

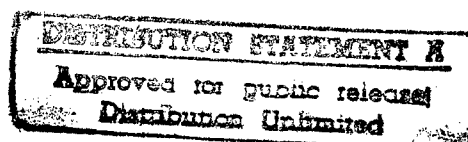
JPRS-NEA-91-033
12 JUNE 1991

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JPRS Report



Near East & South Asia

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SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

Near East & South Asia

JPRS-NEA-91-033

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Dashnak Presence Reported in ArSSR Legislature

Four Deputies Identified

91AS0999A Beirut AZTAG in Armenian 19 Apr 91 p 1

[Text] AZATAMART, the official press organ of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation [ARF] in Armenia, carried the following report on the front page of its 5 April issue:

During the first sitting of the second session of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the Armenian republic, deputy Mekhak Gabrielyan rose to the podium and declared: "Aware of the complexity of the current political situation and their responsibility in charting the nation's destiny, the Bureau of the ARF and its Central Committee in Armenia introduce four comrades who are part of the party's parliamentary faction: Mekhak Gabrielyan, Tigran Kureghyan, Seyran Paghtasaryan and Ruben Akobyan."

Then, the deputy proposed on behalf of these comrades to include in the parliament's agenda the discussion of the Russian-Turkish treaty of 16 March 1921.

After an absence of 70 years, the voice of the ARF has once again rung in the parliament of Armenia.

Deputies To Argue Against Ties To Turkey

91AS0999B Paris GAMK in Armenian 10 Apr 91 p 1

[Editorial: "Dashnak Deputies"]

[Excerpts] The Armenian parliament has witnessed fresh evidence of multiparty presence in its midst. One of the Armenian national parties, the ARF [Armenian Revolutionary Federation], now has its representatives in the parliament. During the 1 April session of the parliament, four deputies disclosed their affiliation [with the ARF]. From now on, the Dashnak organization in Armenia will have its spokespersons in the parliament of the fatherland—a useful and natural development.

The development is noteworthy. Like the other national parties, the ARF survived and perpetuated its existence in the diaspora involuntarily without becoming a diaspora or expatriate organization in a narrow sense, because its goal was always Armenia and not the diaspora, which was only a mandatory intermission. Now this has been corrected. We believe that these deputies, carrying on the Dashnak tradition rich with experience from the past, will make a positive contribution through concrete ideas and initiatives. The need for such a contribution is felt today and will be felt tomorrow particularly in view of the serious problem of appeasement Armenia faces today.

The problem is related to appeasing Turkey. We, too, share the concern over extricating Armenia out of its present isolation. This is so obvious that saying it sounds like a cliché. However, having made that obvious statement, do we know, as Armenian individuals, political

organizations and government, what price we have to pay to get out of that impasse? It is on that point that opinions differ. Furthermore, because this appeasement does not simply commit Armenia and the present generation but also future generations in the fatherland and the diaspora, the presence of only four Dashnak deputies in the Armenian parliament is more than symbolic; it also has historical and political significance because those deputies will be able to articulate the century-old battle experience of the ARF in front of Armenia's legislators before they make any irreversible decisions. [passage omitted]

The Dashnak deputies of the Armenian parliament will operate, in accordance with agreed procedures, in collaboration with the competent organs of the ARF's main organization in Armenia. At the same time, they will represent spiritually the ideas, concerns and traditions that drives the entire Dashnak Party and continue the party's legacy of self-sacrifice inherited from its revolutionary struggle for national liberation and the establishment of an independent Armenia. [passage omitted]

Dashnak Party Position on Independence Clarified

ArSSR Organization To Vote for Independence

91AS0998A Beirut AZTAG in Armenian 15 Apr 91 p 4

[Interview with Ruben Hovsepyan, representative of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation in Armenia]

[Text] We have received from the ARF [Armenian Revolutionary Federation] Press and Information Center in Yerevan an interview by AZG, the official press organ of the Democratic Liberal [Ramgavar] Party in Armenia, with Comrade Ruben Hovsepyan, representative of the Political Bureau of the ARF Central Committee in Armenia.

Beginning with its 14th issue, AZG has been presenting the views of Armenian political parties about important political issues in Armenia's political life through interviews in a column entitled "Referendum." As part of that effort, AZG published in its 15th issue on 10 April 1991 an interview with Ruben Hovsepyan.

Below is the text of the said interview.

[AZG] What is the posture of the ARF with regard to the referendum to be held on 21 September and, in general, independence?

[Hovsepyan] Like all organizations aspiring for independence, the main organization of the ARF in Armenia will campaign for a "yes" vote, presuming, however, that an affirmative outcome of the referendum is only one of the steps of the process of independence—perhaps essential but not the most important. While we do not deny the practical significance of that step, we think that it is more important to seek ways of achieving independence

without any losses or pain. All forces, all organizations and the entire nation must participate in that quest. All doubts, anxieties, and concerns must be examined very carefully. Those who are doubtful, anxious and concerned must not be labeled cowards or traitors. In general, the political atmosphere of the republic must be cleared of the strains of intolerance. The fingers that are hitting against on each other must be merged into a single fist. A great battle awaits us.

[AZG] Among us there is a widespread view that, after demanding independence for 70 years, the ARF adopted the slogan of "it is not time for independence" after 1985 (that is, the "enthronement" of Gorbachev). What do you think about that?

[Hovsepyan] That is the product of the intolerance I mentioned. I think that it is futile to refute such a blatantly accusatory "view", because even if I or anyone else refutes that accusation—which has appointed itself to "point fingers" at and to seek errors in the work of others—with evidence, they will concoct something new the day after your paper publishes this interview.

I would like to say only this: When appraising the activities of the ARF or any other political party, one must differentiate between tactics and strategy. Your question, which is based on a "widespread view" "among us," manifests two "widespread" habits of intentionally or unintentionally confusing tactics with strategy.

That "the ARF has demanded independence for 70 years" is a strategy. The word "demand" in that phrase implies tactics and thus creates the confusing impression of as if the ARF demanded from the Soviet Armenian authorities to declare independence each and every day of the last 70 years.

Secondly, you said that [the ARF] invented the new slogan that "it is not time for independence" since 1985 (that is the "enthronement" of Gorbachev).

Personally I am not familiar with that slogan, but even if the party has adopted such a posture, is it not obvious that it has done so as a matter of tactics? What is so deplorable about saying that this or that moment in history "is not the time" for independence? Should we think otherwise and say that all moments are appropriate? If so, why have we delayed this act for so long? With that same reasoning we can deplore the members of the Karabakh Committee, which has now become the Armenian Pannational Movement [APM], for driving away from Liberty Square Paruyr Ayrikyan and his few supporters who demanded independence waving the tricolor [of the Armenian republic of 1918-1920]. I am deeply convinced that neither the Karabakh Committee nor Ayrikyan were wrong. Ayrikyan brought the idea of independence to maturity with his demands, while the Karabakh Committee said that it is not time for independence. The influence of the Karabakh Committee was enormous; its call for independence was perceived as

a demand for immediate independence. Were we prepared for that as a nation? I also do not think that Paruyr Ayrikyan was unaware of that situation at that time. But, I repeat, with his demand he brought the idea of independence to maturity. This level-headed and fair analysis must also be applied to the appraisal of the ARF's posture, also taking into account the fact that at that time the party did not even have an organization in Armenia.

Also hidden in your question is an accusation of supporting Gorbachev's policies. Tell me, please, who in the world or the USSR did not sympathize with Gorbachev at the time of his "enthronement"? Who did not project great hopes for the future? If we began insulting Gorbachev earlier than anyone else, it was because of the extremely strained—perhaps prematurely strained—situation in Artsakh, not the conviction that Gorbachev's restructuring policy is not a positive development. Our real disillusionment (and not only ours) matured only later. Is the aspiration of or attempt by any national party to take maximum advantage of any situation deplorable? That is the way the entire world operates, and it is that world that we want to be part of.

[AZG] Do your personal views and those of the ARF organization in Armenia about the independence referendum conform with the views of expatriate organizations, or are there any differences?

[Hovsepyan] The views of the ARF main organization in Armenia and those of the expatriate ARF organizations are identical with regard to the independence referendum, the general process of independence and, generally, basic issues related to our people and the fatherland. It cannot be otherwise. All ARF organizations, although structurally decentralized, are united around the same ideological and moral principles.

It is also true that any one of our party members may have his own personal opinion, but that opinion must not be confused with the stand of our party. The view of the party is shaped in the party's crucible through a discussion—which is often sharper and more passionate than any debate that may be found among parties—of individual opinions and approaches.

Anti-Dashnak Rhetoric Seen Over Independence

91AS0998B Paris GAMK in Armenian 29-30 Apr 91 p 1

[Editorial: "Dashnak Response to Contrived Interpretations"]

[Excerpts] An organized anti-Dashnak campaign of incrimination, stretching from Yerevan to Paris and Los Angeles, has been gaining momentum. The legions of this unnecessary campaign are made up of individuals of different colors. There are people who have been infused with insolent and crude hostility against the Dashnak Party at their birth, or even before their birth, and who are probably terrified by the prospect that the Dashnak Party may take part in government. Many people want to give the Dashnak Party museum qualities by adopting,

willy-nilly, symbols acknowledged to be Dashnak and by exploiting and expropriating them for demagogic purposes. They want to point out differences between the old and the new Dashnak Party by making use of linguistic jugglery to demonstrate that the new party is not related to the old party, that it is an expatriate organization and that, according to the laws being drafted, it is a foreign group. [passage omitted]

This accusatory garrulousness was exemplified by the correspondent of AZG, the official organ of the Ramgavar Party in Armenia, when he posed questions to Comrade Ruben Hovsepyan, the representative of the Political Bureau of the ARF Central Committee in Armenia. He asked what the stance of the ARF is with regard to the independence referendum, why the Dashnak Party has insisted during Gorbachev's rule that "it is not time for independence" after demanding independence for 70 years and whether the Dashnak members in Armenia and the diaspora think the same way.

We have no illusions: We cannot persuade those who have dedicated themselves to the game of imputation.

Hovsepyan has given clear answers. It could not be otherwise. [passage omitted]

Those who have taken on themselves the role of omniscient town crier had better listen, examine, study and understand, and, in particular, quit their childish attitude of trying to explain to others what they do not understand. Favoring independence does not in any way mean agreeing with all the views of those who share that opinion. Conversely, opposing it does not mean being communists. In a democratic system and modern civilized societies, those who are not with us are not necessarily against us.

The clarification Ruben Hovsepyan has made is useful if, obviously, people want to listen and understand. If, on the other hand, they are determined to question what has been said and criticize with suspicion, neither reason nor evidence can be of any help. In that case, they should not ask the Hovsepyans.

Postures on Independence Referendum Analyzed

9IAS1001A Paris GAMK in Armenian 18 Apr 91 p 1

["News Analysis" from the Armenian Revolutionary Federation Press and Information Center in Yerevan: "Armenia Prepares for the 21 September Referendum"]

[Text] Yerevan, 15 April 1991—As is known, the Armenian Supreme Soviet has decided to hold a referendum on 21 September about the secession of Armenia from the Soviet Union.

Different Armenian political movements have adopted different postures with regard to the referendum.

The leaders of the Armenian Pannational Movement [APM] are intent on breaking Armenia away from the

Soviet Union without delay. Prime Minister Vazgen Manukyan declared during a recent political discussion: "Armenia must be one of the first republics to secede from the USSR. Otherwise, if we delay it, we may find ourselves crushed under the rubble of the empire."

The Armenian Communist Party takes exactly the opposite position. It is opposed to secession and identifies Armenia's interests with those of the nine republics which participated in the 17 March referendum and voted to stay in the USSR.

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation [ARF] wants to build Armenia's independence in stages. It will campaign for a "yes" vote in the 21 September referendum. However, the important issue for the ARF is the preparation of the elements necessary for building and preserving independence.

Regardless of different political viewpoints, the Armenian government faces two important problems regarding the referendum:

1. International recognition; and
2. The Artsakh issue.

The 21 September referendum will have only moral value if it does not win international recognition. The international community and the West in particular will take into account only the stance of the central authorities in Moscow on this issue. In a statement to reporters in Yerevan in early April on this issue, the British ambassador said that "the independence process must be lawful, must be based on treaties and must have the center's consent."

The second problem looming before Armenia's government is the territories on which the referendum will be held. Will Artsakh participate in the referendum? If Artsakh is ignored and is unable to participate, then the Armenian Supreme Soviet will find itself in a legal conflict with its own 2 December 1989 decision for the unification of Artsakh with Armenia.

In order to resolve the problems enumerated above and, in particular, to win international recognition, the Armenian Supreme Soviet, at the request of the Armenian government, will form a referendum commission which will include the representatives of political movements that favor a "yes" vote in the referendum.

Minority in Georgia Publishes New Weekly

9IAS1001B Paris HARATCH in Armenian 10 Apr 91 p 2

[Article by Arpi Totoyan: "ASPNCHAK"]

[Excerpts] The weekly with this uncommon name is published by the Javakhk Compatriotic Association in the Armenian-populated region of Georgia by the same name, which is a complete little Armenia with its language, customs and traditions. The first issue of the

weekly is dated 25 March. In an editorial entitled "Take Me to Our Bright Fields" in that issue, editor-in-chief Vahan Saghatelyan explains the motivation for publishing the weekly as follows: "There was a 'spiritual famine' in Javakhk, which is so close to and so far away from Armenia. Everyone visiting Javakhk was overtaken by the magnitude of our problems. A bearer of news and a discussant was needed in this complex situation to bring to Javakhk the hot and cold winds of Armenia. It is this mission that the weekly ASPNCHAK [Receptacle] has taken on its shoulders."

In a front-page article on Georgia's 31 March referendum on independence, the editorial board questions whether the Georgian government will continue its democratic policies after independence, especially as regards ethnic issues. This is a question that worries the Armenian community today.

It is no secret that the entire Armenian community of this region of Georgia is in serious conflict with the republic's government which has been trying to block any probable expressions of demands. The Georgian government has also tried to win assurances from the Armenian government that it will not make any territorial or other claims on Georgia.

In an article entitled "Noble City of Tbilisi" on the second page, Valeri Ayvazyan makes reference to Georgian attempts to eradicate the Armenian presence in that city. He writes: "'Thanks' to Georgia's policies, hundreds of thousands of Georgian-Armenians left their homes and sought their fortunes wherever they could; tens of thousands of Armenians were forced to change their nationality; Armenian inscriptions and ornaments were erased from the Church of Jvari and scores of other churches."

The same issue of the weekly provides figures on the ethnic composition of Georgia. The total population of the republic is 5.4 million of which 432,000 are Armenians and 308,000 are Azeris. [passage omitted]

The uneasiness of the Armenians of Javakhk is detailed in an interview with Samuel Petrosyan, the president of the Javakhk popular movement. As is known, the initial source of that uneasiness was the decision to appoint the governor of the region from the center. The Armenians of the region opposed that decision and proposed their own candidate. A second cause of dispute was the decision to conduct official business and judiciary proceedings in Georgian. After commenting on these issues, Petrosyan expresses the conviction that the historic friendship between Armenians and Georgians will survive this debacle as well. [passage omitted]

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

Challenges Facing Central Committee, U.S. Role

91AE0383A Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI
in Arabic 13 Apr 91 pp 10-11

[Article: "Three Challenges on Agenda of Next Meeting of Palestine Central Council: Emerging With Palestinian Policy for Post-War Phase; Correcting Palestinian-Arab Relations; Making Comprehensive Evaluation of Situation at Home"]

[Text] The PCC [Palestine National Council], which represents the link between the PLO Executive Committee and the PNC [Palestine National Council], the highest Palestinian legislative authority, is scheduled to meet on the 21st of this month to examine the new political developments in the Palestinian and Arab arenas in the wake of the Gulf war. This meeting gains special importance by virtue of the challenges facing the Palestinian issue and emanating from this war.

The first task facing the next PCC meeting is to draft a specific and clearcut policy to deal with all the developments of the coming period so as to overcome the current policy which, in some of its aspects, is founded on "reaction" and which has opened the door for numerous opinions that reflect slipping political control. But the slippage is disciplined. Perhaps the PCC, the second highest legitimate Palestinian institution behind the PNC, is the only body capable of determining the Palestinian policy for the next phase.

By virtue of the nature of the challenges facing the Palestinian issue, this meeting will not be an ordinary routine meeting or, to put it in other words, it would be wrong for the meeting to be an ordinary routine meeting given the challenges that have given rise to numerous questions that require clear and specific answers. Foremost among these questions is: How will the Palestinian side deal in the post-war phase with all the consequences of this war and all the given facts that have emanated from it at the Palestinian, Arab, and international levels? The Gulf war with all its weight and dimensions has reflected on the Palestinian issue.

In this analysis which will be present on the table of the PCC meeting, we will deal with the challenges facing the Palestinian issue in the wake of the Gulf war and with how to respond to them free from emotional reactions and political rashness. The post-war Palestinian situation requires great deliberateness in debating and examining matters and making conclusions. Perhaps the delay in convening the PCC until this time reflects the deliberateness in determining the Palestinian policy.

Palestinian-Arab Relationship

With a background of the Gulf war crisis and of the political separation that has prevailed and continues to prevail in the Arab world where a split exists between two obvious tendencies—the first comprising the Gulf

states, Egypt, and Syria and the second comprising Iraq, Jordan, Yemen, Mauritania, Sudan, and the PLO, with a third tendency positioned between the above two tendencies and comprising the Arab Maghreb states which supported Iraq versus the United States and versus the war the alliance launched against it while preserving their relations with the other tendency, especially with the Gulf states—this challenge, which is the first of its kind in modern Arab history, has reflected on the Palestinian issue by involving the PLO in the Arab axes despite the Palestinian stance which refuses to be involved in these axes. The PLO is now facing a new challenge in the Arab arena—a challenge represented in the stance taken by some Arab countries and reflected in the cutoff of the material aid these states used to provide to the Palestinian people, whether through the PLO or directly. This stance is also reflected in ending the political support given the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

It is true that the PLO derives the legitimacy and singularity of its representation from the Palestinian people's support and backing. But it is also true that the Arab states' support and backing for the PLO gives it political strength and legitimacy. Therefore, it is wrong to adopt a negative policy vis-a-vis the Arab states that supported the United States politically and militarily against Iraq, even though the Palestinian position disagrees with these states.

Perhaps some may say that a revolutionary position dictates adopting a negative policy against these states by virtue of their joining the U.S. policy. Even though this position may have been somewhat sound in the era of international bi-polarism, it is totally unsound in the era of international detente or, to put it more clearly, the era of uni-polarism (United States) in the world. The Gulf war has reflected clearly and undubitably the reality and all the consequences of this uni-polarism now that the Soviet Union has retreated to its internal cocoon and no longer has any impact on international developments and the Gulf war has demonstrated that the European countries and Japan are incapable of playing an international political game independent of U.S. policy and incapable of influencing U.S. policy.

In the face of this challenge and of what the Palestinian relations with a number of Arab states are experiencing, the PLO's adoption of a negative policy means ousting the PLO from the regional and international political map. This is what the U.S. administration is seeking in this period in order to dictate for the Middle East conflict a solution that defaces the legitimate Palestinian national rights and turns them into minority rights.

The PLO's adoption of a negative policy vis-a-vis the Arab states with whose position toward the Gulf war the PLO has disagreed and continues to disagree means:

First, since the United States launched its political move for the region after the cease-fire, one aspect of the U.S. policy in the post war phase is based on ousting the PLO

from the political process. This is what was declared by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker when he said that "there is no place for the PLO in the political process." Adopting a negative policy vis-a-vis the Arab states serves this U.S. policy. Rather, this is what the U.S. administration is seeking. Therefore, to confront this U.S. policy, the PLO is required to restore relations with all the Arab countries to their pre-Gulf war condition.

Second, given U.S. "unilateralism" in the world, adopting a negative policy will isolate the PLO politically at the Arab and international levels and, consequently, will weaken its political power and embroil it in sidebattles whose outcome will not be in the interest of the Palestinian cause and Palestinian procession. It will also accomplish the U.S. policy objective of ousting the PLO as an influential force in the Middle East conflict.

Third, adopting a negative policy vis-a-vis the Arab states which supported the United States given the "law" of changed alliances and axes in the Arab world will also mean putting the PLO in the tightest corner which, consequently, means solving the Palestinian issue far from Palestinian national rights and the Palestinian will that is represented by the PLO.

Because of all of this, the only option the PCC has is to adopt a positive policy by moving politically to surpass the current condition of Palestinian-Arab relations toward good relations in order to regain financial and political support for the PLO and to reestablish Arab political dealing with the Palestinian issue through the PLO.

Mechanism of Palestinian Movement

Without confronting the first challenge, namely Palestinian-Arab relations, dealing with the second, fundamental challenge, could prove almost [too] difficult to face. This second challenge is embodied in the need to develop a mechanism for political movement at the Arab and international levels. This mechanism is needed to confront the U.S. political movement, which seeks to bypass Palestinian and international legitimacy, the right to self-determination, and the right to establish a Palestinian state. It is also needed to activate the Palestinian political movement in the direction of a just solution that fulfills the national rights of the Palestinian people.

Determining a mechanism for the political movement with the background of the Gulf war and of all the given facts that have been underlined and introduced by the war will have special importance "on the table of the next PCC meeting." This importance equals, if it doesn't exceed, the importance of confronting the first challenge. Palestinian policy needs a clear and definite working mechanism which have to shoulder the following responsibilities in the coming phase:

First, the initial given political facts of the Gulf war have demonstrated that the U.S. administration is trying to exploit the war politically to develop for the Palestinian issue a political solution that disregards Palestinian

national rights and the international and Palestinian legitimacy. In its movement, the United States relies, of course, on the political success it has achieved in the war against Iraq and on the division prevailing in the Arab world since the start of the Gulf crisis.

Second, the regional and international political collapse or, to put it more clearly, the regional response—Iran, Syria, and other countries—and the international response—the Soviet Union, France, China, and other countries—to the U.S. policy which has been demonstrated by the Gulf war in an unprecedented manner requires of the Palestinian policy a mechanism of movement that takes this fundamental factor into consideration in the Palestinian political dealings at the regional and international levels.

Third, the Nonaligned Movement, which used to form the international weight supporting the Palestinian issue, has become semi-paralyzed, if not totally paralyzed. The Gulf war crisis demonstrated this more clearly than ever before. Numerous regional and international organizations have also become paralyzed, thus serving the interest of U.S. domination. This, too, requires a mechanism for Palestinian political movement that takes advantage of this new international reality.

Fourth, exploiting the Gulf war at the Palestinian level, considering that this war has been launched, at least theoretically, on the basis of international legitimacy, which is still absent from the Palestinian issue.

These responsibilities, generated by the Gulf war and placed on the shoulders of the postwar Palestinian policy, require a mechanism for Palestinian political action.

Contrary to the opinion stating that it is necessary for this mechanism to be based on positive or semi-positive political dealing with the U.S. political movement, the post-war Palestinian policy will be founded on international legitimacy.

The war, launched on the basis of "international legitimacy and its resolutions" creates a convenient ground for foiling the U.S. political movement and for developing an international position that pressures the United States, especially since all countries, excluding the United States itself, displayed awareness of international legitimacy in connection with the Palestinian issue during the crisis.

Cornering the U.S. administration is not accomplished by dealing with its movement but by developing a mechanism for a regional and international Palestinian political movement that relies on international legitimacy and on the need to evaluate the UN resolutions concerning the region's conflict. The U.S. administration will then find itself in a weak defensive position vis-a-vis the mechanism that relies on international legitimacy.

Focusing on the Home Front

Drafting a mechanism for a postwar Palestinian political movement requires the PCC to take into consideration that a mechanism of movement not focusing on all aspects of the situation at home will be a mechanism that soars in the air far from reality. Focusing is not accomplished by devoting attention, as it was devoted in the past, to institutions that are often isolated from the people's real situation, except through a weak moral link, and to individuals and figures that have been burnished and that are often being burnished by the Israeli press. Such focusing comes by devoting attention to all aspects of the people's reality, i.e., the focusing is accomplished by pragmatically, not just theoretically on paper, correcting the relationship between the home front and the diaspora.

The condition under which the home front lives as a consequence of the continued flaw in the relationship between the home front and the diaspora and also as a result of the economic situation that has worsened as a consequence of numerous elements emanating from the Gulf war requires a responsible pause for a comprehensive evaluation of the past three years. Most of the reports that issue forth from the offices are bureaucratic reports, not real reports.

In its coming session, the PCC has a greater responsibility than in the past to discuss the situation at home and to emerge with a practical position, not a theoretical position that is useless in correcting the relationship between the home front and the diaspora and in introducing into the home-front situation fundamental changes that transport it from its current condition to a condition that strongly boosts any mechanism in the Palestinian political movement.

These are mere suggestions.

Kurdish Issue Described as Smokescreen for Invasion

91AE0383B Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI
in Arabic 13 Apr 91 p 14

[Editorial by Ahmad Sulayman: "This Poisoned Campaign"]

[Text] Nicosia—The campaign launched by members of the aggressive alliance, led by the United States, against Iraq on the pretext of defending the Kurds complements the military aggression in which more than 30 countries took part and which has not accomplished its main objective of fragmenting Iraq into mini-states fighting each other.

The saboteurs coming into Iraq across the southern and northern borders have not been stirred accidentally but in accordance with a well-studied plan agreed upon with the regimes neighboring Iraq out of the belief held by the alliance members that Iraq's military capabilities have ended and that the time has come to accomplish the old

colonialist objective of fragmenting Iraq as a prelude to fragmenting other Arab countries.

But the surprise by which the plotters have been caught has confirmed that Iraq's military capabilities are, despite the major losses to which they were subjected as a consequence of the international alliance's aggression, still strong and able to defend Iraq's soil, unity, and international borders.

When the new part of the aggression failed, members of the aggressive alliance launched a poisoned campaign against Iraq on the pretext of defending the Kurds. Among those participating in this campaign are regimes that have among their population fourfold the number of Kurds in Iraq. Still, these regimes refuse to acknowledge the Kurds' national rights, which were officially acknowledged by Iraq years ago.

In Turkey, there are more than 10 million persecuted Kurds who are prohibited from using their language and celebrating their holidays. The same applies to Iran where there are more than six million Kurds, whereas their number in Iraq doesn't exceed 2.5 million.

Would Turkey, Iran, or Syria have taken the position of a spectator if their Kurds declared military rebellion against the central government?

Would the United States, France, Britain, or other countries take the position of a spectator if one of their provinces declared military rebellion and attacked, burnt, and looted state institutions?

Naturally, the answer is: Of course not.

So, what Iraq has done is a legitimate right to which it is entitled by all laws. Iraq is not responsible for the consequences of this rebellion because those who started the fighting are Kurds introduced from outside the country. It was the Iraqi forces' duty to prevent them from achieving their evil objectives. These forces were in the position of self-defense and not in an offensive position. Therefore, those who egged the Kurds on to stage a military rebellion must shoulder the consequences of what they have done. It is obvious that if the instigators truly supported Kurdish rights, they would have given the Kurds the rights they enjoy in Iraq. But it is certain that the instigators' objective is to get rid of the Kurds by embroiling them in battles that the instigators know in advance the Kurds will lose. The Kurdish issue is a two-edged weapon, especially insofar as Turkey, Iran, and Syria are concerned, because Iraq is also capable of stirring the Kurds in these countries whenever it wishes. The indications that prove this capability are many, very many.

Profile of Radwan Abu-'Ayyash

91AE0394A Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST
in English 12 Apr 91 p 7

[Article by Jon Immanuel; first paragraph is THE JERUSALEM POST introduction]

[Text] Whether he operates from deep moral conviction or canny political populism, Radwan Abu-'Ayyash may just find himself as a key player in any future Israeli-Palestinian talks.

Radwan Abu-'Ayyash, the head of the Arab Journalists Association, will emerge from five months in administrative detention this morning as a much talked of key player in any future Israeli-Palestinian peace talks.

Amid the depression, jealousies, and political-infighting which the defeat of Iraq in the Gulf war has aroused, Abu-'Ayyash has some special qualities which place him in a unique position among the "leading personalities" in the Palestinian community.

These qualities may have contributed to the U.S. embassy's attempt to get Abu-'Ayyash released three days early so that he could attend the Palestinian delegation's meeting with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker on Tuesday. Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir rejected the request.

Former Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin revealed this week that Abu-'Ayyash was the only one among the "leading personalities" on the West Bank who were on a list approved by the United States and Egypt in 1989 to represent Palestinians at peace negotiations. The Egyptian seal of approval clearly meant that he had been approved by the PLO in Tunis too. Traditional front-runners Faysal Husayn, Sari Nusayba and newspaper editor Hanna Sinyurah were not on the list, Rabin said.

Whether Abu-'Ayyash would still be approved by Israel after being accused of writing leaflets of the Unified National Leadership and encouraging shock forces to engage in violence, is not known. But the accusation can only enhance his reputation in the Palestinian street.

He has three advantages over other "leading personalities," such as Husayn, with whom Israel refuses to negotiate.

Unlike most of the local leadership—who come from established West Bank and Gaza families—Abu-'Ayyash was born a refugee in Askar camp in Nabulus. He works in Jerusalem, but resides outside the city. He is 40-years-old, the youngest in a group of people whose average age is between 55 and 60.

To these three assets another can be added. Since he grew up in the Nabulus area, he can also be considered a "Nabulusi," and Nabulus notables were known to be upset at what they considered to be their underrepresentation in the talks with Baker.

As a refugee, Abu-'Ayyash enjoys wide "grassroots" popularity with a segment of the Palestinian population. On the streets of Balata, the largest refugee camp in the West Bank, the mention of his name drew strong approval. Faysal Husayn, on the other hand, was derided as someone only seen on the TV screen in a blue suit. The names of other "leading personalities" drew blank stares or a smirk.

In Amari camp, just 40 kms. south of Nabulus, however, the youths seemed to find Abu-'Ayyash less than irresistible. "Refugee or not, if he is a 'leading personality' he must be a rich man now, so how can he have anything in common with us now?"

In fact, Abu-'Ayyash lives in a two and one-half room apartment in Ramallah with his wife and five children, and friends say he refuses to move to a larger home because it was not right for a refugee to live well.

Whether he operates from deep moral conviction or canny political populism, his Ramallah apartment, like Menahem Begin's famous three-room flat in Tel Aviv during his years in opposition, enhances his reputation for modesty and honesty. It is an important asset among refugees who rightly or wrongly claim that funds from abroad build houses for the rich instead of creating jobs for them.

Even more important, his Ramallah address makes it difficult for the Israeli government to reject his participation in a Palestinian negotiating team. The government refuses to negotiate with any Palestinian delegation which includes a Jerusalem resident. Though he works in Eastern Jerusalem, Abu-'Ayyash does not live there. When the role of unofficial East Jerusalem representative was suggested for him two years ago, Abu-'Ayyash rejected it, but Palestinians are less inclined to make an issue of such a compromise now.

Abu-'Ayyash's age places him in the same bracket as the key middle-level leaders of the Unified Command and strike forces. If the accusations publicly made against him by Israeli defense officials after his arrest in November are correct, then he was operating at this middle-level himself.

Abu-'Ayyash emerged as the second most important Palestinian spokesman in the West Bank when Faysal Husayn was in administrative detention last year. At the time, he orchestrated the Palestinian refusal to meet with British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd last October.

Abu-'Ayyash began his career as a teacher after the Six Day War. He joined the Palestine Press Service, established by Ramallah activists Raymonda Tawil and Ibrahim Kara'eem, becoming the editor of the AL-AWDAH Arabic weekly, in which capacity he continued until it was closed shortly after the intifadah began. He was elected chairman of the Journalists Association in 1988, and established the Arab Media Center for outreach to the foreign and Israeli press. Before his arrest in November, Abu-'Ayyash was receiving a constant stream of local visitors in his East Jerusalem office who hoped to receive help solving their personal grievances.

Abu-'Ayyash is on particularly close terms with Israeli Arabs through the National Committee of Heads of Arab Local Councils. Shortly before his arrest, he met in Tunis with the PLO Executive Committee—the PLO "government."

To what extent has Abu-'Ayyash emerged as an authentic local leader? Palestinians close to the "leading personalities" won't discuss this question because it appears to suggest supplanting the leadership of the PLO in Tunis. "The problem with the question is that after this war and the painful self-criticism we have been going through, like a Greek tragedy, it would be very wrong to personalize things," one well-informed Palestinian academic said.

However, Palestinians under 40 in camps and villages do not hesitate to personalize the issues, denigrating the well-known spokesmen and putting forward a variety of names to key intifadah activists. What they have in common is their reputation for modesty, their grassroots activism, jail time, refugee background and youth. Some are more widely known in the territories than some of the negotiating personalities. But, unlike Abu-'Ayyash, they are not on any government's list of negotiators.

"Radwan would surprise during negotiations, but he would not depart from the PLO and he alone cannot influence decisions," said one close colleague. But the post-war soul-searching has created calls for new elections, new ways, and an openness in decision-making which all point to a demand for more local influence on PLO decisions. Abu-'Ayyash will be facing a new political situation when he arrives home at 11 a.m. and gives his first press conference since rejecting a meeting with the British Foreign Secretary.

ALGERIA

APN Speaker Interviewed on Wage, Price Issues

91AA0337A Algiers AL-SHA'B in Arabic
27 Mar 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Abdelaziz Belkhadem, speaker of National People's Assembly, by 'Abd-al-Jalil Jalali; place and date not given: "Present Situation Is Joint Responsibility of APN and Government, Wage System Unable To Deal With Freed Prices"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted]

[Jalali] Despite the success of the general strike that the General Union of Algerian Workers [UGTA] called to protest rising prices and the deteriorating social situation, prices recorded a further rise at the beginning of the month of Ramadan.

Don't you think that the current increasingly grave social and economic situation demands that the National People's Assembly [APN] intervene in accordance with the powers vested in it?

[Belkhadem] The powers vested in the APN in the area of monitoring and investigating government activity allow questioning the government orally or in writing. However, for the information of readers, the assembly does not intervene in setting prices, except the tax component of prices—the part of the price of a product that goes to

the public treasury, either the so-called indirect taxes, or in the framework of compensatory fees that guarantee a kind of solidarity between consumers according to the type of product consumed. However, when it comes to price formation in terms of production cost and profit margin, the APN has nothing to do with the matter.

In this regard, we find ourselves forced to question the government as part of our sensitivity to citizens' concerns, so as to alert managers to the need to keep up with the purchasing power of salaries and maintain a certain amount of consumption without which production cannot be stimulated. This is what has made the assembly question the government. We believe that this is our duty. We must perform it; otherwise, we would betray our trust.

Part of your question related to the month of Ramadan. We as consumers have become accustomed to see a price rise at the start of every Ramadan. We hope that reason will prevail in commerce, so that the powerful among us show mercy to the weak, and so that members of society take responsibility for each other.

We do not want them [sc. prices] to be burdensome to wage earners, particularly those with limited income. We want to clear the economic environment. Suitable working conditions must be provided, so that we enable the worker to raise his production and face the market with purchasing power that fulfills his needs—at least the essential ones.

[Jalali] One sees that the government is not taking the concerns of parliamentary deputies into consideration. It does not feel obliged to carry out carefully the laws that [the assembly] passes. At the same time, the government in fact applies some additional things and afterwards asks the APN to approve them.

Do you think the APN is exercising its powers in the area of surveillance?

[Belkhadem] Regarding the price-supported products a list of which was attached to the finance law and for whose support 28 billion dinars were earmarked, with 7 billion of this to cover the deficit registered in 1990 in the compensation fund—the prime minister has stated to us that their prices have not changed. The problem is that although these prices have not changed, the products are not being made available in sufficient quantity in the markets. This has prompted speculation, for we know that scarcity begets higher prices. This is what has in fact happened with certain widely consumed marketed commodities.

Regarding the laws and failure to adhere to them, I do not think there has been a violation of the finance law approved last December. It is merely that marketing agencies, due to the circumstances we experienced during the Gulf war and with the approach of Ramadan, did not keep up with the perceptible disturbances in the circulation of goods and get them onto store shelves and major areas so as to reassure citizens of their availability,

so that they would not hoard them or resort to buying them on the speculative market.

This obvious failure is what led to the fluctuation we saw the week before Ramadan regarding price-supported goods. Some manufactured and semifinished goods saw a marked or at times exorbitant rise. According to the explanations we have been given, some of these [increases] were acceptable, reflecting production cost and profit margin, while others were unacceptable and were not based on mechanisms for evaluating production cost, or were based on guesses about the future value of the dinar. This is what you do not accept, since prices set in this way do not reflect a production-related reality; instead, they sometimes cover a financial deficit, a production shortfall, or bad management.

[Jalali] The APN fully agrees with the government in its effort to free prices, but disagrees with it over the implementation method inasmuch as the government has done away with the stages.

Do you believe that the level of the current 20-step salary scale can bear such tremendous increases?

[Belkhadim] Of course we are for freeing prices, but the current wage system does not allow dealing with them. This is what has led to the decline of purchasing power. In our way of thinking, we say that the reforms are a means, not an end. Our goal is to help citizens by cleaning up the economic environment and raising productivity. This will lead to the availability of goods—i.e., a drop in their price in the context of competition, and a rise in consumption through purchasing power that enables this. Otherwise, what is the good of production that is not consumed, whether we use high prices or low wages in this? We believe that real prices, or what are called “freed prices,” are organically connected to real wages. In the context of dealing with workers, managers must therefore find mechanisms to connect wages and the cost of producing consumer goods. Room, of course, must be left for national solidarity as regards widely consumed basic goods. Price support for them must be maintained from the state budget to enable low-income or unemployed citizens to buy them at affordable prices.

[Jalali] The government’s withdrawal of what it has termed “excess cash liquidity” from the market is taking place in a round-about way by freeing prices and reducing the value of the dinar at the expense of reduced citizens’ purchasing power and the utter destruction of the value of savings.

Don’t you see the need for intervention to preserve the value of citizens’ savings?

[Belkhadim] Legislation by itself is not enough. There must be encouragement of investment. Effort must be valued, and there must be incentive measures that promote the absorption of excess cash liquidity from the market either by encouraging the consumption of certain goods, or by returning it to the production system by tax incentives, or by saving encouraged by confidence—of

course, not only in the political sense, but also in the economic sense—in other words, clarity in transactions and putting an end to the decline in the value of the dinar.

[Jalali] APN approval of the government’s general policy statement had the effect of encouraging the government to move in an unknown direction, particularly since the government’s program from the beginning did not include definite goals.

Don’t you consider that the APN shares responsibility with the government for the state to which society has now come?

[Belkhadim] I think the responsibility is joint. We are not evading it. However, the goals were not drawn up with figures. The goals were drawn up in the program; but when we see that there is a gap between our understanding of these goals and what one observes in the field, we question the government. This is what we have been doing since the end of January and continue to do. Let there be agreement between the goals of the reforms that I mentioned earlier and what we see in practical life. To the extent that we do not shirk our responsibilities for having approved this program, we do not keep silent about the evident excesses in implementing it. This is the other half of our responsibility. We bear it fully. We pray that God will enable us to bear it in a way pleasing to Him and that responds to the concerns of those who have put their trust in us.

[Jalali] Rising prices, a declining social situation, and a worsening economic crisis—these things demand that one stop and review reforms that have now become a goal, not a means.

How do you view the present situation of the reforms?

[Belkhadim] The reforms are an absolute necessity for revitalizing the production system and our service sector. However, these reforms have stages and are subject to mechanisms about which there is no disagreement. They must not be an end in themselves; otherwise, they turn out to have no standard by which to measure their success. The following things are desired from the reforms: spurring our productive energies, restoring respect to our banking system, maintaining our social laws, widening the scope of earnings, realizing greater investments, achieving just income distribution, enabling the community to become mutually responsible, expanding citizens’ everyday life circumstances through achievements in housing, higher school enrollments, and better education to guarantee greater success rates and incorporation into the economy, achieving greater self-sufficiency in agriculture, improving health, educational, and social services, and creating appropriate frameworks for development in the cultural area, while immunizing citizens with authentic culture regarding their religious and Arab affiliation.

[Jalali] One sees that the APN has gone along with the government in passing many reform laws and that both

have utterly neglected to deal with the pressing everyday problems of citizens. Neither one has found appropriate methods to stimulate investment and production.

Don't you think that insistence on going in this direction during this transition period before parliamentary elections constitutes a deliberate ignoring of lived reality and a restriction on the action of future governments?

[Belkhadim] Most of the reform laws were drawn up before last summer, although there remained a few final points in constructing the edifice of the economy, such as the real estate guidance law and the trade law that we are waiting for.

As for restricting future governments by these laws, that is not the idea. It depends on the results of the elections. If there is a new majority, it will have the right to change these laws to conform to its economic and political program. If there is the same majority, it will be able to amend the laws to suit the requirements of the moment.

So no restriction is involved, since each parliament has full sovereignty to retain laws, change them, or update them completely.

[Jalali] Many deputies state that the government's freeing of prices in this crazy manner is aimed at making the National Liberation Front Party [FLN] lose in the parliamentary elections, as happened with the measures to combat "trabando" and the publication of lists of those who had illicitly benefitted from farming investments. These things directly affected the results of the elections of 12 June.

To what extent do you agree with the theses of these deputies?

[Belkhadim] I think these are individual conjectures. Every deputy is responsible for his own opinion in this area and in all areas. But if this is said, it comes under the heading of concern for promoting the success of the political current to which they belong. That is quite legitimate. Every party in opposition hopes to take over the government, and every party in government hopes to remain there. What is wrong with that? Indeed, the rule in democracy is that there be competition for the government through trying to please citizens and gain their votes. Some consider this demagoguery. Others consider it an election campaign. Still others consider it to be something natural that strengthens a democratic reality. So when such conjectures occur, we do not like them.

Djendel Residents Close Down Local NPA Office
91AA0383B Algiers AL-SHA'B in Arabic 28 Apr 91 p 3

[Article: "Residents of Djendel Close Down Headquarters of Their Municipality"]

[Text] WAJ—Residents of the city of Djendel decided to close down the headquarters of the commune's People's Communal Assembly in the wake of a boycott of the

prime minister's visit by the chairman of the Executive Council of the city commune.

Citizens stated that they would prevent any entry into the commune until the governor dissolves the commune's Executive Council.

The governor therefore went to Djendel yesterday, where he stated that suitable measures would be taken in the matter.

Among the concerns of the citizens was the inability of the People's Communal Assembly to settle and solve social and economic problems, particularly unemployment and the distribution of agricultural land.

Residents of the city of Djendel criticized the statements of their elected representatives. They expressed their lack of support and solidarity with such behavior and actions.

According to the opinion of citizens who were interviewed at the same place, other communes in the governorate have acted in similar manner, particularly Bir Ouled Khelifa, where residents blocked the road linking Tissemsilt, Khemis, and Ain Lechiakh.

Commentary Describes Conditions During Strike

*91AA0414A Paris LE MONDE in French
30 May 91 p 3*

[Article by Yves Heller and Georges Marion: "Islamists Demand Chadli's Resignation"—first paragraph is LE MONDE introduction]

[Text] The Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) call for a general strike beginning Saturday 25 May to force early presidential elections and abrogation of the electoral law is still largely unheeded. But the fundamentalists demanding President Chadli Bendjedid's resignation are escalating their demonstrations. And tension is mounting: On Wednesday morning, they attacked several city buses in Algiers, and plans are being made for a giant march to the capital in the days to come. FIS and the government are watching each other closely, each hoping the other will make a fatal false step....

Algiers—The cats in this city have never had it so good. Four days after the FIS called for a general strike, the feline population is the only class to benefit from one side effect of the protest: the accumulation of garbage on the streets. Sanitation workers, along with other city employees under the jurisdiction of Islamist elected municipal officials, are standing around with arms folded, encouraged—if not constrained—by their superiors to remain idle. Since Saturday, the refuse pouring out of ripped-open garbage bags has further soiled the image of a city that had already outlived its once-proud epithet, "Algiers the White."

Except for the municipal departments under FIS's control—where the strike was of course fully effective—there were few signs the work stoppage was gaining

momentum, notwithstanding the large numbers posted by the city of Algiers on electronic signboards in the downtown area. For a supposedly "general" strike, it looks rather spotty. A few enterprises here and there have closed their doors—"under pressure from external elements," according to management—but no sector is even close to being paralyzed.

Twenty-five day-care centers maintained by the Algiers wilaya (prefecture) have been closed, as have several schools where staff joined the strike. In the capital, some windows at the main post office have been shut for the last two days. Public transport is mostly running, even though several bus services have been affected by the work stoppages. At the University of Bab-Ezzouar in the suburbs, Islamist students succeeded in preventing the holding of examinations; there have also been incidents at the main faculty building and in several secondary schools. The slaughterhouses have shut down completely, and so have the fruit and vegetable merchants at the wholesalers' market.

All in all, however, the country is running as before, despite efforts to resuscitate the strike by FIS militants—especially Islamic Labor Syndicate (SIT) activists stung by the initiative's apparent failure. "You are called upon today more than ever before to take a historic and responsible position of firm support for this strike aimed at bringing about a radical and total change of regime," floridly proclaims one of the SIT tracts distributed to motorists stopped by the demonstrators. "You will see that the strike will gradually pick up more and more support," warned FIS leader Abassi Madani, saddened by press reports describing the workers' lack of response to his injunctions.

The tension has gone up a notch in Algiers—as in some provincial cities—where the streets have been virtually overrun by processions of thousands of Islamists headed every which way. In the past, such demonstrators trooped stolidly and purposefully down the streets, in icy silence. Since the Gulf war, the demonstrators have assumed a more martial appearance. Some have traded in their "Afghan guerrilla" apparel for what looks much more like traditional military attire. In block formations 200 strong, grouped behind green or black banners—sometimes even lined up behind the national flag—they march with finger pointed skyward and an open Koran in their hand while chanting rhymed slogans into the loudspeakers.

Nail and Tongue

On Monday, thousands of the so-called "bearded ones" tried in vain to march to the presidential palace. On Tuesday, they marched all over Algiers, from Martyr Place to May Day Place, occupying the shoreline boulevard and streets leading into it. Processions of flag-decked cars and trucks crisscrossed the capital boulevards, while women in buses waved copies of the Koran from behind drawn curtains. Late in the afternoon, thousands were still demonstrating all over town. Later

still, hundreds converged at assembly points where they spent the night stretched out on rugs, blankets or even cardboard, not far from where the womenfolk were concealed from view by blue blankets stretched between the trees.

How many more days will this go on? Is the FIS, which says it will not give up before its objectives are attained, really still in control of the process it has unleashed? The government is keeping quiet, in an effort to keep everyone on edge wondering what it is thinking and how it plans to react. Might it perhaps look favorably on a further escalation of tensions, in order to be perceived as the last bastion against the fundamentalist menace? Might the FIS itself not be counting on the security forces to commit excesses? Both sides hasten to claim their intentions are nonviolent, but it is clear each camp hopes the other will commit a fatal mistake.

Meanwhile, encamped as they are in the public squares of a capital city dumfounded at this apparition of what looks like an invading army, the ranks of Islamist supporters are becoming more radicalized with every passing day. Transformed by night into bivouacs, by day the squares become esplanades from which prayers are sent up to God and curses are rained down on the president and prime minister. "This is going to bring Chadli down," confided one bearded youth on Tuesday, his eyes ringed dark with kohl. To thousands of his companions, he serves as a caricature of the enemy, and throughout the demonstrations they revile him as "sultan," i.e., tyrant.

Rarely in the past have FIS militants personalized their struggle to such a great extent: Usually they have a weakness for more abstract demands, such as the establishment of an "Islamic state" or institutionalization of the *shari'ah*. Recalling Mr. Madani's comparison of Chadli to a nail planted in the talon of Algeria, demonstrators on Tuesday brandished gigantic pasteboard tongs. All it will take to get the country moving again, they suggest, is to pull out the nail. Less than a month before the legislative elections, FIS continues its campaign for early presidential elections, which seems now to be its paramount objective.

ISRAEL

Results of Public Opinion Poll on Elections

TA0761546 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 7 Jun 91 p 1

[Text] Results of a Smith poll: If elections were held today, the Labor Party would receive 28 mandates and the Likud would receive 38. Compared to a poll taken in November 1990, the two largest parties increased their strength at the expense of their satellite parties. However, the Likud's gains were greater than Labor's. These were the findings of a public opinion poll conducted by the Smith Institute at the beginning of May, among a representative sampling of 1,200 men and women from

the adult Jewish population, including farming communities and residents of Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza

IAF Commander Calls for Change in Combat Doctrine

91AE0419A Tel Aviv BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR
in Hebrew Apr 91 pp 8-9

[Unattributed report: "Air Force Group Commander: Change the Military Doctrine"]

[Text] "In the wake of the Gulf war we need to ask some penetrating questions," said Brigadier General A. "Namely, should our defense doctrine continue to be based on a large ground force that goes on counteroffensive immediately after the initial holding defense, leaving many casualties in tough ground battles, or should the doctrine be based on massive air force operations until the conditions are ripe for introducing ground forces, which would then be able to advance 'smoothly' with a minimum of casualties? Anyone who does not learn this lesson will be forced to pay the price, as we did in previous wars."

Brig. Gen. A. believes that the Air Force [IAF] will not be able to master this learning process without help from the defense apparatus. The way he explains it, there exists a long list of weapons systems in the areas of air command, control, supervision, and intelligence that may considerably disqualify our air force from the viewpoints of effectiveness, survivability, and capability to overcome obstacles. By investing in such systems we can increase the power of each aircraft. In other words, 10 airplanes plus 10 airplanes will equal more than 20 airplanes.

"All those systems are waiting in line for the IAF to acquire them. But in order to acquire them we are compelled to divert from critical missions, something that we absolutely must not do!"

Brig. Gen. A. is convinced that in spite of the cuts that have affected the IAF in recent years, its military capability has not been impaired. In his opinion, the air force makes maximum use of the resources at its disposal. He explained: "We expect much more from our pilots than other air forces do. Every pilot and every airplane is versatile, i.e., they are capable of performing a variety of missions. A poor country cannot afford a certain type of aircraft and pilot for each mission. The quality of our manpower is very good, but we have to supply the necessary flight hours. Consequently, we need to get an injection of resources from outside at the expense of something else. We must reconsider the balance of forces between the various corps. I am aware of the fact that this is a very complex claim, but I think that it is feasible."

The Air Force Group commander says he has learned a lot from the Gulf war. For the first time in history, he said, it has been proven that gigantic military gains can

be obtained with a minimum of ground combat casualties by correctly directing and utilizing the air force. An air force with 800 aircraft succeeded in defeating the fourth largest army in the world.

"I am not saying that you can plant a flag on a hill from an airplane," Brig. Gen. A. added, "but it is now evident that the ground forces must realize the gains of the air combat in practical terms."

Brig. Gen. A. stressed that the balance between the U.S. and Iraqi ground forces was decidedly against the Americans, who were facing 40 divisions equipped with a tremendous number of tanks. With very few tanks and with very many combat helicopters the Americans managed to win. "Did anyone see a burnt American tank in this war?" inquired the air group commander.

"The idea of building a large and powerful air force did not begin in the Gulf war," Brig. Gen. A. continued: "In many respects we build our air force after the model of the American kind of war and offensive, and we have already demonstrated the capability of the IAF's long arm and the fact that it can be destructive and threatening."

The IAF has not finished the process of learning from the "Desert Storm" tactics. It knows a lot about what the Americans did, but not how they did it. The air group commander said: "Quick CNN glimpses are not enough. I hope that as in the whole process that has existed for many years between us and the Americans we will attain detailed information about the way they operated. At a first glance it may be said that the equipment we admired and wanted to have revealed itself as good and efficient. We have to study them and to acquire them. It must be remembered that all the Arab air forces are now learning the lessons of the war."

Against the air group commander's statements it may be claimed that one cannot draw an exact parallel between the combat conditions in the Gulf war and the conditions prevailing in our area. Who, for example, can assure us that the Syrian Air Force will be as passive as the Iraqi Air Force was? How could we carry out such a stunning number of sorties every day, even if the corps' resources were greatly increased? And above all, it has to be remembered that the Iraqi army was not threatening New York, while we have to defend Tel Aviv and Haifa.

Brig. Gen. A.'s reply to that was: "We will, of course, have to adjust to the arena, enemy, and terrain existing in our region. All those factors will have an impact on our decisions. But we must remember that our air force is very similar to the U.S. Air Force. The Americans carried out about 40,000 sorties in 40 days, i.e., each aircraft carried out an average of one sortie a day. It is clearly inconceivable for our aircraft to do only one sortie a day. The Americans provided each attack sortie with one ton of munition. We can carry a considerably greater weight thanks to the types of airplanes and combat equipment we have. Our sortie efficiency will be higher also because we are familiar with the terrain and

because we will be willing to take greater risks. The conclusion from all that is that our achievements would not be much inferior to the Americans'.

"Even if the other side's air force goes into action, that will not prevent us from carrying out our missions. The Americans, too, were prepared to encounter an active Iraqi air force. In such a situation we will have to operate our air defense, too, and we have already demonstrated that we know how to do the best possible job of that. All the talk of the 'missile having beaten the airplane' belong to an irrelevant past. s

"The issue of the danger to the rear front is an important issue. For the Americans time was not of a decisive importance, but for us the time element is very important. We will have to work with a more crowded schedule. However, the big risks we will take, the number of sorties, and the bomb load will compensate for that.

"In the case of a missile attack on the rear we will be able to devote more time to destroying missiles. The Americans did an exceptional job in this respect and even risked their lives but, in the final analysis, only a small percentage of their sorties was devoted to that objective. In my view, we will be able to attack ground-to-ground missiles more effectively.

"On the other hand, it is clear that we have to improve the warning time for missiles and the rear's defense capabilities, including antimissile missiles.

"I assume that if the front is opened from the north or east, there may be great popular pressure to advance inside enemy territory with ground forces, and perhaps not everyone will have the patience to wait until the air force has produced results and has prepared the conditions for ground combat. In the past there was a very strong feeling that the sand was running out, and that caused impatience. No one was willing to wait a few days and to allow the air force to operate. In my opinion that approach will change in the wake of the Gulf war. We must explain to the public that, for example, instead of 2,000 dead in battle there will be only 200."

Brig. Gen. A. said that the IDF [Israeli Defense Forces] currently has an opportunity to use the drop in the level of danger in order to attain a high level of preparedness for the next war. Iraq, the central base of the eastern front, has been dealt a great defeat and will probably be paralyzed for the next few years. But there is no doubt that the danger of war has not disappeared and new scenarios may emerge in the area and involve Israel in a war.

The air group commander expects to see an intensive arms race in the coming few years among the Arab armies, especially those which supported the United States. Already, he said, we hear about deals worth millions of dollars between the United States and Syria, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the Gulf Emirates. The Arabs spend more than three quarters of their procurement

budget to buy airplanes and equipment designed to improve their air capability.

"All the Arab armies," said Brig. Gen. A. "have learned from the war and they are systematically increasing their air force procurement budget. Evidently, in the future we will face a stronger and more sophisticated Arab resistance."

KUWAIT

Future, Palestinians, Opposition Discussed

91AE0347A Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic
22 Mar 91 p 23

[Author unknown: "Reconstruction, Palestinians, Opposition: Kuwait and Post-Liberation Concerns"]

[Text] At a time when tens of Palestinians and Jordanians are standing in front of the Kuwaiti Embassy in Amman to obtain Kuwaiti entry visas to resume their jobs, hundreds of thousands of Kuwaitis are in turn waiting impatiently to return to their country following its liberation. It appears they will have to wait even longer before being able to return because the Kuwaiti government which has fully returned to the country has many difficult tasks in front of it to accomplish before the thousands of citizens and returnees can be allowed to come back. Not the least of these is the question of providing water and electricity in a country that has lost all of the basic elements of life and where the services sector is nonexistent.

Those who visited Kuwait after liberation observed the frightful shortage of drinking water and food supplies, electrical current cut off in all parts of the capital, in addition to the lack of telephone communications within the capital and between it and the outside world.

The first wave of journalists who came to the city aboard a military aircraft that transported them from al-Riyadh spent a full day inside the city without food or water the day after its liberation. Their discomfort was compounded by the difficulty of seeing because of the clouds of smoke covering the city.

Every day newspapers run pictures of long lines standing to wait for bread, while other lines gather at all hours of the day and night in the residential district of Musharraf waiting for the opportunity to make the telephone call that allows Kuwaiti citizens to contact their relatives abroad to reassure them. The telephone department in the suburb of Musharraf is the only one able to offer this service to Kuwaitis. One of them mentioned that he waited six hours in line in order to speak to one of his relatives in the United States who asked him to reassure the others.

In this atmosphere, and with complaints increasing concerning the scarcity of water resulting from the destruction to the Kuwaiti capital's water and electricity stations, the government is in a frantic race with time to

put things back in order and provide sanitary conditions for the citizens. The government finds itself with two problems. One is that the country suffers a lack of medical supplies and the human and material resources needed for hospitals to resume functioning. The other is that the capital has long suffered from the accumulation of refuse which the population had been immediately burning to protect the city from exposure to infectious diseases and pests. In this context, the Kuwaiti government signed contracts with Saudi maintenance and cleaning institutions and waves of their workers have been swarming into Kuwait to clean up the trash from the period of occupation and the traces of fires and destruction, some of which are still evident in sections of the city.

On our visit to Gulf Street in the capital, one of the most tragic scenes was to discover that one was divided from the sea by a narrow sandy ribbon impossible to cross because of hundreds of thousands of mines planted by Iraqi forces to ward off seaborne landings. Military circles say it could take more than six months to remove them.

But the most important thing facing the country as it begins reconstruction is the fires burning in Kuwaiti oil wells, estimated by petroleum sources at over 600 wells. Dr. Rashid al-'Umayri, Kuwaiti minister of petroleum, says it will take two or three years to extinguish all the wells, meaning a financial loss of \$120 million daily due to burning, in addition to a daily cost of at least \$2 billion to put them out.

What Future for Palestinians?

Observers take the view that all these issues to be worked out by the Kuwaiti government are of a material nature requiring only time, particularly now that steps are under way. But these are not the only issues the government has to tackle.

In addition to the issue of expatriate labor and Arab residents in the country, the problem of the Kuwaiti opposition and its demands are at the forefront of problems that have to be addressed, in addition to arranging for the return of thousands of Kuwaiti citizens from abroad.

Arab residents of Kuwait are in turn split into two categories. One group preferred to leave because of occupation conditions, while the other stayed because of their situation and their conviction that by remaining in Kuwait they could preserve their rights. This category was in turn split into special groups in terms of cooperation with Iraqi forces during the occupation.

All of the Kuwaitis who were inside the country at the time agree that some residents worked on the Iraqi side and supported their occupation in a manner that affected the life and way of living of others. In general they are a minority. There is another category, the majority, that preferred to go about their normal lives and were responsive to the Kuwaiti popular committees. They practiced

their activities and neither supported nor opposed the occupation. A third group, also a minority, worked with the Kuwaiti resistance against the occupation in an effective manner.

This statement applies to all the Arab communities resident in Kuwait, including the Kuwaitis without nationality [the bidun].

One Kuwaiti feels the reason for the talk about a Palestinian role is because this is the largest Arab community to remain in Kuwait during the occupation. Hence this phenomenon had to show so clearly, and also, there are strong ties and knowledge of one another that bind Kuwaitis and Palestinians in this land.

Three Palestinian electrical workers who were conducting repairs on a generator on Gulf Street spoke of their present situation in Kuwait somewhat nervously. But they confirmed, as did the Kuwaiti supervisor who was with them, that their relationship with Kuwait remains as it always was, unchanged. No one has ever interfered with them improperly in the two weeks since the country was liberated.

This element of nervousness is going to require a decision be taken by the Kuwaiti government. Can Kuwait abolish a relationship that goes back tens of years between the Kuwaiti and Palestinian people because of mistakes committed by a minority or because of the stance of the leadership of the Palestinian Liberation Front on Iraq? How will the Kuwaiti government resolve the situation?

Observers take an optimistic view of this subject following statements by senior Kuwaiti officials who made assurances that wrongdoers would be punished. This is a clear indication that other elements will not be exposed to collective punishment and that operations of mass deportation of any of the Arab communities from Kuwait will not take place.

Opposition, Prewar File

Kuwaiti circles feel that the most important operation now facing the country is the psychological and national reconstruction of citizens and residents, not the suffering of the past which everyone has to abandon and leave behind them in order to build a nation which is healthy, cohesive, and strong. These circles are appealing for prudence, particularly since we in Kuwait have always lived as one family guided by a clear Arab Islamic attitude. These circles confirm that Kuwait's return to practicing its role in the Arab and Islamic arenas will first require forgetting the past, indeed disregarding it, and working to implant strong, firm new bases for Kuwaiti relations with its Arab sisters, including Iraq, from which it can not remain estranged for long.

Apart from the situation of residents in Kuwait and those who left, and consideration will have to be given to opening the door for them to return, there is the concern

to build the Kuwaiti home from within as one of the most significant issues facing the Kuwaiti government.

The Kuwaiti opposition which objected to the decree of martial law in the country and demands a return to the constitution of 1962 is also demanding that prewar files be opened and that officials be held to account.

In this context, Kuwaiti circles are of two views. The first feels that it would be better to wait until natural conditions return to the country and the construction phase is completed. The second view demands a reinstatement of the 1962 constitution as quickly as possible and insists on the need for popular participation in the reconstruction itself by a return of democratic life to the country.

What is certain is that everyone here in Kuwait agrees that they have a shared responsibility for building a new Kuwait that is self-confident, magnanimous, and able to get beyond the last phase so that it can once again be the pearl of the Gulf.

Problems of Rebuilding Infrastructure Considered

Challenge of Resuming Public Services

91AE0356A London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic
3 Apr 91 pp 22-26

[Article by Wahib Ghurab, Hani Naqshabandi, and Muhammad Saman in Kuwait: "Kuwait and Issues Left by Occupation: Ensuring Services Before Political Arrangement"]

[Text] Conversations in Kuwait's social gatherings may be about the political situation the country will settle on once the application of emergency law is ended, but the overriding concern of the Kuwaiti majority is how to restore the country to where it is suitable for everyday life. This is not an easy matter, especially when we realize that it resulted in the resignation of the previous government formed after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. A country that has lived under an occupation that purposely destroyed its service infrastructure cannot be restored easily. Life without water or electricity continues under the wing of added gloom created by the black oil clouds. Moving about in the vast city of Kuwait is impossible given the shortage of means of transport; and life in the middle of rubbish that is still removed in an unstructured manner is a serious issue. In this issue we continue a review of internal conditions in Kuwait via reports reaching us from there.

War on Darkness Follows Destruction of Generators, Ground Network

Last week Kuwait witnessed restoration of electrical current to some parts of the city in a repair operation that is temporary until it is able to restore light to the entire city. The first fact anyone entering Kuwait will realize is that the invading forces did not hesitate to destroy what they could not steal as they retreated in

defeat. No facilities of any kind were spared the destruction that touched everything, including electrical installations and generators. Iraqi forces did not destroy just the electrical generators, but also the installations and ground networks to many areas within Kuwait. Although the manner in which these installations were destroyed has not been precisely determined, they are in any event not just a few.

Many of the huge generators were destroyed, including those that depend on energy generated by desalination operations. To further the destruction, areas in and around the generators were filled with mines which the Iraqi forces were determined to plant to impair any operation at rebuilding, or at least slow it down.

When all this is added to electrical installation damage and the mines planted throughout them, it means that even were the electrical generators to be replaced, the problem of installations would make it impossible to finish lighting all of Kuwait City for reasons of safety.

Present Situation

When Kuwait City was liberated from Iraqi forces, some Kuwaiti officials promised the Kuwaiti people inside that they would work as swiftly as possible to restore electricity to the city. At the time the amount of time needed was estimated at between 10 days and two weeks. The thought was that it would not require more than replacement of certain electrical units, but it was discovered that the destruction operations were very much greater than that. Some Kuwaiti government sources said at the time that relighting Kuwait would not be total at first, but would be sufficient to cover large parts of the country. These officials indicated that they would seek help from many U.S. and Saudi companies with expertise in the field. At the same time, the Kuwaiti government and Ministry of Electricity directed an appeal on the first day of liberation to all workers in Kuwait's electricity sector outside of Kuwait to return to the country to begin the program to restore lighting.

The plan to rebuild the electricity sector first requires clearing mines from the areas around the huge stations and generators, then working to make use of a group of electrical generators within new installations that major companies would be commissioned to complete as swiftly as possible.

Under the restoration plan this will involve relying on Kuwait's electrical generating plants, these being the al-Zur station south of Kuwait City and the al-Duhah electrical generating plant which was visited by American Ambassador to Kuwait Edward Ghneim and Kuwaiti officials inspecting the damage and exploring means and costs of repairing it.

Some have linked the problem of electricity with that of water on the basis that water desalination sources are used to generate electrical energy. This was confirmed by Kuwaiti Minister of Electricity and Water Dr. Hammud

al-Raqabah when he explained that the restoration of pumping water to homes was linked to restoring electricity.

Electricity Returns

It seems that promises to restore electricity to Kuwait City have encountered many obstacles. Although it is not precisely known whether these obstacles are due to the nature of the destruction, safety considerations, or mines, the operation to restore electricity to Kuwait has taken its time. During the first days of Ramadan, the Kuwaiti government, supported by a group of investment companies working in the electricity field, was able to light some parts of Kuwait, especially the high-priority districts. It seems that the advent of Ramadan and the evening atmosphere it requires coinciding with the first days [of electricity restoration] greatly encouraged speeding up lighting whatever was possible in the city. The discovery of installations that were somewhat spared from destruction may have helped accomplish the first phase of the task. This means that using some electrical generators on the same existing installations, along with modifications and repairs, might be a useful temporary treatment until the project to rebuild the electrical sector in all parts of Kuwait can be fully completed.

During the first days after liberation, or more correctly, during the last days of the Iraqi occupation, Kuwait City lived in a forcedly romantic atmosphere of candlelight after electrical current to the entire city was cut off. The only exceptions were a few hospitals such as al-'Adan and Mubarak, even though huge generators had to be used to meet the situation of war in the area and the concomitant injuries. Conditions remained this way until coalition forces entered the city to provide electricity to other important areas and districts such as Kuwaiti government headquarters in al-Shamiyah district and some embassies using portable generators. For more than four weeks Kuwait was swimming in darkness, compelling many residents to stay home when evening began.

Security Reasons

Governments and local authorities in any district normally resort to some kind of precaution and preparation in the event electrical current is cut off in their area out of fear of acts committed under cover of darkness. This may be one of the reasons Kuwaiti officials stressed the importance of restoring electricity to Kuwait City, especially since security conditions there are in a state of permanent preparedness out of fear of acts of revenge or attacks against Kuwaiti sites by Iraqi groups or elements or their collaborators.

Although Kuwait has lighted some sections now, this represents only 20 percent of the entire country according to one source. This means that many sections still suffer a shortage of electricity and restoring it to its previous condition will take some time.

Kuwait's Electrical Capacity

Kuwait enjoys a high capacity for providing electrical energy. One project suggested in the past was to cooperate with Iraq and provide it with a network to use Kuwaiti electricity in excess of national needs.

In the past the Kuwaiti government adopted a number of projects aimed at exploiting its energy to obtain other resources, such as water, in exchange for certain services falling within the circle of Kuwaiti concern.

Among the electrical projects established in Kuwait before the invasion was a contract signed by Kuwaiti Minister of Electricity Hammud al-Raqabah with Japan's Fujikura Corporation to carry out works to supply and install overhead lines of 11/33/132 kilovolts to feed the al-Salibiyah wells, Kabad, and Umm Quwaydar, and replace other 33 kilovolt overhead lines at al-Zur. The project's objective was to meet the expected increase in Kuwait's electrical energy needs in the 1990's. The cost of the project was more than 10 million Kuwaiti dinars.

Cleanliness Issue No Less Serious

One of the first sights you witness when visiting postoccupation Kuwait is the streets on which you travel during the tour. From the moment you first see them, you notice that many of the streets are littered with filth and garbage left by the soldiers all along the road. At times the wafting of many offensive putrid odors stuffs the nose. Naturally, this means that the rubbish has been left there a long time, watched by Iraqi soldiers unconcerned by the epidemic dangers it presents. From the first days, people volunteered to clean the streets, using their private cars to transport the filth and garbage to sites away from residential areas where they burned it. This was the best method of accomplishing the purpose at that time. They were subjected to much harassment by the Iraqi soldiers for having taken on that task.

From another aspect, residential areas suffered the same conditions in terms of the volume of filth and garbage that was everywhere, although the picture here was even worse and more dangerous. The filth and garbage littered throughout the residential areas were repulsive. This matter does not require great description. A short tour of the areas confirms the awful picture, especially where Iraqi soldiers were permanently present. They caused much harassment of citizens and usually prevented them from moving and getting rid of the garbage in remote locations after the agencies in charge of cleanliness were unable to function after the first days of the invasion. By these [agencies] we mean the municipal institutions in Kuwait which totally stopped working after their cleaning and support equipment was stolen. Moreover, workers in this agency stopped working after being prevented by Iraqi soldiers who converted their centers into military barracks and residential centers that regularly sheltered Iraqi soldiers.

On top of all this, a number of buildings were damaged and exposed to widespread acts of arson, especially if they were suspected of being secret headquarters of members of the Kuwaiti resistance. As a result they require major efforts of demolition and disposal before rebuilding, especially in residential areas. This operation may face some obstacles, by which we mean the lack of flexibility in view of the difficulty of finding the owners of those buildings, most of whom are likely to have left Kuwait during the first days or who may have been spending the vacation in Arab or foreign countries.

No one doubts that the operation entrusted to the Kuwaiti Ministry of Municipality at this time is difficult. Its minister, Fahd al-Hasawi, made this clear when he was asked about the ministry's preparations and what working equipment it had following the legitimate government's return to Kuwait. Al-Hasawi says the Kuwaiti government undertook from the outset to establish a preliminary plan to prepare to reenter Kuwait after liberation. This was followed by a number of other plans based on reports needed on the condition in which Kuwait was found. Huge resources were allocated for the ministry to conduct its work, it also concluded many contracts with companies specialized in municipal matters, and it received many Kuwaiti volunteers who joined in the work the ministry was undertaking. These Kuwaitis received training after they chose the tasks they would do. They are now actually carrying out these tasks within Kuwait.

The minister referred to the difficulties currently confronting the ministry, most of which center on the fact that Kuwait found itself in very bad condition. Streets and residential areas are littered with filth left by the practices of seven months of occupation, in particular because ministry work halted during the first weeks of the invasion and many employees in the municipality sector stopped going to work regularly under orders from the Iraqi command. Even though the workers indicated they were fully prepared to work in the ministry, the Iraqi soldiers would waylay them, so they stopped working until Kuwait was liberated.

The minister adds that his ministry asked all former employees to return to work, resume their duties, and participate in the operation to rebuild Kuwait. He said: "We are doing our work on a broad scale, especially after many steadfast Kuwaiti volunteers joined us. This is a precedent registered in their behalf. These people are the ones who carried out the ministry's work during the period of occupation, especially as it relates to cleaning."

On another side, the director general of the municipality of Kuwait City, Engineer Shaykh Sabah Jabir al-'Ali, said that his department is now following up the steps taken to clean up the country's central market. He added that the vegetable market has now been cleaned of all waste left by troops of the Iraqi regime. The municipality director said: "But regarding the central market area, right now we are having difficulty cleaning up the

remains of slaughtered animals after the sewers overflowed. This waste requires the provision of suction pumps, in addition to water for washing the central slaughterhouse in order to provide meat for the people so that the slaughterhouse can be ready to deal with the meat that has been imported from abroad, especially Australia."

He added that the ministry's priority task now is to remove trash from residential areas and the corpses of animals that died and are strewn throughout Kuwait. On another matter, the municipality's general director welcomed volunteers wanting to participate in slaughtering sheep in the central market because they are urgently needed at this time. Much of the labor that used to do this task caused us a great deal of irritation and delay in slaughtering such large numbers of livestock.

He said that the Iraqi regime had confiscated the equipment that had been in the central market and that was another aspect of the difficulties we are confronting at this time. This equipment saved a lot of time and effort by carrying out many tasks we had to do in the past. We are now working to bring in a lot of equipment and machinery from other countries in order to conduct our work as fully as possible, especially during the coming period which requires flexibility and swift action. That way matters can return to their true course, and Kuwait can return to its former condition, involving all of the services which we used to carry out.

Greatest Danger: Black Oil Clouds

The dimensions of the environmental disaster carried out by Iraq's dictator in the waters of the Gulf by destroying and burning crude oil wells and mining others still exist. These wells continue to burn causing large clouds of smoke covering the sky of Kuwait. The effects of these smoke clouds are still unknown, although a month has passed since the disaster began. This is understandable in view of the fact that the disaster coincided with the onset of the battle, the overwhelming joy of liberation, and the exit of Iraqi forces from Kuwait, leaving attention to them a matter of secondary concern.

Despite the arrival of a team of experts from the American Environmental Protection Agency and the World Health Organization [WHO] to study the effects of thick smoke clouds rising from more than 500 oil wells blown up by Iraqi troops during their withdrawal from Kuwait [as published].

Some days after the arrival of the WHO-commissioned team that began working its first day in Kuwait to assess the actual magnitude of the effects of these smoke clouds on the country's public health, the Kuwaiti minister of health stated: "I believe we are in good shape because the ministry conducted a full survey that covered Kuwait without encountering a single instance of pollution-related illness." But the minister did not comment in a major way on Kuwaiti Ministry of Health preparations or plans laid, despite reports indicating the Kuwaiti

government has ordered large numbers of medical masks designed to protect people and Kuwaiti civilians. In addition, some medical teams and hospitals have taken preliminary precautions to deal with some of these cases should the long-term or short-term impact of these smoke clouds be established, particularly in view of the difficulty of extinguishing these burning wells at this time. Putting out these evil fires is expected to take a long time because, as described by an official of one of the companies that the Kuwaiti government contracted to extinguish those wells, they were not set ablaze at their openings.

The official says: "It is clear that the Iraqi leadership brought in Iraqi oil experts to mine these wells. This is one of the ways used to destroy wells, but it is this method that makes the work we carry out so difficult."

Thus, one can say that the real dimensions and impact of these smoke clouds in Kuwait will not be clear at this time. The effect of atmospheric pollution from the continued spread of these clouds, which practically cover most of the regions of Kuwait as shown in satellite photographs, reveal that the continued spreading is having more than a transitory impact. The effects, in terms of illnesses caused by these smoke clouds when inhaled into the respiratory system, will not be evident. The matter of assessment will depend largely on WHO experts now carrying out their work in Kuwait to prepare a final objective report on what impact these smoke clouds will have so that the necessary major precautions, proper preparation, and swift, flexible action can be taken in the days ahead to save nearly more than 300,000 Kuwaitis and others living under the poisonous clouds.

Lack of Communications Under Occupation

91AE0356B London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic
3 Apr 91 p 26

[Article by Wahib Ghurab, Hani Naqshabandi, and Muhammad Saman in Kuwait: "Life Without Means of Transport, Means of Communication"]

[Text] After about seven months under the teeth of Iraqi forces, the extent of what the Iraqi forces did to widespread transport and communications networks can be seen. In terms of the highway network, the Iraqis wrecked parts of it, erecting many barriers and blockades damaging the infrastructure of these roads, and Iraqi tanks were among the first vehicles to tread the land of Kuwait with their tracks.

The country is also suffering from the problem of isolation from the world because various means of communication were cut and destroyed. The Kuwaiti government quickly moved to provide approximately 200 telephone lines to get essential matters underway.

One tragedy clear to the eye is the Kuwait Airport building and the headquarters of Kuwait Airlines. The work situation at the airport differs from its normal

activity. Many mine detection experts are around, and the sounds of detonation can be heard from time to time. The picture at the airport indicates that the Iraqis destroyed everything, from the freight offices all the way to the travel and departure lounges. The airport tower was destroyed, and the main gates failed to escape destruction. A tour of the airport leaves one with only one impression: that Kuwait Airport was once here. On top of all that, there is the matter of civilian planes belonging to the Kuwaiti fleet. Some were stolen and moved to Baghdad during the first days, while many others were destroyed. Iraq's foreign minister, Tariq 'Aziz, admitted in a letter to the United Nations that they had been stolen. He announced that his country was prepared to return all the aircraft under the cease-fire agreement.

There is also the matter of disabled public and private means of transport. Many vehicles, especially the personal cars of citizens and other residents, were stolen. There is a new experience in Kuwait now as people move around on their feet and other means of transportation such as bicycles and motorcycles.

Thus, the responsibility placed on the shoulders of the Kuwait Ministry of Transport is complicated, especially as it relates to the state's public property. Kuwaiti officials in that ministry have stated on a number of occasions, for example, that restoring Kuwait Airport to its previous condition will take approximately one year or more because it has to be rebuilt. Restoration of the roads and bridges will not face major difficulties, however.

As for restoring external communications, following the return of internal communications to some residential areas with other districts still waiting, the ministry is monitoring the work being carried out by engineering specialists to restore communications in the days ahead. This operation may take a long time in view of the hideous manner in which the communications stations were destroyed. The mission of repairing and building the telecommunications network has been entrusted to the American company AT&T.

Roundtable Discusses Political Future

91AE0376A London SAWT AL-KUWAYT in Arabic
19 Apr 91 p 3

[Article by Marwi al-Khalidi and Walid al-Jasim]

[Text] London—Last Friday, at its London headquarters, SAWT AL-KUWAYT organized a conference to discuss the speech made by his Grace, the Emir of the Country, Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah, which he delivered during the last ten days of the blessed month of Ramadan, as is his custom. In his speech, his grace the emir dealt with numerous topics concerning the lives of Kuwaitis. He put an end to causes of disagreement and urged Kuwaitis to forge maximum unity, cohesion, and joint efforts to build the Kuwait of the future.

Participants in the conference, which was moderated by Anwar al-Yasin, included a number of Kuwaiti personalities and citizens, including Fatimah Husayn, Dr. Fawziyah al-Sayigh, Dr. Mawdi al-Hammud, Hani al-Musa, Dr. Mustafa al-Musawi, Dr. Mahdi al-Salman, Sami al-Khalidi, Mustafa Rida, and 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Tuwayjri.

The discussion focused on a number of points contained in the speech given by his grace the emir, the most important being the easing of the financial burdens on citizens through the cancellation of consumer loans and loans of the Credit Bank, emphasis on democracy and consultation based on a commitment to a return to parliamentary life in the coming year after all Kuwaitis have returned to the homeland, praise for the distinguished role played by Kuwaiti women during the trial of the occupation, and a study of the possibility of women entering into the adversities of political life.

The conferees also dealt with the unification of citizenship and prisoners and detainees who remain isolated in Iraq's prisons.

The editor-in-chief of SAWT AL-KUWAYT, Dr. Muhammad al-Rumayhi opened the discussion by stating that the goal of the conference is to exchange views and hold an objective dialogue to obtain maximum benefit from the severe trial through which Kuwait has passed, which he described as a shock.

Dr. al-Rumayhi also addressed the conferees regarding unity and the clarification of the picture of Kuwait's future. He stressed Kuwait's need for a basis on which to regulate the process of exchanging views to "avoid entering into disputes which our small society might not tolerate."

Dr. al-Rumayhi expressed his satisfaction with the clarity of the points contained in the speech of his grace the emir, especially inasmuch as they put to rest numerous matters that have been preoccupying all Kuwaitis. He pointed to the need for attention to several conflicts of interests between the different parties, "which is natural and must be recognized and dealt with instead of attempting to blot them out, so that they grow under the surface in an unnatural fashion."

At the end of his remarks, Dr. al-Rumayhi highlighted the problem of our people who are being held hostage. He touched on the available methods for monitoring this problem at all levels through contact with international organizations. He concluded his opening remarks by urging those present to discuss the future conceptualizations being proposed for Kuwait, our relations with our neighbors, and ways they can exploit their human resources. The discussion was then taken up by the conferees themselves.

Anwar al-Yasin: I thank Fatimah Husayn, the originator of the idea of holding this conference, and I invite her to begin the discussion.

Fatimah Husayn: I hope that this discussion will be the starting point for ongoing efforts. If we are now discussing the speech by his grace the emir, nothing prevents us from meeting in the future to discuss other issues of concern to everyone.

The request made by his grace the emir in his speech of all Kuwaitis to share in bearing responsibility through cohesion and joint efforts drew my attention most, because sharing the burden of responsibility is a constant, ongoing process. I hope that our participation in this conference is an expression of our bearing of responsibility.

Hani al-Musa: I thank SAWT AL-KUWAYT for hosting this conference. It is truly gladdening that Kuwaiti media centers are serving as a means for us to express our opinions with complete candor and clarity, especially inasmuch as we are a country that is taking broad steps toward democracy.

The speech by his grace the emir touched on numerous issues and problems from which we have suffered. In my opinion, the most salient points on which his grace the emir touched in his speech are the lifting of several financial burdens weighing on citizens, democracy, the return of the parliament, and his grace's praise for the distinguished role of women in the liberation of Kuwait.

I would like to indicate several problems that preoccupy many citizens and must be remedied fundamentally and quickly, such as the problem of first citizenship and second citizenship, which represents a "separating factor" between citizens. Many Kuwaitis have desired and still desire the elimination of such distinctions, especially given that many bearers of second citizenship gave their lives to redeem Kuwait and stood their ground on its territory. These people must be quickly given equality with their Kuwaiti brothers, i.e., they must be given political rights, i.e., the right to nominate and vote. As for the problem of the participation of women in political life, I believe that there are legal obstacles facing women. Decisions must be made quickly to ensure that these obstacles are surmounted, especially given that Kuwaiti women frequently engaged in heroic acts which any person would be honored to mention. Regarding democracy, I believe that it is broader than merely establishing parliament, because some aspects of democracy speak of popular representation or balanced representation. Following the reconstruction of Kuwait, it will be necessary to re-examine the composition of parliamentary representation with a view toward balancing it based on region and population concentration.

Also, the field should be opened to everyone to express their ideas through the press and different media, even if these ideas are not acceptable to everyone, because what is the benefit of redundant talk and the adoption of unified viewpoints? Accordingly, I hope that Kuwaitis will have the patience to listen to different ideas, as long as we emphasize freedom as opposed to excessive legal investigations that limit the exercise of democracy and

freedoms. We also need freedom of information in this framework. The Kuwaiti people is entitled to know everything that concerns it.

Priority Problems

Dr. Fawziyah al-Sayigh: I would like to discuss a topic that does not pertain to the distant future. I wish to discuss the problem of the prisoners and hostages, which is an especially important problems to which we must give priority. The questions that need to be answered are: How can we apply pressure to Iraq in the future after the withdraw of the U.S. Army from Iraq, and what is the fate of the prisoners and the detainees?

Iraq has stated that it has 6,200 prisoners. Following the release of that number, it became clear to us that thousands remain isolated in the gloom of Iraqi prisons. In my opinion, we must first focus on efforts to free the prisoners. Many of us have missing fathers, brothers, and mothers. We must prepare a list of names again, but with precision and clarity, so that we can determine their fate.

Anwar al-Yasin: I believe that this topic is of the utmost importance. Everyone knows that there is a Kuwaiti media campaign, in which SAWT AL-KUWAYT in particular is participating, to shed light on this problem, which continues to be our primary concern.

Mahdi al-Salman: The speech made by his grace the emir regarding democracy and parliamentary life was clear. His grace set the time for elections in the coming year. To my knowledge, these elections are supposed to take place next February. However, Minister of State for Cabinet Affairs Dr. 'Abd-al-Rahman al-'Awdi stated that the elections would take place after May 1992.

In this regard as well, I would like to indicate that I would hope, if the National Assembly is dissolved officially, for the granting of the greater confidence which this speech guaranteed us. On another issue, I would like it if development and administrative reform, which are issues of the utmost importance, were given the concern that they deserve. For we are a "different" people, notwithstanding all the manifestations of civilization surrounding us. Development at all levels is important, especially because we will be rebuilding from nothing or less than nothing. We want to avoid the bureaucracy that prevailed in our administrative agencies previously.

The Importance of Timing

Fatimah Husayn: I would like to comment on what Mahdi al-Salman said. It is my personal understanding that the registration of new voters will take place in February. Handling urgent priorities requires a long time. However, there is some uncertainty regarding two problems in particular which, it is said, are to be studied. The first is the right of women to vote and the second is the problem of second citizenship. The speech did not determine whether the elected assembly would issue a decree, resolution, or legislation regarding these two matters.

Anwar al-Yasin: I would like to indicate that the speech addresses general lines, leaving the details to the government.

Fatimah Husayn: Yes, however, the timing is important. We want to know what will be issued and when, so that we can know when to begin our efforts and how.

Sami al-Khalidi: In commenting on sister Fatimah Husayn's remarks about the date for elections, I believe that the problem is complicated and depends on many technical aspects. Will it be possible for example to carry out a census of all Kuwaitis at present in a precise manner? Correspondingly, I believe that the problem of second citizenship is important and worthy of concern.

Mustafa al-Musawi: I support Fatimah Husayn, because there could have been greater decisiveness that would have clarified several matters. For example, an order was issued to cancel loans. However, no order was issued regarding the unification of citizenship.

The speech made the connection between the demonstration of loyalty and citizenship. The question is: How is loyalty demonstrated? I believe that it is more worthwhile for us to unify citizenship, with the understanding that one whose conspiracy against Kuwait is proven should be tried and punished according to his crime.

Also, another important problem not treated by the speech is the problem of the "without [citizenship]" group [fi'at "al-bi-dun"]. This is a large problem, because this group numbers in excess of 100,000 persons, some of whom are still in Kuwait, of whom some deserve citizenship. Also, what about members of the "without" group who left Kuwait after the invasion and did not receive any material assistance? When will these problems be solved in a fundamental, rapid manner that ensures the people's loyalty and respect as well as equality among them?

The Kuwaiti people subscribes to democracy, even though it may not be the best solution, especially given the state of our society. However, inasmuch as democracy is a means to reach a lofty goal, which is the elimination of inequity, there is no objection to adopting this means to pursue social justice and end any sectarian or dynastic discrimination.

Regarding the future, we must move earnestly toward unifying the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council by starting a serious study.

Here, I agree with the statement that there are manifold difficulties, especially regarding democracy, the right of women to vote, and the need for years to "unify" [citizenship]. However, nothing is standing in the way of initiating action and study immediately.

Mustafa 'Ali Rida: I would like to comment on Dr. Fawziyah al-Sayigh's remarks about the fact that the missing Kuwaitis have preoccupied us for a long time. In our last contact with Kuwait, we requested a list of all missing persons, so that we can compare it with the list

of prisoners left behind by the Iraqis to arrive at a list to submit to the United Nations.

Most of the issues that I wanted to hear discussed by our colleagues have been presented. I hope that we will all work together in Kuwait with the government to build our country. This does not mean that there will not be disagreements. Disagreements in the course of achieving a common goal are acceptable as long as the goal is lofty.

Also, there is fear of participating in the next government. I do not know why. Everyone should participate and should not be satisfied with remaining on the sidelines.

Regarding the easing of the economic burdens on citizens, we are borrowing oil from coming generations. Any use of oil must be made after an exhaustive study. Also, the money that is disbursed could be used to improve services that have not been perfected yet. Regarding democracy, it is a means and an infrastructure for building a civilized life. The laws are on the shelves, but they have yet to be implemented. Also, social justice, which is a clause in the Kuwaiti constitution, must be achieved. I believe that when we achieve social justice and people feel equal, they will demand only their due. A committee that is independent from the governmental apparatus should be formed with the understanding that it would have contacts with the government; this committee's task would be to study all problems and to formulate appropriate solutions for them.

As for the participation of women, I see a need to study this problem in a precise manner to ensure that it is not exploited negatively, especially in the event of the emergence of the phenomenon of "vote selling."

The problem of citizenship unification is important. But more important is the "without" group, which lack social and political rights. As for second citizenship, it is not a great problem. It exists even in the United States, which is considered the greatest experiment in democracy in the world. If a solution to this matter must be formulated, the National Assembly should be tasked to do it.

Finally, a study of the invasion is instructive for all of us, from young to old. We have earnestly made a pledge, and we have begun to fulfill that pledge now. This is a good harbinger. I am optimistic about the future.

A Natural, Sound Course

Dr. Mawdi al-Hammud: The emir's speech dealt with two aspects. The first concerns the general political orientations that will outline the progress of society and the state in the future. The second aspect deals with problems stemming from the occupation of the homeland and its subjection to the Iraqi invasion. Regarding the first aspect, the speech determined the need for a democratic course, although it did not determine the precise timing, which is to be expected in a general

speech by the emir. The speech determined the democratic course and selected it as society's path in the future. This is a natural, sound course for building society and the state in the coming stage, which requires the unification of all ideas and efforts within an elected parliamentary council, pursuant to the country's constitution. It also guarantees true participation by all citizens in outlining society's course. In presenting this crucial issue, the emir did well to realize that, when democracy is practiced, it must be practiced in full. The speech also brought up two important problems that are organically and vitally related, which are:

First: The unification of citizenship or the unification of nationality. There are certainly no first- or second-class, or lower-class citizens in our new world. There is only one citizenship. Everyone has proven this by confronting the enemy, and they have previously proven it by helping to build the state. This will no doubt have a decisive, positive effect on Kuwait's future course.

Second: The other issue concerns the participation of women in political life. Such participation is necessary in a country that aspires to a civilized edifice based on all of its foundations, men and women alike. Women have gained this right through faithful, national action throughout the occupation. They also helped before that. No group within society should subject this right to one-upmanship, impairment, or contention. This right must be full, as has been recognized by the highest state authority. The debate must not be about nomination, the vote, or the holding of senior positions in the state. For women, like men, must be qualified by their ability and knowledge, and, before that, by their right to full, unimpair participation. As for other problems presented in the emir's speech, there is no doubt of the need to treat the consequences of the occupation and the invasion, such as taking care of the families of martyrs. This is duty of everyone—the state, society, and individuals. Nothing less is can be contemplated for those who gave their precious lives for the sake of the homeland.

Even though the cancellation of consumer debts and real estate loans was prompted by the noble motive of easing the burden of indebted citizens, I nonetheless would personally prefer that the matter be studied before it is promised, especially given that individuals of society will enjoy this right to varying degrees, and one group is likely to benefit to the exclusion of another. Also, this approach will have economic and social effects that are worth studying in advance.

The preceding refers to the speech itself. However, we know that the speech, as I stated, outlines general orientations whose implementation will depend on what is determined by the working program of the government and active organizations. This will no doubt be the greatest challenge facing the next government. In addition to current problems, the government will also be tasked with determining the dates and schedules of parliamentary elections and completing a study on the problems presented in the emir's speech, especially the

participation of women [in political life] and the unification of citizenship. An extraordinarily great effort will no doubt be needed to manage all of that within record time (one year). We also need, as we advocated in the past, a new crisis management method that differs from the traditional bureaucratic administration which our previous governments grew accustomed to practicing, and which drew them criticism. Perhaps the solution is to form work teams or special work teams, whose personnel would be selected from among competent people with expertise, without consideration of current positions and ranks of current leaders; to formulate an ambitious, intensive program to monitor each one of these problems separately; and to fulfill the aspirations of citizens, who can no longer tolerate promises that are not accompanied by rapid implementation. In general, it can be said that the emir's speech included many basic issues which outline approaches. However, the effectuation of these approaches depends on the anticipated, detailed, governmental program.

National Criticism

Sami al-Khalidi: The crisis or shock, as it was described by Dr. al-Rumayhi, through which Kuwait transcended everyone's tolerance. However, the clear, distinguished emergence of the people in confronting this crisis highlighted the strong will of the Kuwaiti people. In my opinion, the people's outstanding prominence in confronting the occupation must be rewarded by allowing the people greater participation in managing domestic and foreign affairs, as represented in the return of the National Assembly. There is no doubt that the speech made by his grace the emir was an historical speech. Coming after liberation, it made a distinctive impression on citizens, who had been expecting more than what his grace's speech contained. However, this does not deny the popular satisfaction with his grace's treatment of problems pertaining to the legislative authority, the right of women to popular participation, and the unification of citizenship.

The Kuwaiti people, after the liberation, has now become united regarding all approaches on specific points, which constitute a common denominator for the entire people, including the demand for a completely independent legislative authority and the application of all paragraphs and articles of the 1962 constitution.

In this regard, I can say that popular political attitudes in the country are agreed on the need to not violate Article 6 of the constitution, which stipulates that the nation shall be the source of the three authorities, which are the legislative, executive, and judicial authorities. However, Article 6 of the constitution must be independent and not subject to the executive authority, so that the people can implement it through their representatives in the next National Assembly. No one can doubt that the Kuwaiti people has reached a stage of political awareness and maturity and has therefore become capable of assuming its political and administrative responsibilities. If some Kuwaitis hold political views critical of the

government's policy, they do so out of concern for the interest of the country and its citizens, because the Kuwaiti public believes that any damage that strikes Kuwait will affect them primarily. Consequently, their expression of their views is an act of national solidarity.

Saddam's invasion and eight-month occupation of Kuwait produced many positive results that crystallized in the tenacity of our country's domestic front.

The gesture made by his grace the emir in cancelling consumer debts will affect nearly 110,000 citizens of the original population, which totals 750,000 citizens according to recently issued statistics. The participation of women in parliamentary life has long required attention. The emir's call to study this issue points to his great desire to select the appropriate time, before the election date, because such a study paves the way for the acceptance [of women into political life], which means the entry of women into the arena of the popular sharing of authority, which also means a strategic change in the composition of the population. The problem of the unification of citizenship remains. Here, I join Dr. Mustafa al-Musawi in calling for a solution to the problem of the "without" and for linking this problem with the unification of the citizenship groups.

What Women Reject

Fatimah Husayn: The issue of the right of women to vote in the National Assembly was taken up on numerous occasions, the most recent being the discussion in the National Assembly in 1981 on the draft [law] to grant political rights to women, which the Assembly voted down at the time. In this framework, I would like to say that the statement being frequently mentioned at present, to the effect that women should be given the political right to popular participation in view of their great contributions during the invasion, is rejected by women, because Kuwaiti women, throughout history, have been supporters and backers of men in most fields, the pillar of the Kuwaiti family, and the creator of ascending generations. Therefore, their participation in parliamentary life is an acquired right and not a courteous response to what they did during the oppressive Iraqi occupation of Kuwait.

Hani al-Musa: I would like to comment here that women have been able, in numerous countries that have recently switched to democratic governments, to hold senior positions, such as in Bangladesh and Pakistan. Women have proven their ability to manage the affairs of their homes and raise their children soundly. It is not strange for them to manage large operations. The past experience of women in Kuwait has proven their suitability to assume numerous senior positions, including the position of deputy minister. Regarding the problem of the "without" that has been raised, I believe that the citizenship law has created a great distinction between groups of what is really a single people, because of a difference between rights and duties. The National Assembly has also helped to complicate this thorny problem. In this

regard, the right of citizenship should be granted to anyone who has been in Kuwait for 30 years and has proven his loyalty to Kuwait. The Citizenship Law should also be reviewed again, with a view toward making it conform with new developments and changes.

Before I finish my remarks, I would like to salute in particular the competence and excellent behavior of Kuwaitis in the interior in managing the country's affairs during the oppressive occupation, despite the great shortage of many basic subsistence and medical needs. They have proven to the world that they are truly a country that comprises one family.

AL-SIYASAH Cited on 'Hasty' Kurdish Pact With Saddam

LD2704112591 London KUNA in Arabic 0952 GMT 27 Apr 91

[Text] Jeddah, 27 Apr (KUNA)—The [Kuwaiti] daily newspaper AL-SIYASAH has expressed its conviction that Kurdish leaders rushed to sit at the negotiating table with the leader of the Iraqi regime, no matter the extent and type of gains the [Kurdistan] Front would get from the negotiations.

In an editorial today, AL-SIYASAH says that the Kurdistan front led by Jalal Talabani rushed because the main problem in Iraq would remain, which is Saddam Husayn and his regime remaining in power. It stressed: While Saddam grants autonomy to the Front, involves it in the power pyramid, and offers it effective authority in the administration...all this will not change the nature of the illness in the Iraqi body. It expressed certainty that the neutralization of the Kurds with regard to the course of the conflict would weaken the whole front opposed to Saddam, either the Iraqi opposition or the international coalition.

The Kuwaiti newspaper stresses that there is absolutely nothing that could guarantee an agreement with Saddam or protect the validity of a document signed by him. It says that the Kurdish opposition must reconsider its step which seems more hasty than it should be, and should deliberate before signing a document that would give life again to the despot of Iraq.

The newspaper concludes its article by saying: The most serious error in the expected agreement is that it would offer Saddam exoneration from guilt, save him from an inevitable overthrow, and keep him away from the court arena which the world has begun to prepare to try him for crimes against humanity, against the Iraqi people, and against the Kurds in particular.

Opposition Assembly Considers National Political Future

91AE0407A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 14 May 91 p 5

[Article by Hamd Ibrahim al-Jasir]

[Text] Kuwait—Kuwait's domestic political arena, despite being calm at present, is a candidate for stepped

up activity by the political opposition in a less tumultuous and more organized fashion.

Six popular, political organizations met last Saturday to discuss the idea of stepping up the campaign to demand political reforms. Sources in these organizations stated to AL-HAYAT that two papers were discussed at the meeting.

The first, which was presented by the Islamic Constitutional Movement, recommends the establishment of a "joint action bureau" [DA'M]. Such an organization, whose members would be from different opposition groups, would be based on a covenant of honor regarding political action in Kuwait. This covenant would aim to expand cooperation among groups wishing to participate in DA'M, facilitate information exchanges and the coordination of positions, and regulate relations among members of these groups to prevent clashes and disputes.

The second paper, which was presented by the Democratic Platform [al-Minbar al-Dimuqrati] group, includes a phased working program for joint political action by political forces in Kuwait under the slogan "constitutional legitimacy now to save the country."

This program aims to employ all available peaceful means to pressure the government to fully apply the constitution in letter and spirit, which means the end of the constitutional vacuum, the abrogation of governmental orders issued in 1986, the return of the 1985 Assembly, and the formation of a national unity government.

The program also calls for attracting a greater number of popular bases to participate in the constitutional process and for consolidating specific political gains, such as open political action.

Approval for implementing the proposals advanced by the two papers is pending the completion of discussion regarding them in the next meeting.

AL-HAYAT has learned that prominent officials in the government held contacts with several opposition figures to reach a mutual understanding with them in order to divert attention from the proposed plans to step up [demands for political reforms]. It is not clear whether the government can presently offer anything to persuade the opposition to stop the escalation.

The periodic meetings of the opposition groups represent a new era in popular, political action in Kuwait. They are characterized by political and intellectual trends going public in open organizations that have operating charters and semi-disclosed programs.

Kuwait has had experience with democracy, especially with respect to the 1962 constitution, which created an outstanding parliamentary formula compatible with the circumstances of the country in the sixties and early seventies. Parliament included the intellectual elite in

society. However, this trend, which was represented by the national grouping and the democratic grouping, soon declined after the retreat of the nationalistic and Nasirist influence from the Arab region. It received a strong blow in 1976, when the National Assembly (parliament) was dissolved by the emir. Subsequently, this trend evolved into symbolic figures lacking solid, popular support.

At the end of the seventies, another trend emerged, which is the Islamic trend. It gained considerable popularity, entering the parliamentary, political experiment in two groups, the Muslim Brothers and the Salafis. A group of its members reached the National Assembly.

The same period saw the emergence of a Shi'ite, Islamic trend that had a special hue that was influenced by the shock of the revolution in Iran. This trend entered the political, parliamentary experiment and succeeded in bringing a group of its members to the Assembly.

During 1981-1986, the National Assembly helped to revive the domestic political arena. It brought back to the forefront the old liberal parliamentary trend to compete with the new trends. However, when the governmental order was issued in July 1986 to dissolve the Assembly, these trends, with other domestic groups, found themselves confronting a government seeking to monopolize political decisionmaking.

Some calm prevailed in the arena after that. Then, the opposition became active again in December 1989 in a hot campaign to reinstitute the constitution. The government attempted to overcome popular pressure by establishing a new assembly with limited mandates. That assembly was about to convene for the first time when Iraq invaded to pound the rulers and the ruled alike.

Now, after the liberation, the whirlpool of political action has resumed. The political opposition wishes to exploit the undermining of the government's prestige due to the occupation and the wave of popular blame for the catastrophe being directed against numerous governmental figures. The opposition's goal in doing so is to obtain major political gains regarding freedoms and participation in political decisionmaking.

The opposition, through its different groups, burst forth to declare new names that are as close as can be to unofficial parties. The most prominent of these groups can be summarized as follows:

The Constitutional Grouping: This group represents what was known previously as the "national businessmen," who are an extension of an old trend that helped establish the Legislative Assembly in 1938, Kuwait's first parliamentary experiment. It is known that this group controls the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Kuwait, and its members usually enjoy social and economic power and long-time administrative offices that have a role in influencing political decisionmaking.

The most prominent person in this group at present is 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Saqr, the chairman of the Chamber of

Commerce. Al-Saqr was chosen to be the spokesman of conferees at the popular Kuwaiti convention held in October 1990 during the test of the Iraqi occupation.

The Democratic Platform: This group combines the national grouping and the democratic grouping, which represent the liberal trend in the country. This trend had a leading role in the opposition in the sixties and early seventies, but it retreated after the strong emergence of Islamic currents. However, it re-surfaced in the mideighties.

The idea of adherence to the constitution and the demand to apply the constitution represent the ideological basis of this current, after leftist and socialist ideas were excluded from its public presentation. It should be recalled that the liberal trend played a very effective role in the campaign to institute the constitution several months before the Iraqi invasion.

The Islamic Constitutional Movement: This is the new garb of the Muslim Brotherhood [MB] movement in Kuwait, after the connection with the leadership of the MB's international organization and headquarters in Cairo was severed. The MB in Kuwait is represented unofficially by the "Social Reform Society." They gained great popularity in the eighties and emerged as a strong competitor for political groups that have been in the arena longer. The members of the Islamic Constitutional Movement maintain that they were the most active in Kuwait during the occupation through the committees that they organized during the occupation, which has helped to strengthen them.

The Islamic Grouping: They are the Salafis, who became prominent in the eighties as a trend to parallel, and compete with, the MB. The members of this group are more zealous regarding the combating of social corruption and the demand to apply the Shari'ah. The Salafis currently represent the "Islamic Heritage Revival" society, which was established in the early eighties.

The National Islamic Coalition: It is a coalition of different moderate and radical Shi'ite trends. Shi'ites represent about 20 percent of the Kuwaiti people. The winds of the Iranian revolution helped to rouse them to form their own political groupings. After the lustre of the revolution dulled and the value of Kuwait as a stable, flourishing country became clear to them, predictions circulated to the effect that the Shi'ites might be more concerned for Kuwait and less enthusiastic about foreign influence.

The Independents: They are not a political group in the accepted sense. Rather, they are a group of politically active personalities that have a presence and acceptance among the people. They lack defined ideological orientations, drawing closer to, and moving away from, other currents according to their individual inclinations.

Among them are Muhammad al-'Adasani (former chairman of the National Assembly), Ahmad al-Sa'dun (chairman of the National Assembly in 1985), 'Abdallah

al-Mufarrij (former minister), Hamd al-Jaw'an (lawyer and former deputy), and Mushari al-'Anjari (former deputy).

The independents usually maintain balanced relations with the different parties. For that reason, they have merited in many cases to be the compromise on which the other competing groups agree.

The Bloc of Deputies: They are neither a grouping or current per se, but rather a group of deputies in the 1985 National Assembly (dissolved) who led a campaign to reinstitute the constitution, which gained them considerable popularity. This bloc would cease to exist if serious, constitutional elections are held.

AL-HAYAT posed questions to two members of the two political groups that are the most prominent and capable in Kuwait of stirring up the arena. They are Dr. 'Adil al-Sabih, a member of the general secretariat of the Islamic Constitutional Movement and a professor in Kuwait University's Engineering College, and Faysal al-Mash'an, a founding member of the Democratic Platform and a member of the administrative council of the Association of Graduates.

Dr. al-Sabih stated: "Experience has proven that individual political action has a limited effect and bears few results. Political action by both the public and the government, through an organization that is based on clear objectives, means, and leaders, obtains credibility, influence, and success. Our previous experience in Kuwaiti society indicates that organized, institutional, practical action is greatly accepted and favorable."

Regarding the dangers of the party system, he states: "There is no doubt that the word 'parties' usually has connotations of disagreement and divisiveness. These connotations have taken root through bad models of party action in the Arab world in previous decades. The truth is that the party system is not to blame for negative experiments in the Arab world. The party system has been successful in many countries throughout the world. It has facilitated the spread of political awareness in many societies and it has guided the policy of governments. It is incorrect to regard the presence of parties as a reflection of the government's failure. The most successful, powerful governments in the Western world are in countries that have a strongly competitive party system. We in Kuwait are able to choose the system that is suited to us and to avoid the drawbacks of the party system through the sound application of democracy in spirit and in letter."

Mr. al-Mash'an stated: "I hope that parties will be established in Kuwait, because the constitution does not prohibit parties. I believe that the peoples of the region can absorb the party model and interact with it positively. Iraq's tyranny and gang present an example of what happens to a country when the government has a monopoly, party multiplicity is denied, and autocracy prevails."

He added: "Our experience in Kuwait has proven that political groups have always led political action. During the difficult circumstances of the occupation, unofficial political groups in Kuwait led national action and engaged in resistance activities in opposition to the invaders. After the removal of the occupation, national, political forces deemed it appropriate to meet and coordinate action among themselves."

Al-Mash'an made little of the negative results of the growth of parties. He stated that: "Tribalism and sectarianism are present in almost all groups. They can be overcome if Kuwaiti society is resolute. Kuwaiti society can overcome these phenomena if all national forces meld in a single melting pot and all groups among the people transcend the manifestations of discrimination among each other."

AL-HAYAT directed the following question to Dr. Muhammad al-Qati', a constitutional expert and professor of law at Kuwait University's Law School: What does the Kuwaiti constitution itself say about parties and how does it view them?

He stated: "The Kuwaiti constitution is silent regarding political parties. It neither calls for their establishment, nor prohibits their establishment in the future. Rather, it leaves the question to the National Assembly, so that the latter can apply itself to the establishment of parties when the time is suitable. However, I should indicate here with all clarity that the constitution and its explanatory memorandum do not oppose the idea of opposition parties. On the contrary, they encourage the establishment of parties, and they deal with their possible, future existence. For example, Article 45 of the constitution indicates the 'right of orderly organizations to address the public authorities.' The constitution's explanatory memorandum states that the intent of the constitution is to provide for a situation in which political parties are established. Hence, it does not rule out the important political right of addressing the public authorities. Also, the explanatory memorandum's commentary on Article 56 pertaining to traditional consultations over the appointment of the prime minister clearly points to the need for consulting the 'heads of the political groups,' which can only mean a formula for party activity."

Dr. Muhammad al-Qati' emphasizes the soundness of the idea of party multiplicity: "It provides a general foundation for important constitutional and political reforms incumbent on the Kuwaiti, democratic government, without which it would not function soundly, in addition to other basic reforms, such as the restoration of the mandates taken away from the legislative and judicial authorities and the full application of the provisions of the constitution."

Despite the politicians' enthusiasm for the idea of party multiplicity and legal experts' support for it based on the inspiration of the constitution, the government has the final say.

Kuwaiti authorities probably do not approve of this orientation. On numerous occasions in the past, officials tended to reject the idea of parties, arguing that they run counter to the "united family" of Kuwait and would generate divisions. They cited the Lebanese example as evidence of the inauspicious fate of parties.

MOROCCO

Business, Government Cooperating To Hire 100,000 Youths

91AA0368B London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic
17 Apr 91 p 37

[Report from Rabat: "Morocco to Employ 100,000 Graduates by Year End"]

[Excerpts] The Moroccan Government has initiated a special program to place the unemployed among high school and college graduates.

King al-Hassan II of Morocco termed totally satisfactory the efforts of the National Council for Youth and Future Affairs which he had charged with conceiving a plan to place graduates. He [the king] said that the state, municipalities, and the private sector will provide employment for some 100,000 graduates in the period from March to the end of the year.

The National Council for Youth and Future Affairs, whose secretary-general is economist al-Habib al-Malki, had reported to the Moroccan monarch on the findings of a extensive survey of baccalaureate and university degree holders that it conducted at the beginning of the year. The Council also surveyed private sector producing enterprises and concluded that the potential for placing the unemployed was encouraging. [passage omitted]

The Council's preliminary survey established that there were some 86,000 degreed youths vis-a-vis 50,000 potential job openings with 4,000 private sector producing enterprises. However, further surveys of graduates and employment opportunities put the number at some 100,000 [unemployed youths] of whom 50 percent hold college degrees and 50 percent are high school graduates.

Two thirds of them will be placed with the private sector and the remaining one third will be employed by municipalities and public sector state enterprises, it was learned. The Council is expected to set employment criteria over the next few weeks in cooperation with employers and on the basis of a group of laws intended to propel the national economy.

The Moroccan monarch stated that placement and employment procedures will be based on consultations with and the concordance of economic partners—the state, municipalities, and the private sector—under the direction of the ministries concerned. Later, the Council will also prepare a study of unemployment among those without degrees.

That initiative will be launched early next summer to coincide with the Council's second session which will discuss ways and means of involving young people in economic activity, of advancing professional development in line with employment needs, and of rearranging the human fabric to ensure efficient distribution in both city and desert.

Perhaps the biggest obstacle to employment is endowing graduates with the technical skills needed to enter the economy. A national program for development will be inaugurated in the immediate future under the auspices of the Ministry of Public Works and Development. The program will be carried out in partnership with private sector enterprises which, during a national debate organized in Rabat last month, expressed a need for technical skills suited to developmental requirements.

The Moroccan Economic Confederation, which includes businessmen, expressed through its delegate to the National Council on Youth and Future Affairs, confidence that employers would cooperate and called for increased investment and for removing impediments to the Moroccan economy in order to achieve better performance by linking employment to production. Confederation president Abd-al-Rahman Samiris, who previously advocated that preserving the equilibrium of producing enterprises requires that the workers themselves take part in "protecting the well-being of the enterprise," submitted to the government a list of proposals by businessmen.

The proposals call for reviewing investment promotion policies; for open market support by targeting development, promoting exports, and adopting a national protectionist strategy to support national products and combat bootlegging; to absorb unorganized enterprises in the national economy; to promote scientific research in the country in order to develop the nation's industry; to create a fund to restructure industry and control the means of production; to consider tax reform to promote the ability of enterprises to self-finance; and to control interest rates and allow enterprises more flexibility with foreign loans. [passage omitted]

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Indo-Pakistan 'Confidence-Building Process' Reviewed*91AS0842A Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
11 Apr 91 pp 5-6*

[Text] Revival of Indo-Pakistan talks has led to the finalization of two important agreements, which are expected to consolidate what in sub-continental bureaucratese is described as the confidence-building process. First, the two Governments have agreed to allow their aircraft to overfly each other's territories through specified air corridors, and to ensure that there will be no violations of either country's air space. The second agreement binds both countries not to hold military exercises near their common borders without first informing the military command on the other side about such plans. Signed by the two Foreign Secretaries, after the military teams had worked out the technical details, the two agreements will reduce the risk of conflict and signify positive progress towards normalization of relations. What is even more important, it was decided that negotiations on other matters would be resumed—soon after the Indian elections—in July and August. The continuing dialogue will deal with such matters of common concern as the heroin traffic and also tackle disputes over the Wullar barrage, the Sir Creek, and the Siachen Glacier. Judging by the tone of their comments, both sides have agreed that all outstanding matters should be settled amicably, as soon as possible, in the common interest of the two States and their peoples.

Most people on either side of the border will now hope earnestly that the party or parties elected to form India's new government will persist with the efforts made in recent years to improve Indo-Pakistan ties. Obviously, if a major advance towards normalcy is to be achieved in the near future, preparations must continue for genuine rapprochement and cooperation in all sectors. It is also necessary that the Kashmir problem should be discussed with honest candour between representatives of the two Governments. Further, instead of repeating tired slogans that restate their well-known positions—a call for a plebiscite by Pakistan or its rejection by India because Jammu and Kashmir is considered to be an integral part of India—a new approach should be discovered and adopted by the political leaders to meet the challenge of the changed situation in the region and the world. On its part, India must concede that the resistance in Kashmir has gone beyond the level where it could be crushed through the use of force. The Indian Government should, therefore, abandon its policy of cruel repression, and make an honest bid to begin serious negotiations with the representatives of the Kashmiri people for a *modus vivendi*—pending a final settlement of the state's future. Once the bloodshed has been halted, and this could well be achieved by a unilateral ceasefire by the Indian forces, a cooling off period should be allowed before beginning negotiations on the main issues. Pakistan should help in every possible way to bring about the

change required to allow negotiations for a peaceful solution of the Kashmir tangle.

For the future, it should be accepted by everyone that a settlement of the dispute will be durable only if it satisfies the Kashmiri people's aspirations and meets their main demand—the right to decide their own future and choose their own government. Long years ago, most Kashmiris in the Valley believed that they had been able to exercise this right; therefore, they had spurned efforts made from this side of the ceasefire line to incite them to take up arms against India. Decades of political chicanery, manipulation and spreading corruption have destroyed their faith in this assumption and driven them to their present pass. Today, they seem unwilling to negotiate with India except on the basis of their call for total and complete independence. However, once the bloodshed and accompanying atrocities can be stopped, it should be possible to overcome what has become the main hurdle to such talks, which offer the only path to a sane settlement. Thereafter, a rational solution should be found which satisfies all sections of the people of the divided state, and safeguards the genuine security interests of both Pakistan and India. The most feasible formula is for both Pakistan and India to accept Kashmir as a separate entity, with certain parts of the state merging with either India or Pakistan, depending on their distinctive characteristics and the people's wishes. The rest of the former Jammu and Kashmir should be given guarantees of autonomy and security by India and Pakistan, with both obtaining access to trade and travel on equal terms. Obviously, earnest talks on such a solution presuppose true friendship and understanding between the two neighbouring States and realization by their Governments that they must learn to live together in peace and friendship if they are to survive and their peoples can flourish and prosper in real freedom. Not only will such a transformation help to create a new Kashmir, but it should bring real progress towards a new sub-continent able to meet the aspirations of its peoples.

Kececiler, Rafsanjani Discuss Iraqi Refugees, Energy Pact*TA2604110991 Ankara ANATOLIA in English
0955 GMT 26 Apr 91*

[Text] Tehran (A.A)—Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani and Turkish State Minister Mehmet Kececiler on Thursday discussed the situation of the Iraqi refugees massed at the borders of both countries where they fled from the troops of Iraqi President Saddam Husayn in the wake of an unsuccessful Kurdish uprising in northern Iraq.

Both sides reportedly expressed the desire that the refugees should return to their homes as soon as possible.

They also reportedly discussed agreements on a natural gas pipeline to cross Turkey and Turkish electricity to be purchased by Iran.

BANGLADESH

Shahabuddin Speaks at Parliamentary Opening

91AS0926A Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English
6 Apr 91 pp 1, 8

[Text] The Acting President, Mr. Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed has said it was not for him but for the parliament to decide the form of government and his only wish at the moment was to get rid of the responsibility of the President at the earliest, reports BSS.

Addressing the inaugural session of the fifth Jatiya Sangsad at the Sangsad Bhaban yesterday afternoon, the Acting President also appealed to the members of Parliament to promptly arrive at a decision on the issue of transfer of power to a sovereign parliament through mutual consultation.

In his 30-minute speech, Justice Shahabuddin said the circumstances under which the Speaker could assume the responsibility of the Acting President under Article 55(2) of the Constitution did not exist at present. Hence, the Acting President requested the Parliament to add a transitional and temporary provision to Part IV of the Constitution on the basis of which he can be relieved of his present assignment at the earliest.

Explaining the constitutional problem regarding his immediate handing over of power, Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed said that there was none now to whom he could submit his resignation under the existing constitutional provisions. The responsibility and the tenure of the Acting President would terminate as soon as an elected president assumes office, he explained.

Referring to the constitutional provisions, he said under the present presidential system election to the presidency will have to take place any time between April 23 and October 22.

"In case of reversion to the parliamentary system, everything regarding the changeover may be completed within the next one and a half months," the Acting President added.

Justice Shahabuddin said that it was not for him but for this parliament to decide the form of government. He pointed out that he should transfer power to a sovereign parliament according to the joint declaration on the outline of the three alliances. "This outline may not have any constitutional validity but has sufficient political significance," he said.

The Acting President appealed to the members of Parliament to arrive at a decision on the form of government "through mutual consultation." He observed that differences of opinion and modes of action were natural in a democracy, but sharp differences of opinion on the basic issues rendered democracy non-functional.

Referring to the formation of the council of ministers, the Acting President said he had formed the new cabinet

on March 20 in accordance with Article 58 (1) of the Constitution. He said that the cabinet which had been formed was a party cabinet, and he was the neutral interim President. The cabinet will consider issues from their party angle and "I would do it from a neutral angle," Justice Shahabuddin said and added, "Hence, it is essential for me to leave before any conflict of opinion has emerged."

Speaking about the conditions under which he had taken the responsibility of the government, Justice Shahabuddin referred to his first address over radio and television that he had accepted the responsibility as the interim President being called by all political alliances.

"I was chosen for this office as I was the sitting Chief Justice of Bangladesh and a neutral man. My principal task was to hold parliamentary elections within three months. I accepted it as a national duty. I also mentioned in the same address and subsequently that I would like to go back to my own post," Justice Shahabuddin pointed out.

In this context, the acting president said that the election process started on January 10 last was over with the opening of the fifth parliament on April 5.

Referring to his foremost task of holding the elections, the Acting President said the election, which was completely free, fair and neutral was "a historic event which will doubtless remain ever-memorable." "This election drew attention of the whole world, he said adding pollwatchers from various countries observed the election on the spot.

He referred to the Commonwealth group, British parliamentary group, the EEC, Japanese and SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] groups and the team of election observers of the National Democratic Institute (NDI) of the United States which were unanimous that the election was held in such a free and fair manner that it would remain an example for other countries.

"The opinion at home and abroad was that in the last twenty years of our history this election was indeed free and neutral.

"That is why the newly elected members of parliament are public representatives in the truest sense of the term," he said.

Justice Shahabuddin reminded the MPs [members of Parliament] that they were the elected representatives of the people. Therefore, they should be utmost conscious of their duties and responsibilities, he added.

The Acting President also spoke about the measures taken by his interim government for ensuring the free, fair and neutral elections. He mentioned reconstitution of the Election Commission and series of other measures and stringent laws in this regard. "When future historians would judge the short administration of my interim

government, they will see in hindsight that this administration was neutral and free of all flaws," he said adding, "For this success I am grateful to all who have helped me including my former advisers."

The Acting President referred to the situation that had developed in the wake of the fall of the Ershad government when demands were made for stern action against the ministers of the ousted government and their associates.

He said the former President had given an interview to the BBC at that time which infuriated the people further. Justice Shahabuddin said he had resisted all demands which were illogical but added, "I however, put under detention those who constituted a threat to peace and caused apprehension of a grave danger."

He said about a thousand allegations had come up against the former ministers and officials associated with them. He said he had set up a three-member enquiry commission headed by a Supreme Court judge to minutely examine the papers regarding those allegations.

The commission, he said, had submitted its primary report four days back while side by side the Bureau of Anti-Corruption had filed cases directly on the basis of such complaints supported by clear evidences. The accused persons in these cases also include the former President (Ershad), he added.

The Acting President referred to the incidents in the Dhaka Central Jail in the last week of December and later in other jails across the country and said his interim government had outrightly rejected the demands of the prisoners that all of them should be set free on the plea that the country was liberated again and freed from the clutches of autocracy.

He, however, said arrangements had been made for prisoners convicted before December 6 to be released in phases on completion of half of their respective term.

Justice Shahabuddin expressed the hope that the steps taken by his interim government to ensure freedom of the press would inspire greater responsibility among the journalists.

In this context, he said, a 10-member press committee headed by a Supreme Court Judge was formed to help guarantee freedom of the press.

He said the Special Powers Act had been amended rescinding the provision for closure of newspaper.

Turning to the state of the country's economy, the Acting President said the quantum of foreign aid in the 1973 budget was 74 percent and the aim was to reduce it gradually. But the attempt failed and the degree of dependence of foreign assistance went on rising over the years, he added.

The Acting President told the house that the projected income in the 1990-91 revenue budget was Taka 80.5 billion against an estimated expenditure of Taka 73 billion.

A revenue surplus of Taka 7.5 billion was supposed to be available to the development budget. But the collection till now shows that the revenue receipt in the year may decline by 4 to 5 percent, he said.

The Acting President said a national pay commission was constituted in 1989. Its report was submitted barely 15 to 20 days back. Employees of government, semi-government and autonomous organisations have been allowed under their persistent pressure 10 percent dearness allowance from December last, he added.

Besides, the situation which evolved in the Gulf region following the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait forced about a hundred thousand Bangladeshis employed in Kuwait to return home.

Justice Shahabuddin said the country's budget deficit would further escalate because of those reasons for which entire money for the projected expenditure of Taka 56 billion of the development budget would have to come as foreign aid.

The Acting President pointed out that not even 10 percent could be recovered of whatever money was pumped out from the nationalised banks as industrial loans.

He said many persons had received industrial loans from the Industrial Bank, the Investment Corporation and other state-owned financial institutions in different names.

But they had neither set up industries nor were repaying the industrial loans, the Acting President said adding that the grand total of outstanding industrial loans stood at Taka 100 billion.

Finance Minister Speaks on Economic Policy

91AS0940A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 22 Apr 91 p 8

[Text] Finance and Planning Minister Saifur Rahman on Sunday laid stress on reducing the government's role to minimum and market force accompanied by fair competition for sustaining the economic growth, reports BSS.

He said government's role should be limited in creating facilities—building of infrastructure and formulation of less complicated policy. "We want to have a policy that would induce change for better and build a corruption-free system". Mr Rahman told a gathering of government officials and business leaders in Dhaka on Sunday morning.

Inaugurating the 12th consultative meeting of the National Board of Revenue (NBR) at the conference

room of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FBCCI), Mr Rahman underlined the importance of formulating a coherent economic policy to ensure long-term growth. "We must have a policy in which the business people can trust", he opined. Only in an assured and hospitable atmosphere the business people can work both for their own interest and also for the nation's prosperity, he added.

He said frequent policy reversal which was the order of the past regime, only discourages investors and entrepreneurs and retards growth.

The Finance Minister called upon all those involved in trade and industry to contribute their mite [as published] in improving the economy shattered by years of mismanagement, corruption and lopsided development of the past regime. He said both the government and the private entrepreneurs must work in cooperative manner exchanging each other's knowledge and experience to overcome the current critical stage of the national economy.

Presided over by FBCCI Chief Al-Haj Akram Hossain, the inaugural session of the day-long meeting was also addressed by Mr Nurul Hossain Khan, Chairman, NBR and Secretary International Resources Division, State Minister for Finance, Mr Mujibur Rahman, was also present on the occasion.

Top officials of the Finance Ministry and leaders of different chambers of the country attended the meeting.

The Finance Minister said the present government would work to introduce a system that would encourage competition and block accumulation of wealth in one hand. He said at the same time we want to have a legal framework of economic development policy which would be equitable, non-discriminatory and gives recognition to small business. The unlimited power awarded to an individual or group that brought disaster in the past would have to be avoided, he asserted.

Referring to many hindrances to growth noticed in the past, the Minister said too many laws and frequent change of policy discouraged all entrepreneurs. These impediments have to be removed if we want to win the hearts of entrepreneurs, investors and get them to work, he added. The Minister further said the multiplicity of offices have to be reduced and that necessary reformative measures be taken to free people from botheration.

About smuggling which was causing great harm to nation's economy, the Minister said mere checking by security personal was not enough. He said tariff policy had to be amended for protecting local industries against smuggling.

The Minister stressed that the present level of "externalization" of the economy had to be stopped. Ten years ago one-third of the development financing was funded from internal resources, now it is entirely external, he added. Since almost the total amount comes from

abroad, the conditions of the donors had to be accepted by the country, a situation which was unhealthy for growth. He said since the government was a continuous process, we had to accept the external commitments.

The Minister who underlined the importance of mobilization of internal resources asked all concerned to see that revenue collection was increased one and a half percent annually. He also said to have sustained growth, he need to reduce consumption both in public and private sectors.

The NBR Chairman who gave a grim picture of the state revenue earnings because of multiple factors called for suggesting appropriate measures for realization of greater revenues in the next year to finance development more from our own resources. He also called for concrete steps to arrest evading tax practices and bring agriculture under tax curtain.

The FBCCI President urged the government to stop import of unnecessary goods and control import strictly. He also appealed for identifying the sick industries and make necessary arrangements so that those units could contribute to national development. The tax payers should be encouraged, he underlined.

India Apologizes for Helicopter Incident

91AS0931A Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English
11 Apr 91 p 1

[Text] The High Commission of India in Bangladesh has regretted the landing of an Indian Air Force Helicopter on Bangladesh territory on March 30 due to unavoidable circumstances, reports BSS.

In a letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the High Commission said the helicopter crossed into Bangladesh territory while operating from Agartala and the pilot was forced to land in Bangladesh due to "extremely inclement weather."

Foreign Minister A.S.M. Mustafizur Rahman read out the letter of the High Commission at the Jatiya Sangsad on Wednesday.

He said, it was necessary to inform the House about the landing of the helicopter.

The letter said an MI-8 helicopter was forced to land for circumstances beyond control and it was not possible at that stage to seek permission for the landing on Bangladesh territory.

The High Commission is confident that in view of the existing cordial ties between the two countries and their defence forces, the landing of the helicopter would not be viewed in any other context other than the emergency circumstances of bad weather.

UK To Extend Development Cooperation

91AS0935A Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English
20 Apr 91 pp 1, 8

[Text] British Government will extend all possible development cooperation including the financial project and commodity assistance to Bangladesh in view of establishing the democratic government, says BSS.

This was stated by the British High Commissioner in Bangladesh C.H.E. Emera at a discussion meeting with the Finance and Planning Minister Muhammad Saifur Rahman, held at the latter's residence in Dhaka on Friday.

During the discussion they reviewed different aspects of various British added development projects and exchanged views on British aid utilization.

The Finance and Planning Minister laid stress on more economic cooperation from Britain in development efforts of Bangladesh and particularly sought increased volume of project and commodity aid.

Referring to the ensuing Parts Aid Consortium meeting the Finance and Planning Minister explained the need for increased economic support and sought allout cooperation in this regard.

The Minister apprised the British High Commissioner that the Bangladesh Nationalist Party would be accountable, responsible and responsive government consistent with the need of political stability to ensure the development process in the country unhindered.

The meeting noted that Britain would substantially participate in the Jamuna multipurpose bridge.

Regarding the ATP [British-made place] purchased by Bangladesh it was mentioned at the meeting that the transaction was between the two corporations, Bangladesh Biman and the British Aero Space Company but efforts would be made in resolving the issue emerged.

Paper Surveys Private-Sector Production

91AS0925A Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English
10 Apr 91 pp 1, 8

[Article by Gias Mojumder: "Industrial Output Hits the Bottom"]

[Text] Industrial production in the private sector has gradually declined over the last one year in the country.

A survey carried by THE NEW NATION on the plummeting industrial production revealed that this vital sector of national economy has been beset with multiple problems in view of overall unstable political climate which prevailed during the period.

According to industrial entrepreneurs, the annual contribution to the GDP [gross domestic product] by this sector averages between nine to ten percent which has fallen to its lowest level.

The industrial experts told this correspondent that despite vast potential for industrial growth industrial sector continues to decline. The immediate cause for such slow trend can be attributed to last one year's political unrest culminating in the mass movement which toppled the autocratic regime.

The growth in industrial sector is dependent on many factors such as continuity and stability of the Government, good health of economy, availability of fund and facilities to grow industries, suitable policy measures and aggressive entrepreneurship, liberal institutional foreign back up, strong and imaginative banking facilities and finally, appropriate environment for investments.

An entrepreneur who preferred to remain anonymous said import of industrial raw materials has been seriously affected resulting in the ultimate setback in production. He also referred to shortage of foreign currency for which import of raw materials slowed down.

For lack of adequate bank financing, the entrepreneurs failed to go for full capacity production causing inconvenience to make payment of wages to the workers timely. For these reasons, some of the industrial units have been experiencing labour unrest. It is also an undenyng fact that those units failed to run in installed capacity.

The situation further worsens in the absence of proper policy direction and guidelines because of political instability during the period under review, he said. Money circulation has also declined affecting buying capacity of the industrial consumers, he said.

He highlighted the declining foreign currency remittances by the Bangladeshis working abroad in view of the crisis in the Middle East, particularly in the Gulf region caused by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and subsequent outbreak of war in the region. As a result, the lending position of the financial institutions also tightened. For continued economic instability, the banks were also unable to provide required credit support to the industries as before.

For tightening economic situation, the business transactions also became hard hit, said another industrial entrepreneur who is producing clutch facings, a brake shoe and brake linings for automobiles reducing dependence on imports.

He said for the last six months industrial raw materials could not reach Bangladesh timely because of explosive situation in the Gulf forcing some of the productive units to temporarily suspend full capacity production.

On the other hand, he said, the growing economic crisis seriously affected purchasing capacity of the consumers. This is also one of the reasons for decline in production.

The quantum of exports in many sectors including garments also recorded a fall due to uneasy situation caused by political unrest.

The collection of excise duty from the industrial sector will fall far from the target during the current fiscal year due to the same cause.

According to financial analysts, industrial loans in certain cases were sanctioned against fake entrepreneurs who in the name of setting up of industries invested capital elsewhere. Besides, the loanees failed to repay the bank loans citing lame excuses. Industrial loans amounting to at least Taka ten thousand crore remain unrealised. Blocking of such arrears highly jeopardised the recycling of loans for investments in new branches of industries. Failing to recover the outstanding loans from the debtors it may put a halt in the implementation of development programmes which is dependent on foreign aid.

According to the opinions of economic wizards, the blockade of bank loans in few hands in the society is not less responsible for the current economic crisis.

Foreign Reports on Jail Incident Denied

91AS0937A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 23 Apr 91 p 8

[Text] The Government has described as "baseless" the propaganda created abroad by interested quarters with regard to the incidents in Dhaka jail on April 9 and 10, reports BSS.

An official Press release on Monday said—it has come to the notice of the government that a wrong impression has been created abroad about the incidents of Dhaka Jail on April 9 and 10 and that a number of foreigners including a human rights organization has made allegations in this respect which are not based on facts. They put exaggerated figures of casualty and alleged that the deaths were caused when the prisoners were beaten up and hot water was poured on them.

Amnesty International, Australia, and some individuals of Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, Norway and the United Kingdom addressed letters to the Acting President Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed demanding appropriate action in this regard.

The fact is that only two prisoners were killed while they were fleeing from the jail by breaking the jail gate.

The government regrets that the wrong impression about the incident has been created abroad due to baseless propaganda resorted to by the interested quarters.

INDIA

Oakley Visit to Delhi Said To Cause Worry

91AS0985A New Delhi PATRIOT in English
25 Apr 91 p 1

[Text] The controversial U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan Robert Oakley is now in the Capital meeting a cross section of people. Though on an announced trip, Mr. Oakley has been meeting political leaders of various shades and intellectuals during the last two days. This is his second trip to Delhi within a fortnight.

The visit of Mr. Oakley to India on the eve of the Lok Sabha elections assumes significance in another context too. The U.S. Diplomats in the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] countries are to meet in Kathmandu soon. This meeting has been planned by the U.S. State Department to take stock of the situation in the region after the elections in four major SAARC countries. Pakistan and Bangladesh have already completed their election process and in both countries the political power has passed in the hands of the leaders who are not hostile to the United States. Nepal and India will go to polls in the next four weeks.

Mr. Oakley, who is also known as "Viceroy of U.S." in Islamabad for his constant interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan, is the senior most diplomat of the United States in this region. He has not only witnessed the change of government thrice in Pakistan during last two and a half years, but has also caused a number of controversies on each occasion by his comments and observations.

He was with General Zia-ul Haq for the army function at Bahawalpur. Though he went with Zia from Islamabad in his aircraft, but took a separate flight to return. Zia and his close confidants were killed in the air crash on their return journey.

Last time Mr. Oakley was in Delhi when the foreign secretaries of India and Pakistan, Muchkund Dubey and Shahryar Khan, were discussing the Indo-Pakistan relations in the first week of April.

Mr. Oakley's sojourn to Delhi and his "private meetings" with interested political leaders and intellectuals assumes significance in the context of U.S. attempts to foist unipolar world order after its successes in the Gulf region.

Mr. Oakley is also credited with masterminding the assault on Khost in Afghanistan. Since the fall of Khost to the Pakistan army, both the United States and Pakistan are demanding non-interference by the Kabul regime in the "liberated zone."

U.S. Under Secretary of State Robert Kimmitt has admitted that Khost fell to an attack of a regular army and not to a handful of Mujahideens.

While praising Afghan rebels for better utilisation of tanks, armoured carriers and mortar guns, Mr. Kemmet backed Pakistan's appeal to the United Nations to stop Afghanistan from carrying out air attacks on Khost.

It is reported that Mr. Oakley's first visit to Delhi was in relation to the Khost operation. It may be noted that the capture of Khost, an integral part of Afghanistan, has passed off almost unnoticed in this country.

Mr. Oakley's current visit to Delhi and his talks with a cross section of people on the eve of the Lok Sabha poll will definitely cause worry to those who keep the track of his record of masterminding interference in the political affairs of Pakistan on all the three occasions of change in government there.

In this context, reports about stepped up activities of the Overseas unit of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) are interesting.

The OBJP with its headquarters at 34th Street, Manhattan, New York, is particularly interested in providing the think tank to analyse and formulate foreign policy of India.

Constituted by the NRIs [nonresident Indians] after the visit of former BJP President L.K. Advani to London last year, the OBJP is currently busy in collecting election funds for the party.

Though the OBJP claims its existence in the United Kingdom, Kenya, Uganda, Singapore, Burma and Sri Lanka, the most widespread network is in the United States. There are rather active units in Washington, Chicago, San Francisco, Houston, Atlanta, Florida, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and California.

Laxman Rao Bhide, an old RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh] hand, coordinates the activities of the OBJP and is basically responsible for transfer [of] the money. In Delhi, the OBJP is under the direct supervision of veteran BJP leader Kedar Nath Sahani.

U.S. Firm Said To Encourage Indo-Pakistan Conflict

'War Scenarios'

91AS0987A Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
14 Apr 91 p 9

[Article by Seema Sirohi]

[Text] General Dynamics doth protest too much. When it plays the dangerous game of spinning war scenarios to push its wares, it should be ready to accept the consequences. There are many who question the rules of the game.

THE TELEGRAPH revealed on 14 March that General Dynamics, one of the world's largest arms manufacturers, had selected India as a possible target in a future war. The detailed planning by a company analyst

involving the use of 307 long-range Cruise missiles from bases in Diego Garcia against Indian targets shocked even cynical observers of the Washington scene. The article sparked loud protests from both General Dynamics and the U.S. State Department, which called the story "preposterous." The denials, however, failed to address the key and substantive issues raised in the article—that such a briefing took place and the wider implications thereof. Understandably, both U.S. and Indian officials are keen to avoid a new hurdle in bilateral relations and make this an election issue.

THE TELEGRAPH has obtained documents from the briefing which provide incontrovertible evidence of the event and show in explicit detail General Dynamics' perception of threat from the Third World. Scenario planning is a pastime of arms manufacturers and General Dynamics indulged in it with hopes of getting new business. A company analyst laid out future war scenarios at meetings of several influential defence think tanks and research institutions in mid-February using maps and military targets. The documents show that possible, but hypothetical, war scenarios were built for India-Pakistan, Libya, Iran, Indonesia and Japan-Russia. "Independent activity by Third World nations" was considered more likely as they now possess conventional weapons of greater precision, range and destructiveness.

The detailed 52-page set of briefing papers prepared by General Dynamics is a guide on how to intervene and contain regional threats. It is fashioned around the new strategic thinking in Washington in which the Soviet Union is no longer a threat but various regional conflicts are. New perceptions of threat require weapons and armed forces with global reach, according to the documents. There are quotes from President George Bush, from Pentagon reports and from Air Force Lt. Gen. Butler to lend weight to the hypothetical. The documents talk of meeting "global commitments simultaneously with fewer forces" and fencing in any "hostile power or group of powers" from disturbing the international balance even as requirements change in the new era.

The respected NATIONAL JOURNAL of Washington which has carried an article titled "Phoney War Scenario Stirs India," has said, "It's no surprise that stuff like this is red meat in India, which has long been dismayed by the United States' close Cold War military ties with its chief rival Pakistan."

But why has India been selected by General Dynamics pundits and what are the wider implications? According to Michael Klare, an arms trade expert, the reason may lie in India's military capabilities. "Weapons manufacturers are looking for a 'new Iraq,' so to say—a country which would require the use of high-tech weapons," said Klare, who also is also a professor of peace and world security studies at Hampshire College. Arms contractors have built their profits on high-tech systems for use against relatively modern weapons. There are only a handful of countries that can prove to be good targets—

North Korea, Taiwan, Brazil, India, Israel, Pakistan, South Africa, Syria and Iran, according to Klare.

"India got picked because it has capabilities akin to those of Iraq. It has developed ballistic missiles and it is alleged to have nuclear weapons," he said in an interview. In a wider sense, the scenario selection reflects the "corporate economic crisis" of high-tech arms makers. Many of them are faced with closure of departments and lay offs. "India should be concerned because the General Dynamics scenario lends credibility to the implausible. But frankly, India should be more conducive to arms control discussion," Klare said.

Leonard Spector, a nuclear arms proliferation expert in Washington, said that the revelation of General Dynamics' briefing was likely to encourage the hawkish lobby in Indian defence circles. India's defence spending has lately come under serious questioning in Washington. Its ballistic missile capability triggered a torrent of criticism in Washington in 1989, blocking the sale of key high technology items requested by the Indian defence ministry. General Dynamics may have not only caused diplomatic damage but also given ammunition to lobbies in India that are harmful to U.S. interests. But there have been no regrets, at least not from the company spokesman.

Alvin Spivak, the spokesman, gave several statements against THE TELEGRAPH's 14 March article but his claims are not supported by facts. He told some Washington based journalists eager to debunk THE TELEGRAPH story that no maps of India were used. The documents show that India's map was exhibited four times and highlighted five times on the world map. Spivak also claimed that the briefing was conducted by a "low level" official, but he did not disavow the policy analyst, who said he was speaking on behalf of the company. The position of the briefer within the company is hardly relevant so long as he is accurately reflecting company policy.

An American legal aphorism applies here: "When you don't have the facts, you pound the law. When you don't have the law you pound the facts. When you have neither you pound the table." Spivak, in an attempt at quick "damage control," gave statements that suggested that he was more disturbed that the contents of the briefing were leaked out to this correspondent and less concerned by the offensive nature of the contents. Spivak also seems oblivious to the fact that his company held the briefing as U.S. forces were engaged in the most intensive bombing campaign against a Third World country.

Indian officials have taken the targeting of India—even hypothetically—in the General Dynamics scheme "very seriously," several officials told THE TELEGRAPH. Officials are seeking details of the briefing from various sources. While the Indian external affairs ministry is not

interested in making this a hurdle in U.S.-Indian relations, it is nevertheless concerned at such scenario-building. "General Dynamics is starting a dangerous trend of thinking," said one senior India official.

That the military-industrial complex is at it again is nothing new although still dangerous and distasteful. "The Gulf war has reinforced the perception that threat will come from the Third World. While Iraq violated all norms of international behaviour and India will not be in the same situation, the briefing still says a lot about planning ahead," said the Indian official. India was clubbed with the "traditional bad guys" such as Libya and Iran. Detailed diagrams of B-52 bombers launching Cruise missiles against Indian nuclear sites, power plants and naval stations give cause for concern, to say the least.

It is a testimony to the times that some official spokesman dismiss these war games lightly, but there are still strategists who seriously question the assumptions underlying the General Dynamics scenario. Although Indian diplomats accept state department assurances that the briefing had nothing to do with U.S. policy, they expressed serious concern in private. "Scenario building is a dangerous game and we can become victims of it. They (arms makers) should be very careful in choosing countries," said another Indian official.

Selig S. Harrison, a South Asia expert at the Carnegie endowment for international peace, said the General Dynamics use of India as the enemy was "pernicious and irresponsible" and it reflected a "general ignorance of the basic parameters of Indo-U.S. defence cooperation that has begun to develop." Weapons contractors in general have a negative impact on relations between countries, he observed. "The scenario against India was a significant barometer of anxiety in foreign policy circles with the spread of missile technology. There is an atmosphere in the U.S. Congress and in public opinion in which proliferation of missile technology can lead to ambivalent attitudes towards friendly countries," he said.

Oddly, the U.S. State Department reacted against THE TELEGRAPH rather than General Dynamics. Spokespersons in Calcutta, New Delhi and Washington took pains to deny that the briefing reflected U.S. policy—which the article never suggested. The article drew parallels between the General Dynamics briefing and the change in U.S. strategic thinking to show the dangerous grounds the company was treading. That the Cold War is over is no secret and that the Pentagon has talked of a Third World threat is also no secret. Defence Secretary Richard Cheney and President George Bush have both articulated the need to meet this composite threat arising from regional conflicts in the Third World.

The denials perhaps reflect a wider concern of American diplomats—that with a rise of anti-Americanism in several countries after the Gulf war U.S. officials are concerned that many leaders in the developing world do

not view the Gulf war as merely reversing the action of an ambitious dictator. They also see it as an unabashed expressions of American military superiority, the unipolar nature of the post-Cold War world and the near "kidnapping" of the United Nations by western powers. Many respected analysts are not convinced that the excessive military response against Iraq was necessarily the right path and that puts official defenders of the Gulf policy on the defensive.

A way to soothe ruffled feathers may be to give some lessons in diplomacy to bigger arms manufacturers, who seem to disregard the wider implications of their actions. In an attempt to hawk their wares, they misrepresent their reality. The General Dynamics briefer curiously avoided taking China into the picture while planning the India-Pakistan scenario. The improving relations between Washington and New Delhi also seemed to escape him. Spector, the nuclear proliferation expert, said that the irony of the General Dynamics' vision was that the United States does not have "real friends" or "real enemies" in south Asia.

Apologies From Firm

91AS0987A Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
21 Apr 91 p 1

[Article by Seema Sirohi: "U.S. Firm Apologises to India for War Plan"]

[Text] Washington, 20 April—General Dynamics, which caused serious concern by targeting India in a mock war scenario, has apologised to the Indian government and promised to "remove this scenario from any and all future presentations."

The apology came in the form of a letter dated 10 April and signed by Mr. E. J. LeFevre, corporate vice-president for government relations. It was addressed to the Indian ambassador to the United States, Mr. Abid Hussein. Mr. LeFevre said his defence firm regretted "any inconvenience this episode many have caused your government."

The letter is aimed at repairing the damage done to General Dynamics, one of the largest U.S. arms manufacturers. Indian officials in Washington has contacted the company following *THE TELEGRAPH*'s 14 March article and demanded an explanation.

The language of the letter, a copy of which was obtained by *THE TELEGRAPH*, is an attempt at exonerating the company by putting the best light on the war scenarios. "The hypothetical scenario in question was never meant to imply that India is an aggressive nation or a possible target of U.S. military planning," the letter said. But the language in the briefing materials imputes aggressive motives to India.

The General Dynamics briefings were "a private company effort with no U.S. government sponsorship or

funding," Mr LeFevre said. The briefing has been presented to "academic groups and lower-level military personnel" to make a sales pitch for improved weapons, systems, the vice-president said.

The controversy was triggered when *THE TELEGRAPH* published an article on 14 March outlining the General Dynamics war scenario involving India and Pakistan. The detailed scenario envisaged 307 missile attacks against India and imagined U.S. intervention to prevent an Indian nuclear strike against Pakistan. The company spokesman tried to deflect attention from key issues raised in the article by using other Indian media outlets to dispute irrelevant details. After more than a month, the company decided to tender an apology.

"We will modify the briefing to remove the scenario from any and all future presentations," Mr. LeFevre said in the letter. But he, like other General Dynamics officials, showed his irritation at the "unauthorised disclosure" of briefing materials, implying that information should be gathered by journalists and proved by sources only at the behest of company officials. The apology, however, should lay to rest all doubts that General Dynamics conducted a series of briefings for academics and lower-level military personnel and considered the implications serious enough to write the letter.

Pakistan Said Planning Anti-India Offensive

Propaganda, Support to Terrorists

91AS0989A Madras *THE HINDU* in English
27 Apr 91 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 26 April—Headed by its president, Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Pakistan has set up a high-powered machinery to launch a major propaganda offensive against India which is to be matched on the ground with extensive support to anti-India terrorist groups operating from that country.

Informed sources believe the mandate of the apex committee set up under the chairmanship of the president ten days ago is similar to that invested in the group created to mastermind the concerted offensive against Afghanistan with U.S. assistance some years ago. The mandate has intelligence, military, diplomatic and news war dimensions.

The Pakistani prime minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharief, is a member of the critical committee indicating that that country has decided to throw the entire weight of its government in the systematic offensive against India it is planning after a period of seeming lay-off, especially on the propaganda front.

Elite group: Other members of the elite group are believed to be Sardar Abdul Qayyum, the leader from Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK), Mr. Mehtab Ahmed Khan, the minister for Kashmir Affairs, Chaudhry Shujat Husain, the interior minister, Mr. Akram Zaidi,

the secretary-general in the Foreign Office, Gen. Aslam Beg, the chief of Army Staff, Mr. Salim Jalani, the defence secretary, Gen. Durrani, the chief of Inter-Services Intelligence, and Mr. Imtiaz, the Intelligence Bureau chief.

Sources have noted Mr. Sharief's speech three days ago in which he vowed to pledge the full mite [as published] of his country for the "liberation of Kashmir." In recent days the Pakistan Foreign Office has made statements indicating that it would raise the Kashmir issue at the United Nations and that the country's delegation may even be led by its prime minister. The propaganda war, sources observe, has already been joined by the official media in Pakistan with the showing of the television film "Kashmir Is Burning."

Equating Kashmir with Palestine: On the diplomatic front sending of special envoys of ministerial rank to Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC) capitals is envisaged. The anti-India lobbies, in the main "Khalistani" and "Azad Kashmir" groups, in the United States and the United Kingdom, are also to be reinvigorated. Sources believe Pakistan may once again make the effort to equate Kashmir with Palestine in lobbying with the OIC countries. The move to do this had failed last July, and sources are hoping the result would not be dissimilar if the same gambit is tried once again.

Sources understand a vigorous push on the ground to terrorists, especially in Kashmir, with the help of money, moral and arms backing, has also been launched in tandem with the panoply of diplomatic, political and propaganda anti-India moves that have been unleashed. Thus, the terrorist and separatist groups operating from bases in Pakistan are once again said to be in high swing.

When Mr. Sharief became prime minister late last year, he was still to find his feet. He was also caught up in settling scores in domestic politics. Thus, the standard propaganda campaigns against India had taken a back seat, though on the ground, especially in Jammu and Kashmir, nothing had changed. Indeed, the offensive was, if anything, of a qualitatively, higher order.

Confusion in Indian political scene: In India too there was still a government in place. With developments moving fast in Indian domestic politics, ending ultimately in confusion and in a "caretaker" government, the Pakistani Government was comfortably in position to raise its sights, especially when it had succeeded in dealing hard knocks to political opponents within the country. Thus, sources here are not surprised by the timing of the new Pakistani offensive.

A throwaway remark by the Jammu and Kashmir governor, Mr. Girish Saxena, that war with Pakistan was not ruled out in October this year, has been seized upon by the media in Pakistan as a sort of justification for its own all-round anti-India mobilisation.

Internationally, it is believed here Pakistan may not succeed in garnering much support for its renewed effort

against this country, for the West is primarily engaged in focussing on West Asia and East Europe and the USSR. Nevertheless, it may be hoping, sources say, that if it became enough of a 'bad boy' in its dealings with India, the United States may be obliged to abandon the Presler amendment on the ground that Pakistan might wilfully cross the nuclear threshold if conventional weapons held and financial assistance of a substantial magnitude was not rendered to it.

Shariat Bill: The Nawaz Sharief Government has run into rough weather lately on the Shariat Bill and sections of even the Muslim League are in full cry seeking the prime minister's ouster. This too, sources here think, may have contributed to the haste with which the high-level anti-India strike force has been structured.

In many ways India is at present handicapped in dealing with the changed mood in Islamabad. For instance, it cannot now even send ministerial level special envoys abroad to counter the Pakistani diplomatic effort, and the general election is still a month away. This gives Pakistan invaluable lead time.

'Gathering Storm at Border'

91AS0989B Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
28 Apr 91 p 8

[Text] Both friends and foes of India are keenly awaiting the outcome of the forthcoming elections. Adversaries of India are hoping that the elections will produce a hung Parliament. They are making their plans accordingly. It goes without saying that India's biggest adversary, internationally, is Pakistan. Expecting political instability in India in the event of a hung Parliament, Pakistani authorities are getting ready to step up its interference in Kashmir. What is most extraordinary is that this exercise is being jointly monitored by the president and the prime minister of the country. According to reports reaching here, a task force, similar to the one set up earlier for Afghanistan, has been constituted for Kashmir. This task force is headed by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and includes, among others, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, the chief of the Pakistan army and intelligence chief. The task force has already started operating and the supply of arms, money and moral support to Kashmir terrorist-secessionists have been stepped up considerably. Mr. Sharif recently declared at a rally in Islamabad that Pakistan would lend its total might to "liberate" Kashmir. However the U.S. establishment has not yet made up its mind definitely on whether or not it will lend support to Pakistan in its mission to "liberate" Kashmir. But a section in the U.S. ruling elite is working overtime to make Washington extend full support to Pakistan. This section feels that as part of a geo-political strategy, Pakistan should be built up as a counterweight to Iran. Moreover there has always been a strong trend in American conservative circles which has been hostile to India. Particularly after the formation of Bangladesh, India has been standing as a rock against U.S. designs to establish its unchallenged hegemony in this part of the world.

Weakening India and even breaking it up has always been on the agenda of these conservative sections. The General Dynamics presentation to the Pentagon on the nature of arms, which would be needed to "tame" India in the event of a war with Pakistan, was part of an updating of exercises by these sections. Pakistanis and these conservative sections in the United States naturally feel tempted to fish in the troubled waters of India. In the case of Kashmir Pakistan takes a more open posture because of its history of internationalisation. But Islamabad's involvement in Punjab is no less than in Kashmir. In fact, Pakistan perhaps is feeling tempted to kill two birds—Kashmir and Punjab—with one stone.

However, if Pakistan's ambitions vis-a-vis India are rising, it is not totally unrealistic. When Pakistan is flexing its muscles and the hostile forces in the U.S. establishment are updating their plans against India, a large section of the political intelligentsia in this country is showing total unconcern and indifference. For instance, when THE TELEGRAPH published a story on the presentation of General Dynamics to the Pentagon on the war game plan against India, there were many in this country who tried to run down the story or play down its significance. There is also no dearth of commentators who feel that the best thing which could happen to India is a hung Parliament. Curiously, those who vehemently predict a hung Parliament are equally vehement about holding elections in Punjab. Anyone who is familiar with the ground reality in Punjab will appreciate that the level of fear prevailing in the state hardly permits any political worker—except those belonging to terrorist outfits—to campaign for the elections. Only candidates accompanied by police personnel would be able to move about freely. Obviously there are not enough security forces to provide police protection to election workers. It is ironical that top Akali leaders and former chief ministers like Mr. Prakash Singh Badal and Mr. Surjeet Singh Barnala, who have been demanding that democracy must be given a change in Punjab, themselves are not contesting the elections. The CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist], which has reluctantly agreed to participate in the elections has decided that its candidates would go underground after the nomination and would reappear only a few days before the polling. It does not require a great political pundit to predict that in the given situation, it will be almost a walkover for the terrorists. With the example set by some Soviet republics, a terrorist-dominated Assembly could pass a resolution on the formation of 'Khalistan.' This will internationalise the Punjab problem, bringing it on a par with Kashmir. This could provide Pakistan with an opportunity to make its hitherto clandestine support to the Punjab secessionist-terrorists as open as its support to Kashmiri insurgents. If such a developing scenario does not give a jolt to the articulate sections of Indians, the nation's travails is bound to multiply manifold.

Analyst on Outcome of Indian-Sri Lankan Talks

91AS0869A Madras THE HINDU in English
11 Apr 91 p 6

[Article by K.K. Katyal]

[Text] New Delhi, April 10. The official-level talks between India and Sri Lanka, which concluded here today, focussed on potential areas for new joint ventures and collaboration arrangements. Showing keen interest in increased Indian investment, the Sri Lankan side spelt out their Government's strategy for industrial growth, with pointed reference to removal of trade barriers and foreign exchange restrictions. There was wide scope for joint ventures for products based on rubber, graphite and phosphate, it was pointed out. Buy-back facilities and export to third countries were mentioned among the arrangements to attract the Indian capital.

The Indian response was positive. A FICCI [Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry] delegation will go to Colombo in May with a view to intensifying contacts between trade and industry in the two countries, while an investment promotion team from Sri Lanka will come here shortly.

Concrete decisions were left to be taken by the proposed Joint Commission, expected to meet in October, and the sub-commission on trade, investment and finance.

The two delegations, led by the Foreign Secretary Mr Muchkund Dubey and his Sri Lankan counterpart Mr Bernard Tilakaratne, finalized the draft agreement for the establishment of the Joint Commission which was agreed to be set up during the former Foreign Minister, Mr V.C. Shukla's visit to Colombo earlier this year.

The formalities like the concurrence of the two governments to the draft will be conducted through diplomatic channels.

To be co-chaired by the Foreign Ministers, the Joint Commission, according to the tentative plans, will meet once a year.

The two sub-commissions—one on trade, investment and finance and the other on culture, social and educational matters—will meet in Colombo well before the meeting of the full commission.

The conclusions of the three-day discussions were summed up in a joint press release which spoke of the commitment of the two sides "to strengthen bilateral relations in their widest sense and expand future areas of cooperation in keeping with their common heritage and traditional ties."

In the area of trade, both sides emphasized—according to the press release—the need for stimulating balanced growth through identification of new products for export, trade promotion measures, exchange of delegations from trade and industry and the liberalization of trade barriers.

It was agreed to support studies to prepare operational programmes covering areas of potential cooperation in trade, manufacturers and service.

Officials discussed, at some length, the "possibilities of bilateral cooperation in marketing, promotion and export of tea on the basis of mutual benefit for the maximization of net foreign exchange earnings of both countries."

The Sri Lankan side will submit detailed proposals to the Subcommittee on Trade, Investment and Finance.

They found promising possibilities of cooperation by Indian consultancy organizations in railway and dairy development projects. The Sri Lankan side agreed to provide details on these subjects. It was agreed that all efforts needed to be made to fully utilize the Indian line of credit of Rs[rupees]25 crores.

This is what the press release said on the joint exploration for oil in Palk Straits and related matters: "It was noted that ONGC [Oil and Natural Gas Commission] (Videsh) Limited had submitted a proposal for oil exploration in the Gulf of Mannar for evaluation by Ceylon Petroleum Corporation. Following evaluation, the two sides would enter into negotiations. Referring to the decision of the Fourth Session of the Joint Economic Commission (1987), the Indian side reiterated their continued interest in the joint venture project for rehabilitation of the Trincomalee Oil Tank Farm. The Sri Lankan side took note of this."

There was consensus on cooperation in the field of civil aviation and to explore ways of promoting air services between the two countries. The progress in science and technology, communications and tourism was reviewed. Concerned authorities will follow up specific proposals to be submitted to the Joint Commission.

The Foreign Secretaries will meet once a year or more often, if necessary, to discuss matters of mutual interest, including matters pertaining to the work of the Joint Commission.

Venkateraman Speaks at Hanoi Reception

91AS0988A New Delhi PATRIOT in English
26 Apr 91 p 7

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Hanoi, 25 April (PTI, UNI)—India and Vietnam today agreed to consolidate and strengthen their traditional solidarity by promoting closer and new areas of cooperation than in the past.

The keen desire of the two countries to expand the areas of multifaceted cooperation was expressed by President R. Venkataraman and Vietnamese leaders at a civic reception held in honour of the Indian head of State.

Mr. Venkataraman who arrived here yesterday on a four day State visit, the first by an Indian head of State after

three decades, underlined the need for the two countries to cooperate 'even more closely' than in the past, commensurate with their existing political ties.

'Through our bilateral relations, it would be possible for us to overcome the limitations of material and financial resources,' the president said while assuring Vietnam of India's continuing commitment to the goal of a prosperous and self reliant Vietnam.

In an opening statement, President of the State Council of Vietnam Vo Chi Cong, described the Indian President's visit as a 'new important development in the consolidation and strengthening of the traditional solidarity and friendship and multiform cooperation between the fraternal people of Vietnam and India.'

Hanoi Peoples Committee Chairman Le At Hoi, welcoming Mr. Venkataraman, thanked India for the valuable assistance it had rendered to Vietnam's reconstruction. Vietnam, he said, highly appreciates the staunch support given by India in its liberation struggle, national struggle and defence.

Lauding India's tireless efforts to consolidate peace and cooperation with her neighbours in South Asia, Mr. Le At Hoi said 'we support India's initiative on South-South cooperation and economic and trade development. We support India's important and constructive role on the Non Aligned Movement and in the world.

'Vietnam and India have remained steadfast through all hard trials and in the new global situation, our two countries must work harder for our national construction and defence,' he said.

"We must now turn to new areas of cooperation between our two countries... the experience and expertise India has gained will be unreservedly placed at the disposal of Vietnam and its great people," Mr. Venkataraman said.

Mr. Venkataraman praised the contributions made by Ho Chi Minh for his tireless efforts in guiding this country to freedom from colonial rule. 'Uncle Ho' as he was fondly known never viewed Vietnam freedom struggle as isolated from what was happening elsewhere in Asia. His philosophical influence stretches far beyond the frontiers of Vietnam.

In the challenging task of reconstruction to make the two countries "more beautiful and bountiful, as Ho Chi Minh put it," Mr. Venkataraman said a great potential lay in the abundance of people's skill.

Notwithstanding the poverty, illiteracy and many forms of backwardness left behind by the departing colonialists, "our talents, our capacity for hard work and our endurance remain with us...the people are a most precious possession." For this reason, he said, India was very happy to have been of assistance to Vietnam in developing its manpower and skills.

The president referred to India's industrial development and said "Indian industry has made our country self-reliant in most sectors of the economy. The experience and expertise that India has gained will be unreservedly placed at the disposal of Vietnam and its great people."

Turning to the international scene, Mr. Venkataraman described it as "extremely complex." The world had shrunk through rapid growth in technology and communications and "we must learn to cooperate and live together on this planet."

Homage to Ho Chi Minh: President R. Venkataraman today paid homage to national leader Ho Chi Minh in his birth centenary year describing him as "an internationalist par excellence."

Trade Possibilities With Germany Explored

Envoy, Businessmen Meet

91AS0885A Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
10 Apr 91 p 3

[Article: "Germany Has Not Lowered India's Credit Rating: Wieck"]

[Text] Relations between India and Germany are "not business as usual" in these changed times said the German Ambassador to India, Mr. H. G. Wieck, in Calcutta on Tuesday. Addressing the Eastern Region Council of the Indo-German Chamber of Commerce, the Ambassador said there were considerable opportunities present in German unification and the end of the Cold War for Indian business to seize.

Mr. Wieck said "the future can be bright, but doesn't come alone." He stressed that India is high on Bonn's list of priorities and cited the visit of the German President, Mr. Richard von Weizsacker, to India during the height of the Gulf war.

The Ambassador comes when, and he noted that for the first time trade between India and Germany is almost balanced.[sentence as published] Traditionally bilateral trade has been a lopsided affair with Indian imports far exceeding its exports. In December 1990 the deficit shrank to just Rs[rupees]281 crores. The comparable figure for last year was Rs 959 crores.

Mr. K. Subrahmanian, President of the chamber, said that this was not a mere "flash in the pan" but a permanent feature. Mr. Wieck said that India's exports had improved considerably in quality and now included such items as computer software and upmarket textiles and leather goods.

Mr. Wieck and Mr. G. Krueger, the chamber's Executive Director, said that a major issue for Germany will be the millions of dollars of aid from donor countries and the World Bank that "are in the pipeline" for India. India has a backlog of under-utilized aid that is taking far too long to be processed because of bureaucratic delays and

India's unstable political situation. Speeding up the process Mr. Wieck said was "something that has to be done."

Mr. Wieck noted two areas where Germany would be of help to Indian businesses. The first was developing trading links with the new east Europe and Soviet Union. India could use Germany as an avenue into these areas now that the old "soft-currency" arrangement has collapsed. The second was the coming 1992 European Community trade unity deadline. Many companies were expanding their markets in preparation for 1992 and Indian companies, working through their German partners, could do the same.

Mr. Wieck was dismissive about the problems that reunification was posing to Germany. "There is no crisis," he said. Transforming East Germany would not take overnight and no one in eastern Germany believes success will come overnight. He and Mr. Krueger did not feel the costs of unification or the flow of German investment into east Europe would effect trade or investment with India. India's restrictions on foreign investment were a far greater obstacle.

The outcome of the elections will be crucial. Mr. Subrahmanian and Mr. Krueger said political instability has greatly hindered trade. Mr. Subrahmanian however, said that the reduction of India's credit rating by U.S. and Japanese firms was not mimicked by German financial institutions. Germany continued to feel India's domestic economy is good.

The chamber will be sending a delegation to eastern Germany to find markets for Indian exports. Mr. Krueger said textiles have already found buyers. The chamber would also look for areas for industrial cooperation. As East German companies have little experience with joint ventures and the like the chamber hopes to tutor them in the necessary ways and means.

More on Envoy's Remarks

91AS0885B Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
11 Apr 91 p 8

[Article: "Germans Not Sure of Return: Wieck"]

[Text] Calcutta, April 10: To woo German investment, India would have to develop its investment climate, Dr. Hans-Georg Wieck, the German ambassador in India, said at a meeting with members of the Indian Chamber of Commerce here today.

Dr. Wieck said, "the German government is very sensitive about this investment climate and would not readily invest in any country unless there is a congenial investment climate." He hinted that the German government would prefer technological collaborations with India rather than investment tie-ups at this juncture. "We would invest after being sure of returns," he said.

The German ambassador remarked that though India had "enormous potential there is a dearth of infrastructural facilities and lack of professionalism among the Indian labour force. India needs to review its entire economic machinery and raise the level of productivity to become competitive in the international market," he said.

In this connection, the German ambassador urged the chambers of commerce to motivate the labour force to increase productivity, efficiency and professionalism. He said that India would have to set priorities and utilise funds properly.

Dr. Wieck suggested that India invest in high technology areas as "it creates a stable society, increases productivity and makes a nation competitive in the international market. India needs an open door policy to invite foreign investment to the country and to stand up to international competition," he observed.

The chamber president, Mr. Sanjiv Goenka, said that with 134 collaborations sanctioned in 1990, Germany became Indian industry's largest foreign technical partner. He also said, "the re-unification of Germany would give rise to a large demand for construction work. The Indian construction companies now look forward to opportunities for participating in construction projects in Germany."

Earlier in the day the German ambassador had visited Webel Telematik's new factory at the Salt Lake electronics complex. He discussed the proposed vocational training centre for that engineering which would be an Indo-German venture with Webel officials. He also visited Siemen's switchboard factory at Joka.

Computer Link Sought

91AS0885C Madras THE HINDU in English
16 Apr 91 p 3

[Article: "Bremen Port Authorities Seek Computer Link With Madras"]

[Text] Madras, April 15. The authorities of twin-port in the City State of Bremen, a nerve centre of international shipping in Germany, has sought the establishment of a data communication link with Madras port to enable both to benefit from the imminent explosion in trade following the unification of Germany, emergence of the European Community single market and changes in the socialist bloc.

The ports of Bremen and Bremerhaven together handle 30 million tonnes of cargo every year, including 3.3 lakh tonnes and 2,900 containers from and to India. The proposed data communication system will enable tracing the movement and status of consignments, right from their arrival at the cargo aggregation centres or container freight stations (CFS) in the interior of both countries to the port of despatch, port of destination and ultimate landing at the CFS in the delivery end. The system will

be of immense help in expediting the work not only of freight agents and port authorities but also Customs.

Installation and interfacing of compatible computer hardware at both ends using data communication network would be necessary to establish the system which was recommended by the United Nations Conference on trade and Development (UNCTAD).

German team holding talks: A delegation led by Mr. Konrad Kunick, Senator (Minister) for Ports, Shipping and Transportation of the independent City State forming part of the German Federation, and including senior executives of the BLG, the company which operates the Bremen and Bremerhaven ports, and experts in computer software and communication, is holding talks with representatives of port users, industry and the Madras Port Trust on the establishment of the data 'bridge'. BLG is owned to the extent of 51 percent by the city state of Bremen, the rest of the ownership stake being held by the public.

Addressing a meeting organised by the Indo-German Chamber of Commerce today, Mr. Kunick said four Indian companies had already established branches in Bremen and were pursuing their activities in the European market from there. In the light of the emergence of a single European market, many more companies from India would need to establish a presence in Europe, by setting up either warehouses or branch offices. The Bremen port authorities and related agencies would be eager to help Indian companies in this task.

Delegation members explained that Hamburg was all along being used to route rouble-based trade from East Europe to the West but with the fall of the iron curtain between the two parts of Germany and beginning of uniform trade in hard currency, the trade would have to follow the shortest and most economic route via Bremen. The Bremen ports, which had the largest car terminals and were the second largest cotton trade handling centres, would become still more important points for cargo traffic to and via unified Europe.

Reports on Indo-Japanese Economic Relations

Sinha on Indian Aid Request

91AS0884A Madras THE HINDU in English
12 Apr 91 p 6

[Article by K. V. Narain: "Sinha Hopeful of Japanese Aid"]

[Text] Tokyo, April 11. Mr. Yeshwant Sinha, Finance Minister of the caretaker Government, told Japanese correspondents this morning India is hopeful of receiving badly needed emergency economic aid from Japan to help its economy tide over the crisis heightened by the Gulf war.

Noting that Japan has helped countries hit hard by the war, Mr. Sinha said, "We feel we are also one of the

important Asian countries which have been affected by the development of the Gulf war." He added India was hopeful that despite Japan's contracting external surpluses, it would be possible for the Japanese Government to help India.

The Japanese Government, which has helped a number of West Asian and other countries affected by the war, has indicated it would make available to India credits of the order of about \$100 million or more. Mr. Sinha met his Japanese counterpart, Mr. Ryutaro Hashimoto and the Foreign Minister, Mr. Taro Nakayama, late this afternoon and it was not known what transpired in the talks.

PTI reports:

The Finance Minister today told Japanese business and Government leaders, "We have to make some short-term adjustments in the fiscal sector to reduce the gap between spending and income." But, he said the short-term problem was no reflection of Indian economy which was basically sound as were its fundamental policies which were stable.

India has requested Japan for \$1 billion in special aid to repair the war damage sustained by the country's economy. The request was made some time ago and has been discussed at various levels between the two countries.

Mr. Sinha met representatives of Japanese banking, financial and Government institutions, besides some influential politicians with long-standing friendly relations with India.

He said in an interview that the short-term problem facing India in terms of cash was estimated at \$3.8 billion which included loss of remittances from the Gulf area, trade with the region, loss of industrial projects in which India was involved as well as a significant loss of tourism.

Mr. Sinha said he was encouraged by the "understanding and responses he found in his talks here." He told the Japanese Government and financial leaders that India expected to overcome the short-term problem in the next four months. He said there was a national consensus on India's economic policy which over the past decade or so had not changed though the country had three types of Government during the period.

He said, "We are very confident we will be able not only to solve the short-term problem, but also make some adjustment in the medium and long-term along the basic lines India has so far followed."

The Minister said his Government had negotiated an emergency IMF loan of \$1.85 billion in January and it had planned to ask for more which now awaits follow-up action.

Mr. Sinha leaves tomorrow for New Delhi via Hong Kong where he hopes to meet some financial people.

Sumitomo Ban Lifted

91AS0884B Madras THE HINDU in English
12 Apr 91 p 9

[Article: "Ban on Japanese Multinational Lifted"]

[Excerpt] New Delhi, April 11. The official ban on the Japanese multinational corporation, Sumitomo and a consortium of five companies led by it from operating in India's petroleum sector has been lifted. A decision to this effect was taken by the Cabinet Committee on Economic Affairs (CCEA) a few days ago.

Briefing presspersons here today, the Union Commerce and Law Minister, Dr. Subramaniam Swamy said the criticism levelled by the Janata Dal spokesman, Mr. Jaipal Reddy against the present Government's decision in lifting the ban on Sumitomo indicated that the latter had no idea of how the previous Government functioned.

Dr. Swamy said the official file on the subject showed that it was Mr. V. P. Singh's Government which recommended the lifting of ban on the Japanese company.

According to Dr. Swamy since Mr. V. P. Singh's Government had taken the decision at the end of October 1990 after the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] withdrew support to it on October 24, 1990, like all such decisions the one on lifting the ban on Sumitomo also came up for review after Mr. Chandra Shekhar's Government was installed.

Dr. Swamy said in his capacity as the Law Minister he had recommended to the Government to lay down certain conditions for Sumitomo to fulfil before the ban could be lifted. Since the Japanese multinational had agreed to accept the conditions, the Government revoked the ban on it. He said 'the conditions imposed on Sumitomo will soon be made public.' Dr. Swamy denied that lifting of ban had anything to do with the visit of the Finance Minister, Mr. Yashwant Sinha to Japan.

Under a cloud: It may be recalled that Sumitomo came under a cloud after it was discovered that it had made payments amounting to Rs.[rupees]6 crores to the Delhi-based Jyotsna Holdings, controlled by Mr. Lalit Suri, in the pipes deal for the HBJ pipeline. The Oil and Natural Gas Commission (ONGC) and the Gas Authority of India Limited (GAIL) had stipulated that no agent be employed or commission paid to any middlemen.

While the deal was discovered during the latter part of Rajiv Gandhi's regime, the formal ban on the Japanese company was imposed by the National Front Government headed by Mr. V. P. Singh. However, Mr. Singh's Government itself came under serious diplomatic pressure and from various multilateral funding agencies to lift the ban.

It was only after the Finance Ministry discovered that Sumitomo had made payments in foreign exchange to

Jyotsna Holdings in contravention of the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (FERA) that the Petroleum Ministry banned the Japanese company from operating in the Indian petroleum sector. [passage omitted]

Reportage on Troubles in Economy

1990 Third Quarter Report

91AS0877A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 8 Apr 91 p 13

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, April 2 (PTI). The National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) on Tuesday said the economy presents 'a mixed picture' with 'satisfactory agricultural and industrial production on the one side' and a growing resources crunch and depleted foreign exchange reserves' on the other.

Reviewing the third quarter performance (October-December, 1990) of the economy for fiscal 1990-91 in its quarterly journal MARGIN, the council said overall economic activity during the quarter under review continued to be subdued due mainly to tension in the Gulf region.

With the change in government at the Center in November last, some semblance of political stability appeared, 'putting an end to the social turmoil witnessed in the preceding quarter', following the furor set off by the Mandal Commission.

It said the economy is likely to grow by 4.5 to 5 percent in 1990-91, after a higher-than-targeted average annual growth of 5.3 percent in the Seventh Plan.

The council expressed apprehension that the present resource crunch might come in the way of aiming at a marked rise in the growth rate for the economy in the Eighth Plan.

Commenting on the Center's budgetary position, it said the revenue collections of the Central government in April-December, 1990 was 8.14 percent higher than in the corresponding nine months of 1989. It, however, added that the deficit in 1990-91 would be higher than the Rs[rupees]7,200 crores indicated in the Central budget.

On prices, it said the wholesale price index has risen by 9 percent in April-December, 1990 as against the 5.3 percent rise in the corresponding nine months of 1989. Inflation, measured in terms of consumer prices, was much higher, it said.

The council said developments on the foreign trade front was the most disturbing. The trade deficit in the first nine months of the current year increased sharply due to a marked rise in the growth of imports and a slowdown in the growth of exports.

The council noted that the level of foreign exchange dropped sharply during October-December, 1990 reaching a low of Rs 2,152 crores, which equalled less than three weeks of imports at the current level.

On agriculture, the council said foodgrains production this year would surpass the 176.5 million tonne target and might turn out to be around 178 million tonnes with 101.75 million tonnes of kharif and about 77 million tonnes of rabi grain.

The council said this accomplishment should be viewed 'without any euphoria', because cyclically the country seems to be in a sub-normal monsoon, if not a drought, in the forthcoming season.

There should, however, be no cause for any pessimism, because during the last two to three years, the country's grain stock has been replenished and that could go a long way in managing the economy during a possible drought.

It said the level of grain stocks increased markedly from about 11.7 million tonnes at the end of March, 1990 to over 19 million tonnes at the end of December, 1990. As such, there is a need for a fresh look at determining the optimum level of grain stocks because their maintenance entails huge financial cost which is a recurring burden on the public exchequer, the council said.

On industrial growth, the council said that after an impressive growth of 11.7 percent in the first six months of 1990-91, the growth rate declined markedly to 3.7 percent in the following two months.

However, for the first eight months of 1990-91 (April-November, 1990) the average growth of 9.5 percent in industrial production did not look unsatisfactory, when compared to the 5.3 percent growth recorded in the corresponding period of 1989, it said.

The council said the rate of growth in the infrastructure sector, which accounts for 28.78 percent of the total industrial output slackened towards the third quarter of 1990-91 from 3.7 percent in July-September, 1990 to 1.7 percent in October-December, 1990.

Economic Advisory Council

91AS0877B Madras *THE HINDU* in English
26 Mar 91 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, March 27. The Prime Minister, Mr Chandra Shekhar, has stated that economic policy formulation must respond to the country's socio-economic priorities and national resources must be used productively for people's welfare.

Chairing a meeting of the Economic Advisory Council (EAC) here today, the Prime Minister appreciated EAC's advice on macro-economic policy management for the fiscal 1991-92 and remarked that sound economic counsel based on best technical expertise formed a significant input in the decision-making process of the Government. He asked the members of EAC headed by

Dr Bimal Jalan to identify specific areas for priority attention and suggest necessary strategies.

The Council suggested that public resources be used mainly for strengthening agricultural and food production, elementary education and elementary health sector. This would not only help reduce the population growth rate but also increase productivity.

According to an official spokesman, the subjects which came up for discussion during the day's meeting included management of food economy, balance of payments, energy policy and fiscal balance.

Food stocks: On the food front, the meeting was informed that the country's food stocks were likely to reach 27 million tonnes by June 1991 and the stock should be used judiciously to bring down prices and generation of productive employment. The members emphasized the need for higher investment in irrigation and agriculture.

The Prime Minister asked the EAC to suggest ways by which benefits of public the distribution system could be extended to the poor, particularly the agricultural laborers who were largely daily wagers.

On balance of payments position, it was felt that the only lasting way of meeting the problem was by giving maximum support to the export sector. The Council suggested the use of REP [expansion not given] licence mechanism and a stronger linkage between exports and imports. Besides, it suggested that excessive administrative and bureaucratic intervention in the export-import sector be avoided.

Oil imports: The Council emphasized the need for reducing dependence on petroleum imports through reduction in demand combined with energy conservation and promotion of use of alternative sources of energy. In particular, the Prime Minister was told that the Government should encourage the use of gas and compressed natural gas (CNG) for transportation. Better management of power systems could also increase energy availability by five to eight percent.

National Reconstruction Fund: The spokesman said that earlier in the day, the Prime Minister held a meeting to discuss the possibility of setting up a National Reconstruction Fund. The suggestion regarding the fund had been made by the President, Mr R. Venkataraman, in his address to the nation delivered on the eve of the Republic Day. The meeting decided that details of the funds should be worked out early and necessary rules framed including those relating to contribution to the proposed fund being exempt from the Income Tax Act.

Public Debt Growth

91AS0877C Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
27 mar 91 p 10

[Article by Arup Ratan Lala]

[Text] Calcutta, March 26: The outstanding public debt of the Union government is expected to reach

Rs[rupees]1,83,183.26 crores at the end of 1990-91 and 2,07,247 crores in 1991-92, according to the Union government's Budget document.

The amount of public debt in 1990-91 comprises internal debt worth Rs 1,51,352.32 crores and an external debt of Rs 31,830.94 crores. In 1991-92, the amount of internal debt has been estimated at Rs 1,71,634.67 crores, and the external debt at Rs 35,612.42 crores. The other liabilities of the central government have been estimated at Rs 1,28,175.95 crores in 1990-91 and Rs 1,46,490.68 crores in 1991-92. The net liability to be incurred by the Union government in 1990-91 would be Rs 3,11,059.21 crores and Rs 3,53,437.77 crores in 1991-91.

On the collection side, the net tax revenue of the Union government has been estimated at Rs 49,374.09 crores in 1991-92, against the revised estimate of Rs 44,317.85 crores in 1990-91. The total tax revenue would be Rs 65,353.73 crores compared to Rs 58,916.01 crores in the revised estimate for 1990-91. Of the total tax revenue, the states' share would be 15,900.21 crores against the revised estimate of Rs 14,534.91 crores in 1990-91.

On the other hand the total non-tax revenue would be Rs 14,210.16 crores against the revised estimate of Rs 13,063.45 crores in 1990-91. The total revenue of the Union government for 1991-92 would be Rs 63,584.25 crores against the revised estimate of Rs 57,381.30 crores in 1990-91.

The tax revenue includes corporation tax, taxes on income other than corporation tax, expenditure tax (Act of 1987), estate duty, wealth tax, gift tax, customs duty, Central excise duties, taxes on Union territories and other taxes.

The revenue collection from corporation tax has been estimated at Rs 6,200 crores in 1991-92 against the revised estimate of Rs 6,350 crores for 1990-91. The revised estimate has been placed after taking into account the effect of the changes made through the Taxation Laws (Amendments) Act, 1991. The collection from taxes on income other than corporation tax has been placed at Rs 6,227 crores in 1991-92 against Rs 5,560 crores in 1990-91.

The net customs revenue is estimated at Rs 20,800 crores in the current financial year and Rs 24,000 crores in 1991-92 after taking into account the changes brought about under the Finance Act, 1990. While the revenue from import duties has been estimated at Rs 23,737.35 crores for 1991-92 against Rs 20,562.62 crores in 1990-91, the export duties have been estimated at Rs 1.10 crores in 1991-92, against Rs 1 crore in 1990-91.

The receipts from Union excise duties in 1990-91 are estimated at Rs 24,500 crores against the Budget estimate of Rs 25,125.03 crores showing a decrease of Rs 626.03 crores. The receipts in 1991-92 are expected to be

Rs 27,000 crores which is Rs 2,500 crores more than the revised estimate of 1990-91.

Revenue from taxes in Union territories has been estimated at Rs 1,282 crores in 1991-92 against Rs 1,110.76 crores in 1990-91. The receipts from taxes and duties have been placed at Rs 279 crores in 1991-92, against the revised estimates of Rs 261.50 crores for 1990-91.

Under the non-tax revenue, the interest receipts from the state governments are estimated at Rs 5,576.53 crores in 1990-91 and Rs 6,789.51 crores 1991-92. The increase in the next Budget is due to recovery of interest on loans for plan and non-plan purposes and the loans against small savings collections advanced.

The surplus profits of the Reserve Bank of India transferable to the government during the current financial year and 1991-92 are estimated at Rs 210.12 crores and Rs 350 crores respectively. The receipts from profits of nationalized banks are estimated at Rs 50.70 crores in 1990-91 and Rs 60 crores in 1991-92. The share of profits from the Life Insurance Corporation have been estimated at Rs 75.73 crores in 1990-91 and Rs 90 crores in 1991-92.

Trade Deficit Feared

91AS0877D Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
25 Mar 91 p 8

[Text] Calcutta, March 24 (PTI): The country's trade deficit will be a record Rs[rupees]12,000 crores to Rs 14,000 crores in the current year, according to a study on the prospects of the Indian economy.

According to the study by a group of financial and economic analysts, exports were unlikely to exceed Rs 28,000 crores against the original target of Rs 40,000 crores and the revised target of Rs 36,000 crores for the current year.

Imports during 1990-91, would, however, be around Rs 40,000 crores, accounting for 10 percent of the total gross domestic product, the study said.

According to the study, the condition of the economy would depend on external variables like the extent of global recession.

Global Recession To Hit Exports

Looking beyond the country's boundary, the study says that the recession in the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, France and Italy was likely to get worse in 1991-92, adversely affecting Indian exports to these countries.

Indian exports to the unified European Community which would materialize on January 1, next year would decline at least in the initial stage according to the study, released by a leading city-based economic and foreign exchange consultancy firm.

The Asia Pacific region would offer maximum opportunities, the study noted, adding that an increasing number of less developed countries, especially those in Africa would respond to countertrade and barter, provided the Indian exchange control accommodated such transactions and Indian contacts were geared to meeting the challenge.

The study predicted that although the trade protocol with the Soviet Union would continue till 1995, the two-way trade would decline, following wide-spread economic and political disruption in the Soviet Union.

Slower Growth in GDP [gross domestic product] Likely

Growth in real gross domestic product would be 4.6 percent in the current fiscal, the researchers felt. The GDP would grow slower during 1991-92 at 3.7 percent, it says.

Declining consumption, disturbances in capital investments, the growing spectacle of increasing use of administered prices, infrastructural bottlenecks, double digit inflation, growing trade deficits and balance of payments problems would be the main impediments in 1991-92.

Industry started decelerating after June 1990. Capital issues were down by 15 percent till December 1990 and new investments were also down, the study points out.

Up to October 1990, railway freight loadings were down and was coal production. Agricultural yield would be only marginally higher in 1990-91, the study says, pointing out that much would depend on the 1991 monsoon.

Paris Meeting Postponed

91AS0877E Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 30 Mar 91 p 15

[Article by Gautam Adhikari]

[Text] Washington, March 29. In view of India's continuing economic and political uncertainties, the World Bank has decided to postpone this year's Aid India Consortium (AIC) meeting in Paris.

The annual meeting, which reviews India's current economic situation, prospects, as well as foreign aid requirements for each year, is usually held in the latter half of June. This year's meeting has not been called yet and clearly cannot be held in June.

A bank-fund insider, who preferred anonymity, confirmed that the Paris meeting will not be held until an Indian government has presented a full budget. As of now, New Delhi has a caretaker government which presented only a vote-on-account budget for the fiscal year. A regular government will not be in place till June and it will take some time before it can formulate a full budget.

The Paris meeting, which is chaired by the World Bank, is normally attended by representatives of major aid donors of India. They include industrialized nations as well as multilateral agencies such as the bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Representatives of the European Economic Community and the development assistance committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and development are usually invited to attend.

A postponement of the AIC meeting means that India's economic uncertainties, which have suddenly become alarming on account of the balance of payments (BoP) crisis, will now grow further. Neither the World Bank nor the IMF, however, can do much to alleviate India's worries until they see a full budget which outlines the concrete steps the government proposes to undertake to tackle the crisis arising from India's macroeconomic imbalances.

India has so far received \$1.8 billion from the IMF under the fund's compensatory and contingency finance facility (CCFF) on relatively few conditionalities. Discussions are currently on for an upper tranche borrowing, with more strictures, of over \$2 billion more. But an upper tranche borrowing would not be possible to negotiate for India unless New Delhi first presents a budget.

Last year, before the AIC's Paris meeting was held, a background paper prepared by the World Bank had warned: "India's economy appears to be headed for a difficult period during the early 1990s." India would need "relatively high levels of external borrowing, including continuation of significant levels of commercial borrowing." That picture is a bit more gloomy today.

Last year, India's total outstanding external debt was estimated by the World Bank at \$63 billion. This year it is believed to have crossed \$80 billion. Over 30 percent of India's export earnings go towards servicing that debt.

Regular borrowings from the commercial market have also become difficult this year, because of the same uncertainties. India's credit rating on international markets has fallen to a triple B minus, which is the lowest "investible" level possible. Commercial banks start tightening their fists when a country falls to such a rating and bridging finance becomes difficult to obtain.

Meanwhile, India's official foreign exchange reserves remain dangerously low. There is talk of using confiscated gold and silver to tide over the immediate crisis by using it as collateral for borrowing from Japan or Germany. But that can be a very short-term solution at best. The full external assistance needs of the fiscal year cannot be met unless a meeting of the Paris aid club is held.

It looks like the AIC meeting cannot be held before late August at the earliest. India's new government, assuming that one is securely in office by the second week of June,

will take time to prepare a budget which would demonstrate the government's political ability and will to take tough steps to manage the economic crisis. The budget would then have to be debated in Parliament in the monsoon session before it can be officially passed.

Bhopal Victims Refused U.S. Visas

91AS0986A Madras *THE HINDU* in English
27 Apr 91 p 9

[Text] Bombay, 26 April—Four victims of the Bhopal gas tragedy of 1984, who were due to appear today at the Permanent People's Tribunal on Industrial Hazards and Human Rights at Yale University, U.S., were prevented at the last minute from leaving India when the U.S. Consulate in Bombay refused to consider their applications for visas.

Mr. Dinkar Rao, Ms. Rehana Begum, Ms. Razia Bi and her 16-year-old daughter, Razda, who belong to the Bhopal Gas Peedith Mahila Sangathan, the largest organised group of gas victims, had already approached the American Embassy in New Delhi where they were told that as Bhopal came under the Bombay Consulate, they would have to go there to apply. On approaching the Consulate in Bombay, they were rudely told that their visa applications could not be considered for another two years, because they had been refused visas by the Delhi office. The Visa Officer, apparently, did not bother to ask them why they had been refused the visa in Delhi.

Finally, after some persistence, when they succeeded in obtaining another interview for a visa, they were asked to produce proof of ownership of property and their salary certificates. The four victims are poor slum dwellers and were going to the United States only because they had been invited, their air fares had been paid and they had letters guaranteeing coverage of all their expenses during their stay in the country.

As a result, the testimony from Bhopal will be greatly diminished at the People's Tribunal where other victim groups, from Minamata in Japan, asbestos victims, Vietnam veterans who suffered from Agent Orange and women who were rendered infertile through the use of the birth-control device, the Dalkon Shield, will be giving their evidence in the course of the next three days.

The Permanent People's Tribunal is the successor to the Bertrand Russell Tribunal on Vietnam and Latin America founded in 1979. Its findings are submitted to the government and non-governmental organisations and to the UN Commission on Human Rights.

The session on industrial hazards and human rights, now in progress at the Yale Law School, will be followed up with subsequent sessions in India, possibly at the end of this year and in Europe in 1992. This has been organised at the request of the International Coalition for Justice in Bhopal.

Karnataka: Controversy Over Patil's Suspension Probed

91AS0832B Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
9 Apr 91 p 6

[Article by V. N. Subba Rao: "A Macabre Episode Indeed"]

[Text] An absurd episode has now become macabre with the former Karnataka Governor, Mr. Bhanu Pratap Singh, who has already contributed quite a lot to the mess, adding another dimension to the Veerendra Patil controversy by going public with the complaint that he has been cheated by the KPCC(I) [expansion not given] President on the issue.

The impish Mr. Singh played so many pranks during the transfer of power in the State last October after Mr. Veerendra Patil was brusquely sacked by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi at the Bangalore airport.

Misled

He has now charged Mr. Oscar Fernandes with taking him for a ride by writing him a letter informing him that Mr. Patil had been suspended from the party when the AICC(I) [All India Congress Committee-India] President himself had announced subsequently that no such action had been taken against the ailing former Chief Minister.

Mr. Gandhi, of course, has also conducted himself in a manner not befitting his status as the president of a leading political party.

While his other colleagues had been hedging over the issue and parrying reporters' questions about the controversy, Mr. Gandhi not only made this statement but also added something which was totally unwarranted under the circumstances, in the interests of his own party. "The KPCC(I) cannot suspend Mr. Patil on its own," he declared categorically, letting down the State president of his party like a hot brick.

Now, Mr. Fernandes is too much of a Rajiv Gandhi loyalist to have reacted in the only manner open to him in such a bizarre situation—by either openly protesting or even resigning his post. What Mr. Gandhi's statement simply amounts to is calling him a liar, since Mr. Fernandes had reported more than once that Mr. Patil stayed suspended from the party.

Obviously, he was relying on his own letter to the Governor while making this assertion time and again. From his own point of view, he was perfectly within his right to do so. But when his party chief himself derails his case so openly and in such uncertain terms, his only logical reaction should have been to send in the quarter sheet.

Unless, of course, the impugned letter itself was a plant and did not represent realities.

This is why Mr. Singh's bombshell needs a thorough examination. It has ripped open the ugly features of a political secret which has played havoc with the entire political dispensation of a State.

No matter with what intentions the former Governor has now raked up the issue in this fashion, and irrespective of the intriguing question about how a Governor who has laid down office can carry such vital documents home, the question raised by him is much too relevant to be disposed of lightly.

It is worth noting that the letter was not signed by Mr. Fernandes alone. It also had two high-powered cosignatories—the Deputy Leader of the Congress(I) Legislature Party, Mr. N. Hutchamasti Gowda, and the party Secretary, Mr. A. K. Ananthakrishna. It quoted a notification "issued" by the AICC(I) suspending Mr. Patil from the party and informs the Governor officially about the suspension.

This letter was written after the Governor had refused to recognise a resolution of the party removing Mr. Patil from the leadership. And it was also this letter which finally clinched the issue vis-a-vis the recalcitrant Governor.

So it is a very special document. If it contains a lie and if the Governor has relied on a lie to close the file which he has himself built up and pave the way for the new leader to be selected by the party, then it is indeed an egregious frame-up. But if it isn't, then Mr. Gandhi has to be hauled up for another costly indiscretion which, this time, places his entire party in a compromising position. Now that the document is public property, the persons concerned must admit what their roles were in the sorry mess.

A Conspiracy?

Let us carefully analyse the various questions the issue raises. If what Mr. Gandhi says about Mr. Patil having never been suspended from the party is true, then was it a conspiracy of the three dignitaries of the party to plant such a letter on the Governor's lap, to ferret out of him a final decision on the issue?

If that is so, why was not the party itself outraged the very next day when the letter on Mr. Patil's suspension and the Governor's acceptance of it was blazoned forth in screaming headlines in the newspapers? Why did not some worthy member in the high pedestal of the AICC(I) immediately object to this?

Was it also not a fact that the AICC(I) observers to the State, charged with the task of sorting out the imbroglio, were sitting right here in Bangalore at the very time when the letter signed by the three top party functionaries was delivered to the Governor? Or did the three "conspirators" fabricate the letter behind their backs? Would they have dared to act in such a fashion unless the observers had cleared it?

Intriguing

It is interesting that even after the controversy over Mr. Patil's suspension came into the open, no AICC(I) functionary ever expressed any doubt about the suspension. Even lately, the AICC(I) General Secretary, Mr. Balram Jakhar, talked glibly about a suspension not being an expulsion. To make it more intriguing, he made this remark well after Mr. Gandhi had declared that Mr. Patil had never been suspended. And even Chief Minister Bangarappa had gone on record more than once as saying that the suspension was expected to be revoked any time.

Even as Mr. Patil has been making a big to-do about his not being officially informed about the suspension, the style of AICC(I) suspensions has been explained of late in New Delhi. It is that the person concerned is never informed about the suspension, but the press is. And the PCC(I) concerned is also informed "orally" which, presumably, means over the telephone.

However, not even the customary press announcement about Mr. Patil's suspension was made by the AICC(I). Unless the letter to the Governor was a sly frame-up, one should assume that the KPCC(I) was telephonically informed about the suspension and the letter was a logical follow-up. In that case, why was the press briefing by the AICC(I) avoided?

The letter to the Governor also mysteriously refers to a notification by the AICC(I) on the suspension and also uses the word "issued by the AICC(I)." Issued to whom? To the targeted member, or to the KPCC(I)? Or to the party office? Or to the media? If indeed there is such a notification, the most logical thing for the AICC(I) office to do in the wake of this ugly controversy is to make a clean breast of the whole matter.

One supposes a "notification," even that "issued" by a political party, will have a date and a serial number and such other formalities imperative for such official documents. But if, on the other hand, there is no such "notification," it speaks very poorly of a party which transacts even such serious business purely by word of mouth.

A serious aspect of the episode is that it is also blatantly unedifying. But whatever doubts it might raise, it should be said that circumstantial evidence is entirely in favour of Mr. Oscar Fernandes.

His bosses might still be in a position to twist the facts in a desperate attempt to buy political peace from a leader whom they have rubbed on the wrong side, but this evidence also points to their chickening out after their initial act of bravado.

It is now in their own interest to come clean and salvage as much reputation as they can before the issue gets worse. If they have played a double role, they should confess so. If they are convinced that their own party functionaries have conspired to con the Governor, then

they should go ahead and get the scalps of the culprits. This will also meet the demand of Mr. Patil himself. But if they think they can continue to play the issue cool, they are mistaken.

They have straightaway played into the hands of a grateful Opposition by mishandling such a vital issue. The Janata Dal working President has already demanded a judicial inquiry into the whole matter. It is clear that the Opposition will go all-out to make it one of the major campaign issues. When this happens, the fallout will not be confined to the Lingayat segment of the voters. It will only add to the serious image problems the Congress(I) already has.

Gesture

Even if the high command swallows the bitter truths behind this episode just to placate Mr. Veerendra Patil, it cannot expect any miracles to flow from his end. The milk is already spilt and the mental divide between him and the party appears to be complete. This has happened cumulatively over a period, as evidenced by many statements made by Mr. Patil himself.

The time has come for the Congress(I) high command to face the moment of truth and decide its preference between a convenient political ruse and an honourable gesture to the party loyalists who only did what was expected of them under the circumstances. Unless, of course, its own role has been really honest and it is those who wrote the letter to the Governor who had the temerity of conning it also.

Karnataka: Lawyers' Agitation Criticized

91AS0932B Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
12 Apr 91 p 8

[Editorial: "Needless Agitation"]

[Text] The lawyers agitating in parts of North Karnataka demanding the setting up of a bench of the Karnataka High Court there will do well to end their stir heeding the appeal of the Chief Minister, Mr. S. Bangarappa, who has said that the question of establishing a bench of the High Court is under active consideration of the State Government. The ongoing agitation by members of the Hubli Bar had, in fact, its genesis in a statement made on the floor of the House by Law Minister B. Shivanna that the High Court was not in favour of the proposal.

The merits of the case apart, a serious matter like establishing a bench of the High Court cannot be considered in a dispassionate manner in the face of an agitation. The demand originally from Hubli has been pending from the mid-Seventies when Mr. D. K. Naicker was the Law Minister in the Devaraj Urs Cabinet. Similar demands later arose from Belgaum and Gulbarga. The proliferation lends credence to the allegation that parochial considerations have crept into the proposal whose principal merit lies in the hope of speedier dispensation of justice from a seat closer to those who

seek it. The latter consideration can as well apply to the demand from the South for a bench of the Supreme Court.

Expert bodies like the Law Commission and the High Court Arrears Committee have been lukewarm to the suggestion of having benches of the apex courts outside their original seats. Mr. Justice Y. V. Chandrachud, former Chief Justice of India, was of the opinion that multiplicity of benches would undermine the sense of oneness and cohesion of the courts. The Centre which had set up the Jaswanth Singh Committee in the context of a demand by lawyers from western Uttar Pradesh for a bench of the Allahabad High Court later widened the ambit of the committee's study to include similar demands in other States. The committee is understood to have laid down certain guidelines in this regard. It would be worthwhile in the present context if these guidelines are subjected to the scrutiny of the Law Commission and the Conference of Chief Justices and agitations of this kind are countered with authentic norms and guidelines.

World Bank Reconsiders Financing Dam Projects
91AS0932C Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
15 Apr 91 p 8

[Article by M. Hasan, DH News Service: "Amte Scores a Point on Narmada Dam Issue"]

[Text] The raging controversy over the Narmada Sagar and Sardar Sarovar projects in Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat respectively refuses to die down.

The dust, which was kicked off by the renowned social worker, Baba Amte, in January this year undertaking an impressive anti-Sardar Sarovar march from Badwani in Madhya Pradesh to Kevadia, the Sardar Sarovar dam site, in Gujarat, has ultimately had its effect among the world's environmental organisations which have now forced the World Bank, the main financing institution for the project, to review its decision to finance the mega-dam project in Gujarat. [sentence as published]

The Baba, who is having a respiratory problem, has been admitted to the Indore Medical College Hospital but his charisma is still at work. The World Bank has decided to appoint an independent mission to assess the Sardar Sarovar project again.

Reports from Washington say that this unusual step by the Bank has been taken under intense pressure from the environmentalists, who have expressed grave apprehensions about the dam. The credit for this goes to Baba Amte and his group who brought the issue on to the international stage by their march and dharna on the Madhya Pradesh-Gujarat border for 25 days in the chilly cold of January.

The World Bank's decision is indeed a setback to Gujarat which was confident of getting aid from the

bank after it had shown its appreciation for the compensatory afforestation programme and rehabilitation plan for displaced persons in the Narmada valley.

Not Usual

Talking to DECCAN HERALD at the dharna site at Ferkuva village in January, the Sardar Sarovar Project Vice-Chairman, Mr. P. A. Raj, had exuded confidence about getting the World Bank loan after the clearance of the project by the bank. He said that the bank officials had made an in-depth survey of the site and were satisfied with the compensatory environmental aspects of the project.

Now, the World Bank has decided to re-evaluate the whole scheme. Normally the World Bank does not allow outside agencies to assess projects, but in this case the institution has decided on an "independent evaluation of the environmental and rehabilitation aspects of the project".

In a letter to the US Congress, the President of the Bank, Mr. B. Conable, has informed that "we are in process of trying to obtain the services of a prominent individual outside the bank to head the evaluation." The environmentalists have also demanded a broadening of the terms of reference to investigate the numerous aspects of the controversial project. They have demanded that the terms should be decided by the person doing the assessment.

Under the broader terms of reference the anti-dam lobby has highlighted the cost-benefit analysis, [word illegible] of secured funding for full implementation of projects and inadequate planning of the water delivery, irrigation and drainage systems. The [word illegible] Executive Director of the bank has also supported this contention by saying that "we firmly believe the issues outlined by environmentalists must be investigated if the mission is to be credible".

The decision to appoint an independent mission has highlighted the apparent lack of confidence in the Bank's India division. The independent mission is the most important move the bank has made on the project. It may not only jeopardise the funding of the Sardar Sarovar project but also Narmada Sagar in Madhya Pradesh.

The Bank is yet to take any decision on the Narmada project. There is no doubt that Baba Amte has succeeded in his move to draw the attention of the world to the catastrophe that the construction of the mega-dam might cause. The Baba had told this correspondent during his dharna on the border that "no country in future would dare to go in for a mega-dam after this demonstration by the anti-dam people of the Narmada valley". His words have now acquired an almost prophetic tone following the bank's decision to review the project.

Political Aspect

Politically also the problem is alive in the valley. The people in the Narmada basin have decided to boycott the election as the Madhya Pradesh Government has not taken their problems seriously. The Government has even decided to go ahead with the project. For Gujarat the issue would become a poll plank as all the parties are in favour of the SSP [Samyukta Socialist Party]. Moreover the Gujarat lobby has also succeeded in obtaining the services of an eminent Buddhist clergyman, Rev. Danien Uchida, the head of an influential public pressure group in Japan, to mobilise opinion in favour of the dam to get a Japanese loan for the Sardar Sarovar project.

Rev. Uchida is the Executive Director of the Nihonji Temple, the oldest in Japan established by Emperor Shomu in 724 AD for peace and prosperity.

It may be mentioned that Baba Amte had mobilised environmentalist groups in Japan to pressure their Government not to clear the yen credit for the SSP.

Rev. Uchida who was recently in India met anti-dam activists, Government representatives and parliamentarians to get first hand information about the controversy. He is in favour of the SSP.

The Baba is determined not to leave Choti Kasarvad, where he has installed himself, to die if the damming of the Narmada is carried out. "I will die but the anti-dam movement will continue", he declared before being pushed into an intensive care unit of the Indore Medical College Hospital, recently. He is recovering fast and plans to go back to his ashram on the banks of the river Narmada.

The anti-dam movement will no doubt gain momentum during the campaigning for the ensuing elections to the Lok Sabha.

Commentary Calls for 'Genuinely Reformed' Federation

91AS0932A Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
11 Apr 91 p 8

[Commentary by Amal Ray: "Delhi's Hegemony Must End"]

[Text] At a recently-held press conference in New Delhi, the Orissa Chief Minister, Mr. Biju Patnaik, brought to the fore some enduring issues of the Centre-State relationship, although his advocacy of complete autonomy for States except in defence, foreign affairs and currency, seems overdrawn.

Equally conspicuous was his perception of the link between the demand for autonomy and demand for secession, a link which the ruling classes of Delhi have generally overlooked and for which the country continues to pay a heavy price.

Marginalised

Mr. Patnaik is right in arguing that had the original objective of India's federal structure been achieved in the right spirit, "the present shape of movements in Punjab, Kashmir, Assam and elsewhere would have been marginalised".

It may be recalled that all these regional movements started with some legitimate autonomy demands. But when the Central Government persistently declined to accommodate these demands and took recourse to the politics of expediency and intimidation to deal with culturally delicate situations, there occurred extensive regional mobilisation, frequently accompanied by violence, which finally resulted in demands for secession.

This was also the experience of Canada where questions almost similar to ours erupted in the 1960s and 1970s. However, to deal with these questions, a national consensus finally emerged and that country opted for a comprehensive constitutional amendment, called the Constitution Act, 1982. Unfortunately in India no such political wisdom seems to have dawned.

Mr. Biju Patnaik raised some significant issues in the context of India's development and planning. One such issue concerns the autonomy of the States to plan within their constitutionally delimited spheres. The most important source of frustration for the States lies in their persistent incapacity, in the existing financial and planning arrangements, to evolve autonomous development impulses, programmes and strategies in their legitimate spheres of action such as agriculture, health, education etc.

At the level of the Central Government, there has been the rise of very sizeable and powerful ministries, dealing with subjects of essentially State concern, disbursing huge grants to induce the States to adopt their programmes, in the shaping of which the States have little or no role and for the implementation of which the States have to be continuously under Central control.

When one includes in the Centre's vast financial and development apparatus, the Planning Commission and other such bodies impinging continuously on the States' sphere in development, one is struck by the gigantism of the whole apparatus.

In this connection, Mr. Patnaik's angry expression, "look at that stupid Krishi Bhavan with 29,000 employees doing all the 'krishi' (agriculture) in the States", seems relevant.

Several field-level studies show that a major impediment to development emanates from the currently operative centralised planning and service delivery approach. Under this approach programmes for agriculture and rural development, whether directly oriented to poverty reforms or not, are mostly drawn in the national capital.

Schedules, procedures, personnel, budget etc., are determined in a place far away from where the people live and

where the operations are carried out. Experience shows that the overall impact of this approach is frequently frustrating as this adversely affects the adaptation of programmes to local conditions as well as the optimal use and co-ordination of resources.

Guidelines

Just look at the 1,500-word booklet containing the Central guidelines entitled "Manual" for the operation of the recently-formulated Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY). Strict specifications of the guidelines and non-diversion of funds between sectoral works, along with the requirement for the State governments to issue a plethora of certificates in order to be able to draw Central assistance under the JRY make the programme's implementation extremely difficult.

The final certificate, they are obliged to issue, seems atrocious. This is to the effect that "all conditions laid down in guidelines are being fulfilled" and "other conditions imposed from time to time have been complied with".

This is one of the many Centrally-planned and Centrally-sponsored development schemes which have soured the Centre-State relationship, as this practice has consistently stifled the initiative and enterprise of the State governments and has made their constitutional accountability deceptive. These schemes constituted nearly 16 per cent of all the State Plan schemes in 1969-70, but their value mounted to about 54 percent in 1988-89.

Discussions

Many years ago, the National Development Council had decided to restrict the value of such schemes to one-sixth or one-seventh of the amount of assistance for State Plans. Moreover, in 1988 an expert group set up by the Centre recommended that "before any new Centrally-sponsored scheme is introduced, detailed discussions should be held with the State governments and their views should be given due weight in the guidelines framed for the implementation of the scheme."

The Sarkaria Commission also recommended that Central schemes should be left to the minimum and decentralisation in Plan formulation should be maximised.

However, neither in terms of the value of the Centrally-planned and sponsored schemes nor in terms of the guidelines framed for their implementation, has New Delhi shown any respect for the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission and similar bodies. This shows "the arrogance of the centralised power" which has accompanied the rise of New Delhi's enormous dominance in India's fiscal federalism.

This has had the effect of blurring the constitutional distinction between the Central and State spheres and eroding the concept of responsible government as enshrined in India's democratic, federal Constitution.

There are other equally important aspects of the Centre-State relations. Much has been written on the extensive misuse of Article 356 of the Constitution. Not much, however, has been written on the misuse of Article 200 under which Bills passed by a State Legislature can be reserved by the Governor for the consideration of the President. One or two reported cases of blatant misuse of Article 200 are referred to below.

One conspicuous case of this sort concerned the West Bengal Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill, 1981. This Bill, notwithstanding its immense significance in the context of the Directive Principles of State Policy, was objected to by the Central Government on the ground that "the implementation of this amendment might adversely affect the country's export-promotion effort".

The Bill was cleared only after enormous delay. Similar was the case of the equally important Karnataka Panchayat Bill in 1983. This sort of disharmony, in the words of Granville Austin "invalidates the theory of division of powers in India's federation".

What is important to nobetween nation and region [sentence as published]. This has brought in the critical questions of both dualism and regionalism.

Punjab seems to be the Indian counterpart of Canada's Quebec. Punjab has its own distinctive personality based on ethno-linguistic and religious identity. In recent years this has made that State often ask for a wide measure of autonomy and to resist pressures from the Centre.

Unfortunate

Similarly, New Delhi and the Opposition-dominated States such as Orissa, West Bengal etc., have very different conceptions of how India in her federal setting should be governed. It is forcefully argued by the latter that the federal Government as operative now cannot hope to respond to the needs of the regional communities in a country as diversified and as large as India.

It is really unfortunate that the behaviour of India's political system does not reflect any concern for a new option that would accommodate the aspirations of the regional communities, including those of Punjab, within a genuinely reformed federal system.

Historians Submit Report on Ayodhya Dispute

91AS0982A Madras *THE HINDU* in English
14 May 91 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, 13 May—Four historians on Monday submitted their report on the Ayodhya dispute to the Home Ministry stating clearly that there is no historical or archaeological evidence to suggest that any spot in Ayodhya was venerated before the 18th century as the birth place of Lord Rama. The "legend" of the destruction of a temple at the site of Lord Rama's birth arose only in the latter half of the 18th century and was not asserted till the 19th century.

After the last round of direct talks between the representatives of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] and the All-India Babri Masjid Action Committee [AIBMAC], the Home Ministry had decided that the experts on each side would submit their reports to the government. At that time, in January, the VHP had said that it was not prepared to give the six weeks time sought by the experts nominated by the AIBMAC; but till today the VHP has not submitted any report while the AIBMAC experts have completed their task although the government has not made available to them the full report of Prof. B.B. Lal's excavations in Ayodhya conducted some years ago. The VHP experts are now saying that no report is needed as with the announcement of the elections the report has become irrelevant, a clear indication, if any was needed, that the entire Rama Janmabhoomi controversy was politically motivated.

Prof. R. S. Sharma, former chairman of the Indian Council of Historical Research, Prof. Suraj Bhan, Head of the Department of Archaeology at the University of Kurukshetra, Prof. Athar Ali, formerly at Aligarh Muslim University (AMU), and Prof. D.N. Jha of Delhi University, have submitted an independent report, although they were nominated as experts in the dispute by the AIBMAC. None of them have any links with the AIBMAC and in fact in the past they have held views quite opposed to those of Muslim fundamentalists on the question of minority status of AMU or the Shah Bano case.

'Protected monument': In their 36 page report they have pointed out that in 1891 when A. Fuhrer drew up a list of monumental antiquities and inscriptions in the North-East Provinces and Oudh, he put Babri Masjid as a class II monument which was "in possession of private bodies and individuals" and suggested that it be saved from "further decay." The Babri Masjid became a protected monument under the Ancient Monuments Act, 1904, which was re-legislated in 1958. As such it is part of our common national heritage which "under law, the government must save and preserve as a fully protected monument."

The historians and archaeologists have also stated that the mosque is a "significant example of Sharqi architecture" and having been built nearly 450 years ago, it is the duty of the government to protect and preserve it.

They have also warned that a country is surely judged by how it treats its past and that if India has any love for its cultural heritage, and "if we have any respect for historical facts and if we want to uphold the law," the monument must be preserved.

The legend of the destruction of a temple at the site grew progressively since 1890 and since then it has been the progressive reconstruction of "imagined history" based on faith rather than facts, they have asserted in the conclusion to their report.

Should the people of this country be carried away by "dubious evidence" presented by the VHP to support its case, they asked.

Francis Buchanan who visited Ayodhya in 1810 recorded the legend of the destruction of temples around Ayodhya by Moghul Emperor Aurangzeb and commented that the legend was obviously "ill-founded" since the inscription on the mosque states clearly that it was built five generations before Aurangzeb, the historians have pointed out. For a full 220 years after the construction of the Babri Masjid there was no suggestion anywhere in any description of Ayodhya that there was a precise site of Lord Rama's birth or that a holy structure or temple at the spot had been destroyed. This seems to be clear from the writings of both Hindus and Muslims of that period or from observations of Europeans.

In 1695-96 Sujan Rai Bhandari completed his work "Khulasatu-i-Tawarikh." He devoted special attention to holy places and when talking about Mathura did not omit to mention that the temple of Keshav Rai there had been destroyed by Aurangzeb who had built a mosque in its place. But his account of Ayodhya contains no reference to a destroyed temple in Ayodhya although he does refer to the fact that Lord Rama's legend is associated with the city.

Reference to Purana: The historians have also pointed out that the Skanda Purana mentions that Lord Rama's ashes were buried at a spot in Ayodhya known as Swarga Dwara, but no mention has been made of the exact spot of His birth.

Within 50 years of the construction of Babri Masjid Tulsidas wrote his celebrated "Ramacharitmanas," the story of Ramayana in Hindi. Is it possible that he would not have grieved over the destruction of a temple dedicated to Lord Rama if this had happened barely a generation earlier? His silence can only mean that no such event had taken place.

The report dismisses the various assertions of the VHP and the "imagined history" that a temple at the disputed site was destroyed and its black stone columns used in building the mosque at the spot.

The report has been forwarded to the government with four separate covering letters by the historians who have been critical of the fact that despite several reminders to the government. Prof. Lal's report on the Ayodhya excavations were not made available to them.

IRAN

Controversy Over Iraqi Aircraft Viewed

91AS0954A Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL
in English 28 Apr 91 p 2

[Text] Once again Tehran-Baghdad relations seem to be unfriendly or more precisely hostile and characterized by accusations and counter-accusations, attacks and

counter-attacks. There have again been reports of borderline violations, clashes and POW taking.

Baghdad last week accused the Iranian forces of shelling an Iraqi border town, allegedly violating the U.N.-brokered ceasefire which ended the eight year old war between the two countries.

Contrary to the Islamic Republic which is mostly preoccupied with the idea of post-war reconstruction, Baghdad is desperate and looking for something to grab to prolong its survival which is by many guestimates numbered. Iran, or rather the Islamic Republic, seems to the Iraqi regime to be a most convenient medium of reuniting the fragmented Iraqi people.

As if the Iraqi people are fools and both blind and deaf. As if Iraq was not reduced to ashes in the course of its ill-conceived imposed Persian Gulf war, the regime has been active putting Iran forward as the cause of the domestic dissention and uprising.

The regime wants to use the Islamic Republic or the allegations about its meddling in the internal affairs of Iraq as a way of uniting the disintegrating Iraq whose people have launched an unprecedented exodus if not in the history of the world, surely in the history of Iran both in the south—where the Shi'ites are carrying on the armed struggle—and in the north where the Kurds have taken their lives and are running. This is despite all the odds against them by rejecting the regime's alleged general amnesty declaration.

But then again one should be a fool to take Baghdad on its words because it makes promises to break them. And we don't have to come up with examples in this regard since the history of the regime at least during the last decade has been replete with instances of agreements and declarations made to be broken just when the situation seemed to be expedient to it.

One of the offshoots of the latest Baghdad-Tehran accusation and counter-accusation episodes has been the controversy over the Iraqi planes which scooted into the Islamic Republic during the Persian Gulf war to avoid getting shot down.

One does not know what to say and how to judge when confronted with Baghdad's claim on the number of these planes vis-a-vis that put forward by Tehran. The reason is clear. Baghdad has just said too many tactical lies in the past. That is why its claims this time around too are overshadowed by its past lies. Iraq's claim on the number of planes that sought refuge in Iran is at least six times as much as what is said by Tehran.

But in the Baghdad-Tehran aircraft controversy the number game is immaterial. What belongs to the Iraqi people belongs to the Iraqi people. This fact has been time and again repeated by the Islamic Republic officials in the course of the post-Persian war period.

Consequently the question of their ownership by the Iraqi people is settled. But not the conditions for their

return. Despite its weakened and engaged army, Baghdad is again acting hostile both in word and deed toward Iran. This fact has convinced the Islamic Republic not to return these aircraft as long as the climate of ties between the two countries are clouded by hostilities.

If these planes are returned to Iraq what guarantees are there that they will not be used against Iran or against the Iraqi Shi'ites in the south towards whom the regime feels special grudge?

So the way things look now, these planes will stay put in Iran until the domestic structure of post-war Iraq is clearer and until such times as Baghdad agrees to sign a comprehensive peace with Iran.

Editorial Criticizes Bush, Major Actions in Gulf

NC2604113991 Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL
in English 15 Apr 91 p 2

[Editorial: " 'Victory'—What Price?"]

[Text] George Bush and John Major are preparing to run for another term in office as the U.S. president and the British prime minister with both taking any political move as a part of their election campaigns. The U.S. president who considers himself a victor is now cheerfully participating in various celebrations in American cities and has turned a deaf ear to the issue of millions of (Iraqi) refugees. George Bush arguing that a U.S. military intervention in Iraq might turn the Persian Gulf war into another Vietnam war and that the war was aimed at "liberating" Kuwait and therefore all American soldiers should return to their country now that the conflict is over, has refrained from getting involved in Iraq's civil war in an effort to stop the massacre of the Iraqi people and halt the flow of refugees into neighboring countries. George Bush by declaring a ceasefire and having its troops along Iraq-Kuwait border replaced by U.N. peacekeeping forces plans to take advantage of the situation as an ultimate victory to serve its political future in the coming presidential elections. [sentence as published]

On the other hand, the British Prime Minister who came to office in the wake of a crisis which forced Margaret Thatcher to step down, is trying to defeat its long-standing rival, the Labor Party, in the future elections, despite facing numerous economic and social problems at home.

The British government's proposal on a "safe haven" for Iraqi Kurds in northern Iraq and despatch of planeloads of supplies for them with so much publicity are all aimed at obtaining some political achievements in the internal elections which has already got underway with local parliamentary elections.

Both the Conservative Party chaired by Prime Minister John Major and the Labor Party led by Neil Kinnock view the Iraqi crisis as a means of demagoguery and as an

important political axis in formulating the foreign policy with a special place in the forthcoming elections.

Under these conditions, the British and American claims of advocating democracy and defending the people carry no weight. The Western press is now openly admitting that the homelessness of millions of Iraqis and the massacre of his people by Saddam Husayn which received the indifference of the American and British governments, proved that the Persian Gulf war was indeed a war for oil and for the U.S. hegemony and that the slogan of "liberation" and defending the Kuwaiti people was mere pretense.

The U.N. Security Council immediately gives the mandate for waging a war to "liberate" Kuwait but the outcome is the full occupation of the shaykhdom by the Western multinational companies and domination over the country again by the "Amir" who cares the least about democracy and the people's vote. But there is complete silence regarding Iraq and all these massacres, brutalities and homelessness, and the only pretext is apparently the absence of a mandate by the U.N. Security Council!

Against these protests, Washington and London have raised two plans: to keep a weak Saddam in power but under their full control, or bring to power another dependent regime through a military coup.

The idea of a "safe haven" mooted by the British premier has been both accepted and rejected by the United States. The Americans disagree with the term "safe haven" but agree to the idea of helping the Iraqi refugees or its propaganda aspect as a "humanitarian" action! They have also warned Saddam Husayn to refrain from fresh military attacks on the Kurdish areas or harassing the fleeing refugees. Nevertheless, reports from inside Iraq indicate that the Kurdish regions are still subjected to Iraqi military attacks and that clashes between the people's forces and troops loyal to Saddam Husayn still continue in these areas.

Other governments in Europe are now admitting the failure of the U.S. President George Bush's promises in establishing a "new world order" following his quick victory in a simple and limited (Persian Gulf) war, and are watching the escalation of the tension in the region with the homelessness of millions of people and destruction of Iraq and Kuwait. Yet they hold no initiative and have no option but to pursue the policies of Washington and London.

These days some of the Western statesmen are doubtful about the success of the Persian Gulf war and about their position particularly regarding economic interests. True that Washington and London seek their victory in the destruction of Islamic lands, particularly all-out internal wars in the Persian Gulf states which would require U.S. military presence for the cause of "security". The continuation of the Ba'thists' rule in Iraq and Saddam's

power in Baghdad still occupy its due place in the West's policy as a threat requiring a continued U.S. presence in the region.

In the present crisis, what is of utmost significance is dependence on the West and attempts for rapprochement with the West led by the United States by the regional states. And it is for the sake of this "peaceful coexistence" that they have remained silent towards all these crimes.

The catastrophe which befell Kuwait yesterday and the tragedy inflicted on Iraq today are an experience exposing "compromise" with the West to destroy the Islamic states and render the Muslims homeless. The United States after a long period of confusion and after backing Saddam Husayn for long years, is now showing the green light to the Ba'thist rule in Iraq and by doing so has carried out a new stage of a political show of power in waging a regional war.

Former Oil Minister Reportedly Still Alive in Iraqi Jail

*91AS0949A Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL
in English 30 Apr 91 p 8*

[Article: Kuwaitis Say: "Ex-Iranian Oil Minister Alive in Ba'quba Jail"]

[Text] Kuwait, April 29 (IRNA)—Former Iranian Oil Minister Javad Tondguyan is "alive and languishing in a jail in Ba'quba", near Baghdad, confirmed several Kuwaitis who were lucky enough to come home alive from Iraq's dreaded dungeons.

Jalil Ali, one of the Kuwaitis kidnapped by the Ba'athist regime following its ill-fated occupation of Kuwait on Aug. 2, told IRNA here Sunday that he and a group of his compatriots were locked in the Ba'quba prison next to Tondguyan's cell for six months, and are witnesses that the Iranian official "is very much alive."

Tondguyan who was serving as oil minister at the outbreak of the imposed war, was captured by the Iraqi forces in Khorramshahr in 1980. He was not included in the recent POW swap, with the Ba'athist regime saying that Tondguyan succumbed to his injuries shortly after his capture.

Jalil Ali and his colleagues have also informed the Iranian Embassy in Kuwait about seeing Tondguyan.

Other eyewitnesses who were released from Iraq recently have also confirmed that Tondguyan is alive.

Despite Iraq's claims that it holds no more Iranian POWs, several of those listed as 'missing in action' came home last month thanks to the mass uprising in Iraq.

The Iraqi popular forces stormed quite a few prisons, setting free thousands of forgotten inmates, including Iranian POWs, Kuwaitis and of course, the oppressed

Iraqi Arabs, half a million of whom Saddam Husayn slaughtered last March to keep his unpopular regime in power.

Iran Likely To Send 5,000 More Pilgrims to Hajj

91AS0949B Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL
in English 27 Apr 91 p 2

[Article: "Iran Likely To Send 5,000 More Pilgrims to Hajj"]

[Text] Tehran, (IRNA)—Some 5,000 more pilgrims in addition to the 110,000 agreed earlier between Iran and Saudi Arabia, would be sent to the Hajj this year, deputy of the Haff and Awqaf (religious endowments) Organization Mohammad Hussein Rezaie has announced.

The Persian daily KAYHAN Thursday quoted Rezaie as telling a Hajj seminar that the first pilgrim flight will leave for Jeddah on May 27 and following that within 20 days, the rest of the pilgrims will be flown from Tehran, Tabriz, Kerman, Mashad, Isfahan and Shiraz.

"We had time restrictions on making the necessary preparation this year, and an Iranian delegation is currently in Saudi Arabia to inspect the boarding and lodging facilities for our pilgrims," Rezaie said.

In related news, Hojjatoleslam Abu Torabi, in charge of the affairs of the released Iranian POWs said 450 of the homecoming POWs will perform the Hajj this year.

Hojj Abu Torabi told KAYHAN that all the former POWS will be sent to Mecca for the Hajj pilgrimage in the coming years.

Transportation Protocol Signed With USSR

91AS0953B Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL
in English 27 Apr 91 pp 9, 15

[Text] The protocol of Irano-Soviet cooperation in transportation is signed. According to this protocol the number of flights from Tehran to Moscow has been doubled in a week and the railroad service between Tehran and Moscow will be inaugurated by sometime in 1991.

Mr. Saeedi Kia the minister of road and transportation paid a visit to Soviet Union last October and talked to ranking Soviet officials including Nicolai Rizhkov the Soviet Premier and Kenariyev the road and transportation minister of the Republic of Azerbaijan during the visit. In the course of this trip the protocol of the two countries cooperation in transportation was signed by the Iranian and Soviet ministers of road and transportation. The increase in Aeroflot flights between Moscow and Tehran will be put into effect after concluding a contract between the two country's air lines.

According to Saeedi Kia if Iran Air could fly to Moscow, the number of Aeroflot flights to Tehran will be decreased to one flight a week. In these meetings Iran has

showed its intention to rent Soviet aircraft "Yak 42" which can carry 100 passengers. Another part of the agreement concluded has been about transportation between Tehran and Moscow via railways. Iran will rent passenger wagons for this new line for a period of 10 years and has gotten the Soviet's consent the conditions of owning these wagons after the rent period is over.

One of the subjects considered during the trip was the studies of the Mashhad Sarakhs Tajan railway's project which will be done in the next 15 months. According to Soviet officials the establishment of this railway system would have a remarkable impact on the expansion of mutual industrial cooperations between the two countries.

The Iranian road and transportation minister asked for speed in the trend of mutual cooperations and implementation of agreed projects by the Soviet side in his talks with Soviet premier. He also stressed the role of competition in economic activities in today's world. He also met with Soviet ministers of road and transportation and aviation discussed ways of expanding mutual cooperations specially in transport field.

The Iranian minister of transportation then went to Baku to talk with the officials of Soviet Azerbaijan. He exchanged views about the expansion of mutual economic cooperations and commercial relations between the two countries in his meeting with Hassan Hassanov the Azerbaijani premier.

Mr. Saeedi Kia referred to the Islamic Republic's intention of expanding economic relations with neighboring Muslim countries and said: With the implementation of Irano-Soviet cooperations protocol in transportation fields in the beginning of 1991 the services of the Islamic Republic railways will begin, carrying passengers to Moscow via Baku. He also reaffirmed the possibility of road transportation between Iran and the Soviet Union via border city of Astara. It is necessary to add that the freedom of traffic of Iranian and Soviet trucks for carrying goods between the two countries and the traffic by Iranian trucks to Europe via Soviet territory was discussed by the two ministers and this discussion will be continued later on.

Atomic Cooperation Discussed With Mexico

91AS0953C Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL
in English 29 Apr 91 p 8

[Text] Tehran, 28 April (IRNA)—Atomic cooperation between Iran and Mexico was reviewed in a meeting between the head of the Atomic Energy Organization of Iran Reza Amrollahi and secretary of energy, mining and industries of Mexico, Fernando Hiriart in Mexico City Saturday.

The two officials also discussed outlooks for exchange of students and agreed to enter into agreements in that connection later on.

Subway Expected To Solve Most of Tehran's Traffic Problems

91AS0949C Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL
in English 24 Apr 91 p 2

[Article: "Subway Expected To Solve Most of Tehran Traffic Problems"]

[Text] Tehran (IRNA)—Each year the equivalent of some 700 billion rials worth of the daily time of residents of Tehran is wasted in commuting between home and work and in going from one part of the town to another. About 1.6 million motor vehicles operate in the capital, and the average travel speed of a Tehrani is about 15 kms per hour. Each day about 7.5 million liters of gas is burned up amounting to one-third of the total national consumption and adding to the capital's choking air pollution.

However according to expert studies, the situation could change for the better once the Tehran subway becomes operational, hopefully sometime in late 1992.

Experts expect between 35 to 40 percent of daily travels in the city will be done by subway, reducing the number of traffic accidents and producing a proportionate decrease in fatalities which now stands at some 3,000 a year. It could also stem the runaway costs on the purchase of buildings and lands for widening city streets, building new streets, erecting overpasses and building underpasses, as well as in their maintenance.

When the subway is completed many people will prefer to live in the suburbs and in the surrounding towns and to commute between their place and Tehran when it is absolutely necessary.

Work on the Tehran subway which was conceived as a project many years ago, finally got to a start in 1987 some eight years after the triumph of the Islamic Revolution in Iran. Line one and two of the subway connecting Tehran to Karaj (40 kms west) are expected to become operational in the winter of 1992.

The cost of building the Tehran subway has been estimated at about 200 million rials. By last March about RIs 85 billion was expended on the project. The budget for the project was provided for jointly by the Tejarat Bank and Mellat Bank, and is to be repaid to the two banks out of subway fares, and also by relying on the sales of underground shops at subway stations that are going to be sold to the public.

The maximum power needed for the subway line one and two would be about 100 mega-watts daily which will be generated by a special 145 mega-watt gas-operated plant. Also the subway makes it possible for electricity input from five locations in north, south, east, west and central Tehran, and the subway system is designed in a manner to ensure that the last power-outage in the order of their sequence throughout the country will be that for the subway system.

Initially the Tehran subway will have 704 wagons of which 256 will be imported ready-made and 112 wagons will be assembled at the Pars wagon-manufacturing company in Arak. The assembly project will be delegated to a foreign contractor which will undertake the project using the facilities at the Pars plant. The remaining 366 wagons will be manufactured by Pars in collaboration with the military defense organization and certain other industries. It is expected that the transfer of appropriate technology will be made gradually in the course of manufacturing the wagons.

Investments on the subway as well as the building of underground tunnels for the Tehran subway have been conceived as a 100-year project. For the time being at least 20 of the 30 kilometers of tunnels for line one and two has been completed in addition to the completion of the building of 40 kilometers of the surface.

It is expected that by next March the remaining work for digging tunnels and building subway stops will be completed to make the Tehran subway service ready for operation early in 1992.

PAKISTAN

Kashmir: Failure To Enunciate Cohesive Policy Probed

91AS0828C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
2 Apr 91 p 6

[Article by Shireen M. Mazari: "Kashmir: Intriguing Official Silence"]

[Text] As stories of Indian atrocities relating to gang rapes of Muslim Kashmiri women, killings of Kashmiri Mujahideen and use of chemical weapons against the Kashmiri population fill the Pakistani press, the Nawaz Sharif government continues to maintain a silence which is not only distressing but which raises a number of questions. Is the government truly unconcerned about Kashmir, or is it under pressure not to antagonise the Indians? Is this the start of an overall detente with India on the latter's terms? In the post-Gulf war situation, a new U.S.-India alliance has emerged with a number of negative consequences for Pakistan. On Kashmir, from Pakistan's perspective, the prevailing regional environment has only aggravated weaknesses that already existed in its policy on Kashmir.

In fact, one major flaw has been that Pakistan has failed to enunciate a cohesive policy on Kashmir in view of the latest uprising which has caught successive civilian governments unawares since it erupted over a year ago. The years of official neglect were reflected also in the Pakistani leadership's inability to understand the nature of the struggle an indigenous insurgency led by a new, youthful leadership—segments of which claim the goal of an independent State of Kashmir. Because successive governments have had no cohesive policy on Kashmir, they have all failed to evolve a centralised response to

deal with the influx of Mujahideen. Relying on support from various political parties in Pakistan, the Mujahideen have suffered from internecine rivalries with party interests often taking precedence over the need for an overall united struggle against Indian forces.

In addition, successive Pakistani government have been ignorant of the fact that a whole new generation has grown up in Pakistan for whom Kashmir was never an issue—it was Afghanistan. Nor does this generation have the same emotional intensity towards the trauma of partition. The ruling elites have failed to increase the awareness of the Kashmir issue's critically for Pakistan amongst this new generation.

Again, where so much international assistance flowed in for Afghan refugees, and Pakistan adopted a high moral ground as it took up their cause vociferously in all forums, the plight of the Kashmiri refugees is unknown even to Pakistan's own population.

If not for moral, humanitarian reasons, Pakistan has failed to exploit for political reasons a rare opportunity to expose and undermine India's self-proclaimed high moral ground in international politics. Pakistan's seeming apathy on the human rights aspect of the present conflict cannot be explained except perhaps in terms of possible secret compromises on the Kashmir issue.

The people of Pakistan also need to be informed of the threat of war posed by the continuance of this conflict—especially as the Indian army, in its increasing frustration, makes military forays along the line of control, in contravention of the Simla Agreement.

The question that becomes critical is how long the Pakistan army continues to maintain a purely defensive posture. There is a sense of frustration amongst the officers along the line of control at least. The last time, elements of the military felt frustrated with their government's policy on Kashmir (ceasefire line of July '49), the situation threatened to rent the military and political structures of the country (the Rawalpindi conspiracy case and its aftermath). Unless the decisionmakers take cognisance of these facts, the nation will pay heavily for their neglect.

The Gulf conflict has, of course, allowed successive governments to divert attention from their dilly-dallying and lack of cohesiveness over Kashmir. In fact the Gulf crisis allowed Pakistan to suspend its very limited diplomatic efforts on the Kashmir issue.

The Gulf aftermath has also set the precedence for allowing the United States to use military force to enforce its new hegemonic designs. For Pakistan, the new global realities have the following repercussions in relation to Kashmir:

I. A new U.S.-India axis has been created which will mean more pressure on Pakistan, by this alliance, to

abstain from aiding the freedom struggle and to seek accommodation with India regardless of the cost of Pakistan.

II. Prior to the Gulf crisis, Pakistan had failed to gain much beyond verbal support on Kashmir from the Organization of Islamic Conference [OIC]. Now the Gulf war has destroyed the fragile Muslim unity so the future of the OIC itself is in question—which means one less international forum which Pakistan could have used to gain international support for Kashmir.

III. Pakistan's hope that the United Nations can now effectively act on Kashmir is not grounded in reality. All that has happened is that, as in the case of Korea (and even more so now), the United Nations has only become a tool in the hands of the United States—and while there is talk of resolving other conflicts, the manner of their resolution will be crucial. So far, developments relating to Palestine should make Pakistan cautious in its future expectations from the United Nations.

In any case, with the United States finally making inroads into India, it is hardly likely to go against Indian desires in even calling for a UN plebiscite in occupied Kashmir.

IV. Whether Pakistan wants to or not, it will, in fact, it must, get involved in the Kashmir insurgency. Therefore, it needs to evolve a rational policy which requires:

a. Taking into consideration the new international realities in the region.

b. The new realities regarding the Kashmiri struggle itself—especially the option of an independent Muslim State of Kashmir and the repercussions for Pakistan and the world. It is clear that the United States, USSR and the West in general will almost certainly not welcome the creation of either an independent Muslim State of Kashmir, or even the merger of occupied Kashmir with Pakistan. At the very least, this issue needs to be discussed and its ramifications studied.

c. Whether there is international support or not, the military option may well need to be exercised. In this case, in order to keep a military conflict limited to Kashmir, Pakistan will need a viable military strategy. The only one which will prevent India from expanding a local war to a full-scale Indo-Pakistan conflict will be a strategy based upon the nuclear option.

d. Pakistan needs to centralise the Mujahideen effort which is beset with political and sectional rivalries. These divisions are being exploited by various political parties and will weaken the struggle. Centralized political control of the insurgency is vital.

V. Pakistan needs to guard against ignoring the strategic realities of the Kashmir issue despite economic pressures that may continue to pull Pakistan towards the Gulf region.

The Pakistani government needs to realise that no Confidence-Building Measures with India can succeed as long as the Kashmir issue prevails. Therefore, maintaining a public silence on the issue will merely erode the nation's confidence in the government's foreign policy. In addition, compromise on national interest, compelled by the elusive prospect of U.S. aid, will be unacceptable to the nation.

Media Experts Recommend Lifting Government Control

9IAS0810C Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
4 Apr 91 pp 1, 10

[Article by Shakeel Shaikh]

[Text] Islamabad, 3 Apr—Apart from other demands the journalists and mediapersons Wednesday recommended to the government that its control on the media should be abolished with the formation of an independent body, agency or a broadcasting authority which should be answerable to the parliament for its independent role in the country.

Earlier in an atmosphere of gross diversity of opinion between the government and the Press over the latter's role, the reports of five committees on different topics were adopted on Wednesday evening here at the end of a 2-day seminar on "The role of mass media in a democratic Pakistan."

Before the adoption of reports as submitted by the committees, consisting of professional journalists, media experts, media managers and intellectuals, these were discussed threadbare by the participants of the seminar drawn from whole of the country with adviser to the Prime Minister [PM], Shaikh Rashid Ahmed, in the chair.

Doubts and suspicions, however were still there whether the government would incorporate these recommendations of committees in the new information policy.

Despite repeated assurances by the Information Adviser the participants did not seem 'satisfied' with assurances.

"I do not understand what was the purpose of the seminar," commented Majid Nizami, Chief Editor NAWA-I-WAQT at the end of the seminar when asked about how he assessed the Government's effort to take the press into confidence.

Similarly, President APNS [All Pakistan Newspapers Society] Farhad Zaidi said, "It would have been a very useful seminar, but for some misgivings and misunderstandings which were created at the very start of the seminar I do not think anybody meant what was taken as 'offensive remarks.' I personally believe that dialogue between the government and the press should continue, as they could be beneficial to all concerned."

When asked Mir Khalilur Rehman, Chief Editor JANG, remarked, "It was a good effort on the part of the

government. I think the government should, without any delay, implement in letter and spirit at least those recommendations which are considered undisputable, besides pondering on rest for their incorporation in the information policy."

"I think the holding of the seminar was a good and right effort. But some misunderstanding created a bad taste which shows lack of confidence between the two sides. The government has at least realised that there is a voice against its policy on information," Arif Nizami, President CPNE Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors], told *THE MUSLIM*.

In his concluding address Sheikh Rashid Ahmed, the PM's Adviser on Information, assured the participants that recommendations of the committees would be fully respected and incorporated in the new information policy.

While denying the allegations of giving 'press advises' through wake-up calls the Adviser said that IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] government had no intentions of imposing curbs on the press. "The government wants cooperation of the press in formulating its information policy," he said.

He asserted that the government would take drastic steps in improving the role of Press in the present democratic set-up. "All recommendations which go in favour of the industry and media would be implemented," Sh Rashid said.

He expressed a desire to benefit from the experience of the media experts and professional newsmen.

He disclosed the Prime Minister had directed him to frame an information policy before the 1991-92 federal budget and announce the "code of conduct" for the Press so that rumours and trend of misreporting should be checked with the cooperation of the Press.

He, however, said that in his personal opinion the purpose of holding this seminar was not properly achieved, as most of the participants did not confine themselves to the very spirit of the seminar and raised other issues.

Lauding the role of Press in the country, Sh Rashid paid rich tributes to Press for its responsible role and sought "love" not the "hatred" of the Press.

"The press has played a great role in making the country prosperous and stood by the government in building national values," he said.

About growing incidents of violences against the press, the Adviser said, the Premier had already condemned it.

Referring to the impartiality of the electronic media which came under heavy fire throughout two days of the seminar, Sheikh Rashid said it was unprecedented in the history of the country that leader of the opposition, Ms

Benazir Bhutto, was given live coverage for her 43 minutes address in the present assembly.

The Adviser said that it also went to the credit of the IJI government that the decision of privatising the NPT [National Press Trust] was taken.

Winding up the seminar with vote of thanks to all the participants of the seminar, Sheikh Rashid apologised for what had happened on the opening day of the seminar, marred by some misunderstanding.

Following were the five committees which submitted their recommendations to the government.

(i) Credible and Objective Media: A must for any democratic society. Mir Khalilur Rehman (Chairman), Dr Maleeha Lodhi, Abdul Qadir Hassan, S.H. Hashmi, Dr Anwar Hussain, S. Murtaza Moosvi and Mian Mohammad Shafi (Members).

(ii) Freedom of Media and its social responsibility: Arif Nizami (Chairman), Fasih Iqbal, Inqalab Matri, Qazi Asad Abid, S.M. Anwar, Sultan Mehmood, Mubarik Shah and Mateur Rehman (Members).

(iii) Government-Press relations: Majid Nizami (Chairman), M. Salahuddin, Ahmed Ali Khan, Majid Mufti, Ahmed Hasan Sheikh, Haji Ibrahim Hangrajo, Absar Rizvi, Safdar Ahad, Rashid Umar Thanvi, Begum Bushra Rehman, Inayatullah and Mazhar Ali Khan (Members).

(iv) Role of Mass Media in the process of national development: Zia Shahid (Chairman), Lt Gen (Retd) Mujibur Rehman, Brig A.R. Shamsi, M.R. Sethi, Semi Naghmana, Nehal Ahmed, Prof Dr Hussain Malik, Ramzan Azhar, Hafiz Sanaullah and Salim Gillani (Members).

(v) The challenges faced by the media: Farhad Zaidi (Chairman), Maskeen Hejazi, Razia Bhatti, Ghulam Hussain, Afzal Siddiqui, Arshad Zuberi, Sultan Sabir, Matloobur Rauf, Mushahid Hussain, Syed Naseer Haider and M.E.H. Khilji (Members).

Earlier, during the second session of the seminar which was held on Wednesday morning five committees entered into separate sessions and finalised their reports.

After indepth discussion the committees submitted their reports for its adoption.

The two-day seminar inaugurated by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif on Tuesday was largely participated by professional journalists, media experts, media managers and intellectuals.

The seminar was organised by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. This was the first seminar of its kind to be held by the government.

The other recommendations of the committee were the following:

- Newspapers and publishers should be allowed to subscribe directly to foreign news agencies and services.

- Setting up of a board of directors for radio and television the chairman of the Board to be appointed by the President should be prominent person from public life, for fixed tenure. The board should not be formed among the employees but from among prominent people from public life.

- The charter governing the working of the Broadcasting Corporation should be amended to incorporate provisions that clearly affirm a commitment to objectivity and impartiality.

- The Ministry of Information should endeavour to improve the professional quality of their agencies and staff.

- Private TV channel should be permitted to be set up. An independent broadcasting authority should also be constituted to prescribe and determine a code of conduct.

- Government institutions should be allowed to control and distribute their advertising, free of government control.

- Setting up of a Press Council for compliance with the code of conduct formulated by APNS and CPNE.

The first committee chaired by Mir Khalilur Rehman deliberated on 'credible and objective media: a must for any democratic society' and expressed the desirability of privatising APP [Associated Press of Pakistan], but recognising that this may not be possible in the short run, called for constituting a board of directors, to be nominated by subscribers.

The Second Committee on "Freedom of Media and its social responsibility" was chaired by Mr Arif Nizami. The committee recommended the following:

- Effective role by the media to enhance literacy rate, with stress on resolving social problems of the people.

- Publication of research material on utilisation of Iqra surcharge and to point out its appropriate use.

- Legislation to ensure the unhindered right of access to the facts.

- Criminal elements be discouraged by politicians, mediamen and by other segments of the society.

- Equal opportunities for Press in under developed areas.

- Radio and television be freed from the government control and managed by a committee comprising parliamentarians.

- Government assistance for holding of frequent training workshops and seminar for journalists.

- Print media should refrain from publication of advertisements contrary to moral values.

The Third Committee on "Government-press relations" headed by Majid Mufti made the following recommendations:

- The government should not exercise any control on the publication of news. As for views the government is fully entitled to project its views through media including the Press but the same right should be given to the newspapers to reflect divergent viewpoints.
- The government should abide by these provisions of the code of conduct which were intended to apply to the conduct of the government-press relations on part of the government.
- The code of ethics should be equally applicable to the print and electronic media, to enhance their credibility.
- The government should use its preventive machinery to provide protection to newspapers and should make unequivocal commitment in this regard and announce specific measures to remove such apprehensions.
- Each Ministry should be under an obligation to provide assistance and respond information on specific queries to the press within a reasonable prescribed time.
- The overall objective of the information agencies of the government should be to maintain closer liaison with the Press.
- Government agencies should be free to select suitable media for publicising their advertisements, to avoid issuance of advertisements as a matter of favour.
- It was felt that imposition of Iqra Surcharge on duty of newsprint was completely unjustified.
- The wage Board should be confined to its original scope.

The Fourth Committee on "Role of Mass Media in the process of National Development" chaired by Zia Shahid submitted the following recommendations:

- Enhanced literacy rate make the role of media effective in national development. Electronic media can play a better role in attaining this objective.
- Publicising of government policies and plans to ensure participation by the people in such schemes and accommodate their viewpoint.
- Media should create a congenial atmosphere for the establishment of political parties based on democratic pattern which were, are essential for comprehensive national development.
- Abolition of government control on news media and permission to establish private radio and television stations.

The Challenge faced by Media today: How to respond? Committee headed by Farhad Zaidi, Recommendations:

- The Government control on the Electronic Media should be abolished. The Committee agrees to recommend the formation of an independent body, Agency, or Broadcasting Authority answerable to Parliament for its working. The Governing Body of such an organisation should be drawn from N.A. [National Assembly], Senate and Provincial Assembly members with a proper secretariat.
- The opposition viewpoint on National issues must be included in Radio/TV CA programmes and News Telecast. The opposition members should be invited for discussion programmes on TV and radio.
- The latest technology should be introduced in the Electronic Media.
- The media persons (both in electronic and print) should be trained in the relevant fields. The orientation courses should be conducted for the in-service media persons at the Academic Centres of the country.
- The use of research material in the production of effective output is a must. The media person must use the available research material with the outside agencies for their objectives.
- It is a usual practice now to distribute foreign news through the official news agency APP. This creates unnecessary restrictions on the distribution of foreign news through the limited resources of a single news agency.
- In another few years the Direct Broadcasting System will bring the message of international community to private houses. With such technological changes it is unfair to debar the flow of news to newspapers. They should be allowed to get foreign news directly through international wire agencies.
- Citizens should have access to Government information as a matter of right as has been envisaged in the Freedom of Information Act in the United States and as promised by the Prime Minister in his message of 2 April.
- The Wage Board Award is a discriminatory step against the newspapers... It should not be mandatory for newspapers. Instead, like the Government the minimum wages should be made mandatory for all professions industries, including newspapers.
- Barring a few publishing groups the print media in general is facing a financial crisis due to inadequate earnings. In order to overcome this situation, financial institutions be directed to provide loans on easy terms and all levies on material and machinery required should be abolished.
- There should be an adequate response system by the law enforcing agencies as it is provided to government buildings and offices.
- This challenge can be effectively met by the electronic media, particularly radio through concerted programmes geared towards dissemination of knowledge.

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