, it is obvious that issues faced by Moslems cannot be considered as independent of each other. Naturally, a regional development will affect other countries. However, we cannot say that it has a specific effect on the Jihad in Afghanistan.

[ETTELA'AT] Don't you feel that by prolonging the war (especially after the withdrawal of the Russian forces) Afghanistan's sensitivity importance steadily declines and this country, like Palestine and Lebanon, becomes merely the scene of political rivalry of competing governments?

[Mazari] No! The equation of the Islamic revolution of Afghanistan differs from the Palestinian revolution and Lebanon. The people of Afghanistan are not tired of the war and, indeed, are quite close to achieving their goal which was formation of an Islamic republic. The people of Afghanistan have proven to the world that they do not accept foreign domination. It is a proven historical fact that England was first defeated in Afghanistan and it was

the first time for the Soviets as well that they accepted defeat. This shows that our people will never submit to political games.

However, this point cannot be ignored that, due to the interferences of global arrogance, a series of complications have surfaced among the Mujahidin. We hope that these problems can be solved soon. We condemn any sort of interference under any guise. Our people have proven that they enjoy a certain quality which is rare among world revolutionaries and that is their strong religious beliefs.

[ETTELA'AT] What are your views regarding the uprising of the people of Tajikistan, Afghanistan's northern neighbors, and what can you do in the future in order to assist them in their struggle to free their land?

[Mazari] Our analysis of all Islamic movements, be they in Soviet-controlled territories or elsewhere in the world, is that the great revolution of Imam Khomeyni and the magnificent revolution of the people of Afghanistan had the positive effect of compelling the Moslem people to move and cause the creation of liberation movements. In most Islamic countries—especially in Central Asia—some movements have begun in those Islamic lands under Chinese or Russian domination. We consider them to be positive and strongly believe that these peoples will succeed in the path they have chosen. As an Islamic and human responsibility, we take it upon ourselves to extend any assistance we can give and will not hold back our support for our Moslem brothers at the present time as well as after the victory of the revolution. We hope that all Islamic lands will be liberated from the talons of the superpowers and occupiers and an Islamic government will be formed all across the Moslem lands.

[ETTELA'AT] As the last question, we ask what message you have for the compatriot refugees who live in Iran and other countries of the world?

[Mazari] Our request from all the dear refugees (esteemed theological students, students, professors, doctors, and engineers) is that...wherever they are in the world...we give them the message that their regions are completely safe and invite them to come and see this. Come and cooperate with Hezb-e Vahdat to begin the development and reconstruction of the country and prepare a suitable atmosphere for intellectual, cultural, and economic growth of the nation.

We proclaim with utmost confidence that the atmosphere for activity by all is ripe. We request the experts and engineers to come and build their ruined homes with the help of Hezb-e Vahdat. We ask of our compatriot refugees to funnel their financial assistance, especially their religious endowments, to the inside of the country so that schools can be opened and their children can be educated. We ask that the esteemed teachers think about the nation's children.

**Petroleum Products Availability, Prices Reported***90AS0281B Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 14 May 90 p 3*

[Text] Last year, due to the failure to distribute petroleum products through regular gas stations, the cost of private transportation increased several fold. For example, as a result of the lack of widespread distribution of petroleum, the taxi fare in the city increased drastically which caused difficulty and in some instances made it impossible for citizens to use taxis. However, due to the distribution of substantial amounts through various channels, the price of petroleum on the black market, which is widely used by city cabs, dropped considerably.

Also, due to necessity, the head of the Petroleum Products [Office] implemented a regulated plan for distribution of petroleum products through several [gas] stations which resulted in a prompt decrease in cab fares in the city.

I discussed the reasons for the irresponsibility of minibus owners with Akhtar Mohammad, the minibus driver in the Karteh-Now route. In response, he stated the following: Despite repeated notices, the head of the petroleum products office avoids the normal distribution of petroleum products, including diesel fuel which is mostly used by us. Thus, we are forced to purchase our needed petroleum products from the black market at very high prices which results in high minibus fares.

It may be easily deduced that, if the chief of the petroleum products office makes the petroleum products available to us on a regular basis and at fixed government prices, the minibus fare will drop accordingly.

**Farmers Party of Afghanistan Changes Name***90AS0281C Kabul PAYAM in Dari 12 May 90 p 2*

[Text] The first general council of the Afghanistan Farmers Justice Party [Hezb-e Edalat-e Dehqanan-e Afghanistan] was held on the morning of the day before yesterday at the hall of the Union of Afghanistan Republic Journalists.

Present in the first session of the General Council of that party's congress were: Representatives, chairmen, and first deputies of all the parties, political and social organizations, and press attaches from Bulgaria, the Democratic Republic of Germany, Korea, Democratic Yemen, Cuba, and the Soviet Union.

The work of the first General Council (Afghanistan Farmers Justice Party) was inaugurated with recitation of some verses from the Holy Koran. It was then followed by a report of the principal activities of the Council of Leadership from the outset until the first General Council, presented by 'Abdolhakim Tawana, the party chief.

In the second part of the session of the General Council, the heads of the provincial councils of Herat, Qandahar,

Ghowr, Balkh, Jowzjan, Samangan, Baghlan, Laghman, Nangarhar, and the chief of the Kabul city of the Afghanistan Farmers Justice Party read their greetings and congratulatory messages on the occasion of convening the first general council of the party.

According to reports by the correspondent of Bakhtar News Agency, during the afternoon session of the council, which convened at 2:00 PM, the principal report of the works and activities of the party's Leadership Council was approved by the majority of votes after detailed discussions and an exchange of views.

According to another report, the session of the first General Council of the Afghanistan Farmers Justice Party, which had begun day before yesterday at the hall of the Union of Afghanistan Republic Journalists, was concluded yesterday. In yesterday's session of the General Council of the Afghanistan Farmers Justice Party, members of the leadership council of the party's supervision council were elected by direct vote.

Also, during the session, the suggestion to adjust the name of the party to the Afghanistan National Union of Farming [Ettehad-e Melli-ye Dehqani-ye Afghanistan] was discussed and passed by the majority of votes. Also, discussions were held regarding the adjustment of the banner and logo of the Farmers Justice Party and other related matters which led to making the appropriate decisions.

In conclusion, the text of the resolution of the session was approved and 'Abdolhakim Tawana, the chief of the Afghanistan National Union of Farming, evaluated the achievements of the General Council of the Afghanistan National Union of Farming in his closing remarks and stated its value and usefulness in realization of future duties and responsibilities.

**Mayor of Kabul Accused of Beating Journalist***90AS0281D Kabul PAYAM in Dari 20 May 90 p 1*

[Text]

**Official Letter of Afghanistan Republic's Journalists' Union to Daily PAYAM**

The Esteemed Daily PAYAM: Several days ago the Journalists' Union received a letter of complaint signed by the editorial board, the journalists, and all employees of the PAMIR publication. This letter was studied and discussed in the 19 Sawr [9 May] meeting of the board of directors of the union. It was decided that the full text of the letter, without any changes, would be sent to the daily PAYAM for publication.

In line with its duties and obligations, the board of directors of the union seriously requests from the officials and organs tasked with upholding the law and protecting the legal rights to investigate the matter and act upon clarification of the issue.

Respectfully, the Board of Directors of the Journalists Union of the Republic of Afghanistan

**Grievance of the Editorial Board, Journalists, and Employees of PAMIR Publication**

To: The Journalists' Union of the Republic of Afghanistan

Respectfully,

On the morning of 13 Sawr [4 May] Mr. Karim Misaq, the mayor of Kabul, for no reason spoiled the tranquility of our office and insulted our journalistic integrity and our mission.

At 8:30 [AM] he entered the hall of the PAMIR publication with four riflemen. He then began to insult all the journalists and employees of our office with indecent words, far from acceptable social behavior and which respect for the pen does not allow us to mention them here. He overturned the waste basket and office supplies in the office and started beating Mr. Muhammad Faruq, one of our employees, who has spent the past 18 years of his life in the service of the country and people. The bodyguards of Mr. Karim Misaq, by his order, knocked down this poor employee while beating him with their rifle butts. Then, he left the office while still cursing the employees of the publication, using profanities which are not befitting an educated writer and official of the government. Respectfully, this brief statement is issued for your information and in defense of the journalists of PAMIR publication.

Thus, we the editorial board, journalists, and all the service and administrative personnel of PAMIR publication offer our resignation en masse. We shall consider it in force until such time as our rights have been defended, the matter has been investigated, and our honor has been restored, because we know that none of the laws of the Republic of Afghanistan allow the beating of an individual or disrespect for human dignity and honor of an individual.

It is expected that the grievance of this group—who have endured all the hardship, hunger, poverty, rain of rockets and...never forgot their obligation toward the people and the country and tried, with sincerity and patriotism, to fulfill their duties—is conveyed to the appropriate officials and appropriate action is taken to restore our dignity.

Respectfully,

The Editorial Board, Journalists, and Employees of PAMIR Publication

**Mayor of Kabul Responds to Accusation of Beating Journalist**

90AS0281E Kabul PAYAM in Dari 26 May 90 p 1

[Text] On 30 Sawr [20 May] the daily PAYAM printed the official letter of the Union of Journalists of the

Republic of Afghanistan. The letter was in regard to an event which took place in the office of PAMIR publication. Following is the full and unchanged text of the response of Kabul's mayor which was sent to the daily PAYAM.

The front page headline of the 20 Sawr [10 May] issue of AKHBAR-E HAFTEH was an article alleging that Kabul's mayor assaulted a journalist. The name of the journalist was mentioned as Muhammad Faruq. It should be noted that Mohammad Faruq is a person who in the year 52 [21 March 1973-20 March 1974] was assigned as a candidate grade 10 civil servant to the grade 10 post of director of the budget office of the Interior Ministry. Later, he transferred from the Interior Ministry to Melli [National—full name not known] and then to the Kabul Municipal Offices. In short, all the records and documents prove that he is not and nor has he ever been a journalist. This means that he has been made out to be a journalist.

I responded to the article in AKHBAR-E HAFTEH by an article titled, "Kabul Mayor Fights Corruption and Indifference. Kabul Mayor Did Not Assault a Journalist".

AKHBAR-E HAFTEH was obligated, in accordance with article 38 of the Media Law, to print my response in the same fashion and using the same words as I had used. However, it acted contrary to the law. Not only did it not print my response in the same fashion, but it also censored it.

The principles of journalism dictate that when a hot item is reflected in a publication and has been the subject of discussion other publications should avoid printing the same item. However, the daily PAYAM in its 30 Sawr [20 May] issue printed the exact same item. However, this item is also a fabrication as is the item printed in AKHBAR-E HAFTEH. The reasons are as follows:

At the foot of the text it is written: "Editorial board, journalists, and all employees of PAMIR publication." It should be noted that on 13 Sawr [3 May] when the alleged incident mentioned in the "letter of objection" took place, not all the employees were present. On the other hand, the copies sent to various organizations lack any signatures and finger prints. These copies only bear the seal of the publication.

In the text of this letter of objection many lies and fabrications have been printed which are beyond the belief of any conscientious person. For example, it is written: "He entered the hall of PAMIR publication...knocked down the poor employee while beating him with their rifle butts."

This is absolutely a slanderous fabrication. I have never had nor do I presently have four riflemen, and no one has been able to provide the slightest shred of evidence in this regard. This is a shameless lie and an absolute slander. On the other hand, when four riflemen assault someone with the butts of their rifles, to the point that he

is knocked down, then this means that he should be dead or if not dead he should be critically injured. Marks of the beating by rifle butts must be seen on his body and he must be taken to hospital. No such action was taken. Another interesting bit of information is that on 13 Sawr [3 May] the helpless, or in this case helpful, employee was not even present in the office.

In the letter of objection it is written: "We the editorial board, journalists, and all the service and administrative personnel of PAMIR publication offer our resignation en masse."

Yes! The "network" and "ring" in its plot of intrigue, destruction, and provocation had exactly this in mind. However, the editorial board, journalists, and all the honorable service and administrative employees of PAMIR publication practically neutralized this plot and continued with their work to which they were legally bound. As a result, PAMIR publication was published and distributed in a timely fashion.

The truth of this incident is as follows:

I am struggling against corruptions and indifferences in the municipality. However, this corruption and indifference are a part of the same rings of corruption which are spread everywhere like spider webs.

From time to time, upsetting news items were coming out about PAMIR publication. Despite the shortage of time, I visited the offices of that publication a couple of times. Unruliness and carelessness were evident. In order to alleviate the prevailing attitude of unruliness and carelessness, I spoke a couple of times with the appropriate officials and exchanged views with them with the objective of improving the situation.

I continued to receive unpleasant information and the situation at PAMIR publication was described as being contrary to the norm for a government publication. Once more I was forced to visit the offices of the publication. The PAMIR publication office is far from the municipal office building and is located at the first stop of block 28 of the first Microreyon.

A part of that building is being used as temporary offices by some people and another part of the building houses the offices of the publication. Overall, the condition was such that any conscientious and sensitive person would be saddened. In order to find out the truth, I was impelled to investigate and study the situation at the office.

The investigation mostly concerned the financial and administrative management of the publication. The financial and administration management of the publication is handled by this "helpless employee" (Muhammad Faruq). Initial investigations revealed a loss of about 625,391 afghani which was incurred to the general assets at the administration building of PAMIR publication as a result of the carelessness and irresponsibility of

the management. Of course, the figure discovered at the Kabul municipality is much higher than this.

In order to prevent any investigation and revelation of their corruption and carelessness, the corrupt bureaucracy had utilized infiltration networks and rings in order to create an expanded propaganda campaign.

Launching on such a campaign of propaganda, fabrication, disrespect, slander, and lies brings up this question: Are there no other important misdemeanors, crimes, complaints, and stories than assault on a fake journalist? Are there not hundreds of crimes and ugliness being committed before the eyes of everyone? Is this fake issue of beating a journalist so important to prompt the daily PAYAM to print the story on the front page of one of its important and high circulation issues—after the story of this fake issue had already been printed in other publications—without confirming the matter and finding out some information from the person who was considered to be involved?

When the Journalists Union is put in the position to defend a fake journalist, is it not instead morally bound to defend a writer and elected mayor who has been picked by the representatives of the citizens of Kabul? Or, if not defend him, at least try to get some information in order to uncover the truth.

There is only one answer to all these questions: The corrupt bureaucracy, in order to save its own interests, activates its rings and networks and utilizes all possible facilities in opposition to the national interests of the country.

Karim Misaq, Mayor of Kabul

Note: We have printed the remarks of Mr. Karim Misaq, the mayor of Kabul, without any change in its text. From the outset of this controversy, the daily PAYAM took on an inactive role. What was printed in the 30 Sawr [20 May] issue was not a reflection of PAYAM's publishing board. However, it was due to the official request of the Union of Journalists of the Republic of Afghanistan.

However, it seems that the controversy surrounding this issue is mostly artificial rather than serious and substantive. Thus, the daily PAYAM shall conclude this discussion.

### **Commentary Urges Battle Against Narcotics**

90AS0281A Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 12 May 90 p 3

[Article by Walid]

[Text] Based on a decree from the esteemed Najibullah, the president of Afghanistan, the national fight against production, farming, smuggling, and use of narcotics will be intensified. It is stated that growing and harvesting, processing, distribution, transport, and addiction to narcotics are big problems facing the people of our country and the world and a serious danger to humanity.



Statistics show that presently the narcotics trade amounts to \$500 billion annually and is second only to arms trade. It must be said that farming, transport, and smuggling narcotics are done by certain international circles which, beside monetary gains, pursue certain other goals as well and which cannot be ignored.

Besides its economic consequence for the people of our country, narcotics addiction is quite costly for developing countries like ourselves. Also, from a social and moral standpoint, it is detrimental and contrary to the sacred religion of Islam.

Circles that aim to stimulate the world narcotics market do so, in the first phase, with the aim of disabling the youth of the targeted societies which comprise their dynamic and capable forces. Thus, they force the youth away from the wheels of progress, the work place, farms, and schools and—by encouraging isolation and separation from the work place—finally push them toward disease, poverty, and death.

In view of the actions taken by the Republic of Afghanistan during the previous years, esteemed Najibullah, the president of the Republic of Afghanistan, in order to put an immediate stop to this process, issued a decree for the creation of the High Commission to Combat Production, Smuggling, and Use of Narcotics to be headed by the vice president. This can be truly useful in realization of the above stated goals.

Along the same line, the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Afghanistan recently passed a resolution. The implementation of this resolution is necessary for preventing the manufacturing and smuggling of narcotics and taking steps to rehabilitate addicts as well as ensuring the health of the national economy and morals.

In this resolution, the appropriate ministries and security organs of the country have been given the responsibility of implementing specific tasks to combat addiction and smuggling of narcotics as well as directing the attention of international circles to this issue.

In its part, the government declares its readiness to convert the agricultural production from planting white poppy and hashish bushes to planting fruit trees and other useful vegetation. However, as it is clear, the government will not be able to achieve the final victory in the fight against smuggling and the rapid spread and addiction to narcotics single-handedly. The complete realization of this objective requires the cooperation and assistance of all citizens of the country and international circles.

Our compatriots will be able to utilize the facilities that the government will provide for replacing narcotic bushes while in the areas under the control of the radicals to prevent this action. They can easily assist our security forces in achieving the desired objective by locating, registering, and revealing the locations of narcotics planting, producing, and smuggling. Scholars and the clergy, who enjoy a special credibility and authority

in our society, are able to explain the religious constraints of narcotics and smoking material in their sermons to the people in the society and encourage those who are addicted to rid themselves of the habit.

Also, teachers and missionaries and all those involved in education and culture have the chance to cleanse their society from addiction to narcotics by clarifying its negative aspects. These and tens of other methods are ways and techniques that are suggested by the Republic of Afghanistan. However, it can be seen clearly that in certain parts of Afghanistan where the opposition is active production, farming, and smuggling of narcotics is being turned into a widespread issue.

Radical leaders, in collusion with the international Mafia, have adopted narcotics smuggling as their permanent profession. Also, bloody clashes have been taking place among the radical groups inside Afghanistan and in their camps in Pakistan over contraband and smuggling matters.

However, the United States, as a country that finances the armed opposition to the government of the Republic of Afghanistan, now claims to have launched a campaign to combat narcotics. If this is true, then this country can assist the people and the world in their battle against narcotics.

Esteemed Najibullah, the president of the Republic of Afghanistan, in a recent interview with Mr. John Berns [?], the NEW YORK TIMES correspondent, in this connection stated that the United States of America, in the framework of its humanitarian aid to the people of Afghanistan, can provide assistance to our people by setting up a drug rehabilitation center.

## INDIA

### President, Prime Minister Address Governors' Meet

#### Venkataraman Speech

90AS0364A Madras THE HINDU in English  
28 Jul 90 p 1

[Article: "RV Wants Governors To Show More Tact"; all quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, July 27. The office of the Governor, always a crucial link in a federal set-up, has assumed even greater significance in view of the fluid political situation in some States and in several cases the Governors have had to 'directly manage some very difficult situations.'

With these words, the President, Mr R. Venkataraman today underlined the 'new' role of the Governors stressing that they were not merely 'ceremonial' functionaries. Political complexities had brought them under considerably greater strain than before and this required them to exercise judgment with 'extreme care.'



Opening a two-day conference of Governors at the Rashtrapati Bhavan, the first since the National Front Government assumed office, Mr Venkataraman drew the attention of the distinguished gathering to some of the more pressing problems confronting the nation and made a pointed reference to the situation in Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir, the North-east, the Ram Janambhoomi dispute and the economic situation. He described these as 'daunting challenges' and reminded the Governors that in the maintenance of law and order they could play a 'creative role' dovetailing the efforts of the State Governments concerned and the Centre.

On Punjab, he said the situation remained serious with terrorist violence continuing unabated in 1989-90. The security personnel were the special targets of terrorist violence. A multi-pronged strategy, dealing with violence on the one hand and keeping the door open for a dialogue on the other, was being followed. 'Yet a solution has eluded us.'

Jammu and Kashmir was also passing through an 'agonising phase' and this, the President noted, was the 'cumulative result' of forces which were allowed to operate in the valley in the past and the lack of effective counter-measures. 'Some of the measures taken recently to refurbish the administrative machinery and re-establish the authority of the Government' were expected to yield results. Both in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir, the accent was on development even as the fight against terrorism was being waged at another level.

Two other issues of concern were the activities of the United Liberation Front of Asom and Bodo militants in Assam, of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland in Nagaland and Manipur, and those of 'left-wing extremists' in Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. 'I am convinced that if our peace-loving and law-abiding citizens in these States can be afforded protection against the threats and blandishments of the violent groups, people's cooperation will be forthcoming and the situation can be retrieved and peace restored', he said.

The President took a serious view of the communal situation in the country and said that the hardening of attitudes on the Ram Janambhoomi issue had caused the 'communal mercury' to rise. He said the conference looked forward to hearing the perceptions of the Prime Minister and the Home Minister on these issues, he said.

#### Mixed Picture

He dwelt at length on the economic situation saying that it presented a 'mixed picture'. While the performance of the economy in the past two years had been quite impressive, budget and trade deficits continued to pose problems. He commended the economy measures announced by the Government recently, especially the directive to all the ministries to reduce their expenditure by 10 percent. He urged the Governors to initiate similar

measures with regard to Raj Bhavan establishments and praised the Governor of Maharashtra for taking up economy measures.

Mr Venkataraman said he had also instructed his staff to reduce the expenditure in certain areas of Rashtrapati Bhavan establishment by 10 percent besides 'deferring my annual sojourn in Hyderabad. 'The Government expenditure, had assumed alarming proportions and there was need to set an example from the highest level downwards. He also referred, in some detail, to the difficult balance of payments position, the price situation, the need to generate employment, the problems of the weaker sections—especially the Scheduled Castes and Tribes—and equitable distribution of essential commodities. He hoped the National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Tribes would perform its functions more effectively now that it had been given a constitutional status.

On the international situation, he stressed India's efforts to build and preserve friendly relations with neighbours. The Government had taken several initiatives to improve relations with Sri Lanka, including de-induction of the Indian Peace Keeping Force a week ahead of schedule. India, which had hoped that all parties in Sri Lanka would take steps to ensure devolution of power to the north-east and ensure security of Tamils, viewed with concern the continuing hostilities there. 'The conflict in Sri Lanka has adverse implications for us in terms of the influx of Tamil refugees into India and the law and order problem that it can create for us. We are in active consultation with Sri Lanka to see that the hostilities end soon.'

He described the resolution of the trade dispute with Nepal as one of the 'most impressive foreign policy achievements.' There had also been productive interaction with China, and India believed that the boundary dispute between the two countries would be resolved in a fair and reasonable manner. With Pakistan, India was committed to developing friendly relations in accordance with the Shimla Agreement. However, Pakistan's interference in India's internal affairs through support to subversives in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir did not help matters. He held out the assurance that 'for every step that is taken by Pakistan, we are ready to match with two in the interest of reducing tensions and promoting our relations on the principles of non-interference in each other's affairs.'

Reviewing the world situation, he said the last couple of years had seen momentous changes which may alter the global power equations and traditional economic systems. 'We have to gear our policies and programmes to suit the changing environment so that we may remain in the mainstream of world development.' He gave an assessment of his visit to three European countries—Portugal, Britain and Malta—earlier this year, and also made a reference to the Prime Minister's tour of

Namibia on the occasion of its Independence Day celebrations. He hailed Nelso Mandela as a great statesman and said India looked forward to his visit.

### **Singh at Closing Session**

90AS0364B Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
29 Jul 90 p 1

[Article: "Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid Row; Government Will Go By Court Order: PM"]

[Text] New Delhi, July 28. In what is seen as by far the most definitive expression of the Government's stand on the Ram Janmabhoomi issue since the latest deadline fixed by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad for the construction of a temple on the disputed site, the Prime Minister Mr V. P. Singh today ruled out any extra-judicial means to settle the dispute.

Addressing the concluding session of the two-day conference of Governors here, he declared that in its efforts to find an amicable solution, the Government would go strictly by the court judgment. The 'sanctity of the courts will have to be upheld' and no attempt to subvert the court order would be tolerated. 'Whether the courts pass an interim or final order the Government shall stand by it (and) if there is an attempt to subvert the court order, the Government will take a stand to uphold the judiciary,' he said stressing that this was the official statement of the Government's position.

### **Signal to Right-Wing Allies**

That the Prime Minister chose to preface his address with such a categorical statement on what is arguably one of the most sensitive political issues confronting his Government is regarded as a signal to his right-wing allies that here is an issue on which he means business. Later, the Union Home Minister, Mufti Mohammed Sayeed, also stressed the need to settle the issue through judicial means though characteristically he was less categorical.

For the rest, the Prime Minister's speech was a review of the situation in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir, and the performance of his Government so far. The aim of the terrorists in the two States, he noted, was to 'eliminate the political channels' and tell the people that the government was not in a position to protect them. 'They hit hard targets to demoralise the law and order machinery.'

Mr Singh pointed out that while fighting secessionism care should be taken to respect the human rights of the citizens. If this was not done, secessionism would get encouragement. This was a delicate task but had to be performed. About reviving the political process, he said this did not mean that the Government could hold elections or install a popular government in the troubled States immediately. 'Our political antenna should be up. Even if we cannot transmit we must be able to receive.'

The Prime Minister said the law and order problems facing the country were linked with the larger political problem in which the leadership seemed to have lost touch with the people causing 'other forces to fill the vacuum.' Corruption, he said, was a major cause of alienation. 'Large amounts of money sanctioned by the Centre never reach the people because they are intercepted on the way,' he said, adding that corruption was thus more than an ethical problem.

On the first eight months of his Government's performance, he listed measures to help the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, encourage labour participation in management, incorporate land reforms in the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution, and ensure better opportunities for all. He reiterated his Government's commitment to the implementation of the Mandal Commission's report even if it had to face resistance.

The President, Mr R. Venkataraman, in his concluding remarks, praised India's progress in social and economic fields, and assured the Governors of Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir and Assam that the country was behind them in their fight against terrorism.

Mufti Mohammed Sayeed described the situation in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir as 'grim' and squarely blamed Pakistan for the turn of events in the States. The Government was determined to meet the challenge posed by subversive elements and it has already initiated a series of measures in this regard.

The Mufti claimed that in Punjab the Government offensive had already begun to pay and since March there had been an increase in the number of terrorists killed or arrested. In May alone, 101 terrorists had been killed.

The Home Minister's address was loaded with claims about the steps taken by the Government to deal with the situation in Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir and Assam. Security forces had stepped up pressure on terrorists both in Punjab and Kashmir and there had been a degree of success in restoring government authority. However, the Pakistan factor continued to be an irritant and since the later half of 1989 there had been a qualitative as well as quantitative change in the level of Pakistani assistance to militants.

### **Papers Report, Comment on V. P. Singh Moscow Visit**

#### **23 Jul Talks, Banquet**

90AS0366A Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
24 Jul 90 p 1

[Article by K. K. Katyal: "Moscow Concerned Over Indo-Pak Tension"]

[Excerpts] Moscow, July 23. The Soviet Union fully endorses India's concern over religious, racial

extremism, violence and terrorism. This like-mindedness—significant to New Delhi in the context of Pakistan-aided trouble in Kashmir—stands out in the joint statement, signed by the Prime Minister, Mr V.P. Singh, and the Soviet President, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, today, the first day of the former's stay here.

During delegation-level discussions, the Soviet Prime Minister, Mr Ryzhkov, was forthright on the subject. There should be no interference in India's internal affairs, he said, adding that political dialogue needed to be conducted on the basis of a non-violent approach. Expressing concern over tension between India and Pakistan, he remarked: "we proceed from the understanding that India's territorial integrity and unity needs no explanation."

The joint statement (it was not called a joint declaration so as not to dilute the impact of the Delhi Declaration, signed by Mr Gorbachev and the former Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, in November 1986) focusses on current issues, both positive and negative and reflects the shared desire to charter the course of peace and amity. [passage omitted]

Apart from the joint statement, the discussions by the two delegations led by Mr Singh and his Soviet counterpart, Mr Ryzhkov, on the one hand confirmed that there was no diminution of Soviet interest in India, and on the other hand, led the two sides to commit to long-term economic cooperation.

#### Trade on Rupee Basis

This was not to be confined to trade which, as Mr Ryzhkov put it, would soon exhaust its potential, but take the form of joint ventures, investments and co-production till the year 2000. A formal agreement on the subject, according to him, could record the decision to maintain trade on rupee basis till 1995.

"We are in agreement with India's request in this regard," he said. Among the areas listed by him for co-production were the latest civilian aircraft, metallurgy, engineering and chemicals. The non-convertibility of rouble, he conceded, could cause problems but these could be overcome, given the required will.

Mr Singh welcomed, in principle, the concept of economic cooperation outlined by the Soviet side. Also, he commended another field to his hosts—modernisation of Indian consumer industry to enable it to meet the requirements of the Soviet Union.

The Commerce Minister, Mr Arun Nehru, who did most of the talking on the economic issues, said a single nodal agency to explain rules and procedures could be of great help to India. On its side, New Delhi had set up such an agency—Bharat Business International. This was his cure for the problems in dealing with individual enterprises which now have the autonomy to negotiate deals with others. Mr Nehru stressed the need for enterprise-to-enterprise agreements for counter trade and also for

renewing the third payment protocol in machinery. It is due to expire in December 1991 but India would like it to be extended till the end of 1995.

In the political field, Mr Ryzhkov was happy that the tradition of high-level contacts had been maintained. The Soviet Union, he said, regarded the 1971 treaty and the Delhi Declaration as the cornerstone of its relationship with India. This was an answer to the speculation that the Soviet Union had given a low priority to its ties with the developing world, notably India. "That is wrong interpretation," he said, adding that the Soviet Union could not disregard India with its 850 million people and with decades of friendship.

#### Warm Welcome

The Prime Minister arrived here shortly before noon after a six-hour journey from New Delhi to a warm and cordial welcome by Mr Ryzhkov, at the airport. After the guard of honour and other formalities, he drove to Kremlin for the official reception by Mr Gorbachev in the splendid chandeliered Georgian Hall. It was a typical Soviet ceremony—the two leaders with their spouses sat on four chairs in a semi-circle, obviously exchanging formal words or pleasantries as cameras clicked and media persons had a distant view. Then followed Mr Singh's formal call on Mr Ryzhkov and the signing of agreements. The day's hectic schedule was rounded off by the State banquet.

Accompanying Mr Singh was a high power delegation including three senior Ministers, Mr I. K. Gujral (External Affairs), Mr Arun Nehru (Commerce) and Mr Madhu Dandavate (Finance) along with the Secretaries of their ministries. It indicated the vast range of subjects likely to be taken up during what otherwise was a goodwill visit, intended to provide the two leaders an opportunity to establish personal rapport. Mr Nehru was here in May, when he had had a 90-minute meeting with Mr Gorbachev—the first major contact between the two Governments after the change of guards in India. [passage omitted]

The significance of the visit was explained by Mr Gujral in an informal talk on board the Air India plane which brought the Prime Minister, the official group and the media contingent here. It was the first major visit by the Indian leadership after the end of the cold war and major internal changes in the Soviet Union, both political and economic. The Indian leaders had undertaken the visit, he said, in a spirit of cooperation and friendliness in the belief that India occupied a pre-eminent position in the Soviet foreign policy.

Replying to questions, he said he did not anticipate any difficulty in the talks. In his opinion, it was a mistake to underestimate the Soviet nation's strength and fallacious to presume that the Soviet Union was down and under. It had considerable inherent strength and the current process was certain to make it stronger. Similarly, he sought to dispel fears that, in the new dispensation in the

Soviet Union, Indian goods would not be able to stand international competition in terms of quality and other aspects.

**PTI [Press Trust of India] reports:**

Speaking at a banquet that Mr Gorbachev hosted in his honour in the Kremlin, Mr Singh told the Soviet leader that friendship with the Soviet Union was "now beyond partisan considerations and no change of Government or policy can make a dent in it."

"Ours has been a uniquely stable and resilient relationship that has weathered many changes in the international situation. Our friendship has stood the test of time since it is not based on the expediency of the moment or any partisan considerations but on fundamental values cherished by both the peoples."

The Soviet Union has stood steadfastly by India at critical times. Friendship with the people of the Soviet Union was therefore a part of the psyche of every Indian, Mr Singh said.

There was hope that the last decade of this century would mark the beginning of a new era that would be safer, more humane, more prosperous and more just, he said.

Mr Gorbachev said, Mr V. P. Singh's visit signified continuity in Soviet-Indian relations and that the "Soviet-Indian factor" in world politics continued to exert influence.

"Soviet-Indian cooperation has a marked positive effect on east-west relations. But it is to play an even bigger role in resolving the universal north-south problem, in overcoming poverty and backwardness, and in shaping a new world economic order," he said.

He said perestroika and the new Soviet foreign policy had set powerful constructive forces in motion across the world and cleared the way towards a peaceful period in human history.

India, he said, supported those initiatives and showed understanding and readiness to build new international relations jointly.

"We appreciate this and are convinced that the political capital of Soviet-Indian interaction will continue to accrue in the interest of our people, in the interest of Asia, progress and peace," the Soviet leader said.

Quoting Rabindranath Tagore who once said that no nation could follow the path of progress unless other nations embarked on it too, Mr Gorbachev said "we are satisfied to note today that this was among the universally shared ideas that formed the basis of our new thinking.

The dinner was attended among others by Mrs Sita Kumari, wife of Mr Singh and Mrs Raisa Gorbachev.

**Joint Statement**

90AS0366B Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
24 Jul 90 p 9

[Article by K. K. Katyal: "Text of Indo-Soviet Statement"; quotations marks as published]

[Text] Moscow, July 23. The draft of the Indo-Soviet statements, prepared by India was accepted by the Soviet Union with a few minor changes. It was brought here by the Foreign Secretary, Mr Muchkand Dubey, on Saturday. It was the subject of his discussion with Soviet officials and both sides agreed on it before the Prime Minister V. P. Singh's arrival here.

The following is the text of the statement: India and the Soviet Union solemnly reaffirm their mutual commitment to building a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world, in accordance with the principles of the Delhi Declaration, which reflects the aspirations of states and peoples in all continents.

The belief that war can no longer be an instrument of politics, that reliance on military strength has no future and that today's imperative is peace through reason, is gaining ground in the international community. Rivalry between states is giving way to dialogue and interaction. The world is entering a post-confrontational period.

One of the most remarkable achievements of the USSR-US dialogue has been the impressive progress made in the field of nuclear disarmament. The process must be expanded with the participation of other nuclear-weapon states and deepened to move decisively towards a phased, time-bound elimination of nuclear weapons. Conferment of any form of sanctity on nuclear weapons is inadmissible. The agreements between the USSR and USA in principle to reduce other weapons of mass destruction and the progress made towards conventional disarmament has set the pace towards mutual understanding and cooperation. It is important that all states whether nuclear or non-nuclear, join in these efforts.

The favourable political changes that are under way in the world are opening new vistas for settling regional conflicts and crisis situations as well as for solving many other problems facing mankind.

'Peace dividend': The need of the hour is the establishment of a new structure of international economic relations based on the principles of justice and equal rights, which should create practical conditions for a dignified and prosperous life for all. The diversion of resources from armament to development should become a major means of achieving this goal. The "peace dividend" should become the lever for financial and economic revitalisation. Its potential for promoting national and international action for development needs to be maximized.

Mankind's future well-being is closely linked to solving demographic and environmental problems which are

getting ever more acute. A fundamentally new framework should be established for universal cooperation of states in protecting the environment and developing the principles of environmental ethics. In doing so the organic link between environment and development and principle of equitable burden sharing should be duly observed.

No single state or group of states, howsoever powerful, can cope with these problems acting alone. The search for a comprehensive structure of peace and security—political, military, economic, environmental and humanitarian is a pressing task. Such a structure can be put in place only through joint efforts by East and West, North and South, taking into account the interest of each and every member of the international community. It should be forward looking, capable of meeting the challenges of the 21st century and beyond.

This system cannot but be multilateralism under the United Nations which is the basis for conducting interstate relations in a truly democratic manner and ensuring peace, security and cooperation with the full participation of all nations.

No separate destinies: In our interdependent world, there are no separate destinies. Building of a common European home will obviously have its implications of the rest of the world. As the politics of balance of power is outmoded, there is no rationale for military blocs in Europe. Nor can they be maintained to deal with imagined threats. Europe can be secure only when all other regions of our planet are also secure.

Positive trends are emerging on the continent of Asia as well. Inspired by their ancient heritage and learning from their political experience, the nations of Asia are seeking to attain qualitatively new levels in their relations with a view to achieving progress and prosperity.

Democratic temper is gaining ground in the world today. On the international plane, it is acknowledged that the key problems of our times can be solved only through multilateral cooperation. At the national level, people everywhere are asserting their human rights and fundamental freedoms. Democracy demands primacy of the rule of law and respect for the rights of individuals and ethnic, religious, and other minorities. It demands urgent attention to meeting the basic human needs. Democracy is, however, being threatened by the growth of racial and religious extremism, violence and terrorism and other forms of hatred. Non-violence, tolerance of social diversities, and a just internal economic and political order are integral to a stable and civilised international order.

More than at any other previous moment in recent history, mankind has the prospect of building a new structure of cooperation and brotherhood among nations and peoples. India and the Soviet Union are determined to contribute constructively and vigorously to the attainment of this goal. Towards this end they will utilise fully the proven potential of their multi-faceted interaction in

international and bilateral affairs, as a powerful factor in promoting peace and stability in Asia and the world.

### Singh-Gorbachev Talks

90AS0366C Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
25 Jul 90 p 7

[Article by K. K. Katyal]

[Excerpt] Moscow, July 24. Happy at the new Indian Government's initiative to maintain and broaden Indo-USSR relationship, the Soviet President, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev today pinpointed its relevance because of the "coincidence of interests" and world peace. This was his recurring theme on various occasions—the one-to-one talk with the Prime Minister, Mr V. P. Singh, at the plenary session of the two delegations and his brief, informal chat with Indian correspondents. The two leaders agreed that it was essential to stay in touch during the current phase of change and to evolve a mechanism for closer cooperation on economic issues for the transitional period—till 1995. Talking to Indian media persons after his meeting with Mr Singh, Mr Gorbachev said that the Prime Minister's visit not only demonstrated continuity in ties but signified a step forward. The relations with India, "the great country of 850 million people," he said, were important to the Soviet Union and could not be compared with its ties with any other country. Could he sum up his discussions with Mr Singh in a few words. It was hard to compress in a phrase the many-dimensional relationship, he said, adding that both countries looked forward to deepening and strengthening it. He was happy with the Prime Minister's visit, he said. The talks were wide-ranging and there was no bar on any question. Was there a shift in the Indo-Soviet ties after the change of government in India? He reminded correspondents of his earlier remark that there was not only a continuity but several new elements had been added to the relationship.

The talks between the Soviet President and Mr V. P. Singh according to an official spokesman, had helped establish personal rapport and communication because of their common world view and shared perception of the present changes. He quoted Mr Gorbachev as having appreciated the new Government's policy of improving relations with the countries of South Asia and China. There was considerable scope for close cooperation among three countries (India, China and the Soviet Union) in the interest of world peace, said Mr Gorbachev.

### Unique Relationship

Today's talks should set at rest the theory that Indo-Soviet relations were the product of cold war and could, therefore, diminish because of the super power detente. As Mr Gorbachev put it, the tradition set by Nehru, objectively speaking, served the interests of the two countries. While bringing the relationship forward they had to remember that it was needed because of their mutual interest and for the world at large. Neither the

Soviet Union nor India had given up its sovereignty, thus demonstrating that the thrust of their relationship was unique in so far as they worked together in politics, international affairs and bilateral matters. He welcomed India's stand on global disarmament and in bringing about a nuclear-free world.

Similar sentiments marked the Prime Minister's responses. India, he said, firmly stood for the integrity and unity of the Soviet Union and had strong interest in the success of perestroika. He was all praise for Mr Gorbachev for executing so grand a design as perestroika which had changed the face of the world and the Soviet Union.

Apart from the bilateral ties, Mr Gorbachev dwelt at length on the task undertaken by him, written off as an illusion in the first instance but now recognised as a hard reality. Talking of the recent 28th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, he said that it gave the impression of the Congress of several parties and showed how difficult it was to understand the truth. He realised for the first time—during the Congress—that he had to be firmer in tackling the problems. And using a military metaphor he said, "the most dangerous thing in the middle of the offensive is to stop and dig in and lie down in your trenches,"—a significant quote indicating his resolve to complete the changes, initiated by him—and his confidence.

As an instance of the difficulties experienced by him, Mr Gorbachev referred to the plans for switch-over to market economy—in India, he said, market is a common thing but in the Soviet Union, even to begin the task of transition to market involved the delicate task of changing the people's psychology and this was a major problem. He had to tell the people that market existed before capitalism and feudalism and posed the question "why can't it exist in socialism?" Transition, according to him, was very difficult, but necessary. He cited the case of China where cynicism about reforms led some to wonder whether the old practice of levelling of incomes was not better than the economy of risk and initiative.

The Prime Minister invited Mr Gorbachev to visit India.... [passage omitted]

### **Economic Relations Discussed**

90AS0366D Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 25 Jul 90 pp 1, 9

[Article by Bharat Bhushan: "Indo-Soviet Rupee Trade Pact To Continue"]

[Text] Moscow, July 24. The most significant gain of the Indo-Soviet summit taking place here has been that the Indian side has succeeded in a stalling operation, for the next five years, in the area of trade and economic relations between the two countries. This was the best that India could have hoped for in a period of rapid change in the Soviet Union and its consequent impact on its international trade relations.

Such has been the impact of these changes on Soviet trade that Moscow has decided to shift its trade with the eastern bloc countries to hard currency terms. Only this morning, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev put his signature to a presidential decree to this effect before proceeding to hold plenary talks with the India delegation led by the Prime Minister, Mr V. P. Singh.

No one believes that in the transitional period that the Soviet Union is going through, Indo-Soviet relations will not undergo change. The question of timing these changes has been settled in the sense that India has managed to extract a promise that for the next five years, the rupee trade agreement will continue, and more importantly, the Soviet Union will not cut back on its supplies of oil and oil products to India. These form proportionately the largest share in the total value of Indian imports from the Soviet Union.

Equally significantly, the delays in delivery schedules of defence supplies—mainly ammunition—have also been sorted out satisfactorily. These related to the long-term credit that Soviet defence enterprises extended to India. However, the Indian official spokesman would not say how exactly the problem had been sorted out.

It is also clear that the Soviet Union has sounded India out about changing the economic and trade relationship between the two countries. This is indicated by the emphasis laid on reworking a long-term arrangement in this area in the plenary talks and later in the one-to-one talks between president Gorbachev and the Indian Prime Minister.

In the one-to-one talks, lasting nearly two hours, Mr Gorbachev emphasised the need to work out a framework for the ten-year agreement lasting till 2000 A.D. on science and technology and investment and trade.

According to the official spokesman of the Indian side, this made it clear that the Soviet Union attached a great deal of importance to this agreement, as it is being seen as laying the basis for a continued and fruitful co-operation in the coming years.

There is visible relief in the Indian official circles here that at a time when Soviet self-interest itself was undergoing a profound change and the Indo-Soviet economic relationship, as it existed in the past, was virtually facing a collapse, steps have been taken to salvage the situation in time.

On the commonality of interest between the two countries in the international political sphere, emphasised by president Gorbachev in the plenary talks today, no one was unduly worried. For the Soviets, reiterating that Kashmir is India's internal affair does not represent any major change, particularly at a time when even the United States is no longer asking for a plebiscite in Kashmir.

In the summit talks this afternoon, therefore, it was important that the two sides agreed to keep in close

touch at the highest level to take into account the changed circumstances through which the Indo-Soviet relationship would have to be nurtured. President Gorbachev and Mr V. P. Singh agreed that mechanisms be evolved for closer co-operation on the economic front for the transitional period. The former also accepted the invitation to visit India.

President Gorbachev suggested that the 20th anniversary of the Indo-Soviet treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation in 1991 be commemorated by organising joint activities in the fields of science and technology and trade and economic relations as well as culture. He made two specific suggestions in this regard. First, that the ministers for science and technology of the two countries should exchange visits and decide on a programme of action.

Secondly, the Indian commerce ministry might want to explore the possibility of organising exhibitions of Indian industrial products in Moscow.

The relationship between the Soviet Union and India needed to be taken forward not only because this was in the mutual interest of the two countries but because, given the sheer size of the two countries, the world at large needed it. He told the Indian prime minister that it was in this context that he welcomed India to keep up a high-level contact with his country.

The Indian prime minister told president Gorbachev that the very composition of his delegation, which included not only the minister for external affairs, but also the ministers for commerce and finance, was meant to convey that his government attached the utmost importance to Indo-Soviet relations.

In an attempt aimed partly perhaps at hinting about the path of change that the Soviet Union was embarked on, and partly perhaps catering to the Indian penchant for grand philosophies, president Gorbachev spent a considerably amount of time in the plenary talks expounding on perestroika.

Triggered off by Mr V. P. Singh's remarks about his executing a grand design embodied in the principle of perestroika, the Soviet president said that initially his ideas were dismissed as illusions but now they had become a hard reality.

When the Indian prime minister told him how people find it difficult to adjust to changes and referred to the initial problems of conversion to the metric system in India, president Gorbachev told him that everyone was a child of his times and inherited stereotypes and old prejudices and that was why it was difficult to change the way others think. However, he added that sometimes it was even more difficult to change one's own preconceptions. He said that in the five years since perestroika was introduced the Soviet Union had learnt from its mistakes and prejudices on the basis of this learning process, newer concepts were being proposed.

However, he said that the Soviet society was finding it difficult to digest some of these new concepts and admitted that the most difficult part of perestroika was to bring about a revolution in the minds of the people.

Since people's mentality was the problem, he said that he and his colleagues have been arguing that the market had existed before capitalism and even before feudalism and that there was no reason why it could not exist under socialism. He said that a campaign was needed to combat the illiteracy about the market and to explain its advantages.

### Currency Exchange Problems

90AS0366E Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 26 Jul 90 p 1

[Article by Bharat Bhushan: "Fresh Talks on Rupee, Rouble"]

[Text] Moscow, July 25. India and the Soviet Union have not been able to reach any definite conclusion regarding a more realistic rupee-rouble ration, but have decided to negotiate a new protocol governing the parity of the two currencies next month.

It has, however, been agreed that in the light of the pressures being generated in the Soviet Union because of the ongoing decentralisation, the two countries would also renegotiate the existing deferred payment protocol which allowed long-term trade credit to be advanced to India.

During their talks held yesterday, the Indian finance minister, Prof Madhu Dandavate, and his Soviet counterpart, the minister for foreign economic relations, Mr Konstantin Katushev, had agreed that till a new rupee-rouble protocol was signed, the existing arrangements would continue.

The last rupee-rouble protocol was signed in 1978, and a base ratio of one rouble being equivalent to ten rupees was agreed on. At that time, the value of the rupee was determined in relation to a basket of 16 currencies. Using 1978 as the base, the current parity between the two currencies comes to an unrealistic ratio of one rouble to Rs 26 [rupees], leading to a massive depreciation of the rupee in Indo-Soviet trade.

According to official sources here, India would like a more realistic value of the rouble to be reflected in the new parity which is to be determined. The Soviet negotiators want that the Indian rupee should now be tied to a basket of five currencies, namely the U.S. dollar, the pound sterling, the yen, the French franc and the German mark.

Indians believe that this will lead to a marginal depreciation in the value of the rupee, but are willing to negotiate on this basis, provided a more realistic value for the rouble is also worked out.

At present, within the Soviet Union, at least three different values of the rouble exist.

The deferred payment protocol would have to be renegotiated because of the decentralisation taking place in the Soviet Union. Individual enterprises functioning autonomously are not able to offer the same deferred payment facilities while trading with India that could be offered in the past when negotiating at the central level. In effect, then, the "cash and carry" component of Indo-Soviet trade, which has always been present, may have to be increased in magnitude in the future.

The recent problems with the delivery schedules of defence supplies related to the hardening of the Soviet stand on deferred payment arrangements are being sought.

However, according to Indian official sources, the talks between Prof Dandavate and Mr Katushev have been fruitful to the extent that the Soviet side is now talking of taking Indian aspirations into account while negotiating a new deferred payment protocol.

Asked why the Soviet Union should be putting Indo-Soviet trade in rupee terms in a special category while serving a notice for hard currency trading on the socialist countries which are members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), an Indian official said this was due to two reasons. First, Indo-Soviet trade was based on international prices and, secondly there was internal cost accounting on both the sides. Both factors, he said, did not apply to the CMEA countries where the currencies did not even marginally reflect their value in the international market and all trade with them traditionally had taken place within the framework of an ideology of anti-imperialist struggle.

Why had the Soviet Union agreed to continue trade with India on rupee-basis for another five years? In response to this, an Indian official said that as of now, there were no immediate barriers to rupee trade and it was advantageous to both the sides. The official said barriers to rupee trade were likely to be encountered only when either the rouble became a convertible currency or decentralisation in the Soviet Union proceeded at such a pace that the number of negotiations at the level of individual enterprises set the limit to rupee trade arrangement.

#### More on Exchange

90AS0366F *Madras THE HINDU in English*  
25 Jul 90 p 9

[Article by K.K. Katyal: "Talks on Rupee-Rouble Ratio"]

[Text] Moscow, July 24. A serious effort is to be made to establish a rational exchange rate between rupee [Rs] and rouble in view of India's persistent complaints that the current arrangement works to its disadvantage. This

became clear after today's talks between the Finance Minister, Mr Madhu Dandavate and his Soviet counterpart here.

The world of currency has many contradictions baffling the lay people and businessmen alike. This is particularly true of rouble. In a recent auction of currencies, both hard and soft, one rouble brought Rs. 1.56 but according to the present exchange rate, one rouble is equal to Rs. 21.

Mr Dandavate is believed to have drawn attention to these anachronisms in his talks today, while pleading for a sense of urgency in the official-level talks on the subject.

The exchange rate of the rupee is determined according to an arrangement worked out in 1978 on the basis of a basket of 15 currencies. The Soviet Union wants the rouble-rupee ratio to be fixed on the basis of a five-currency basket, all hard. India, on the other hand, wants the rouble rate to be determined on the existing basis for other currencies.

Other subjects discussed by Mr Dandavate included the repatriation of profits by Indians in the joint ventures. As agreed by the two sides, the rupee trade is to be continued till 1995.

#### Visit Evaluated

90AS0366G *Madras THE HINDU in English*  
26 Jul 90 p 1

[Article by K. K. Katyal: "Moscow Visit Ends an Uncertain Phase"]

[Text] Tashkent, July 25. The Prime Minister, Mr V. P. Singh arrived here today for a well-deserved sight-seeing round after accomplishing the political mission in Moscow which demonstrated the relevance and vibrance of the Indo-Soviet relations in the changed present-day context.

If the last two days were spent in grappling with contemporary problems, bilateral and regional, and for an overview of the global scene from the capital of one of the two big powers, the visit to Tashkent and Samarkand and Bukhara was a journey into history which linked India with this region from the time of the first Mughal emperor, Babar. Then there was the contrast between the European part of Russia and this Asian republic Uzbekistan.

The visit to the Soviet Union and talks with its leaders were described by the External Affairs Minister Mr I. K. Gujral as highly satisfactory. The political relationship between the two countries and their economic cooperation were, according to him, as close as ever in the past. What made it durable was the mutuality of interest and shared perception be it in regard to the developments in the region, the world at large or bilateral ties, he said.



The changes in the two countries had not affected the ties as neither attitudes, approaches nor agreements and treaties had been modified or abrogated. Obviously, he had in mind the helpful responses received by India on matters of concern to it, its trouble with Pakistan not excluded.

It will take time to precisely assess the gains of the visit but certain points could be made right now. The Moscow mission was notable for several reasons. One, it ended the uncertainties about the course of the bilateral relationship, caused by the change of Government in India and a virtual revolution in the Soviet Union, affecting its well-entrenched system and priorities, and most important, the changed conditions in the world.

Two, it served to fine-tune the political thrust in the bilateral field.

Three, it ensured the continuity, stability and strength of economic ties.

Four, the Prime Minister and the Soviet President, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, were able to establish personal rapport at their first meeting. The warmth exuded by Mr Gorbachev was evident at the plenary session, which preceded their one-to-one meeting yesterday.

Five, doubts, felt in certain quarters, about the Soviet attitude—and support to India—on issues vitally affecting New Delhi were dispelled.

#### Arms Supply

The continuity factor also covered the defence relationship, with the result that the schedules of arms supplies will be adhered to and all agreements and arrangements implemented.

Among the highlights was the repeated emphasis by the Soviet Prime Minister, Mr Ryzhkov, on the first day of the discussions that his Government was opposed to interference in India's internal affairs and that it had conveyed to Pakistan its disapproval of its activities.

#### New Exchange Rate

The focus will now shift to the follow-up action on policy decisions taken at the highest political level, a tricky phase, considering that the thinking at the top takes time to percolate to lower levels. From the Indian standpoint, one of the important decisions will be to fix a new, rational rupee-rouble exchange rate, now that it had been agreed to continue the rupee trade for another five years.

The Finance Minister, Mr Madhu Dandavate's plea to his counterpart brought forth a welcome response that "we will meet your aspirations." Officials of the two countries, who began their discussions on the subject in February, will meet next month and this—hopefully—will be a serious phase of the exercise.

The committee of officials will look into the issues, highlighted by the Commerce Minister, Mr Arun

Nehru—the problems created by the autonomy to Soviet enterprises and the consequent need for a nodal agency. The defence officials will tie up the loose ends of the arrangements for supply of arms and related matters. The outcome of this three-fold official-level follow-up will be watched with considerable interest as an index of the success of the Moscow parleys.

#### UNI [United News of India] reports:

The Soviet Union will continue to provide India credit on soft terms for joint ventures.

A Memorandum of Understanding to this effect was signed by Mr Gujral and first Soviet Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Lev Voronin yesterday.

The Memorandum of Understanding on Indo-Soviet economic, scientific and technical cooperation came at the working meeting of the inter-governmental joint commission of which both are co-chairmen.

The two sides agreed to improve facilities for businessmen, including the grant of multi-entry visas valid up to one year for the representatives of established firms and enterprises of both countries, easier availability of hotel accommodation and visas for internal travel.

A bilateral agreement has been signed on co-operation in the field of information. The two sides pledged to promote exchange of information between their news agencies and cooperation in mass communication. It was agreed to provide maximum facilities to the accredited journalists on a mutual basis in accordance with national legislations.

#### Return Flight Press Conference

90AS0366H Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
27 Jul 90 p 9

[Article by K. K. Katyal: "Pact With Soviet Union During Gorbachev Visit"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, July 26. The policy decisions on cooperation between India and the Soviet Union, taken during the Prime Minister, Mr V. P. Singh's talks with the Soviet President, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev will take a concrete form in a comprehensive agreement. It will be signed during Mr Gorbachev's visit to India, expected early next year.

Stating this during a question-and-answer session with the newsmen who covered his Soviet visit on board the Air India plane on the return journey today, Mr Singh said the proposed agreement would cover the entire gamut of economic issues, besides science and technology. The proposals for the agreement had figured in the Moscow discussions on long-range economic cooperation covering the period between now and the year 2000 and were intended to set the tone for the 21st

century. The agreement, the Soviet side said then, could record the decision to continue the rupee trade till 1995.

But without waiting for the agreement the two countries will set up nodal agencies, to explain the rules and procedures of one side to the other (apart from taking care of coordination and monitoring of cooperative arrangements). India had decided to set up Bharat Business International for this purpose.

The Prime Minister, who was accompanied by a high-power delegation, including three senior Ministers, Mr I. K. Gujral, Mr Arun Nehru and Mr Madhu Dandavates, said the visit, as well as his one-to-one talks with Mr Gorbachev were highly significant and meaningful. It served to set at rest doubts about the relevance and validity of Indo-Soviet ties in the present changed context. While the Soviets reaffirmed their commitment to the 1971 treaty and the Delhi Declaration, they according to Mr Singh, had resolved to look forward and not to be mired in the past. Because of the changes in the world and in the Soviet Union and India, they could not afford to stick to the past, he said. The old approach could not, according to him, address new situations created by such factors as the autonomy for Soviet republics and enterprises. The nodal agency was to work within the overall parameters of the Joint Indo-Soviet Commission and will provide continuous interaction.

'Talks Satisfactory': The Prime Minister in the same way, found the discussions on political subjects equally satisfactory, reflecting their like-mindedness, mutual understanding and confidence.

Asked whether the resolve to continue cooperative arrangements also covered the defence ties, Mr Singh said: "We do not have much problems and when you do not have a problem you do not discuss much."

To a query whether India would be required to pay for defence items in hard currency, the Prime Minister confined himself to generalities on the warmth of Indo-Soviet relationship. "We will be in close touch and will dovetail our cooperation in new realities. It is not in the interest of India to stick to the past," he said.

Did he perceive any pressure from the Soviet side on India to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty [NPT]? Those who talked of pressure, Mr Singh replied, had not fully understood the quality of Indo-Soviet relationship.

Asked to elaborate the personal rapport that, as was officially mentioned, had been established by the two leaders in their talks without aides, Mr Singh said it could not be measured, but it was what both felt.

Elaborating the reference in the joint statement to the need for a nuclear-free world, Mr Singh said Mr Gorbachev had taken the initiative in this regard in 1986, while two years later India had suggested a phased but substantive reduction in nuclear weapons first by big powers, then by other nuclear nations and, at that stage, those at the threshold could be asked not to cross it. Mr

Singh discounted a suggestion that there was any departure from the policy of opposition to the NPT because of its asymmetry.

"Will not the belligerence of a neighbour create problems for India, especially if there was a halt in the Soviet arms supplies, leading to a vacuum?" According to the Prime Minister, there was no vacuum and, in any case India was capable of defending itself.

On Indo-Pak ties: There were several questions on how Pakistan figured in the Moscow talks and on the Soviet response to India's concerns. Mr Singh was emphatic that the Soviet Union stood for bilateral talks between India and Pakistan and, even otherwise, its stand was clear—it regarded Jammu and Kashmir an integral part of India while Mr Gorbachev had reiterated his opposition to interference in India's internal affairs and the use of violence to settle problems and commended a bilateral approach.

When questioners persisted with Pakistan's role and intention, Mr Singh wanted it to be understood that he had not gone to Moscow specifically for Pakistan and that their talks covered India's relations with its neighbours as also with the U.S. The Soviet Union, he said supported the initiatives for improving the Sino-Indian ties.

Stability of Govt.: "Did the stability of his Government figure in his talks? Mr Singh said: "In our relationship, we do not interfere in each other's internal matters and these matters were not raised." He commended Mr Gorbachev's courageous stand in setting in motion powerful forces for reform in his country. The Soviet leader proposed to go ahead in keeping with the dictum that "you do not lie down in trenches in the midst of battle." "The Indo-Soviet ties were not confined to the two capitals, but covered the people and as such, the ups and downs did not affect the Soviet leadership's solidarity and friendship with India."

The question-answer session was almost wholly devoted to Indo-Soviet relations, and only two other subjects were taken up—Sri Lanka and the domestic scene. India, Mr Singh said, had initiated the move for a refugee camp in the island, to be run with the help of international organisations and Colombo's response was positive.

When his comments were sought on the Opposition leader, Mr Rajiv Gandhi's reference to a mid-term poll, he said: "No one's wishes could be ruled out."

#### Remarks in New Delhi

90AS03661 Madras THE HINDU in English  
27 Jul 90 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, July 26. The Prime Minister, Mr V. P. Singh today said that a high level nodal agency would be announced shortly to further strengthen the relationship between India and the Soviet Union. It would include inputs from large and small scale industries and political, official and small-scale representation.

Talking to newsmen after his return from the four day official visit to the Soviet Union, he described his trip as a "happy one". He said it was the first contact between the new leadership in India and the leadership in the Soviet Union and a "positive rapport" had developed. One of the biggest achievements of his visit was that "there was a political will to go ahead to further concretise our relationship."

Successful: He said the relationship between the two countries was based on a solid foundation. It was a very successful visit politically and he had one-to-one talks with the Soviet Leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev. There had been deep understanding on various international issues. "We consolidated our friendship and decided to look ahead".

He said that the Soviet leaders showed a positive response to the Indian initiative and agreed to extend the rupee rouble trade till 1995. "We also want to respond to the changing realities there".

Mr Gorbachev may visit India by the year end or early next year. An economic agreement may be signed then. Answering a question, he said that the Indo-Soviet treaty would be renewed and "we will celebrate its renewal".

The Prime Minister said the two countries decided to have more economic contacts. On the issue of deferred payments, there was a positive response from the Soviets.

Asked about the possibility of a mid-term poll in view of the announcements by the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and the Congress(I), he sarcastically remarked that "who am I to question their wisdom? But it is not going to take place tomorrow. It is not going to take place now".

Mr Singh said that the door had not been closed for talks with Pakistan. The current dialogue with Pakistan at the Foreign Secretary level would be meaningful only if Pakistan showed willingness to make a beginning towards friendly behaviour with India.

#### **Moscow University Ceremony**

90AS0366J Madras THE HINDU in English  
25 Jul 90 p 1

[Article: "PM Decries Moves To Deny Technology"]

[Text] Moscow, July 25. The Prime Minister, Mr V. P. Singh deprecated attempts being made in some quarters to put knowledge "in chains" and cautioned that such efforts would lead to "new and avoidable tensions in the world."

He also criticised attempts being made to get the developing countries to accept a trade regime that would under the guise of equality and reciprocity, perpetuate their technological dependence on the rich nations.

Speaking at a ceremony at the Moscow University where Mr Singh was conferred an honorary degree, he regretted

the moves to deny commercial technologies to countries not explicitly allied to the owners on the pretext that these could have military uses.

"These efforts will not succeed in the long run. Knowledge cannot be imprisoned. But the attempt to put it in chains and make it serve narrow political ends will create new and avoidable tensions in the world," he said.

Another serious threat from the point of view of a developing country was that once again the opportunities that were opening up to end poverty, reduce disparities and create a world without envy and malice, would be allowed to slip.

Mr Singh said although larger cuts in defence expenditure were being made or proposed by the industrialised nations, too few of their leaders were proposing increases in aid to the developing countries.

Mr Singh said the euphoria of peace should not tempt the world into relaxing its vigilance. "The future holds not only unparalleled opportunity, but also unforeseen threats. We can take advantage of the first and ward off the second only if we work more closely and vigilantly together than ever before."

Tagore's statue: A 13-foot bronze statue of Rabindranath Tagore was today unveiled in the picturesque Druzhba Park here by the Prime Ministers of India and the Soviet Union at a colourful ceremony. They paid warm tributes to the philosopher poet, who becomes the fourth Indian to be honoured with a statue in the Soviet capital after Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi.

Speaking at the function, the head of the Soviet Writers' Association, Mr Karpov said Tagore had visited Moscow 60 years ago for just two weeks "but now due to our friendship he has come here to stay with Moscovites forever."—PIT & UNI

#### **Report on V.P. Singh Interview With 'NEW TIMES'**

90AS0372A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 19 Jul 90 p 11

[Words in italics as published]

[Text] The Prime Minister, Mr V.P. Singh, has applauded the President, Mr Mikhail Gorbachov's efforts to create a "more dynamic and progressive society" and said that there is a sufficient vigour in Indo-Soviet relations to keep pace with and profit from change."

"We welcome *perestroika*. We fully support and applaud your leaders and people's efforts to create a more dynamic and progressive Soviet society," Mr Singh said in an interview to the Soviet weekly NEW TIMES.

Mr Singh, who is leaving for an official visit to the Soviet Union on Monday, said the success of *perestroika* would lead to even better opportunities for Indo-Soviet trade

and economic co-operation as well as a much more enhanced level of people to people contacts.

"Politically too, Indo-Soviet relations are in harmony with the new atmosphere in the world," he said.

In his interview, the Prime Minister referred to the Delhi declaration envisaging a nuclear weapon-free and non-violent world, the improvements in the relations between the USSR and the United States, Indo-Soviet co-operation and the situation in the Indian Ocean.

Mr Singh said: "There is sufficient vigour in the Indo-Soviet relations to keep pace with and profit from change. We will co-operate with the Soviet Union as in the past."

The Prime Minister said he saw great possibilities for the further development of close co-operation and interaction in the international arena.

He said India was concerned by some of the side effects of the love and peace. "The world is now awash in arms that suddenly the super-powers do not want. A significant part is flooding the black market and being bought by fundamentalist and guerilla groups of all kinds. The first targets of these groups are innocent civilians."

He feared that a new type of warfare may be around the corner in which civilians, far from being exempted, will be the deliberate first targets of the insurgents.

"We have no legal code and no international law to deal with such warfare. Yet more and more countries are being affected," the Prime Minister said.

Mr Singh regretted that there has been little progress towards the establishment of a more just economic order and there was a "disturbing insensitivity" to issues affecting the vital needs of developing countries.

He said although defence cuts have already begun, very few leaders in the industrial world were talking about unveiling more funds to the developing nations. "I hope this is only a temporary oversight," the Prime Minister said.

The Prime Minister said India welcomed the changes on the global scene, including the improvement of the Soviet Union's relations with the U.S. other Western countries and China.

Replying to a question on promotion of effective co-operation in the Asia-Pacific region, Mr Singh said only a groundwork of economic interdependence can underpin security among Asian states.

He said problems of security in Asia were complex and great patience and persistence was needed to tackle the problem of how to bring durable security to Asia.

The Prime Minister said India was trying to build co-operation in South Asia through the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Development] and in a Pan-Asian framework.

### **Indo-Soviet Protocol on Bakreswar Examined**

90AS0375A Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English  
26 Jul 90 p 7

[Text] Two notable highlights of the just concluded Indo-Soviet protocol on the construction of the 840 MW Bakreswar power plant are the Soviets agreeing to a tight schedule of manufacturing, supplying, erecting and commissioning 60 percent of the equipment needed for this project by mid-1995 and dovetailing the planning and designing of their equipment in such a way which will be compatible with 40 percent of the equipment that will come from Indian manufacturers.

The selection of equipment packages from Soviet and Indian sources has been done in such a way that the problem of mismatches and interfaces would be minimal. This will be the first major project in West Bengal whose completion would depend largely on technical assistance provided by the Soviets and Indians on a equal basis.

While the protocol provides that the Soviets will supply turbo-generators, coal-handling plant, ash handling plant, main pipings and valves, switch yards, effluent treatment plant and control and instrumentation panels, the rest of the equipment including boilers and auxiliaries will be from Indian sources. The turbine hall will also be built with Indian materials. The value of the Soviet funded equipment will be about Rs 400 [rupees] crores. The total cost of the project at the 1988 price level is Rs 983 crores.

Bakreswar is different from five Soviet-aided power projects. Unlike Kahalgaon, Vindhyachal II and Mangalore power projects, it is not an entirely "green-field" project. The Soviets were inducted into the project when it was already on.

When Bakreswar was identified by the National Front Government in February last for getting Soviet credit under the 1987 Rajiv-Ryzhkov agreement much of the civil work had already been started at the project site. Besides, the general layout and most of the designs and specifications for various equipment had already been completed. Placement of orders for equipment and preparation of tenders had also been made. The West Bengal Government by then had already spent Rs 65 crores on Bakreswar in its resolve to build the project with its own resources because of the "unhelpful attitude" of the previous Congress(I) Government at the Centre.

Because of the late entry of the Soviets into the project and in order to keep up the tempo of work already initiated the Soviet participation had necessarily to take into account the design and engineering work already done by the West Bengal Power Development Corporation [WBPDC], the main implementing agency of the project. For instance to avoid any possible mismatch between the Soviet supplied turbo-generators and Indian boilers, the Soviets agreed to provide the LMW turbines which will be compatible with the parametres of functioning of Indian boilers. The Soviets are now trying to adjust to the project instead of the other way round.

The other significant aspect of the protocol is the shifting of the commissioning schedule of the first three units of the plant by one year from March 1994 to March 1995 for securing maximum amount of Soviet credit for the project. Initially, the Soviets considering the tight commissioning deadline of March 1994, had agreed to supply only the turbines and other associated equipment. But they soon made it known that if the commissioning schedule was deferred by another year they would be able to supply more plant and machinery under the equipment loan. To this the WBPDC readily agreed. Most of the Soviet equipment to be supplied to Bakreswar are suited to Indian requirements and climate.

An important point envisaged in the protocol is the signing of the relevant contracts relating to design, supply, transportation erection and commissioning of the Soviet equipment along with a detailed project report indicating the system design identification of the terminal points of various equipment and machine location plants. These contracts are to be signed by next January when the bill of quantities and detailed price offers of equipment and services will be provided by the Soviets. The final amount of Soviet assistance will be known then. Points like post commissioning performance guarantee and availability of spare parts will be part of the contracts.

A Soviet team of design specialists will be visiting Calcutta next September for three weeks for detailed discussion with WBPDC before the detailed project report is finalized. Soviet experts will start arriving at Bakreswar from March 1992 when their equipment will reach the site for erection and commissioning. It is expected that 150 Soviet engineers will be staying at Bakreswar during the peak construction period.

However, the bone of contention of the project is pegging the rouble high artificially almost 10 times against the Indian rupee. Under the present rouble-rupee arrangement one rouble is equivalent to Rs 20. However, under the international rouble-U.S. dollar exchange rate, one rouble is worth Rs 2. The net result of this artificial over-pricing of the rouble is that the rupee cost of the project will go up steeply as also India's debt burden. The Soviets will be charging 2-1/2 percent interest on about 370 million rouble equipment loan that it will be extending for the project.

Also to be seen at Bakreswar would be whether India and Soviet Union can execute a tight scheduled project in a vital sector like power where the key factor for timely completion would be synchronization of time and space.

#### **Analyst Reviews Progress of Indo-Soviet Relations**

90AS0376A Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
8 Aug 90 p 8

[Article by C. Raja Mohan]

[Text] [Begin box] Mr Mikhail Gorbachev has succeeded in deideologising the Indo-Soviet relationship and injecting it with a shot of common sense, thus paving the

way for greater cooperation on the basis of shared interests between the two nations.[end box]

The successful visit of Mr V.P. Singh to the Soviet Union, one hopes, will put an end to the gloom and doom that have come to mark the Indian elite's perception of our relations with Moscow. Traditionally it has been the privilege of the Indian right to sound the alarm bells whenever there has been an Indo-Soviet summit. This less than dignified task has now been taken over by the traditional friends of the Soviet Union on the left and left-of-centre of the Indian political spectrum. The initial enthusiasm for Mr Mikhail Gorbachev soon gave place to disenchantment as the full import of his new thinking began to be felt on the world view of the left and left-leaning intelligentsia in our country. The mourners of socialism soon popularised the image of Mr Gorbachev as a bourgeois liberal, exterminator of the international socialist camp, and as a leader too eager to sell out the Third World (and India) in his desperation to propitiate the West.

The Indian foreign policy establishment although less polemical, has been equally jittery about the impact of the Soviet new thinking on Indo-Soviet relations and India's standing in the world. The apprehensions in New Delhi initially focussed on China. The fear was that the Sino-Soviet rapprochement would downgrade the Indo-Soviet relationship. During Mr Gorbachev's last two visits to New Delhi in 1986 and 1988, there was the ungainly sight of India almost pleading with him to reiterate his commitment to India. The improvement in Sino-Indian relations since 1988 has allayed these fears somewhat. But with the Soviet-American detente turning into an entente, the disorientation in New Delhi has been both visible and acute. The fears have been two-fold: one, as Moscow turns to the West, it would devolve its security, economic and political relations with India; the other, the collapse of the Soviet challenge to the West means the loss of countervailing power for India in its dealings with the West. Clearly there has been much nostalgia for the happy days of "old thinking" under Leonid Brezhnev.

#### **Fears dispelled**

During the Indian Prime Minister's visit to Moscow, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev sought to dispel the Indian fears. He referred to the 850 million people of India implying that no one can marginalise a nation of this size and potential (excepting perhaps the Indians themselves). He alluded to "national interests" of both sides which will take Indo-Soviet friendship forward. In essence the Soviet President has successfully deideologised the Indo-Soviet relationship. It is only logical that Mr Gorbachev, who has removed the ideological edge in Moscow's post-War confrontation with the West, should do the same in its friendly relations with India.

Until now, Moscow has justified its friendship with India on ideological considerations: the progressive nature of the Indian ruling class led by the national bourgeoisie, its search for a non-capitalist path of development, and New Delhi's 'anti-imperialist' foreign policy. Mr Gorbachev has now shed these shibboleths and has injected the much-needed common sense into the Indo-Soviet relationship which could not be deepened on the basis of shared interests. It is the Indian elite that has found it difficult to shed its ideological baggage in its relationship with Moscow.

The original non-ideological approach of Jawaharlal Nehru to the Soviet Union got lost as the Indo-Soviet relationship expanded dramatically since the late Sixties. The Indian left articulated support to the relationship in the ideological framework of defending socialism and fighting imperialism. Although sections of the Indian left were uncomfortable with the ideological support Brezhnev extended the congress Party and Indira Gandhi against domestic opposition, and angry with the Soviet support to the Emergency, the basic approach to the Soviet Union remained unchanged. For the foreign policy establishment, notwithstanding the rhetoric on nonalignment, the relationship with Moscow was increasingly understood in terms of the cold war and as a counter to the threatening U.S.-Pak-China axis.

This Indian approach to the Soviet Union, based on ideological or balance of power considerations, had problems in coping with Mr Gorbachev's world view emphasising universal cooperation across the ideological divide and seeking a balance of interests rather than balance of power. It has taken New Delhi a while to recognise that Mr Gorbachev has not been attempting to rework the cold war zero sum game, but define a new post cold war positive sum game among the great powers. The Indian difficulties in adapting to this new framework gave rise to all the confusion and misgivings on the future of the Indo-Soviet relationship. The recent summit meeting between Mr Gorbachev and Mr V.P. Singh has succeeded in overcoming the conceptual confusion and laying the markers for a deideologised relationship and setting the course for greater cooperation on the basis of shared interests. In a sense, we have returned to the Nehruvian moorings of the Indo-Soviet relationship.

The doubts about the continuation of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace and Friendship have been dispelled with the two leaders making warm references to it and calling for appropriate commemoration next year. But the treaty is no longer, even implicitly, directed against other great powers such as the U.S. and China. In a significant formulation, the two sides welcomed the improvement in the Indo-U.S. and the Soviet-American relations and the positive evolution of Sino-Soviet and Sino-Indian relations.

#### **On same ground**

Kashmir figured prominently at the Indo-Soviet summit. More significant than the Soviet support for the unity

and integrity of India and its opposition to the interference in the internal affairs of India, has been the Soviet assurance on not allowing the internationalisation of the issue in spite of American pressures on the Soviet Union to do so. At a more basic level, the Indo-Soviet joint statement signed by Mr Gorbachev and Mr V.P. Singh, emphasised the threats to democracy arising out of "racial and religious extremism, violence and terrorism and other forms of hatred." In stressing that "democracy demands primacy of the rule of law and respect for the rights of individuals and ethnic, religious and other minorities," India and the Soviet Union are now on the same ground as the U.S. and the West. In identifying religious fundamentalism as a threat to composite states (such as India, the Soviet Union and China) the Indo-Soviet joint statement lays the basis for wider cooperation in Asia against these emerging threats to civil society in the region.

Much hard work remains to be done in recasting the Indo-Soviet economic cooperation in the context of the changing economic reality in the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, Mr Gorbachev's piecemeal and half-hearted economic reforms until now have generated only chaos. The old mechanism has been destroyed and a new one is yet to be put in place. This chaos has naturally generated a cloud of uncertainty over the extensive economic relations between the two countries. At this point, little more than a political decision to preserve the existing relationship could have been taken. The two sides also decided to work out a long-term economic cooperation treaty when Mr Gorbachev visits India at the end of this year or early next year. Hopefully in the coming months, he would be able to set the course for a more lasting and more radical economic reform which could clear the way for the restructuring of Indo-Soviet economic relationship. The same applies to the defence relationship too. The Soviet military industry is bound to become leaner and more efficient and would search for hard currency exports in the coming years. The two sides must look for more innovative ways of cooperating in the defence field.

#### **New Elite, New Leaders**

There is much anguish in our country at the various reports in the Soviet media critical of the Indian stand on the NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty], the Soviet sale of the nuclear submarine to India or on the stability of the National Front Government. Although there is widespread Indian applause for Soviet glasnost, we do not seem ready to accept its consequences. There is nothing sacrosanct for the Soviet media these days; and all that appears in the Soviet media does not reflect government policy. The Soviet public support for the relationship can no longer be mobilised on the basis of political command and administrative fiat from the Kremlin. As elsewhere in the world, we have to cultivate the media in the Soviet Union. At a more basic level we need to recognise that the churning in the Soviet Union is generating a new elite and throwing up new leaders at all levels of the Soviet society. To maintain the relationship at the current level,

New Delhi needs to redouble its efforts to relate to the new elite in the Soviet Union.

In the past we have tended to push under the carpet our differences. Now we must not be afraid to air divergent views and honestly debate them. A lot of inane commentary has appeared in our press alleging that the Soviets are going to impose the discriminatory Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) on us. It reveals a growing lack of self-confidence in India rather than a Soviet or a joint Soviet-American conspiracy on the NPT. In the emerging multipolar world, the ability of the superpowers to enforce unacceptable norms is steadily declining. The differences between New Delhi and Moscow on the NPT are insignificant compared to the broad convergence between the two sides on issues of disarmament and international security.

#### Commitment to disarmament

The two sides have reiterated, in the joint statement, their commitment to a nuclear weapon-free world. They have called for the expansion of the nuclear disarmament process from the current bilateral framework of the superpowers and include other nuclear weapon powers and to embark on a programme of "phased, time bound elimination of nuclear weapons." This conforms to the Indian action plan on disarmament outlined in 1988 and the Soviet programme suggested in 1986 by Mr Gorbachev. This is also in tune with the universalist conception of nuclear disarmament articulated by India and the current Soviet disarmament interests in Europe, where Mr Gorbachev is continuing to battle the West on the denuclearisation of Europe.

The common perceptions on nuclear disarmament extend to a number of other security issues such as economic security through the creation of a "new structure of international economic relations," ecological security through the development of universal "environmental ethics," the building of a comprehensive global "structure of peace and security" through the "joint efforts of East and West and North and South," and by the creation of a new dynamic global multilateralism under the auspices of the United Nations.

#### New order for Asia

While the above is a large agenda for co-operation on global issues, it is believed that the two sides have agreed to discuss in detail the possibilities for the creation of a new cooperative order in Asia. In India there has been a false perception that the Soviet foreign policy under Mr Gorbachev has become "Eurocentric" and that his vision of a common European home implies a neglect of Asia. Nothing could be farther from truth. Back in mid-1985, during his first meeting with the Indian leadership, Mr Gorbachev raised the issue of seeking a new order in Asia. The surprised Indians have remained ambivalent even after Mr Gorbachev's Vladivostok (1986) and Krasnoyarsk (1988) initiatives on Asia.

New Delhi appears to have recognised now that Mr Gorbachev's Asian diplomacy has already unleashed tremendous dynamism in Asian relations and in the coming months, his focus on Asia would acquire a new intensity. It is only logical that India, which first articulated the vision of Asian co-operation at the New Delhi conference on Asian relations in March 1947, should demonstrate greater initiative in the search for a new order in Asia.

The deideologisation of the Indo-Soviet relationship thus opens up the opportunity for more constructive cooperation between Moscow and New Delhi on a range of bilateral, regional and global issues.

#### Communist Paper on Indo-Soviet Relations

90AS0373A New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English  
30 Jul 90 p 4

[Article by V.D. Chopra; italics as published]

[Text] The visit of Prime Minister V.P. Singh and three of his cabinet colleagues to Moscow last week once again confirms that the time-tested relations between these two countries continue to grow, notwithstanding the internal changes in the two countries. This was the first visit by an Indian Prime Minister to the Soviet Union in the epoch-making changes which are taking place within the Soviet Union and in its international relations.

That the visit took place at a time when a debate is going on about the political and economic relations of the Soviet Union with the Third World countries, in itself is very significant. India is not only the most developed among the developing countries but has a unique position in the Third World and the non-aligned movement.

The Moscow statement and the speeches made by President Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders graphically bring out that (a) India's role in the non-aligned movement is of international significance (b) Indo-Soviet relations will continue to positively affect the situation in Asia. These relations in fact have played an important role in the processes which put an end to the cold war. They represent a model of friendly relations between two countries of different social systems and different ideologies; and (c) perestroika and radical reforms in the Soviet Union have opened new vistas of political and economic cooperation between the two countries, though new forms and structures will have to be evolved to stimulate this process of cooperation.

Whatever may be the assessment of some social scientists and certain political parties about the outcome of the visit, it clearly reflects as Mikhail Gorbachev put it that it was "an act of continuity and trust, as personal level as well, which is capable of advancing Soviet-Indian relations and giving additional dynamism to the Soviet-Indian factor in world affairs." In this sense this visit has an international significance and is likely to have far reaching impact on Asia, South-West Asia in particular. And it is in this context that "commonality of



positions" of India and the Soviet Union on Afghanistan and "complete understanding and support" of the Soviet Union on the "exacerbation of the situation in the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir" need to be seen.

That the Soviet leaders again and again reiterated that the outside interference in the internal affairs of India should end in reality conceals more than what it reveals. Notwithstanding the spirit of democratisation and pluralism in the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev at least on two occasions referred to the "*Indian State Jammu and Kashmir*". The emphasis on "India State" clearly shows that the Soviet Union has once again taken a clear position about the unity and integrity of India, and that Jammu and Kashmir is a part of India and not a disputed area.

Equally important is the joint Moscow statement by Prime Minister V.P. Singh and President Gorbachev. While both the countries have reaffirmed their mutual commitment to building a nuclear-weapon free and non-violent world, in "accordance with the principles of Delhi declaration" important new elements have been introduced to update the Delhi declaration. The new elements are:

(i) War can no longer be an instrument of politics. Reliance on military strength has no future. The concept of peace through reason is gaining ground and rivalry between states is giving way to dialogue and interaction. This is how the world is entering a "post-confrontational period." This concept of beginning of "post-confrontational period" jointly spelt out by India and the Soviet Union shows that leaders of both the countries now subscribe to the theory of "balance of interests" as against the old concept the "balance of military power."

(ii) The concept of nuclear weapon-free and non-violent world as spelt out in Delhi Declaration has been further elaborated and updated. While recognising the "most remarkable" achievement of the USSR-U.S. dialogue in the field of nuclear disarmament, the statement has underlined that this process must be expanded with the participation of other nuclear weapon states, and deepened to move decisively towards a phased time-bound elimination of nuclear weapons. In the motion towards reduction of other weapons of mass destruction and the progress made towards conventional disarmament, all states whether nuclear or non-nuclear should join. Thus in the Moscow statement both India and the Soviet Union have pledged themselves to work together for disarmament. This indeed is a step forward and should not be underestimated.

(iii) Both India and the Soviet Union have underlined the urgency of establishment of a new structure of "international economic relations based on the principles of justice and equal rights." Both have suggested that resources from armaments should be diverted for

development. The specific proposal which both countries have emphasised is that the "peace dividend" should become the lever for financial and economic revitalisation.

(iv) Another significant aspect of this statement is that it has spelt out the concept of a comprehensive structure for peace and security—political, economic, military, environmental and humanitarian. Such a structure can only be evolved through joint efforts by East and West, North and South, taking into account the interests of each country and every member of international community. This system can only be multilateral under the auspices of the United Nations. Thus democratisation of the international relations and democratisation of the internal political systems will have to be the main direction of development in the coming period.

If one looks at all these aspects in totality, one cannot but come to the conclusion that Indo-Soviet relations are being given a new content, which if implemented and concretised would become a pace setter in the evolution of a new international norm of political and economic relations among all the states on our planet. In this sense Indo-Soviet relations are being placed on a higher pedestal than before. From bilateralism, the perspective of making them a driving force for multilateralism under the United Nations has been enshrined in this statement. Through one should not be euphoric about this aspect, it would be naive to ignore the new elements in the Indo-Soviet relations which have begun to emerge and that too in a new historical condition.

It is in this context that the question of renewal of Indo-Soviet Treaty, which expires next year and can be renegotiated for another one or two decades should be examined. On the eve of Prime Minister V.P. Singh's visit to the Soviet Union, conservative parties in India had begun to argue that the Soviet Union "cannot give so much attention to India, though it might be the biggest ally." There were others, who predicted that since "a coldness is developing in the friendship of the two most friendly countries," the Soviet Union will not "bother for India so much now."

The outcome of the visit has clearly brought out that all these predictions were based on subjective estimate and some forecasts were made by traditional Soviet Union haters. But life never moves according to ones subjective estimates.

Both Mr Gorbachev and Mr V.P. Singh made it clear that the Treaty would be extended. There were no doubts in Delhi and Moscow that this treaty will be extended next year. This was never under dispute. Nevertheless, what conservative forces in India and traditional anti-Soviet forces have failed to grasp is that it is a Treaty of friendship and cooperation and in no way should be equated with a defence alliance.

That the Soviet Union will continue to give India military hardware was made clear during this visit of the Indian delegation. That the stand of the Soviet Union on



Jammu and Kashmir has undergone no change too was made abundantly clear. But all these are peripheral matters, if seen in the larger context of the Indo-Soviet relations in the changing international scenario. The crux of the problem is how to expand politico-economic relations in the new situation and how to deepen them.

As far as the role of Indo-Soviet relations as a key factor in the international affairs is concerned, its main contours were clearly spelt out in this meeting. But the specific problem of expanding economic relations is being undertaken now. There are obvious reasons for this.

Restructuring the Soviet economic system is still going on and through trial and error new forms and structures are being evolved. However, economic experts of both countries have been assigned the task of working out the parameters of a long term economic treaty between the two countries. The two countries will set up a high level nodal agency within the framework of Indo-Soviet Joint Commission. It will serve as a mechanism to take bilateral cooperation to greater heights in political, economic, scientific and technological fields.

Indo-Soviet economic relations can only expand if they are based on mutual interests. In this sense Indian private and public sectors will have to become more efficient and competitive. The Soviet market is opening up and the Soviet people are becoming more quality conscious. It is high time that Indian industrialists come out of their old grooves and begin to adjust themselves to the new realities. If they embark on this path, they will find in the Soviet Union an inexhaustible market. This is the new challenge which our economic planners and experts are facing. All said and done Indo-Soviet economic relations are entering a new phase, a phase which may lead to the integration of the economies of the two countries.

### **India Rejects Islamic Conference Mediation Offer**

90AS0376B Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
8 Aug 90 p 7

[Article by K.K. Katyal]

[Text] The offer of the Organisation of Islamic Conference [OIC] to send a good office's mission to India and Pakistan to ease tension is not acceptable to New Delhi. This idea was mooted during informal talks—long before the OIC meeting—but was rejected by India. The position remains unchanged even after the adoption of a formal resolution by the OIC at its meeting in Cairo. The OIC offer is, thus, still-born.

The Indian stand is clear and ran somewhat on these lines, "We have some experience of dealing with Pakistan. We feel that the problems between the two countries could be best solved bilaterally—that third party intervention will be counter-productive."

Officially reacting to the OIC resolution, the Indian Government on Monday reiterated its known position that Pakistan's help to terrorists, operating in India, was the root cause of the present tension and that it could be defused through bilateral talks rather than by internationalising the issue.

"In fact," said the foreign office spokesman, "Pakistan's very raising of Kashmir at the OIC is a violation of the Shimla Agreement which stipulates the peaceful and bilateral resolution of all differences between India and Pakistan. We have explained our position to all friendly countries including the OIC member-States and they have been left in no doubt that Kashmir is not a religious issue and therefore not an Islamic issue and that internationalisation in any manner will not help the bilateral process which is under way."

The OIC decision is clearly not to the liking of India. Though the majority of the members did not take part in the discussion, the fact of the OIC adopting a pro-Pakistan resolution remained. There were, however, some significant nuances. Iraq was extremely helpful to India: it even opposed the inclusion of Kashmir on the agenda. Later, because of its pre-occupations with Kuwait, its interest in the OIC debate waned. Egypt's attitude was regarded as constructive by India and so was that of Indonesia, Malaysia, Uganda, Algeria and Palestine. India had no reason to be unhappy with the stand of Morocco and Cameroon, but three other North African countries, Niger, Mali and Gambia, perhaps beholden to Saudi Arabia for its bounty, went along with Pakistan.

The shape of the resolution was determined by two groups, set up during the OIC proceedings—a group, set up during the OIC proceedings—a group of seven composed of Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Morocco, Egypt, Palestine and Uganda—and the other of six, Pakistan, Turkey, Iran, Uganda, Indonesia and Malaysia. Turkey, which was in both the groups, was able to influence the drafting process far more decisively in favour of Pakistan than was expected here. In the absence of Kuwait, it chaired the OIC meeting.

For policy makers in the External Affairs Ministry, the OIC's Cairo meeting may be a watershed. The high-profile canvassing by special envoys and senior officials did not produce results. Perhaps, this grouping was given more importance than it deserved. Wiser by experience, India may not magnify its importance now, and may even ignore it.

### **Reportage, Comment on Pakistan Government Change**

#### **'Low Key' Gujral Statement**

90AS0371A Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
9 Aug 90 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 8—Taking a low-key stance on the dismissal of the Benazir Bhutto Government, India

today expressed the hope that there would be no discontinuity or setback to the democratic process in Pakistan and that the people's will would prevail.

"Developments in Pakistan are the internal affair of that country. However, experience shows that shocks of this nature anywhere put democracy under severe strain," said a cautious Mr. I. K. Gujral, External Affairs Minister, in a *suo motu* statement in Parliament. Obviously, he did not want to expose the Government of India to the charge of interfering in the domestic matter of the neighbouring country and yet sounded a note of warning against the demise of democracy, given that country's proneness to military dictatorship.

However, he did say that the dismissal "came as a surprise to us, particularly when there was no indication that she had lost majority in the National Assembly." India, according to him, had noted the announcement that fresh elections would be held in October.

On bilateral ties, the statement spoke of "nothing but goodwill" on the part of India for the people of Pakistan. Islamabad's role in instigating terrorist violence in India was not allowed to come in the way of a reiterated faith in a friendly, constructive and cooperative relationship.

"We have nothing but goodwill for the people of Pakistan. We also support a stable Pakistan. We have always worked towards building a relationship of cooperation and good-neighbourliness with this country. Our efforts have continued despite severe provocations from Pakistan, including support for terrorism and subversion directed against India. We believe that a friendly, constructive and cooperative relationship will not only benefit the peoples of our two countries, but will also contribute to peace and stability in the region," it said.

The Foreign Secretaries of the two Governments, Mr. Muchkund Dubey and Mr. Tanvir Ahmed Khan, are due to meet here for two days from Friday for the second round of the newly-started dialogue. The decision to this effect was taken at their first meeting in Islamabad last month and Pakistan chose to stick to the schedule, despite the change in Islamabad, as it wanted to convey the message of business as usual.

The Islamabad meeting adjourned amidst indications that, during the Delhi round, the two sides would sign two agreements. Under the first agreement, based on an Indian draft as modified by Pakistan, the two countries will abide by international conventions on the sanctity of air space. The second proposal envisages prior intimation of military manoeuvres. The two countries already have an undertaking for a meeting of the Directors-General of Military Operations at the time of manoeuvres. As of now, plans have been firmed up for signing the first agreement. However, India is examining the legal implications of signing it with the interim Government in Pakistan.

### Opportunity in Kashmir

90AS0371B Madras THE HINDU in English  
8 Aug 90 p 1

[Article by K. K. Katyal: "Chance for Offensive Against Terrorists"]

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 7—The constitutional coup in Pakistan offers valuable opportunity to India to step up its offensive against terrorists in Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab. That is because the Pakistanis, including those instigating trouble in India, are dazed by the drastic action of their President, Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, and may take time to regain their balance.

The new opportunity is important in view of the recent dire warnings from across the border of a major upheaval in the Kashmir Valley around Independence Day. Of course, it is also an opportune moment to convey messages to the Pakistanis that the system in India, despite its inadequacies, is capable of absorbing shocks, to the domestic minorities that the secular polity is a valuable asset to them and to the world that Indian democracy is stable.

Going by current official thinking, the people of Pakistan will be assured of India's anxiety for friendship with them, irrespective of who is at the helm of affairs there.

India does not expect any complications on the border but will keep up vigilance and not lower its guard. The powers-that-be in Pakistan may stick to the October 24 schedule for the next election but will certainly take care that Ms. Benazir Bhutto does not return to power and that the Muslim League and some others of the Islamic Jamhoori Ittihad (IJI) are the winners.

This may be done by discrediting Ms. Bhutto and her associates through charges of corruption, etc., if not by imposing a statutory bar on her seeking a fresh mandate. The elections are certain to be an occasion for competitive India-baiting—and the consequent inflaming of popular passions. India will be prepared for the worst scenario.

Meticulous planning: The dismissal of the Bhutto Government appears to have been planned meticulously over weeks: the preparation for this drastic action is certainly not a matter of two or three days.

There is evidence of great care taken in drafting the dissolution order by Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, and in choosing the members of the interim Government. The case that the "Government of the Federation cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and an appeal to the electorate is necessary," is based on a massive indictment of the outgoing Government.

Each one of the alleged acts of omission and commission is elaborated at length, with precise explanation of how it violates the relevant constitutional provisions. What

stands out is the extreme anxiety to demonstrate that the dismissal is well within the parameters of the Constitution.

In choosing the caretaker Cabinet, the provincial balance has been carefully maintained—if the new Prime Minister, Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, and Mr. Ilahi Bux Somroo are from Sind, Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Khar and Mr. Rafi Raza are from Punjab and Mr. Sartaz Aziz from the North-West Frontier Province and Sahebzada Yakub Khan is the representative of the Mohajirs.

What happened during the period immediately before the dismissal was only the last act of the drama. Mr. Khan called Ms. Bhutto and insisted that she accept his advice on various matters notably, on calling the Council of Common Interests, which is responsible to the two Houses of Parliament to sort out federation-province differences (she was hesitant because her party was in a hopeless minority in the combined strength of the two Houses). Ms. Bhutto, after consultations with her advisers, decided to stick to her stand and Mr. Khan, finding her adamant, struck.

#### Delhi Analysts' Opinions

90AS0371C Madras THE HINDU in English  
8 Aug 90 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 7—The U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan, Mr. Robert B. Oakley, was summoned to the presidential office in Islamabad at 1 p.m. yesterday, to be informed about the decision to dismiss the Bhutto Government. Information available in Delhi today indicates that among those who met the U.S. Ambassador there was the Pakistani Army Chief, Gen. Mirza Aslam Beg, who told him that it was no longer possible for the Army to function with Ms. Benazir Bhutto as Prime Minister.

Significantly, the reports indicate that the gesture in informing the U.S. envoy four hours before the event was not that of a "client" seeking permission, but an ally informing another of a political decision.

According to Indian officials, this does not imply that other U.S. Embassy officials were not party or at least privy to the decision prior to Mr. Oakley being officially informed. According to most officials the opinion is "there is no way that the U.S. could have known in advance that Benazir was to be dismissed."

U.S. predicament: The analysis in the Ministries concerned in New Delhi have burnt much midnight oil but have yet to come up with a firm hypothesis about the reasons for the Pakistan President's action. New Delhi is veering to the view that the decision was master-minded by the Army and represents the clear limits of "democracy" acceptable to them. One section of the opinion feels that the Pakistan Army seeing the U.S. predicament in the Gulf crisis took the opportunity to get rid of Ms. Bhutto. Their reasoning is that the failure of the U.S. to

get even one surrogate to tackle Iraq has made it painfully conscious of the need for "reliable" and effective partners/surrogates like Pakistan. In this situation the U.S. decided to bite the bullet and sell Benazir to the proverbial wolves—their goal being to preserve interests not individuals.

Notwithstanding this, most official analysts see in the action a carefully planned operation. For example, by appointing the biggest Sindi landlord and combined Opposition leader, Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, as the interim Prime Minister, the President, Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan has sought to assuage the feelings of the Sindhis who are bound to be angered by the dismissal of Ms. Bhutto. On the other hand, Mr. Jatoi is also known to be pro-American and this will take care of the other party that may feel angered. Mr. Jatoi was known to be the only high-ranking leader of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] to be pro-American.

The hawk: According to the consensual opinion among officials here, Mr. Jatoi will have very little say in Indo-Pakistan relations which will become the preserve of the hard-line President, Mr. Khan, a Pathan civil servant who according to legend betrayed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to Zia in 1977, has been a hawk on the issue of India. Officials still recall his unilateral scrapping of the Indo-Pakistan Trade Agreement following his appointment as Commerce Minister after the downfall of Mr. Bhutto. During last summer's visit of the then Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, to Pakistan, Mr. Ishaq Khan throwing protocol and traditional Pakistani courtesy to the winds lectured Mr. Rajiv Gandhi on how Pakistan would never accept Indian hegemony. Later even while Mr. Gandhi was still in Pakistan Mr. Khan released his views to the press.

The recent fulminations of the Pakistani President regarding the need to complete the 'unfinished agenda of the Partition' are too recent to repeat. However the more serious aspect of this is that India will now deal with a Pakistani regime where such an unalloyed anti-Indian personality is at the helm of affairs.

#### REUTER reports from Islamabad

The U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan has denied that he received three hours advance warning that Ms. Bhutto was to be sacked. Mr. Robert Oakley said it was categorically untrue that he was told of Mr. Khan's plans.

#### Effect on Indo-Pakistan Talks

90AS0371D Madras THE HINDU in English  
7 Aug 90 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 6—The sudden dissolution of the Pakistan National Assembly and the fall of the Benazir Bhutto Government has created uncertainty over the coming round of talks between Indian and Pakistani Foreign Secretaries slated later this week in New Delhi.

Even before this development, expectations that they would defuse the tense border situation and promote the

security of both the South Asian countries dimmed following the perception of the returning Indian delegation that Ms. Benazir Bhutto had lost control of the situation and had become almost irrelevant.

During their talks in Pakistan, the Indian delegation found the Pakistani scene in a stage of ferment. The hard-line approach of the President, Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, varied substantially from the somewhat more accommodative posture of Ms. Bhutto and strangely enough, the Army. The impression gathered was that Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan along with Lt. Gen. Hamid Gul, now commanding the strike corps in Multan and former commander of the Inter-Services Intelligence, formed the dominant group. The Army under Gen. Mirza Aslam Beg was not keen on returning to politics and in fact the President was not particularly keen that the Army be involved in politics since it would affect his own position.

"Unfinished agenda": When the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Muchkund Dubey, called on Mr. Ishaq Khan, he got a hard-line address from him on the "unfinished agenda of the partition." The Foreign Secretary provided the Pakistani President with an appropriate response. However, what was significant was that the next day the Pakistani press played up Mr. Ishaq Khan's remarks, while Mr. Dubey's meeting with the Prime Minister, Ms. Benazir Bhutto, was played down. Of course Mr. Dubey's hard-nosed response was totally ignored.

During the talks, the basic Indian stand was that Pakistan should undertake some concrete action, i.e., extradite known terrorists to India and India will respond with concrete proposals for resolving other outstanding issues. Having provided Pakistan with an updated dossier of the anti-India activities being permitted by Pakistan, the Indian delegation asked its counterparts to do "something" before they came to New Delhi. Now this process seems to have come unhinged.

During the Islamabad round, the Pakistani side called on India to give substantial self-determination to the Kashmiris and to pullback its additional forces in Kashmir while the Indian side insisted that without a clearcut Pakistani commitment to ending support to terrorism in India such a step was not acceptable. The unfinished agenda including the confidence and security building measures were to be taken up later this week.

Troop movements: In the discussion, India spelt out the extent of transparency that could be reached with regard to military movements. The Pakistani side according to the Indian side tends to be more guarded about this. While India wants flag meetings to be held between lower level military officials across the border, Pakistan wants it confined to the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief of the Army commands. The Pakistani side was also not willing to commit itself to any but the most formalistic proposal of joint patrolling and pursuit.

The Indian side also pointed out that the Confidence and Security Building Measures were part of a package and

could not be taken up in isolation. In this context, points five and six in the list—ceasing from interference in the internal affairs of others and helping saboteurs—would have to be taken up together with issues like the redeployment of forces. The significant part of the discussion was that the issues raised in the Confidence and Security Building Measures were discussed in detail and neither side shied away from discussion. The ability of both sides to talk to each other frankly is what will be called into question by the recent developments.

#### **Paper Reports Gujral's 22 July Amritsar Press Conference**

90AS0368A Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English  
23 Jul 90 pp 1, 7

[Text] Amritsar, July 22—The External Affairs Minister, Mr. I. K. Gujral, has reiterated the National Front Government's commitment of holding Assembly elections in strife-torn Punjab before the expiry of President's rule in November this year, reports UNI.

Addressing a late night Press conference here yesterday, he said the Government was committed to bringing back to the State a duly elected Government by the people and for the people "God willing, there will be no further extension of President's rule," the Minister said while replying to a question on whether elections were possible in such a situation where terrorist violence was continuing unchecked.

Mr Gujral said that in order to ensure a return of the democratic process in the State, the Government was not only according priority to the law and order front, but was also trying to reactivate the political process and, at the same time an all-out effort was being made to ensure the cooperation of the people at the grass roots level in development activities. He added that during the reign of the previous Government, the public had been totally alienated and there was no administration functioning in the State.

He said the first achievement of the National Front Government had been the "demolition of a wall built by the Congress(I) between the Sikhs and the rest of the country and creating a place of honour and dignity for the community."

Describing the Punjab problem as "three dimensional," Mr Gujral said, the first dimension was the active and aggressive intervention by Pakistan which amounted to interference in the internal and domestic affairs of another country. The second was the continuous training of terrorists across the border.

The third and the most important dimension to this problem, the Minister said, was the "inability to return to a democratic process," due to the continuous killing of innocents by the Pakistan trained extremists.

Referring to the training of terrorists and subversives of Punjab and Kashmir by Pakistan, Mr Gujral said that

barring a few countries, a majority had acknowledged this negative role of "our neighbour" aimed at destabilizing India. The world opinion alienated Pakistan, and India's stand had been understood and appreciated at the international level, he added.

Replying to a question, Mr Gujral said that if Pakistan continued its current policy on Punjab and Kashmir, then more diplomatic pressure would be applied at the international level. The just-concluded foreign secretary-level meeting at Islamabad between the two countries was part of a diplomatic approach to solve differences rather than enter into an armed conflict, he added.

Reacting to the demand made by Pakistan at the meeting, for withdrawal of Indian troops along the India-Pakistan border, he said "We have sent a package of demands both military and non-military and these can be discussed." The Minister, however, refused to comment when asked if India would accede to this demand of Pakistan.

Replying to another question regarding allegations made by Amnesty International on violation of human rights in Punjab and Pakistan, Mr Gujral said, India had a proud record on human rights and any individual or organization was free to probe violations if any. He disclosed that Amnesty had written to him, asking his permission to visit India and he in return, had sent a positive reply.

The Central Government's new action plan for the political social and cultural integration of the people of Punjab was announced by the Union Minister of State for Home, Mr Subodh Kant Sahay here, says PTI.

The "Aap Ki Sarkar Aap Ke Dwar" (your Government at your doorstep) programme will begin from August, Mr Sahay said while talking to reporters here last evening at the end of his two-day tour of Gurdaspur and Amritsar districts.

### **Ramahatra Seeks Indian Business Expertise**

90AF0597Z Port Louis L'EXPRESS in English  
8 Aug 90 p 5

[Text] India with its vast experience in industrial development could be of great assistance to many less developed countries in the Indian Ocean and in Africa.

This was stated by the Prime Minister of Madagascar Ramahatra when the leader of the 70-member Indian entrepreneurs, exporters and businessmen delegation Ram S. Debra called on him in the Madagascar capital of Antananarivo Sunday on the eve of Indo-Madagascar conference.

The Prime Minister wanted Indian businessmen to assist entrepreneurs of his country in globalising their manufacturing activities. They would also like to know the relevant marketing and distribution system, the Prime minister said.

Mr Ramahatra told Mr Debra that he would welcome Indian businessmen to join hands with their Malagasy partners to produce goods with added value and earn more foreign exchange for the country.

The Indian delegation is in Antananarivo to attend the Indo-Madagascar conference.

Mr Ramahatra told Mr Debra that India-Madagascar business cooperation could promote exports from his country.

Mr Debra suggested to the Prime Minister that one third of the products manufactured in these joint ventures could be used locally, a similar quantity could be purchased back by India and the remaining exported foreign exchange.

Mr Debra also extended an invitation to Malagasy businessmen to visit India so that they could see for themselves the manufacturing and export capabilities of India.

The Madagascar Prime minister welcomed both these suggestions and said that his government would provide appropriate support to the proposal of Mr Debra. He informed Mr Debra that Madagascar has liberalised policies for investment and encouraged foreigners participation. They would, however, like to know the liberalisation policies followed in India.

Discussions were also held about the possibility of cooperation in emerald and tourmaline mining, housing and construction activities. Another point that emerged at the meeting was that since Madagascar has plenty of raw hides and skins India could use its technology to set up export oriented units in Madagascar to manufacture a variety of leather products for exports to hard currency markets.

### **CPI-ML Decision on United Action With Left**

90AS0362A Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN  
in English 29 Jul 90 p 7

[Article: "CPI-ML [Communist Party of India-Marxist-Leninist] for United Action With Left"]

[Text] New Delhi, July 28—The CPI(ML) announced today that after almost two decades of a near-total underground existence, the conference decided to effect a gradual opening up of the party, while retaining and developing a selective underground structure to suit the strategic and immediate requirements of the movement.

The decision was prompted both by the absolute importance of launching an ideological counter-offensive against the growing anti-communist propaganda by imperialists and their domestic allies and the urgent need for politicization of the widening mass influence of the party. While intensifying the CPI(ML)'s role as the leading constituent of the Indian People's Front, the conference called upon the party units at various levels to explore all possibilities of developing united action

with the traditional Left forces against the anti-people policies of the National Front Government and the rise of communal forces.

At a Press conference here this evening, Mr Sankar Mitra, central spokesperson of the party, said in reply to questions: "We don't believe in killings. But in the course of class contradictions and struggle those things happen. Killing is not our business. We have shaped our line and rectified it since 1979. In Bihar, we take the killings as part of class struggle, despite our utmost effort to minimize them.

Answering a question Mr Mitra said: "People's War Group (PWG) is strong in Andhra, but the BJP's [Bharatiya Janata Party] statement that half of the State is ruled by Naxalites is an overstatement. We have no formal relations with the PWG but we have contacts at local levels."

Another party spokesman said: "We don't have an efficient undergrounding. Our aim is to build it anew to protect ourselves in case of an onslaught in the future. Keeping that in mind, increasing activity is the need of the hour".

#### **Janata Dal Party Elections Postponed From October**

90AS0369A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 20 Jul 90 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, July 19—The organisational elections of the Janata Dal, scheduled to be held in October, have been postponed.

According to the party general secretary, Mr Jaipal Reddy, although no new dates have been fixed yet, the postponement is likely to be only for a few months and the elections are likely to be held early next year.

Briefing newsmen after the meeting of the office-bearers of the party, Mr Reddy said that the election schedule had to be changed because the party's membership drive had not been completed. The drive was to have been completed by July 15, and the party president was to be elected on October 5 at the proposed plenary session of the party at Bhubaneswar.

Asked whether the interim party president, Mr S. R. Bommai, had distributed the work among the general secretaries and the secretaries, he said: "Not yet." But he added that Mr Bommai was likely to complete the distribution in a week or so, after consulting all the office-bearers.

Mr Reddy said that it had been decided at today's meeting that all the state committees and district committees of the party should be finalised by the end of August.

#### **Maharashtra Elections Likely on 15 October**

90AS0367A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 2 Aug 90 p 3

[Article: "ZP Polls Likely on October 15"]

[Text] Bombay, August 1. Elections to all the 29 zilla parishads [ZPs] and most municipal bodies in the state are likely to be held on October 15, by the government in an apparent bid to minimise the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]-Shiv Sena impact, indications available here suggest.

The urban development minister and state Congress chief, Mr Sushilkumar Shinde, told the Congress legislators at Vidhan Bhavan today to start preparations for the elections by burying internal differences.

Mr Shinde addressed the meeting, which was not attended by the chief minister, Mr Sharad Pawar, though his name was announced as the main speaker. However, the rural development minister, Mr Shivajirao Deshmukh, was present.

The meeting was attended by nearly 80 Congress MLAs [Members of Legislative Assembly] and MLCs [members of Legislative Council] besides some former legislators.

The government had earlier committed on the floor of legislature that both elections would be completed before November 15. Now that it has decided to hold simultaneous elections to all the ZPs and most municipal bodies, including the Bombay municipal corporation, on October 15, it is held that the ruling party has decided to keep the BJP-Sena alliance busy at its strongholds and using the advantage elsewhere.

Mr Shinde said the main challenge of communal forces needed to be taken on unitedly.

Mr Chimanrao Kadam it is learnt, mounted a scathing attack on communal elements and stressed the need to fight them. Mr Kishor Patil, former MLA, spoke about the injustice the workers had to suffer at the time of distributing party nominations for the assembly elections.

He is reported to have said he would have won the Kannad seat had he been nominated. The seat was won by Mr Raibhan Jadhav of the Maharashtra Indira Congress.

Mr Shinde asked the legislators not to waste time on small issues and concentrate on the preparations. He also urged them to draft brief summaries on their areas and submit these to him.

Meanwhile, party sources said a tribal Congress MLA, Mr Baburao Madavi, was considering moving court to challenge the constituencies for the ZP elections.

Following a high court order, the government decided to hold the elections on the basis of the 1971 census. It is

learnt that many Congress workers want the constituencies to be identified on the basis of the 1981 census.

On the other hand, some Sena workers had threatened to move court to challenge the reservations of constituencies for women in local bodies according to an act which provides 30 percent reservations for women.

The state government has adopted a formula whereby constituencies at series numbers one, five and nine in every block of ten will be reserved for women.

Mr Shinde said the government was committed to hold elections according to the schedule it had announced.

### **Air Force To Induct Nonindigenous Fighter Planes**

90AS0365A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 28 Jul 90 p 7

[Article: "IAF [Indian Air Force] Plan for New Combat Aircraft"]

[Text] Bangalore, July 27. The Indian Air Force intends to induct a new strike aircraft because of the delay in the indigenous light combat aircraft (LCA) project.

This was indicated by the chief of the air staff, air chief marshal S. K. Mehra, today while speaking to reporters here.

He admitted the air force was concerned about the delay in "any weapons system".

The LCA, designed to fulfil the IAF's need for a light-weight multi-role fighter, was originally supposed to fly this year. Now, the first prototype is expected to take off only by 1995 and the aircraft is slated to enter squadron service only by the next century.

Air Marshal Mehra said the air force had recommended an alternative to the LCA, but refused to divulge the aircraft under consideration.

Asked about the comptroller and auditor-general's [CAG] report that the IAF's Mirage 2000 was flying without weaponry for over a year, the marshal said; "I would not like to go into how the CAG came to this conclusion." However, he said that the air force was aware that the Mirage 2000 did not have "certain weapons" when it entered the IAF service. "The weapons were still being developed when the Mirage came in...we knew about this." He stressed that the IAF's Mirage 2000 fleet is now "fully operational."

Earlier, delivering the inaugural address of the 32nd annual scientific meeting the Indian society of aerospace medicine here, air chief marshal Mehra revealed the air force was preparing its personnel for conditions of chemical warfare.

"Chemical weapons today came under the banned category, but many countries have a stock pile of these," he said. "They have been used in West Asia but very little

has been said about it. A chemical warfare cell has been created in air headquarters in New Delhi and a school to train IAF men to operate in conditions of chemical warfare has been opened, the air chief marshal said."

### **Papers Report, Comment on Missile Technology Development**

#### **Defense Expert's Article**

90AS0326A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 13 Jul 90 p 10

[Article by K. Subrahmanyam: "India Enters Missile Age"]

[Text] The country was justifiably proud when the Agni missile was launched last May and is looking forward to the second Agni test later this year which will incorporate further technological advancements. Agni is the product of the integrated missile programme of the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) and is one of the family of five missiles—Agni, Prithvi, Akash, Trishul and Nag. All of these, except Akash, have been tested successfully and were developed within a short period of six years.

In 1984, when I discussed this programme with the director, Dr A.P.J. Kalam, I expressed my scepticism about the time schedule he gave me, but I am happy to admit that my pessimism was proved wrong. In any other country, such a remarkably successful programme would have generated a significant amount of literature, especially on the management of the R and D. It was the development of the Polaris missile which produced the management concept of the critical path method. One hopes some of our management institutions will commission projects to derive lessons from the development of the integrated missile programme.

#### **Hostile Environment**

It may not be widely known that India is not following the missile development programmes of other countries and producing copies of missiles produced elsewhere. The missiles under development are based on contemporary, state-of-art technologies. The programme had to be undertaken in a hostile international environment in which seven industrial nations—the U.S., Canada, Japan, the U.K., France, West Germany and Italy—had formed the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) to deny the technology to other nations.

The DRDO, anticipating the introduction of the MTCR, started in 1983 to develop critical technologies which it would not be able to get from other countries. These technologies are still being shaped in advanced industrial countries for their missile programmes. They include the focal plane array, the millimetre wave radar system, the W-band impact diode, 'C' band phase shifters, and carbon-carbon preforms. The growth of these technologies was undertaken in collaboration with various R and D laboratories, academic institutions and industries.

Besides DRDO, some of the organisations involved were laboratories, the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, Central Electronics Limited, CEERI, Pilani, the Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi, the IIT, Kharagpur, and Osmania University.

The carbon-carbon preform necessary for the nose cone of the Agni missile is a technology perfected only by three other countries. The same is the case with the millimetre wave seeker and guidance system, now in an advanced stage. The focal plane array sensor, required for the anti-tank missile, which involves arranging 10,000 sensor elements of mercury cadmium telluride crystals in a one-centimetre square is under development in DRDO and can detect temperature differences of even one-tenth of a degree Centigrade.

Another high-technology project is the phased array radar configured for tracking multiple targets and command-guiding multiple missiles simultaneously. This goes into the Trishul system. This radar has multiple arrays, each with several thousand ferrite phase shifters at different frequencies. This phase shifter was developed by the Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi, under the leadership of Prof Bharathi Bhat. These are frontier technologies prohibited from being transferred under the MTCR. The Western countries should have realised by this time that India can go it alone in the missile field.

Another noteworthy aspect of the missile programme is the decision taken by the then defence minister, Mr R. Venkataraman, who is now the President. Once he had satisfied himself that the Indian scientific community had the capability of developing missiles, he directed them not to go about it sequentially but simultaneously, as part of an integrated missile programme. This crucial management decision was the key to such major achievements in such a short space of time. There are lessons to be drawn from this for other R and D projects in both the defence and civil fields.

#### Self-Reliance

Our scientists have proved abroad that, in both their innovative talents and organising capability, they are second to none. There is no reason why they should not be given similar organisational freedom within the country to go ahead in various areas, whether high-technology or rural development. It is political and bureaucratic interference which have been holding India back.

Secondly, in this case, unlike in many others, there were no import lobbies. The MTCR became a blessing in disguise. Since such missiles were not going to be available through imports, there was no alternative to self-reliance. Three cheers to all control regimes (missile, nuclear and space) which have compelled us to eschew soft options (sometimes with attractive kickbacks thrown in).

Our R and D has entered the high-technology missile age. In future, our missile capability will be a powerful

deterrent to our potential adversaries. The vital question today is whether our defence and civil services, our politicians and our defence academia have fully grasped the significance of India's entry into the missile age. This requires new thinking about the politico-military strategy the country has to adopt.

Our technological capability will give us options to reduce the size of our armed forces and switch to a non-provocative defence posture. Accurate missiles provide us with an effective counterforce capability and to that extent give defence an advantage over offence. Once this factor is grasped, logic will compel the country to restructure its forces on a more cost-effective basis. One hopes the new Arun Singh Committee will take this aspect into account and recommend a reorganisation suited to modern weaponry, discarding obsolescent Second World War tactics and organisational concepts.

#### Technological Clout

Similar achievements are possible in other areas such as bio-technology, superconductivity, and the new generation of safe nuclear reactors. Such achievements will give the country much-needed political and technological clout in our commercial and other negotiations. The widespread impression, including among our diplomats and civil servants, that with the Cold War being wound up, India can be marginalised, along with 120 other developing countries, will need to be revised. No country with achievements of the kind described can be marginalised. This fact is perhaps better appreciated outside India than within.

A word for all those who have been frightening themselves and the public in India over the supposedly unbearable cost of India opting for sophisticated weapon technologies. Our experience with the missile programme shows that the indigenous mass production of missiles will be far cheaper than going in for large-scale imports of less sophisticated conventional weapons.

Secondly, these high-technology weapons have a high deterrent value.

Lastly, the advanced industrial nations will have to give due consideration to our sensitivities lest we are compelled to trade in such sophisticated technologies to their detriment. India today is in a position to be self-confident in the international arena. What we have to fear, to quote Roosevelt, is fear itself.

#### STRATEGIC ANALYSIS Article Reported

90AS0326B *New Delhi PATRIOT in English*  
28 Jun 90 p 7

[Text] To create an effective strategic shield, India should develop an 'air launched cruise missile system', suggests a new article on Indian missile programme, reports PTI [Press Trust of India].



A strategic security shield built around the Agni IRBM will be an effective deterrence against potential adversaries, says analyst Sango Panwar in an article in the latest issue of the STRATEGIC ANALYSIS, brought out by the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA).

The cruise missile system, he says, will offer tremendous flexibility in case the land-based strategic deterrent built around the Agni is threatened by a crippling first strike from India's potential adversaries and possess ballistic missiles of various ranges.

The need to have a strategic shield seems logical because till now India had to contend only with the threat posed by Chinese ballistic missiles which cover the whole of the country. To this has been added the ballistic missile capability with Pakistan.

The importance of the cruise missile has been recognised by the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) since many of the newer systems in the US and the Soviet Union are cruise missiles. The infrastructure is also largely available within the country.

The pilotless target aircraft (PTA) made by the Aeronautical Development Establishment (ADE) can be a good starting point to begin the development of a cruise missile system. Drawing on the DRDO's resources, Panwar says, the guidance software can also be evolved.

India can deploy its cruise missiles around a squadron of the Jaguar strike aircraft. The ideal position to carry the missiles would be the centreline pylon in the underfuselage and the range can be increased by making them accept fuel in the air for employment against targets in the Indian Ocean and China.

Amongst the four missiles now being developed by the Defence Research and Development Laboratory, the Prithvi and Trishul are expected to reach the production stage earliest.

The short-range surface to air missile, the Trishul, is likely to be the most ubiquitous of all the DRDO missiles as it has the entire spectrum of likely applications open for it. It can also be employed as an anti-sea skimmed missile, and is likely to be employed by all the three defence forces in various incarnations.

The Akash is the most ambitious SAM [surface-to-air missile] project being undertaken by the DRDO. Panwar says this 25-km range, two-stage missile uses Ram-rocket propulsion in which no oxidising material is carried as it is powered by an air breathing engine.

This 'Patriot' type transportable missile will have a BEL developed phased-array radar at the command level to provide jam-free guidance whilst there is a separate arrangement for terminal guidance.

Now that India has made headway in phased-array radar technology, to insulate the IRBM basing sites further at those venues, large radars of this type can be installed.

The article emphasises the need to carry out a study of a long range Akash with either a small nuclear tip or a high explosive which can intercept the enemy ballistic missiles strikes on Indian force and value targets. "In this regard, it should be clear that no disarmament effort is possible from asymmetrical positions, as obtains between India and China."

The doors for negotiated disarmament, however, must remain open. In any case, Indo-Pak mutual strategic/tactical arms limitation has a China twist to it. This cannot be overlooked at a time when Pakistan is openly admitted that there is no threat from the West to its security, leaving only India against whom it has to take an "offensive-defensive" posture.

Pakistan has been engaged in developing a range of missiles, of which the most significant type test flown till date is the Hatf III. However, Panwar says, the Pakistani nuclear and missile development programme not only share Dr Abdul Qadir Khan "as their impresario, but also acquire technology identically: though clandestine ways."

Whereas the Hatf I appears to be a copy of the Frog-7 rocket, the Hatf II's Chinese lineage can be traced to the M-9/11 missiles derived from Scud B.

The follow-on, the Hatf III, which may have an estimated range of 600 km, in the current context, seems set to, "follow the Iraqi way in which longer range 'Al Hussain' and 'Al Abbas' were ingeniously improvised by increasing fuel carrying capacity."

Though there has been a perceptible change in the security milieu in Europe with disarmament talks resulting in reduction in tension with cuts in arms taking place, the Indian security scenario has worsened considerably. The military build up in India's immediate security perimeter is placing upon it burdens requiring much higher force levels which are difficult to achieve due to resource constraints.

On a superfluous assessment, India's armed forces may appear large, but Panwar says they are barely sufficient to provide it a defensive shield.

### Nag Missile Tested

90AS0326C Madras THE HINDU in English  
25 Jun 90 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, June 24—Defence scientists have successfully carried out the ballistic flights of the country's first third generation anti-tank missile, christened "Nag," designed to defeat all known futuristic armour.

According to the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) sources, the flight test to prove the propulsion system of "Nag" have been highly successful. The sources also said that designs of the subsystem for the medium range surface to air missile system "Akash" had been completed and that the test flights of the missile were expected to commence soon.

The anti-tank "Nag" missile, which has a "fire and forget" and "top attack" capability, can be mounted on a vehicle or fired from helicopters. The system, which is likely to be inducted into the Army in the early Nineties, will complement the French acquired Milan anti-tank missiles.

#### Upgrading of Agni

90AS0326D Madras *THE HINDU in English*  
23 Jun 90 p 7

[Text] Bombay, June 22—The Defence Research Organisation is working out a plan to upgrade Agni type missiles capable of reaching a range of around 10,000 km. The plan is in an advanced stage.

The new type of missile is an improvement on the Agni missile which has got a range of more than 1,000 to 1,500 km.

#### AITUC Secretary Denounces Industrial Policy

90AS0370A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 9 Aug 90 p 14

[Text] Madras, August 8—The All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) has called for a tripartite code for technology import to be formulated after consultations among representatives of the Government, the management and trade unions. According to the AITUC secretary, Mr. Homi Daji, the most objectionable aspect of the so-called industrial policy announced by the National Front Government was that it allowed 40 percent foreign investment in industrial units.

Speaking to newsmen here today, Mr Daji said the working class was faced with a challenge posed by the introduction of new technology leading to multinationals' penetration into the economy. He stressed the need for a tripartite code to govern the import of technology. "We don't require foreign technology for making soft drinks and potato chips," said the AITUC secretary, adding that the new industrial policy declaration of the government and the approach paper to the eighth plan went against the objective of full employment.

Mr Daji is here in connection with the AITUC session, to be held in Madras after 45 years. The six-day session, starting tomorrow, would be attended by fraternal delegates from other trade unions such as the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC), the Centre of India Trade Unions (CITU), the Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS), the United Trade Union Congress (UTUC) and the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS).

Over 30 trade union delegates from 15 countries, including the Soviet Union, China, France, Iraq and Sri Lanka are expected to attend the 34th session of AITUC, a leading trade union organisation with a 35-lakh membership.

The conference would discuss the AITUC proposals for a new industrial law. The Government has set up a

committee to formulate the draft legislation. The AITUC session would also come up with special reports on issues pertaining to technology, social security, sickness in industrial units, privatisation and the problems of unorganised labour.

Mr Homi Daji deplored the policy of the Government to allow contractors to take up work for state-run undertakings such as railways and defence production units. The AITUC leader pointed out that the railways had given to contractors maintenance of the signalling system and rail tracks. Mr Homi Daji said the decision to hand over the running of the heavy vehicles factory in Jabalpur to Tatas had created a sense of uncertainty among the 8,000-strong labour force in the defence production unit making heavy vehicles for the armed forces.

#### Foreigners To Take Part in Oil Exploration

90AS0363A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 1 Aug 90 p 15

[Article: "Foreign Participation in Oil Exploration"]

[Text] New Delhi, July 31. (PTI)—The government is determined to invite foreign participation for oil exploration in select blocks despite opposition from domestic oil companies.

The fourth round of bids for inviting foreign companies is to begin soon and tenders are to be issued in a couple of months, the petroleum and chemicals minister, Mr M. S. Gurupadaswamy told PTI [Press Trust of India].

This sets at rest all speculation about whether the government would go ahead with the scheme as domestic oil companies have been questioning the need for foreign participation because of the latter's poor track-record.

For the fourth round of bids, the previous Congress (I) government had set up a committee headed by Mr Luvraj Umar, former petroleum secretary, which identified 62 blocks and 33 offshore ones for inviting bids.

Bids are expected to be issued sometime in the last week of September or first week of October, when the state-owned Oil and Natural Gas Commission plays host to an international seminar on oil exploration to commemorate 100 years of oil exploration in India, for which many foreign oil companies have been invited to present papers, informed sources have said.

The country has so far witnessed three rounds of bidding for exploration. The first round being in 1979 when 32 blocks were offered, 15 onshore and 17 offshore. In the second round in 1982, 50 blocks were offered, eight onshore and 42 offshore [as published]. However no contract was signed with any company.

In the third round in 1986, 27 blocks were offered, all offshore, out of which contracts were signed with five companies for a total of nine blocks covering an area of 119,960-sq. km.

#### Meeting Demand

Mr Gurupadaswamy said he was for more intensified oil exploration and expansion of refinery capacities in the country so that the nation could meet the growing demand of petroleum products.

Asked about the opposition by some oil companies to foreign participation on grounds that they had not achieved success as compared to domestic companies, Mr Gurupadaswamy said foreign companies had been given more difficult blocks to operate in.

"After all, it is a production-sharing agreement with foreign oil companies", he said, adding, "we don't lose anything. If they don't strike oil they stand to lose".

Mr Gurupadaswamy said the government wanted to augment up to 17 to 18 million tonnes—creating a new capacity of 12 million tonnes and expanding the existing refining capacity by another six million tonnes.

The Karnal refinery, for which the then Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, had laid the foundation-stone as early as 1986, has been hanging fire and the collaborating Soviet Union has asked India to expedite the project. There was some delay in the project because of a hitch in getting a firm commitment from a private sector company for joint-sector participation. Karnal is a six million tonne per annum capacity refinery which is expected to entirely meet the needs of northwest India for petroleum products.

The Karnataka government has been applying pressure on the government for early execution of the six million tonne capacity refinery in Mangalore.

#### Correspondent on Conditions in Tin Bigha Corridor

90AS0374A Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English  
27 Jul 90 p 14

[Article by Subrata Nagchoudhury]

[Text] Mekliganj, 26 July—If the mood of the people here is any indication, the transfer of the Tin Bigha corridor to Bangladesh is not going to be smooth. The Supreme Court's verdict on 3 May, 1990, granting "perpetual leasehold" over a chunk of land in Tin Bigha, has evidently not been liked by the people of this region. Discontent is mounting among the 40,000-strong population in the Indian border villages, forecasting the tumultuous days ahead.

Two successful bandhs have already been organized following the court's ruling, displaying absolute unity among the local people on the issue of transfer. With the local administration gradually initiating steps for

acquiring the required stretch of land, measuring only 178 metres in length and 85 metres in breadth, the people have become restive. "Danger is imminent," says leaders of the Kuchlibari Sangram Committee. "It is a life and death question for us. Tin Bigha can be handed over to Bangladesh at the cost of 40,000 Indian lives and after the water of Teesta is painted red with our blood," some of them warn.

The people here fear that Kuchlibari, an area of 30 square miles of Indian territory having 22 villages, will be virtually cut off from the mainland and add one more to the long list of Indian enclaves. At present there are approximately 130 Indian enclaves in Bangladesh and 95 Bangladesh enclaves within India, mostly in Cooch Behar district. The Tin Bigha corridor would connect Dahagram-Angarpota, one of the biggest Bangladesh enclaves, with the Bangladesh mainland. With an area of about 7.15 square miles, Dahagram-Angarpota has a population of 12,000. The balance is, therefore, heavily tilted against India, says Mr Sukumar Sengupta, the ageing but indefatigable opponent of the transfer and president of the Kuchlibari Sangram Committee. He accuses the Indian leadership of sacrificing the interest of its own people.

Bangladesh's reaction to the Supreme Court ruling is described by the local people, who have been closely watching every development on the Tin Bigha issue, as one of "overwhelming joy." President Ershad welcomed the court's verdict. The subsequent gestures on the part of Bangladesh had not been very reassuring to the local inhabitants. In early June, this year, a dirt road was hurriedly built by the New Panbari border outpost (BOP), housing jawans of the Bangladesh Rifles. The road coming out of the BOP, situated within 500 metres of the Tin Bigha strip, ends right on the edge of the border pillar no. 811. This border pillar marks the end of Bangladesh territory and the beginning of Indian land. It is this junction point on Mekligang-Kuchlibari road that is better known as Tin Bigha.

The Kuchlibari Sangram Committee was quick to react. July 6 is observed as martyr's day by the people of Kuchlibari, in memory of Sudhir Roy, who was killed in police firing in 1981, when a Bangladesh Census team wanted to enter Dahagram-Angarpota through the Tin Bigha corridor with the permission of the Indian authorities. The entry of the team was prevented despite best efforts of the Indian authorities and the plan had to be scuttled in the face of a violent mob, forcing the police to open fire. "Sudhir Roy was killed and many others were rendered invalid by bullets fired by our own security forces," recall old timers. Since then, any visiting Bangladesh delegation for Dahagram-Angarpota has to make a detour to Changrabandha BOP of the BSF [Border Security Force], who escort them to the area via Mekliganj.

The martyr's day this year was observed with greater involvement of the people of Kuchlibari. The day-long programmes at the Tin Bigha point invited protests from

the Bangladesh BOP to its local BSF unit. Huge tree branches were planted around the border pillar no. 811, signalling that "it was the end of the road for Bangladesh." The Forward Bloc M.P. [member of Parliament], Mr Amar Roy Pradhan, took part in the programme and promised the party's full support to the Sangram Committee in their fight for retaining Tin Bigha at any cost.

The district administration of Cooch Behar, too, reportedly did not approve of the action of Bangladesh which "in an over-enthusiastic manner," build the road right up to the Tin Bigha point, vitiating an already surcharged atmosphere. Informed sources say an official protest note was sent by the district administration to its counterpart in Rangpur district of Bangladesh. The latter replied that the road was set up to facilitate the visit of DIG [Deputy Inspector General], BSF, Siliguri Sector for a flag meeting with his Bangladesh counterpart. The matter had since been dropped though the reply did not appear too convincing, officials say.

Official circles in the district administration seem to fully share the apprehension of the people in Kuchlibari and the entire Mekliganj sub-division. The proposed arrangement, if implemented, would open up a floodgate of infiltration from across the border which even now is a serious problem in the region. Besides, jurisdictional complications over the Tin Bigha strip might result in increased criminal activities and remain as "constant irritants" to both the countries, a senior official says on condition of anonymity. But the local administration has very little to do, since the matter is being handled at the highest levels. "We are acting as a mere post office," and are not aware of any time schedule regarding handing over Tin Bigha. The real crisis would emerge during taking possession over the required stretch of land, he adds.

## Press Reports on Amnesty International

### 1990 Report Quoted

46001721A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 12 Jul 90 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, 11 Jul—Several thousand political prisoners, including prisoners of conscience, were held without charge or trial under "anti-terrorist" or preventive detention laws in India, according to the 1990 Amnesty International report.

The report added that torture and ill-treatment were widespread in police custody. Besides, several people "disappeared" after arrest and hundreds might have been extrajudicially executed. It also said about a dozen people were believed to have been executed in India. At least one of whom might have been wrongly convicted.

The report was released here by Mr Ravi Nair, member of the international executive committee of Amnesty International. It was released simultaneously in 44 countries.

Talking to journalists after the release, Dr Arun Mehta, president of the Indian section of Amnesty, said he would not like to comment on how the report dealt with India as members of the organisation working in the country had not helped compile the report.

Asked why the phrase "several thousand political prisoners" could not have been more specific, Mr Nair said the report was based on various inputs that might have led to some discrepancies. Hence, an exact figure could not be given.

He clarified that Amnesty information from press reports, letters written to the organisation and research papers. He added that Amnesty also sent its teams to countries and always checked and counter-checked inputs before publishing them.

In the annual report, the section on Punjab said 495 "terrorists" were killed in the first nine months of 1989 and Sikh groups demanding "Khalistan" killed 764 people. On Kashmir, the report said violence by opposition groups supporting demands for independence had increased.

It said 188 of the estimated 366 Sikhs detained since 1984 in Jodhpur jail were released. It, however, added that possibly hundreds of suspected government opponents were executed extrajudicially by the police in Punjab and Andhra Pradesh.

The report has also raised the question of prolongation of political trials and the protection of the right to fair and prompt trial. It gives an example of how 20 prisoners acquitted by a Hyderabad court in February 1989 had been among 40 people charged in 1974 with a "Naxalite" conspiracy to overthrow the government.

It added that during 1989, Amnesty worked for the release of prisoners of conscience in India and took urgent action to clarify several "disappearances" and prevent executions.

On Sri Lanka, the report said, the Indian Peace-Keeping Force (IPKF) reportedly carried out extrajudicial executions in the north-east and numerous reports alleged torture of prisoners by the IPKF and Tamil groups allied to it. It mentioned that thousands of people "disappeared," died in custody or were victims of extrajudicial executions carried out by security forces in southern Sri Lanka.

On Pakistan, the report was relatively milder with only 60 people being sentenced to death and no executions. It added that at least 100 prisoners of conscience were detained for non-political religious activities, but were held for only short periods.

Besides the neighbouring countries, Amnesty has said thousands of people were arrested, tortured and killed by government forces trying to suppress ethnic and national tensions in China, Israel, and the United Kingdom. It

added that there was a marked improvement in the human rights situation in the Soviet Union and South Africa during 1989.

### Opposition From Gandhi

46001721B Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 3 Jul 90 p 3

[Text] New Delhi, 2 Jul (PTI)—The Congress president, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, today criticised the government's decision to allow the entry of Amnesty International into Kashmir and Punjab and exhorted Youth Congress workers to gherao the airport and physically prevent human rights investigators from entering the country.

"Take to the streets, stage a sit-in at the airport but on no count should you let Amnesty International investigators enter the country. If need be, I shall be with you," Mr Gandhi said while inaugurating a Youth Conference organised here by the Indian Youth Congress.

Accusing the National Front government of bowing to pressures of the pro-Khalistani elements in the United States, the Congress president said his party would take a very firm stand on the issue "no matter what the government does."

"In a democracy with a free press, we do not need a character certificate of any kind from any other country," he told over 1,500 Youth Congress state-level functionaries who had gathered for the two-day conference.

Mr Gandhi also said the government was caving to pressures from the United States on the trade front, adding: "Never has independent India been sold in this fashion."

In a scathing attack on the performance of the V.P. Singh government, Mr Gandhi said, in just over six months, the situation in Kashmir, Punjab, Assam and Tamil Nadu had become flaming issues.

"On Kashmir, the government has no policy at all," Mr Gandhi said, adding that the situation in the border state had escalated only after the National Front government took over.

In Punjab, the law and order situation had deteriorated and to hold elections now would be dangerous. "In November, Mr V.P. Singh could ride through the streets of Punjab in an open jeep because the Congress government had ensured the law and order in the state. Would he be able to ride in an open jeep today," Mr Gandhi asked.

Referring to the rise in prices, Mr Gandhi said only once before had prices rise in this manner or there had been a petrol shortage, and that was when the Janata government was in power.

He told Youth Congress members to take up issues like price rise, unemployment and loan waivers and launch agitations against the government's failures to deal with these problems.

Mr Gandhi urged Congressmen to work at strengthening the Congress party and not at bringing down the Janata Dal government. "They are working hard at it themselves," a sarcastic Mr Gandhi said amidst loud applause.

Referring to the tasks ahead, Mr Gandhi said elections in the party, which were long overdue would be held soon, though he did not specify any date.

The Congress president said, from 1 August, the party would launch a debate on the principles and policies of the Congress with regard to national issues.

Earlier, in his welcome address, the Indian Youth Congress president, Mr Ramesh Chennithala, MP [Member of Parliament], told youth leaders to take the message of Mr Rajiv Gandhi to the party workers at the grassroots level.

He said the conference would chalk out a charter of demands listing the priorities of youth in the country.

## IRAN

### Reasons for Accommodation With France

90ES1122Z Paris *LIBERATION* in French  
30 Jul 90 p 2

[Article by F.C.: "The Iranian Market: A Good Reason of State"]

[Text] The Quai d'Orsay is naturally categorical: "There is no connection between the release of Anis Naccache and progress on financial and commercial negotiations between Paris and Tehran," but one is naturally also not obliged to believe it.

The presidential pardon will be too profitable to seem disinterested. It affects settlement of the old French-Iranian dispute linked to the breaking of contracts following the revolution. Above all, it opens up the fabulous market of Iranian reconstruction to French businesses.

The old financial dispute between the two countries is still not settled. In 1974, Tehran granted a \$1-billion loan to the Atomic Energy Commission and, with this "ticket of admission," thereby gained 10-percent participation in the grand Pompidou uranium enrichment project called "Eurodif."

However, in 1980, Iran, torn apart by the Islamic revolution, decided to review the Shah's nuclear policy. Two projects to build atomic power plants ordered from France were abandoned. Furthermore, Tehran, which pledged to buy 10 percent of Eurodif's production, decided to break off its commitments.

As a result, Paris responded by freezing reimbursement of the \$1-billion loan.

Since that time, both sides have inflated their figures. Iranians want total payment, plus payment of interests and financial damages. The French companies that were to build the two nuclear power plants: Framatome, Alsthom, Spie-Batignolles, and Framatag, are demanding indemnification of Fr5 billion for breach of contract.

In recent years, France has begun to pay: \$630 million, to appease a regime on which the release of hostages captured in Lebanon depended. However, Naccache's presence in French prisons during the Gordji and Rushdie affairs complicated negotiators' task.

Today, in contrast, the political "mortgage" has been lifted. Quai d'Orsay General Secretary Francois Scheer has already met six times with Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mahmoud Vaezi, the last time in Paris on 10 July. However, "they are to meet again very soon," it was announced yesterday at Quai d'Orsay, and both sides are anxious to end the interminable dispute.

French businesses could then unhesitatingly put in their bids to participate in Iranian reconstruction. Putting a country worn out by war with Iraq back on its feet is a fabulous market: \$100 billion, economists estimate, particularly in areas in which France is very competitive (public works, construction of nuclear and thermal power plants, all types of infrastructure).

The improvement in relations between the two countries has already born fruit. In recent months, delegations of French owners have taken turns traveling to Tehran, banks have reactivated branches in Iran, and Peugeot has signed an agreement with Iran Khodro for construction of 500,000 405's for the local market. Technip has won a contract to rebuild the Bandar Khomeiny petrochemical complex. Liquid Air will supply Iranian chemical industry for a total of Fr170 million. ETPM Storage has won the contract to repair the Nasr offshore platform (Fr260 million) and signed a letter of intention to rebuild the Kharg oil terminal (Fr1.3 billion). Regular trade has also resumed. French imports of Iranian products, essentially oil, went from \$127 million in 1988 to \$1.04 billion last year. French exports have risen less rapidly (from \$197 million to \$354 million), but their growth has risen sharply since January.

Iran, which only in May signed an agreement reducing the dispute pitting it against the United States, has understood perfectly that the rebuilding of its economy depends on bring in Western technology and capital. This is necessary "to take the new atmosphere and the urgent needs of the people into account," Rafsanjani said in October. Paris deemed that such an opportunity was undoubtedly worth bending morals a bit.

### Rice Harvest Begins in West Azarbaijan

90AS0377H Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 5 Aug 90 p 2

[Text] Tonakabon—KEYHAN correspondent: The harvest of rice from more than 15,000 hectares of rice paddies at Tonakabon and Ramsar has begun.

This year's rice harvest, in view of the favorable climate and with the supervision of experts and promotion by the monitoring network, is expected to be more than last year.

The area being cultivated for rice in Tonakabon is 14,000 hectares, and in Ramsar it is 1,500 hectares.

The types of rice grown in west Mazandaran include Sepidrud, Tarom, Deylamani, Number Three (Ramazan'ali Tarom), and One Thousand and One.

## PAKISTAN

### Murtaza Bhutto's Return, Legal Status Viewed

90AS0358B Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 13 Aug 90 p 3

[Editorial: "Murtaza Bhutto Should Return"]

[Text] According to some news reports, Murtaza Bhutto, the son of the former prime minister, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, wants to return to Pakistan and take part in politics. It was learned before the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government was disbarred that he was to return to Pakistan on 6 August. His return was postponed as the PPP government was in turmoil.

Begum Nusrat Bhutto is Mir Murtaza Bhutto's mother and her restlessness is understandable. During her 20 months in the government, Begum Nusrat Bhutto flew to Damascus several times because her son was living there after his brother Shahnawaz Bhutto was mysteriously assassinated in France. He has married a local girl there. Begum Nusrat Bhutto and Mir Murtaza both were in favor of his return to Pakistan and taking part in the government. However, his sister, Benazir, was not interested in his return. There never was an appropriate time for his return to Pakistan.

Mir Murtaza Bhutto is a citizen of Pakistan and a close relative of two former prime ministers of Pakistan. He has the full right to return and take part in politics here. The only problem is that he is accused of terrorism and subversive activities. He planned to hijack a PIA [Pakistan International Airlines] airplane and has admitted this. The BBC had broadcasted his interview in his own voice, which hundreds of thousands of Pakistanis heard with their own ears. Benazir has included this in her book, "Daughter of the East".

The legal and moral path for Mir Murtaza is to return to Pakistan and clarify his stand in a court of law. If the court releases him, then he can take part in Pakistan's politics, and after winning a seat in the National Assembly, can get the highest position in the nation.

Now that new elections may be held soon, Mir Murtaza Bhutto has an ideal opportunity to return to Pakistan. He has money, and also his father's political heritage. The only condition is that he should clear the accusations against him in a court. We advise that he should take advantage of this opportunity. Otherwise, he will have to live in exile for the rest of his life, and he will never be a respected citizen of Pakistan.

### **Political Patronage Criticized, Overthrow Recommended**

90AS0331B Lahore *THE NATION* in English  
21 Jul 90 p 4

[Article by Anjum Ibrahim]

[Text] Allegations of corruption are constantly levelled by the Opposition and the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] against each other. As an on-looker the public really has no idea about the truth of such allegations. They believe or disbelieve on the basis of their own political loyalties. And yet it is about time that one actually defines what corruption is so that a clearer idea can be formed about the extent of the charges levelled by the PPP and the Opposition against each other.

Corruption can be defined as dishonestly gotten gains. But then the question is: What is dishonesty? It is the answer to this question which defines corruption in our unique Pakistani context. Dishonesty is not taken to mean taking advantage of the economic power that is considered the due of those politicians who have achieved electoral success. Consequently it is argued that the gains of a government through this system can never be challenged by subsequent governments. The forming of a government, specially at the Center, entitles the members of that government access to a machinery which they consider their right. This has variously been labelled as the 'political patronage system,' 'perk of the job' or even the 'inherent right of successful candidates.' As is obvious there is a very thin dividing line between corruption and the political patronage system. But adherents of this system are very clear about what is not corruption. For example allocating loans from the government-controlled financial sector to friends or relatives of politicians that are part of the government is not corruption. Taking bribes for allocating credit is. Sanctioning industries on the basis of nepotism is not corruption. Taking money for expediting this procedure is. Allocating government land to party favorites is not corruption. Taking a cut from land grant is. And the effort to purchase lucrative business is not corruption especially if the present owner received the business as a government favor at 'peanut' rates.

Such a fine distinction between corruption and political patronage perhaps explains the support extended by the Prime Minister [PM] to her Minister of State for Finance Mr Ehsanul Haq Piracha. After all was not Mr Piracha's involvement in the affair of the Islamabad Stock Exchange indicative of the political patronage system.

The fact that he was caught and the Rawalpindi branch of Lahore High Court passed judgement against him was rather unfortunate. But, so several feel that the PM in all probability argues, if she asks Mr Piracha to resign surely she will not only be opening a bag of worms which will quickly be seized by the Opposition for political purposes but would also end what is considered as the right of the government in power. And so Mr Piracha remains.

However, this system of political patronage is not unique to the present government. It is, on the contrary, a system which has become so enmeshed with our political and economic heritage that any attempt to root it out would cause severe adverse repercussions for our fragile democracy. And to even imply that it was not in full force during Ziaul Haq's 11-year rule is not credible. So while the Opposition claims that the PPP government is corrupt they are largely talking about the use of the political patronage system—system which was probably used by them equally effectively during General Zia's period of rule; which in turn explains the PPP counter accusations.

Despite the rationale of the politicians of the country it is obvious that the people of Pakistan would like to see the end of the political patronage system. They are not the beneficiaries and rightly feel that a good government should not make use of this system. So what is the solution? Several analysts feel that since the state-controlled financial sector figures so prominently in the working of this system surely, through privatization, it can die a natural death. There are three problems with this solution. Firstly is the obvious lack of commitment on the part of the government to privatize the financial sector. If funds are in short supply surely a better way is to disinvest or place some of the assets of financial institution on the open market—not enough so that ownership passes from the hands of the government but enough to mobilize the targeted resources. This policy was adopted during Zia's time and seems to be favored by the present government as well. This is an ideal example to explain the idiom: having one's cake and eating it too; and the government has found the best possible solution which would maintain the political patronage system while releasing funds to fill its depleted coffers.

Secondly, the problem as revealed by the current crisis within the ranks of Muslim Commercial Bank [MCB] employees can also act as a deterrent to privatization. However, in the case of MCB employees they got confused between privatization and disinvestment (a confusion due to the repeated statements of various Cabinet ministers and the PM that they are promoting privatization instead of using the correct term i.e., disinvestment). With privatization comes private control and with it comes streamlining of employees i.e., firing excess staff and hiring on ability as opposed to nepotism. Thus any attempt at privatization would also cause severe labor problems. While in the long run the private

sector pays higher salaries yet workers seem to prefer job security more—especially those who have got jobs on the basis of contacts.

And finally history reveals that even when the financial sector was not rationalized in Pakistan irregularities abounded. Banks in search of large lucrative government contracts would spend huge amounts of money on those individuals who had the power to get a whole government department or ministry to bank with them. And several people argue that the state-controlled financial sector at least has same checks and balances and avenues for redressal of particular grievances whereas private sector had none; or in short that public banking is preferable, even in spite of the political patronage it generates, to private banking.

These three factors make the solution rather complex. There is for example a need for a national bank, controlled by the government, which should receive deposits from all government departments, including the Army accounts. The rest of the deposits must be handled by private sector banks. The national bank should not have the power to give credit to individuals or groups of entrepreneurs—this being the prerogative of private banks. Of course the government in power would still be able to use such a system for propagating the giving of credit to friends and relatives but it is likely that there would be a reduction in the scale. And private banks must be controlled and liable for court action if an individual or a group feels that their credit allocation was unfair—or the same system as applied to public banks today must be maintained.

However, it is this distinction between the political patronage system and corruption which explains the failure of the anti-corruption committees. Of course the fact that they are more concerned with bureaucratic corruption instead of that of politicians takes it outside the subject matter of this article.

The political patronage system can generate public discontent if it is perceived that the standard of living of the average man is declining. As a general rule the public of Pakistan accepts the system. It has never been made an issue in the overthrow of any government. Such a tradition, obvious to anyone, was not perceived by the Opposition when they launched their campaign of accusing PPP loyalists of 'corruption'. The fact that the PM has her own list of 'corrupt' Opposition members is likely to have as little effect on the public's existing political loyalties. But to reiterate if inflation continues to rise and unemployment levels rise further then the public will not be in a mood to overlook the gains via the political patronage system, of some. But once again history reveals that the gains of a government through this system are never challenged by subsequent governments.

To overthrow this system is a necessity. It does not only line the pockets of a few but through the spending habits of those few it seriously affects the savings rate in the

country. Our savings are low because of the habits of the rich to spend lavishly on luxury items and this implies lower domestic resources for investment purposes forcing the government to rely on foreign aid. Expenditure by the few also adversely affects the inflation rate and most specifically raises prices of urban land. Thus the implications for our country's macro-economics of this system are severe; hence there is an urgent need for its overthrow.

But for its overthrow it might be essential to re-educate our politicians. Let their be a manifesto which at least touches on this subject. All manifestos talk about plans to eradicate corruption but none talk about the political patronage system. The public would welcome any sign by any political party that they are committed to the overthrow of this system. However, considering that economics, a crucial issue in political campaigning anywhere in the world was not a major issue in the elections of 1988 and no party presented a viable economic plan it seems doubtful if the parties would turn their attention, and the public's, to an issue like the political patronage system. It has a tremendous future in this country unfortunately.

#### **Commentary Views PPP, Accountability, Blame** *90AS0358A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 13 Aug 90 p 4*

[Editorial: "The People's Party and the General Elections"]

[Text] The IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] has appealed to the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] not to create a situation like the one in 1977 that resulted in the postponement of elections and the nation had to suffer martial law for 11 years. Professor Ghafur Ahmed, secretary general of IJI, said at a press conference the other day while sharing the decisions of the IJI leadership that the general elections should be held on 24 October as announced by the president. He said that IJI would not tolerate any delay. He also said that it was important that there was peace and harmony in the country, that corrupt persons were punished, and, most of all, that the PPP did not make the kind of mistakes that forced the postponement of elections in 1977.

The problem with the PPP is that it has no solid ideological base. The fall of communism in the Soviet Union and the failure of socialism in Eastern Europe have all but destroyed the PPP ideological base. The PPP is not the only party facing this problem; all left wing political organizations around the world are suffering from this development. They are all in an ideological limbo. They cannot decide which philosophy to follow and how to satisfy their followers after the failure of socialism and the socialist economy. The second problem for the PPP is its love for the Sindhis and regional prejudice within the party. It supports the nation and at the same time it has so many regional leaders who do not want it to be involved in Sindh's



urban problems. Even though the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] had helped the PPP to power with its unconditional support.

The third problem is the group of rich landlords and businessmen that protects robbers and criminals and also stopped the PPP from levying an agricultural tax. As the result of this, Benazir had to mortgage the country's economic future with the International Monetary Fund.

The fourth problem for the PPP is its untrained and inexperienced but zealous workers who hurt a gentle chief minister like Qayem Ali Shah and collect money by looting in the cities. Ask the tenants in Gulshan Iqbal and Time Square areas in Karachi what the PPP young men did to them. The biggest problem within the PPP is Mrs. Benazir Bhutto herself. All she did during her 20 months in office was to make enemies and force friends to join the enemy camps because of her stubbornness, inexperience, and female persistency. Everyone knows that Benazir became prime minister with the joint blessing of President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, General Aslam Baig, and U.S. Ambassador Oakley. However, during these 20 months each of them was fed up with her. Finally, she was discharged by the same president who had appointed her. Except for her party and Noorani Mian, no one in the nation is shedding a tear for her now!

The IJI is right about its fears about the PPP attitude. This party is so full of conflicting ideas and has so many immature, inexperienced, and undependable leaders that there is a high probability of a stupid mistake. The PPP should think about the reasons why Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Malik Maraj Khalid, Dr. Mubashar Husan, Mumtaz Bhutto, Ghulam Mustafa Khar, Jam-e Sadiq Ali, Abdulhamid Jatoi, and Abdulhafiz Pirzada are against the party.

The party was still united and organized in July 1977, but it could not make a correct assumption about the situation at that time and started campaigning against the armed forces. The military reacted by postponing the elections and establishing martial law. There is more fear of the PPP leadership repeating the mistakes it made in 1977 resulting in the postponement of the elections.

The people of this country expect the PPP to take a hard look at itself instead of blaming the military and the ISI [Inter-Services Intelligence] for its fall. It should throw out the corrupt and dishonest people from its ranks and have the party adapt the ideology on which Pakistan was established. It should teach its workers good manners and politeness. It must stop supporting the notorious landlords and give opportunity to selfless and honest workers to move up the party leadership by holding elections within the party. However, if the PPP habitually continues to blame the others for its failure and keeps crying about its ignorance, then neither will the PPP gain anything nor will there be any democratic

government in the country. Once again, the adventurous elements will suspend the Constitution and jeopardize the safety of the nation.

### **Sindh: Army Use Seen Inappropriate, Political Solution Urged**

90AS0331D Lahore THE NATION in English  
21 Jul 90 p 4

[Article by Ikram Ullah]

[Text] The unbridled brutality under which Hyderabad has convulsed on Sunday indicates the inhuman savagery and blood thirsty barbarity of those "hidden hands" that are responsible for these atrocities. In a matter of hours 53 people were killed and more than 100 injured in a series of bomb blasts and an encounter between the Rangers and armed youth alleged to belong to an extremist political group. There has been enough debate on the 'Law and Order situation in Sindh'. The bottom line is that it is not a mere law and order problem. Had it been so the Army would not have been called in.

Regardless of the debate going on about the 'legal authority' of the Armed Forces, the Army has been involved and is now there on the ground, visible in every major street of Karachi and Hyderabad. The sand-bag bunkers, with machineguns, fingers on the triggers, leave no doubt about the presence of the Army. Yet Hyderabad has suffered its worst blood-bath on Sunday. Can the Army afford to fail?

Both in war as well as during conditions of insurgency in peace, the Army is always the last hope. I do not have to spell out the consequences of a military defeat in a war. Pakistan has already had a bitter taste of it in December 1971. The tragedy happened because the Army was given a wrong place. A Martial Law regime failed to identify and recognize the need of a political solution in East Pakistan for well over a decade. Too little was done too late. And then like a person about to die in the last stage of cancer, the patient was rushed to a military hospital for an operation. The military surgeons under the circumstances did their best to scrap the forbid cancer, but it was too late. In return as always happens in such cases the doctor gets all the blame. The military got a stigma which has not been removed even after two decades.

It is not my business to compare the present frustrations in Sindh with the sense of insecurity prevailing in East Pakistan during the sixties. It is the job of the Government of the day, the politicians of all shades, the Intelligence Agencies and the patriotic elements of all platforms to jointly take stock of the Sindh situation in the framework of the geo-strategic environment of the region. If a serious and genuine effort is made, the answers will not be difficult to discover. The Sindh situation is defying a solution, because various political elements involved, refuse to apply their minds to it as a national problem, they refuse to shed their personal petty prejudices, and while Sindh burns and bleeds, they

are making political capital out of it, by accusing each of this and that failure. Instead of unifying the political will of the nation, the Sindh issue is tragically diversifying the main political thrust, which is frittering away in opposite directions making the situation worst confounding.

It is ironic that no one in the political field seems to be trained to handle a national crisis of this magnitude. In the Army, long training tends to make a leader expert in planning as well as execution. Such expertness is apt to be gained at the expense of long years of training at the Military Academy, staff and command colleges and above all, over the years, dealing with difficult situations, which finally yield the harvest of fertility of ideas, methodology of a thought process, originality and elasticity. A withdrawal is considered and accepted as a part of successful strategy. You have to lose some battles to win the war, which is the professional soldier's final test. War is the realm of the unknown and the unexpected; and a commander's adaptation to the unexpected causes easily and even naturally, because of the peace time training.

Do we, in Pakistan, have professional politicians, who have gone through the mill. Thank God, after 11 years of the non-representative rule, Pakistan today is being governed by elected representatives of the people. Have these representatives proved their mettle and have they come up to the expectations of the electorate? If these honorable members of ministers had been worth their salt, they would at best be able to set up headquarters in their respective constituencies and ensure that there was no breakdown of law and order amongst the population that has voted for them. The daily shootings, bomb blasts and riots in Karachi, Hyderabad or any other part of the country, reflect directly on the representative credibility of all the elected persons, whether they are members of the national or Provincial Assemblies or other local bodies. The cities of Karachi and Hyderabad have a number of wards, police stations, and constituencies of Provincial and National Assemblies. To the best of my knowledge the unrest and turmoil is mainly confined to a limited number of sectors. How come that the elected representatives of these wards and police stations decline to accept any share of blame and put the entire responsibility on the law enforcing agencies. These agencies, with their limited resources have reached a dead end, have finally resolved to hand over the situation to the Army.

The Army has dutifully accepted the challenging task assigned to it. Both in war and peace, the Armed Forces are designed and trained to handle crises of all natures. They have been doing it ever since the birth of Pakistan, starting with the handling of millions of refugees from the "agreed areas" of East Punjab, and even elsewhere. They fought in East Pakistan, where it was none of their business to meddle with a political crisis.

One Corps Commander and one Governor resigned. Neither the President of Pakistan as a political Head of

State, nor the C-in-C as the military head of the Army, visited East Pakistan from March 71 till December 7, when Dhaka finally fell and the whole nation sank in shame. No one knows the whole truth till this day as to why and how Pakistan was engulfed in disgrace.

Today, twenty years later, the geo-political situation of the sub-continent is slowly but surely moving in a direction not very different from 1970. Kashmir is ablaze. Political tension is building up in both countries. Delhi and Islamabad are both beset by their respective Opposition parties of not doing enough to deal with the other.

Without any cohesive political support at the national level both Prime Ministers thunder at each other like two lions who roar from their respective dens, but not too sure to engage in actual combat. The pressures of the Opposition are such that neither has any other option. Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh had to resign and then reassured by the Janata Dal leadership, withdraw the resignation. With many union Ministers including the Foreign Minister Inder Kumar Gujral walking out of the V.P. Singh Cabinet, it is yet too early to predict which way the political wind is going to blow in India during the operational season of September-October. One immediate sure casualty, however, has been the Foreign Secretary level meeting. The next big event from Pakistan's point of view is the Foreign Ministers meeting of the Islamic countries for which the Prime Minister has undertaken so much personal diplomacy. The Indians have catapulted V.P. Singh's resignation and what is happening in its aftermath, that the Islamic Foreign Ministers meeting scheduled for July 28, cannot possibly escape from the fallout of the so-called catastrophic effects of the present political vacuum created in the "world's largest democracy." Indian embassies all over the world particularly in the capitals of the superpowers and the Islamic world must be buzzing round the clock to scuttle the Islamic Foreign Ministers conference on 28th July or to keep Kashmir out of it. If the world insists on putting pressure on India to resolve the Kashmir issue in accordance with the UN Resolutions of 1948 and 1949, India seems to have worked out its strategy of threatening the world with a war bogey, the Prime Minister's resignation, being only the curtain-raiser.

The Sindh situation ought to be viewed in the background of the above scenario. Based on the directives of the Federal Cabinet, the responsibility of the defence of our frontiers falls squarely on the shoulders of General Mirza Aslam Beg. As if this was not enough, we have pushed the General into Karachi and Hyderabad as well. The ethnic problem in Sindh is only a small part of the multi-dimensional complex issue. The Muhajirs of 1947 are a distinct and different class from the later immigrants who arrived over the years from the "non agreed" areas of the United Province of India and elsewhere. Due to the lapse of time, no one today can be called "Muhajir" in the legal sense and international interpretation of the terms. This new community is now demanding a separate province of Hyderabad. Like

1970-71, the Indian Press is today engaged in a campaign that thousands of Hindus are fleeing from Sindh and setting up refugee camps on the Indian side of Sindh border.

This is not the time to paint the pictures of rift between the Muhajirs and locals, Khaki and the civil, or create imaginary tussles over Articles 245 and 147 of the Constitution. The Army does not want the politicians and Chief Ministers to plead its case. In this effort to win the "good will" of the Army some politicians are trying to become more catholic than the pope. The sooner the Army gets out of the streets of Karachi and Hyderabad, the better it would be for the Army's own image as well as the restoration of the democratic process, now slowly taking roots. The Army has tried all its legal power in 1970-71 and then again in Sindh from 1983 to 1988. We all know the results, what could not be achieved during years, cannot now be obtained in weeks through the uniform.

Yet the politicians of all shades without any exception are pushing the Army again into a wrong place at the wrong time. If they were all to get together and resolve the Sindh issue politically amongst themselves, the Army would then be able to pay its undivided attention to the borders. Is our political leadership so naive as to not grasp this elementary fact.

#### Article Examines 'Political Use' of Islam in Country

90AS0336D Karachi DAWN in English 28 Jul 90 p 9

[Article by Dr Mohammad Waseem: "Islamic Idiom in Politics"]

[Text] While General Zia has gone, his politics of Islamisation is apparently still around. The Senate has finally passed the Shariat Bill, which it had been holding back during the last five years. What is the purpose behind this move? Who is going to benefit from it?

The current move towards Islamisation can be better understood if we have the historical perspective in mind. We can divide the history of Pakistan into five broad phases. In the first phase which lasted from 1947 to 1953, the secularist/modernist elite dominated the political scene. Whenever there was pressure for introducing Islamic measures in the country, this elite made symbolic concessions to the Ulama. However, it did not allow them to make a serious bid for power. The two governments at Karachi and Lahore brushed aside the demands of the anti-Ahmadyia movement in 1953. The Munir Report termed the whole episode as a law-and-order problem. However, the two governments tried to use the same movement to discredit each other. In the end, both collapsed one after the other.

From 1953, the second phase of Pakistan's history started which was to continue up to 1969. In this period, obvious remarks against Islamic orthodoxy were avoided. Indeed, Ayub Khan consciously adopted what

can be called Islamic modernism as an official policy. Under this policy, a persistent developmental stance was projected from the public platform. Whatever economic, political, and administrative policies were adopted for national development, they were legitimised in the name of Islam. It was a classic case of a modernist bureaucracy planning for the development of society along capitalist lines and seeking to baptize the whole process in all earnest.

In the third phase which lasted from 1969 to 1977, the sweeping currents of radical politics challenged the non-representative character of the pre-Ayubian and Ayubian systems. In a situation of total ideological bankruptcy at the time of the 1970 elections, the establishment sought to project the Islamic idiom from the platform of its client parties. However, the [Pakistan People's Party] PPP-sponsored politics of issues overtook the establishment-sponsored politics of ideology in (West) Pakistan, much like its counterpart in the eastern wing. Under the PPP rule from 1971 to 1977, the industrial and middle classes of Pakistan, especially in large urban centres such as Karachi, Hyderabad, Lahore, Multan and Faisalabad, developed a sort of duality in their public behaviour.

On the one hand, they represented the relatively modernised currents of social and cultural behaviour and excelled in Western-based educational achievements. On the other hand, they sought to combat the populist upsurge under the PPP's leadership by resorting to the use of Islamic rhetoric in politics. They voted for candidates of such Islamic orthodox parties as JUI [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam], JUP [Jamiat-i-Ulema-Pakistan] and JI [Jamaat-i-Islami]. Thus, social progressivism and political conservatism emerged as the two parallel currents of urban middle class politics, while their apparent contradiction remained unresolved.

When the grand fight began between the PPP and PNA [Pakistan National Alliance] in 1977, later joined by the civil-military establishment on the latter's side, the conflict assumed unreasonably high proportions. The modernist elements from within and outside the establishment made common cause with Islamic orthodoxy to hold the process back to electoral politics, which would have meant the PPP's comeback. The PPP, on its part, struggled to move beyond its reformist posturing in order to expand its constituency. In the process, it shed various leftist cadres and assumed an ideologically non-committal attitude towards national politics. However, its perceived electoral strength continued to be a source of discomfort for the Zia regime.

Under Zia, the politics of Islam reached new heights. It took three major forms: first, it was conceived as a way of suppressing the opposition with the help of the repressive state apparatus. Thus, journalists, political workers and other activists were sentenced to lashes, which was projected as an Islamic punishment. Second, democracy based on the principle of rule by public representatives was itself condemned for its so-called Western roots.

General Zia took up the cause of Islamisation largely as an alternative source of legitimacy. While these two factors served the purposes of the establishment, the third factor related to the aggressive job-orientation of the Ulema, students from the subsidiary organisations of Islamic political parties and those educated in the religious madrasahs, colleges and universities. New jobs were created in thousands in various Zakat and Ushr committees and educational institutions and were filled in by the large group of Islamic activists who represented Zia's street power. On top, the Federal Shariat Court took a new role. A general conservatism of social atmosphere was enforced to lend credibility to the whole process of Islamisation.

The fifth phase started with Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's takeover in 1988. This phase is relatively ill-defined. There are apparently contradictory processes taking place, some on the initiative of the government and some in spite of it. For example, there are a few changes discernible on the TV screen in particular and the arts policy in general. There is less of a focus on Islamic rhetoric to back up official policies. On the other hand, Ms Benazir Bhutto's government has been unable to repeal the Hadood Ordinance, despite the vehement pressure from women and various enlightened sections of the population. The government seems to be caught in a fix: On one side, there are those who feel disappointed over its inability to do away with various Islamisation measures taken up by the previous regime. On the other side, there are the opposition circles who feel disgruntled over some obvious examples of relaxation on this front and condemn the government for being un-Islamic.

The latest significant development in this context is the Shariat Bill which was passed by the Senate almost as a surprise. It is now for the National Assembly to discuss it. The Bill has already become controversial. It seems unlikely that, with a majority of the articulate section of the population not being excited about the Bill, and the PPP's majority support base in the Assembly, the latter will pass the Bill. However, what is important is the fact that this Bill is going to be the focus of a bitter controversy between its supporters and opponents in and outside the legislature.

How far will it affect the continuing pattern of Islamic politics in Pakistan? It seems that the current stage of political uses of Islam will continue for a while, because electoral politics remains under severe pressure from various quarters. It has now become a recurring pattern that the military governments tend to inject the ideological idiom into politics and try to project Islam as an alternative source of legitimacy. Similarly, popularly elected governments are somewhat relaxed over the issue of Islam, which they conceive in civilisational terms rather than as a repressive arm of the government.

Will the political uses of Islam continue in future? It looks as if the current stage of the history of Pakistan represents a no-win situation. The fate of democracy hangs in the balance and so is the fate of Islamic politics.

The moment the mass mandate is eliminated as the basis of government in Pakistan, the incumbent power-holders will again take up the task of creating an Islamic source of legitimacy. It is expected that the political use of Islam will again be in full swing. Till then the Islamic idiom remains largely the handmaid of the opposition forces currently working against the Benazir government.

### Commentary Urges Consolidating Democratic Tradition

90AS0336C Lahore *THE NATION* in English  
25 Jul 90 Supplement p 2

[Article by Muzaffar Ali Syed]

[Text] There are many kinds of tradition continuously present in any big and historical society: ethical and legal tradition, literary and intellectual tradition, scientific and technical tradition, institutional and professional traditions. In fact, anything continuously present through the history of a society—whether good or bad, a positive or negative force—is sometimes loosely labelled as a tradition, like when we say that there is a tradition of corruption in our society or we are said to have a traditional inclination towards monarchy or autocracy or rule by the rod. None of these latter tendencies, however, amount to a tradition, primarily because they are in the nature of a social disease while a living tradition is something quite healthy.

The general test which social philosophers have employed in determining whether anything with some continuity does or does not form a tradition in a particular society is its compatibility with the sense of values inherent in that society in the form of a central or cultural tradition which all major societies distinctly possess. This cultural tradition is the broad framework of ideas, emotions, attitudes and preferences which together distinguish one society from another.

There is every reason to believe that democracy is a necessary part of our sense of values and a definite element in our cultural tradition. We have, undoubtedly, had a long history of dynastic monarchy, military dictatorship and autocratic rule. Some of the individuals may have had some personal qualities admirable in their own right, yet they have never been accepted as representatives of our sense of values or the models of our cultural tradition. If the Muslims have always looked back to the 30 years of Khilafat-i-Rasheda which had existed about fourteen centuries ago as an ideal state of political organisation in a Muslim society, the reason may be found in the democratic structure of decision making and the rule of law which governed all strata of that society or at least suggested a common reference to certain firmly held values and expectations. This model has, internally lived on as an ideal throughout the centuries of history which present a radical departure from this model. The right conclusion to draw from this

incidence should be the undying force of values prevalent in a society from generation to generation in spite of the contrary temptations and intimidations. It is a surprising case of survival in so many hostile centuries which paid formal lip-service to the beliefs and carried on with its ritual practices without letting its public system to continue.

The resurgence of Islam in the 19th century brought with it a strong insistence on establishing representative governments in many lands of Islam. The primary role in this respect was played by leading thinkers of the time like Sayyed Jamaluddin Afghani, Abdur Rahman al-Kawakebi, Mufti Mohammad Abduh, Allama Rasheed, Reza, the republican ulema of Iran and the reformist educationists of Muslim India. The same line of thinking was followed up later and developed into a public movement by Maulana Mohammad Ali, the poet-philosopher Iqbal and the great leader Mohammad Ali Jinnah. This momentous upsurge for a democratic emphasis on self-determination ultimately led to the creation of Pakistan as a separate homeland for the Muslims of British India who had exercised their democratic option through their elected representatives.

It is an irony of fate or circumstances, however, that the one country in the whole of the Muslims World which had come into being on the crest of an international movement for Islamic resurgence expressed through a democratic struggle against colonialism and alien domination, was hijacked by counter-democratic forces operating within the same society. These forces were the remnants of the feudal and commercial classes born under monarchy and colonialism and also had a natural affinity with the religious formalists and bureaucracy of power. That is why they coalesced with each other again and again to interfere with the developments of democracy in Pakistan.

Between 1946 and 1970, no general elections were held in Pakistan, leaving aside some local bodies, or what they called Basic Democracies. Similarly, the period between 1976 and 1988 remained without a democratic mandate, unless the so-called referendum and the party-less polls were taken into account. The initial assembly of 1946 elected to prepare a constitution for Pakistan took about nine years to produce a sort of document which was never allowed to operate as no elections were held under its provisions except in the provinces, which became the two units of Pakistan with the Centre remaining at the mercy of any adventurist who could come along.

The French people since the 1789 Revolution have also undergone autocratic interregnums in their democratic history; they like to number the various periods of democratic revival as the 1st Republic, 2d Republic, etc. Right now, it is their 4th Republic going, in about 200 years. We are also going through our 4th Republic right now, if we count the revival of constitutional government. Only that, we have managed the same kind of trick within only 41 years.

The intermittent character of democracy in Pakistan, on-now off-again, has not permitted us to form what is called "political culture"; nor has it allowed the democratic system of exercise and transfer of power to take a firm root in the society. How could it be otherwise when we have never had a smooth change-over?

Yet, even if the present democratic structure be as fragile as it appears to be, we have to make it work, no matter to which party we belong or sympathise with. On the edge of the precipice as we stand today, nationally as well as internationally, we have no real choice except to think and feel and behave democratically. That is, we have to act in accordance with the rule of law, like responsible citizens. It is as simple as that, but is it how we are actually conducting ourselves? Far from that; we are behaving as if somebody will come to save us, whatever we do. We do not know who that somebody is, except Allah, who has clearly told us in the Holy Quran that He likes to help those who help themselves. By acting as unmindfully of consequences as we are, we are not only putting ourselves to unnecessary hazards but are also carelessly flouting an evidently divine injunction?

We are, of course, free to elect our own representatives through the exercise of our right to vote but we have yet to learn the real value of that freedom. The people have to be able to resist the temptations and intimidations which come from the rich and the powerful. We are free to campaign and work for our favourite candidates and parties but so are the other people who do not agree with us. We have a right to question, publicly discuss and oppose any measures of the present government but we do not have the right to take law in our own hands. We must leave the functions of legislation and budgetary control to the public representatives whom we have sent to the national and provincial assemblies for the purpose. Exercising pressures on the government to adopt this or that proposal is a democratic procedure only if it stays short of lawlessness and indecency.

Above all, we have to uphold the value of individual human life. Right now this appears to be the weakest area of our public conduct. We are callously killing our own brothers in faith and nationality, on the basis of such minor differences as language, ethnicity and sectarian belief. Mutual courtesy, tolerance and self-control are becoming quite rare and exceptional rather than being a social norm. A general state of insecurity from each other is leading us to build barricades and fortresses of community defence against threat to life and property. Yet, we know that every counter-democratic change-over has pushed us backward in history by quarter of a century. Let us, then, develop a democratic tradition in society.

**Commentary Views Use of Army, Political Stability**  
90AS0336A Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES  
in English 20 Jul 90 pp 6, 7

[Article by I.A. Rehman]

[Text] At Her Press conference on Tuesday, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto touched upon several aspects of national politics on which discussion is not only possible

but also desirable. For, however baseless the rumours spread by the interested parties and however pointless the debates on non-issues going on in political circles and the media, public anxiety about the future of the democratic system has grown to a dangerous extent and it must be dispelled.

For instance, so much has been said by so many, including some persons in authority, about whether the army should operate in Sindh under Article 147 or whether Article 245 should be invoked, that references to differences between the armed forces and the civil authority cannot be dismissed as mere speculation.

The Prime Minister is right in asserting that "the armed forces and government are one" but perhaps only to the extent that the armed forces continue to respect the right of the people to be governed by civilian representatives. Accord on this point will survive despite the presence of some Bonapartes here and there and despite the wail of spoilt children in politics who keep asking for the return of big brothers. There is no danger of the civil-military understanding at the apex breaking down because the military establishment has learnt to read the political situation fairly well, indeed better than many half-baked politicians strutting across the national scene. There is no imminent danger of a military challenge to civilian authority because the end of super-power confrontation has snapped the umbilical cord through which military regimes in the Third World derived nourishment, because military leaders do not assume political responsibilities in situations where possibilities of acquiring populist support are non-existent, and because it is too early for the Pakistan armed forces to forget the days when under Yahya Khan and Ziaul Haq they saw in the eyes of the ordinary citizens nothing but contempt.

But government and armed forces cannot be said to be one if reports of the army having moved into Hyderabad uninvited remain undenied and if it is said that the armed forces will come to the aid of civil power only on their own conditions. It is not an ordinary matter that for weeks on end the people have been kept arguing about the implications of Articles 147 and 245 of the Constitution. The controversy has not only been unnecessary, all those stoking it have been, wittingly or unwittingly, guilty of ignoring the mischief underlying it.

That the demand for giving the army in Sindh powers under Article 245 was made is easy to understand. For a military establishment that has ruled the country for a better part of the period of independence, setting down to its constitutional role cannot be a push-button affair. It has maintained the sanctity of its command structure by accommodating pressures from within and there can be pressures that not even the most democratic-minded chief may be able to withstand. The conversion of the entire officer corps to a role subservient to political authority will take time. The process will, however,

demand a correct discipline from civil authority and politicians in general, not only in terms of their attitude towards the armed forces but also, and more importantly, towards their own responsibilities. Persistence of petty political bickering and signs of public disillusionment with the working of the democratic system will prolong essential process and make it harder for many in the services.

However, once the issue had come out into the open it acquired a serious dimension partly because the propaganda machinery of the government was again found unequal to its rivals. While the army point of view received full publicity and the anti-government press promoted the theory that the federal government was not invoking Article 245 because it wanted to protect its own supporters, the government case was argued only in closed chambers or at private gatherings.

For instance, people at large were not given to understand that Article 147 is identical with the provision of the Indian constitution under which the Indian armed forces have been operating in aid of civil power all over that country and that the absence of a provision similar to Article 245 has not prevented the Indian army from rounding up terrorists in Bengal, Punjab, or elsewhere.

It can be shown that by declining to invoke Article 245 the federal government has upheld two fundamental principles enshrined in the Constitution. First, resort to Article 245 undermines provincial autonomy. Law and order is a provincial subject and, therefore, the help of armed forces can only be sought, as envisaged in Article 147, by a Provincial authority, especially so long as the rule of elected representatives is intact. As is evident from the history of Article 245 this provision is to be invoked only in the extreme eventuality when provincial administration has been superseded or the conduct of the provincial authority poses a threat to national security and the federal government is obliged to use its emergency powers. One should not like to see such a situation arising in any province.

Second, the suspension of High Courts' writ jurisdiction in areas handed over to the armed forces under Article 245 is no light matter. It is essential for the consolidation of the democratic system that under no circumstance should the powers of superior courts be circumscribed. One may recall the debate that has been going on in both Pakistan and India on the curtailment of courts' powers subsequent to proclamation of emergency. A convincing case has been made out that proclamation of emergency should be considered legitimate only when the country faces external aggression. The idea that courts' jurisdiction should be curtailed even when no emergency has been declared is simply preposterous.

Further, the distinction between the army coming to the aid of civil authority and an area being handed over to the army—the crucial expressions used in Articles 147 and 245—has not received due attention. Handing over an area to the army does not mean inviting troops to

restore law and order, it means imposing martial law because only then can the Army Act be enforced, under which summary military courts can function. Whatever the amount and nature of pressure that Benazir Bhutto may have to face, this course cannot be adopted, must not be adopted.

Incidentally, the notion that convictions awarded by military courts can reform the convicts or serve as long-term deterrents is not supported by evidence. Martial Law was imposed in the Punjab by the British in 1919. Thousands of people were convicted by military courts but their decisions were subject to confirmation by the Provincial Home Secretary. He exercised his authority to alter the sentences. Did the people stop demanding freedom from alien rule? By the time young revolutionaries launched their terrorist activities a decade later, the British had learnt to rely on normal courts or special non-military tribunals.

Again, we had martial law in Lahore in 1953. Many people were convicted by military courts. Once the martial law was lifted the convicts were free to resume their ways and thoughts. If one remembers rightly, the capital sentence awarded to Maulana Maudoodi made no effect on his career and Maulana Abdul Sattar Niazi has never stopped preaching sectarian hatred and intolerance for which he was convicted.

Thus, it is no use glossing over the problems of transition from an authoritarian tradition to democratic norms, a transition that takes longer to complete than transfer of the sceptre of power from military to civilian hands. The issues of transition have to be resolved in a manner that leaves no reservations on either side. While the government can certainly take credit for keeping its cool in this matter, it has been poorly served by its spokesmen.

## SRI LANKA

### Prolonged Guerilla War Foreseen

90AS0286A Zurich DIE WELTWOCHEN in German  
5 Jul 90 p 7

[Article by Martin Sturzing: "It Began with Adultery on Sunday"]

[Text] It began on Sunday with an adulterous affair in the small town of Batticaloa. Unfortunately the Sinhalese wife and her seducer, a Muslim tailor, were caught "in the act" by the spurned husband. There was a struggle, the husband called in the police, and the tailor, who most recently had been sewing mostly uniforms for the Tigers, turned for help to this guerilla group.

Two policemen arrested the young Muslim and placed him in a cell for the night at the police station. On Monday morning when guerilla fighters came to the police station to intervene, the conflict came to a head

and the first shots were fired. Finally, the guerillas easily took prisoner all the policemen present.

This story was repeated by the Sri Lankan Minister of Defense, Ranjan Wijeratne, to Parliament on Tuesday. On Wednesday it appeared in the government's own "DAILY NEWS" in Colombo under the title, "How the Mini-War Began."

Now insert the date of June 12. By this time everyone knew that the euphemistic expression by the report's preparer was by no means true. A cease-fire from Wednesday, originally approved by the Tigers, was never observed by them. On the contrary, they intensified their attacks on police stations in the East and on Wednesday evening had 18 posts under their control and captured over 600 policemen.

It was of greater strategic importance that the guerillas quickly gained possession of hundreds of weapons, munitions, vehicles, radio equipment and other material. Nevertheless, Minister Wijeratne complained on Thursday that the Tigers did not wish to participate in cease fire negotiations and hoped they would on the next day. That evening the Tigers overran another seven police stations with 200 policemen.

Not until Saturday was a second cease fire in place. Since the firing did not stop, a government spokesman suggested that the Tigers may be having internal communications problems. The army command was more skeptical after the Palaly airport was attacked only a few kilometers from Tiger headquarters. On Monday, one week after the first attacks by the Tigers, the army began its offensive in the East. According to official statements, there were 400 deaths to that time. Over 100 of these were policemen who had been massacred by the Tigers shortly after the beginning of combat operations.

Naturally neither the Sinhalese adulterer nor the Muslim seducer—if the story can be believed—can be made responsible for these consequences. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), enticed by Sri Lankan promises and now frustrated by realpolitik, evidently had taken the insignificant side event as an excuse to terminate the boring discussions and to return to their strength—guerilla tactics.

Thus ended a 13-month period of hope when it was believed that the Tamil guerillas and the Sinhalese government would achieve a breakthrough in their negotiations. The most important result of these discussions was the withdrawal of Indian troops in March from the Tamil Northeast. They had been called to the island by the president of Sri Lanka so that the domestic army could deal with the increasing unrest in the Sinhalese South.

After the Indian withdrawal, the power vacuum in the Northeast was not filled by government troops, but by the Tigers. The oldest and most disciplined guerilla group—fighting for a separate Tamil state in the Northeast of Sri Lanka since 1972—formed a political party



last December and promised to continue their struggle in a legal and democratic form.

At the beginning of April, the Tiger boss, Velupillai Prabhakaran, emerged for the first time in two and one-half years from his hideout in the jungle and praised president Ranasinghe Premadasa for his peace initiative. He characterized previous discussions as "cordial and constructive."

But, at the same time, he also stated the LTTE conditions for a negotiated settlement. First, he requested withdrawal of the Sixth Constitutional Amendment of 1983 that required an oath by parliamentarians to the indivisibility of the country. In a second step, the government was to dissolve the existing provincial parliament in the Northeast and schedule new elections with Tiger participation.

In the Northeast province, the EPRLF (Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front) had come to power in November 1988, and had been cooperating with the Indian army, which the Tigers branded as betrayal.

The government had long promised unofficially to meet the LTTE demands. But after suppressing the JVP (People's Liberation Front) revolt in the South and withdrawal of the Indians from the North, things no longer seemed so urgent.

As the Tiger leadership became visibly more nervous and pressed for their demands to be met, the government countered that the Tigers should lay down their arms before the elections. This was refused by the LTTE due to a potential return of EPRLF fighters and general problems of security. But they did promise to allow international observers at the elections and to appear with no weapons in the balloting area.

But now Colombo ran into increasing pressure from the opposition. A constitutional revision requires the approval of a two-thirds majority in parliament, or 150 of the 225 members. The governing UNP [United National Party] holds 125 seats; 67 seats belong to the opposition SLFP that is not in favor of the requested change. Evidently Premadasa had trouble obtaining the additional 25 votes among the remaining 33 members. Since he could only bring his own backbenchers into the agreement by massive threats, the constitutional change was shelved.

The second LTTE demand, the dissolution of the Northeast Provincial Parliament, was rejected by Premadasa due to alleged legal difficulties. In contrast, on May 15, after a hiatus of several months, discussions took place again with the EPRLF whose representatives dominate the provincial government at the moment.

The Tigers feared they were being cheated of the reward for their willingness to negotiate and requested a clear statement from the government and threatened that this

was the last chance for a negotiated settlement. At the same time, emplacements were being improved more vigorously than before.

At the beginning of June, LTTE fighters shot dead a Sinhalese soldier at a security checkpoint in Vavuniya. Instead of energetically pursuing a negotiated settlement at this time, the government in Colombo needed one whole week of powerful Tiger attacks to realize that the damage could not be made good.

#### No Quarter Given

Then that was the end of the conciliatory gestures. "The Tigers are over-extended," asserted the acting defense minister one week after he attributed the unrest to a marital crisis, and threatened: "No quarter will be given."

Now, that was what had been expected from Wijeratne, the Minister who had broken the revolt of the JVP in the South. The brutality of this action had alarmed human rights groups all over the world. Never a friend of high rhetoric, the 59-year old plantation owner has called Amnesty International a "terrorist organization."

He then explained to the parliament: "Now we have to prosecute the war against the Tigers with all our strength." The requested supplemental funding of around 100 million [Swiss] francs was approved unanimously.

With their offensive the army reconquered cities and villages in the East in rapid sequence, finally retaking Batticaloa, where the fighting had begun. The Tigers built upon their proven tactics and took the army under fire from the thick forest. This small, grinding war in the East might last a long time, especially since the Tigers are now equipped with weapons from the EPRLF and the police.

The situation in the North of the island is quite different. The Tigers have more support among the almost exclusively Tamil populace there, than they do in the East where many Muslims and Sinhalese also live. Several bases are still under fire from the separatists' rockets and projectiles.

The greatest struggle has been for Jaffna; with a population of 130,000, it is the largest Tamil city in Sri Lanka. Since the beginning of the fighting, 250 soldiers have been holed up in the fort there. Food and water have to be dropped to them from helicopters since the 300-year old fortification (built during the Dutch colonial period) is completely encircled by the rebels.

The war has also set in motion the efficient propaganda machines of the two combatants. The government stated, just after beginning the army offensive, that the Tigers had used poison gas in their attacks on the barracks in Kiran, which assertion was categorically denied by them. In a riposte the LTTE shortly thereafter



accused the air force of using napalm in their attacks on Jaffna. This too, was immediately denied.

Most of these reports are intended for world public consumption. The government and LTTE are accused by human rights organizations of the most flagrant violations, and both parties are intent on discrediting their opponent.

As the conflict continues, nonparticipants are being affected increasingly. At this time half a million villagers have abandoned their houses and become refugees. The government had to admit that their carpet bombings had also hit housing areas. In Jaffna the hospital itself had to be evacuated.

On the other side, the LTTE purposely uses the Tamil civilian populace as a protective shield against the advancing army; Sinhalese are often butchered indiscriminately. In addition, recently they have made clear that they will not make any compromises even with other Tamil separatists or parties. Earlier, LTTE comandos murdered the leadership of three guerilla groups

and of the most important Tamil party. At the beginning of May, the well-known parliamentarian Sam Thambimuttu was killed in the middle of Colombo on a public street, two days before he was scheduled to give Amnesty International in London information about human rights violations by the LTTE. And in mid-June, in the South Indian city of Madras, there was a strike against the top leadership of the EPRLF, during which 13 persons were killed.

Both sides are more dedicated than before to achieving their goals by military force. "I want Prabhakaran's head," announced defense minister Wijeratne, probably meaning that the objective was to eliminate the LTTE, without consideration for their partly justified claims. "The time for negotiations is past, this is the final war for independence of the Northeast," countered a spokesman for the Tigers. Here again, independence means a one-party state with the LTTE in the leadership role. If the time for negotiations is really past, then Sri Lanka is only at the beginning of the crisis.