The Baily Star

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An Early Warning

Dhaka, Friday, November 22, 1996

We regard Wednesday's anarchy in front of the DSE building as a fortuitous but inevitable reminder of what needed to be done to streamline the stock market on a this-far-and-no-further premise. This is not to condone the kerb marketmen's siege of the DSE to force things their way but to emphasise the fact that where a system is lacking awkward things are bound to happen.

Although some educational effort can help deflate the bloated public expectations of a continuing bonanza from the stock market, our firm belief is that if a system is in place even that detail will be automatically taken care of.

Let's face it — there is some opaqueness in the stock market operations, the self-defensive and buck-passing arguments on both sides notwithstanding. The allegations of 'syndicated deals,' 'insider trading' and 'manipulation' are not without foundations much as the kerb trading has been evidently so very hay-wire and risk-prone for the madly rushing small investors.

We have three specific suggestions to make by way of ensuring transparency in the stock market operations. First of all, the felt-need of a Central Depository System has to be met without any further ado. A task force was constituted for this purposé sometime ago and now we would like to see it deliver the result. The introduction of CDS merits urgent attention because it can help obviate the kerb market aberration. Secondly, let there be computerised display of shares, prices and profiles etc. on the bourse as a ready and transparent reckoner for use by everybody concerned. The blind selling and buying that go on create market distortions we have become so wary of. Thirdly, there is no mechanism to ensure broker accountability and they are taken on their words by the unsuspecting investors who have no way of knowing what has transpired in the web-like exclusive circuits. The brokers should be required to produce documentary evidence in support of what they say or claim whenever asked by the investors to do so on pain of losing their licences to operate.

The modernisation process will receive a fillip if we can arrange cross-border trading through regular network displays of our stocks abroad. That is the global up market trend now. The single-track trading impedes maturation.

The government, for its part ,had better avoid ad-hoc measures that tended to breed a mercurial temper in the market.

Jail Reality

A report published in the yesterday's issue of The Daily Star gave the number of prisoners in the country to be 46,000, a figure that is twice the capacity of all the jails in Bangladesh. It is imaginable how precariously placed the security system of these prisons must be from the massive weight of such a disproportionately huge number of dwellers, let alone its implication for the human rights record.

But then this is only an outsider's view who is not touched by the trials and tribulations attached to the whole process of crime and punishment.

The real cause for concern is the apparent obliviousness of the authorities about the purpose of sending a criminal to the jail. Jail is a place where a man is sent to be reformed not to have the seeds of a premature death planted in him. The plight of a prisoner due to the carelessness of the authorities was understandable during the reign of alien rulers but it defies all logic when the same tale of apathy, neglect and sufferings is allowed to fill the air now.

It is not merely a case of economic and spatial constraint. It is a matter of not being focused on the human and purposive element of the whole issue. Otherwise how would one explain the fact of there being just one official meeting during the BNP regime on the removal of the Dhaka Central Jail from its present site for the obvious reasons of space and overall management?

It is good to know that the present government is switched on to the jail reality as revealed in its plan to upgrade four district jails to central jails. But mere numerical growth of the central jails will not bring about any qualitative change unless this upgradation is also accompanied by an improvement in the internal management.

If there is some headway being registered on the plan of increasing the number of central jails, there is also the reported uncertainty about when the relocation of the Dhaka Central Jail will take place. On the whole, we have to go a long way in terms of jail reform to get any where near international standard.

Commendable

The sixteen-day stalemate at the Jahangirnagar University ended commendably last Wednesday with the feuding student factions reaching an agreement through the good offices of the authori-

Such a demonstration of good sense by student bodies upholding political schools as different as chalk and cheese is rare though not unique. Not long ago, rival student factions at the Dhaka University had closed a deal affirming their commitments to ensure congenial atmosphere on the campus and also to all attempts of the authorities to maintain law and order by coming down heavily on the terrorists with the help of the law enforcing agency. The agreement was not followed to the letter but the spirit was up held leading to an imprevement in the overall situation.

ixteen-day is an awfully long time for any institution to remain inoperative in normal circumstances and that too an academia like JU once known for the regularity of its sessions and the idyllic atmosphere. Though political rivalry among students has considerably eaten away JU's reputation, the latest reconciliation between the traditional rivals Jatiyatabadi Chhatra Dal (JCD) and Bangladesh Chhatra League (BCL) is worthy of emulation.

If reconciliatory initiatives are replicated by student leaders in other institutions tainted with violence, life on the campus will be educationfriendly. Students should remember they are students not politicians first as the JU students seemed to have realised Wednesday.

Foreign Policy or Privileged Groups?

What we in Asia have to think is how long will we be petitioners in western courts and

chancelleries? This story must now belong to the past. We cannot be playthings to others.

political considerations have made some leading parties link India's reverse at the UN to foreign policy. And it must be quite a policy which gets all the praise and all the blame within a span of 10 days. It was applauded as the finest hour of foreign office when it fought single-handed against the CTBT's approval and did not secure more than three votes. But even with 40 votes, no policy could be worse because it did not win a seat in the Security Council. This dingdong support has little to do with merit. Any stick is good enough to beat the government with, why not the failure to make the Security Council? It

🐨 T is not even logical. Still

is no more than a talking shop. Politics has clouded the real judgment. Opposition leader Atal Behari Bajpayee was the first to throw the brick. Knowing well that his reverse at China, when he was foreign minister, did not mean that the foreign policy was wrong, he still did it. As a Bharatiya Janata Party functionary he has to find fault with the United Front government, which replaced his minority set-up. But a man like him should be doing

will be another issue in

Parliament which, in any case,

so is unfortunate. The wailing of the Congress leaders does not come as a surprise because they are wont to run any government which is not theirs. In fact, it was the Congress government which had decided to contest the seat. It was not a wrong move. What is wrong is the commotion the party is creating for dumping

HE current phase of the

received a decisive boost in Oslo

and culminated in the now

famous handshake between

PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat

and Prime Minister Yatzhak

Rabin of Israel. Following

Benjamin Netanyahu's victory

in the last Israeli general

election as its Prime Minister.

the peace process engineered by

the sole superpower. USA.

received a jolt whose impact by

way of creating a climate of

unease spread from West Bank

and Gaza to Syria, from Egypt

to Saudi Arabia and from

Jordan to Morocco. At the pre-

sent stage, however, interna-

tional observers are hopeful

that it would not lead to the

derailment of the peace process.

hostility, the realisation

dawned on the parties con-

cerned that the only viable op-

tion in the Middle East lay in

the principle of land for peace

which had earlier formed the

basis of Camp David accord

which paved the way for the es-

tablishment of peace between

Egypt and Israel. This principle,

though applied in the case of the

After decades of war and

peace process', started in

Madrid a few years ago

the policy, which their leader, Jawaharlal Nehru, had initiated. And the oddest noise is that of former foreign service hands, who have got a chance as settle personal scores.

This is not the first time that India has failed to win a seat in the Security Council. During the hay days of Indira Gandhi. New Delhi suffered defeat. Even then, as it happened this time. many countries had promised to vote for India and had gone back on their word at the time of voting. The estimate went wrong because members changed their mind.

What people in India should realise is that the UN mathematics of members is dependent more on the pressure and prize than on prudence and piety. And in no case does it indicate the success or failure of foreign policy. At best, it reflects the hegemonic reality that prevails at the world assembly. On the other hand, foreign policy is a sum total of principles and values preserved over the years.

Foreign policy is nothing temporary or ad hoc. It has a trait of continuity, not adventurism. It may require at times fine tuning but not the acquirement of instrument. It is against aligning itself with certain privileged groups or big powers because india is against preserving a social and economic status quo.

The contest at the UN reflected India's commitment to the policy that the world body

relations between Palestinians

and Israel, has not so far

worked in the manner as

expected on account of certain

case is that a step-by-step ap-

proach which envisaged the

progressive transition from

Autonomy to Statehood has

been complicated by the Israeli

settlements on Palestine terri-

tory. Since 1994, Israel has

withdrawn its troops from most

of the Gaza Strip and about one-

quarter of West Bank. It has

promised to pull the troops

back from most of the West

Bank within a year. Palesti-

nian leadership has been

insisting that Israel also make

good sign on an array of other

unfulfilled commitments, such

as withdrawal from more rural

areas of the West Bank, release

of Palestinian prisoners.

creation of a safe passage route

between the West Bank and

Gaza and honouring other

The difference in the present

new contingencies.

should have a representative to voice grievances and aspirations of developing and underdeveloped nations. This has been the practice, which big powers too had accepted. Suddenly. Washington and London, particularly the former, decided to break the tradition and put up Japan when Indonesia was about to retire. In fact, America should have seen to it that the representation at the Council stayed fair and equitable. Being

America amounts to failing in defending foreign policy. New Delhi is at fault. What we in Asia have to think is how long will we be petitioners in western courts and chancelleries? This story must now belong to the past. We cannot be playthings to others. Nehru anticipated this point at the Asian Relations Conference on March 23, 1947. And this needs to be followed

It is unfortunate that the

(World Trade Organisation), recently set up at Geneva, the multinationals are wanting to establish their right to enter any market any time in the world to have the majority shares in any local firm. The dispute will be pursued in law courts of the country to which the multinational belongs.

There is also a social clause hanging like the Damocle's sword over the head of developing and underdeveloped countries. What it wants, aims to do is to nullify the advantage of cheap labour by slapping heavy import duties to defeat the advantage the Third World countries enjoy in having numbers.

India has vainly argued that the insistence of the West to have a free movement of goods and capital will be disadvantageous for the Third World countries. If the world is free, then why not free migration of labour from developing and underdeveloped countries to the West? All the developed countries have ganged up to stop such a proposal.

The problem with the developed nations is that they want to have the cake and eat it too. If India challenges such postures. it is bound to be lonely. The question that the countrymen have to ask themselves is whether a journey which may be companionless is worth undertaking. It is frustrating but it is worth undertaking because it

nation, that might is not right. It conveys that the Third World countries cannot be used as pawns by others.

What Nehru said nearly 50 years ago is still relevant. "In this atomic age Asia will have to function effectively in the maintenance of peace. Indeed there can be no peace unless Asia plays her part. There is today conflict in many countries, and all of us in Asia are full of our own troubles. Nevertheless. the whole spirit and outlook of Asia are peaceful, and the emergence of Asia in world affairs will be a powerful influence for world peace."

India has a difficult role to play. But it is a role which some country must play because after the end of the Cold War the developed countries cannot create another kind of hegemony which will keep weak and poor under their thumb. Foreign policy is more than self-interest. more than victory and defeat. It is the assertion of equality. Let us not be afraid. India can help build new Asia, for that matter, a new world where powerful creative impulses in all the peoples will be allowed to come to play, without fear of America or any other country.

Whatever criterion, India must act on its own.

Koi bazam ho ya anjam, ye shaur apna gadim hai/Jahan roshni ki kami dikhi, wahin ek chirag jala dia.

(Whether it is a gathering or a meeting place we follow our own way of thinking/Whenever we find the lessening of light, we light a candle then and

BETWEEN THE LINES

Kuldip Nayar writes from New Delhi

Following French President's visit to Palestine, the US warned Europe not to meddle in ne-

Israel.

the only superpower in the world, it was obliged to do so. Perhaps, it would have done so

Washington is angry with New Delhi. It wanted to show that those who try to cross the line would be punished. The lonely battle of New Delhi on the CTBT front was not the America's liking. Although China, France and Russia, three out of five permanent members of the Security Council, voted for India, America could pressure enough members, specially those who have been impressive

by Japan's munificence.

clauses in the autonomy accord

signed last year. There has been

also the Palestinian insistence

that for any agreement with

Israel, there must be a guaran-

tee of the commitments on the

Israel has delayed re-de-

ployment of its troops from

four-fifths from the West Bank

town of Hebron as agreed under

the previous Labour-led gov-

ernment, citing security con-

cerns for 450 settlers who live

among Hebron's about 100,000

Palestinians. Israeli and

Palestinian negotiators had

been trying to work out a mutu-

ally agreeable formula for

weeks. Already hobbled by vio-

lence and rancour, Israeli-

Palestinian peace efforts lately

suffered a blow when Israeli of-

ficials announced detailed

plans to nearly double the

number of Jewish settlers in the

West Bank. The plans called for

building two new cities in the

West Bank that would accom-

entire interim arrangement

price. They still behave like client states. Had 100 odd, as is their number, decided to stand on their own feet and to cooper have been different not only at the UN but all over the world. The West would have got the

barter their principles for a

In fact, the developed countries are going in their way and replacing colonialism with economic imperialism. What is being sought to be done at Singapore is more sinister than that America has engineered at

settlers. The proposed settle-

ment expansion has not yet

been approved by Netanyahu,

though he seemed to back it in

principle. The Palestinians

renunciates the message of Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the Hurdles in the Middle East Peace Process

portant peace negotiations only because Israel does not want participation of the Europeans. After all, European allies give support to the US practically in all its actions and operations in the Middle East, including fighting with men and materials. European participation might help in supplementing aid support for the US and fill

in if the US falters. This may

not, it is felt, detract from or

diminish the dominant role of

the US in the peace negotia-

tions.

The US is fashioning the world according to its national interests and in this light, launched the peace process after due deliberation. Now, in the wider context of international order, the fate of Benjamin Netanyahu should count for little. According to the observers, Netanyahu has been confronted with a basic choice: whether he should nurture israel's partnership with the Palestinians or see it die. If Netanyahu shows evidence of intransigence in course of his negotiations with the Palestinians, the message will get through in the Arab world and among the international community as well that "history has not ended in the Middle East" and hardliners in the Arab world may eventually have to prepare for a second round of 'Intifadah'. Israel may make an attempt to sidetrack the issue of peace in Palestine by suggesting, as recently reported, a limited sovereignty as in Andorra of Puerto Rico as the final status for the Palestinian territories. In this respect, Palestinian leadership is adamant. According to it, the just and final solution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict requires the recognition of an independent Palestinian state

with Jerusalem as its capital. Besides this, there is the ticklish issue of peace talks between Israel and Syria which has been lying frozen since

Third World countries should

if India had not been the candi-

But if joining issue with

ate with one another to get their representative, the result would-

the UN. Through the WTO

gotiations between Israel and Palestinians, saying it would be unwise to try to create a "mini United Nations" in the Middle East. A S M Nurunnabi analyses and fulfill all the other chal modate 100 000 more Jewish

lenges that are there before us."

ME peace scenario was the visit

of Jacques Chirac, the French

President, to the Palestine re-

An important event in the

gion, who called for a stronger view the proposed expansion European role in Middle East programme as a violation of peace process. While addressing 1993 autonomy accord with the Palestinian legislature. President Chirac said that he The United States continued to step up pressure on Israel and was greatly honoured to be the first head of state to be invited the Palestinians to wrap up a to speak before the first assemdeal on Israeli troop withbly elected by the Palestinian drawal from the West Bank people on its own land. Chirac's town of Hebron. After his election victory. President Bill visit to the West Bank and his address to the Palestinian legis-Clinton called for a rapid lature gave encouraging signal Israeli-Palestinian accord on of a Palestinian state. Though Hebron. Speaking at his first news conference after his rethe French President's move was briskly rejected by Israel, election. President Clinton many observers consider the said: "the first and most impor-Palestinian state as a fait actant thing we can do is to nail the agreement on Hebron. If we compli, in view of the fact that can clear the Hebron hurdle, it the previous Israeli Prime Minister, Rabin, by a stroke of has much emotional significance to both sides as well as pen, had already completed the deal in Washington. Now it is practical significance. I believe believed that Netanyahu might that will open the door to go on be trying to squeeze out maximum from Arafat in terms of security. It is alleged that Netanyahu might be trying to use 450 Jewish settlers for secu-

> nians might not be an easy arrangement. Following Chirac's visit to Palestine, the United States warned Europe not to meddle in negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians, saying it was unwise to try to create a "mini United Nations" in the Middle East. In the opinion of some observers, however. Europeans

rity reasons which is felt by

some observers as a weak strat-

egy in view of the reason that to

provide an exclusive small en-

clave of 450 Jews with full secu-

rity under Israeli police in the

midst of about 100,000 Palesti-

should not be left out in the im-February last.

Letters for publication in these columns should be

addressed to the Editor and legibly written or typed with double space. For reasons of space, short letters are preferred, and all are subject to editing and cuts. Pseudonyms are accepted. However, all communications must bear the writer's real name, signature and address.

In the Unitor.

The 25th anniversary of Independence

Sir, The 25th anniversary of our victory in the Liberation War is knocking at the door Much has been said as to what we should have achieved, and what else we should have done during the last 25 years.

Looking back, as part from our struggle for independence. when we try to count the losses this country had suffered as a result of the war, we measure it either in terms of loss of property and infrastructure as in crores of Taka, or in terms of the loss of lives. This latter sacrifice, we have honoured as shaheeds or martyrs. But do we remember those who had not died, but had been injured in the war? We now recognise them as merely disabled people. Instead of giving them a fare share of the honour that is due to them. we have alienated them from the society that we live in. What has the government done for them so far?

For the martyrs, we have built a smriti shoudha at Savar. which probably is the worst looked-after national mausoleum of its kind in the world. It is polished and cleaned only when the war-related days are here. But rest of the time, you will find all sorts of debris floating around, and a few young people climbing (or trying to climb) the structure. This is a place where a visitor should find the peace to remember his fellow brothers who had laid down their lives for a cause. Definitely this is not a place which would remind one of his or her prehistoric ancestors. But anyway, clean or dirty, we still have something for our

shaheeds. But what about the disabled? A few years back we merely changed their title from 'pongu' to 'juddhahoto', 'disabled' to 'injured-in-action'. But is that sufficient? In these 25 years, the past government had declared a National Policy on Disability. but that was all. There has not been any legislation or any other measure for its implementation as yet. The government has declared a building code, but till today, a wheelchair user does not have free access to the government offices. Fortunately, (or rather unfortunately) we do not have a sin-

gle Parliamentarian who needs the use of a wheel chair, because the JS is not accessible!

Will it not be most unfortunate, if a wheel-chair user (carrying a disability as a result of the Liberation War) wishes to visit the clean, tidy and polished smriti shoudha on this 25th anniversary of our independence, (and believe me, there will be a bigger crowd of visitors this year) he will painfully find that he is not yet independent himself! Because, no one thought of building slopes or placing ramps along the walkways that would allow his free mobility across the beautifullybuilt stairs.

After all these years, on the eve of the 25th anniversary would the government kindly give a thought on this?

Dr Nafeesur Rahman Disability & AIDS Coordination Unit ACTIONAID Bangladesh Dhanmondi, Dhaka.

The Zoo story sounds weird

Sir, Thanks to The Daily Star for the providing news on what's happening at the Zoo. Seven priceless animals have been lost within a span of one week. The loss of the nearly-extinct species of jungle cat is indeed tragic and hardly leaves any doubt in the minds of the citizens that there is something gravely wrong with the Zoo and unless the Zoo authorities and the government wake up the situation some more animals

The total lack of interest and neglect the Zoo authorities are showing, is indeed a shame for us. If the Zoo authorities are unable to find out the reasons of the deaths, we might as well seek assistance from other countries and save the animals. After the sad deaths of about 2,500 munia birds at the Zoo and the subsequent news in the newspapers, it was expected that the Zoo authorities and the government would take appropriate steps, but nothing happened. See, now the damage is even more colossal! What are the responsible people doing?

L A Ahmed 24, Shantinagar

For a good Constitution

Sir. For a good, durable constitution, the political scientists prescribe the vital requisites viz. written, flexibility, rigidity, unitary, federal, presidential, parliamentary, multiparty system, two-party system etc. Now-a-days besides the written parts of the constitution, equal emphasis is given on the unwritten part. In view of tremendous developments in science, communication, massmedia, many written parts of the constitution are being replaced by unwritten parts. As a result many vital conventions

have taken place. Sovereignty is now accepted as something belonging only to the people, not to the government. So in the USA, it is the convention that to be eligible, a presidential candidate not only has to be born on the soil of the USA, but his three past consecutive generations had to be born and pass their livelihood on the US soil. An immigrant or a national who was not born and brought up in the USA can never be a presidential candidate. This convention is applicable not only for the presidential candidate but also for the chief of staffs of army, navy, airforce in the USA. The life of our prophet Mohammad (SM) bears testimony to this phenomenon. He returned to his birth place Mecca after his hifirat to Medina as the head of

the state and chief of the Army. The psychological phenomenon scientifically very vital in this regard is strictly followed in the USA.

Malibagh, Dhaka Royal Bengal Tigers: A prey to human vice

Sir, At Mirpur Zoo in Dhaka

Moklesur Rahman

four Royal Bengal Tigers had died and five more fell seriously ill, who may die at any moment. This mysterious deaths started a few days ago of which the Zoo officials are not able to give any satisfactory answer. It is suspected that some unscrupulous persons are behind this heinous act, which resulted in the untimely and agonising deaths of the innocent animals. We are shocked by this inhumanity. What could be more deplorable and shameful than this?

these animals as prisoners for their pleasure and delight, but stoop so low that they do not hesitate to end the lives of the captives for their selfish purpose. This moral degradation is really frightening.

Human beings not only keep

We demand proper investigation and persons responsible of this grave offence. If found guilty, they must be punished accordingly. The relevant authority must make sure that no such incident ever happen

Nur Jahan East Nasirabad, Chittagong.

Ice started melting

Sir. In its very infancy the "Expatriate-repatriate Welfare Association" confronted with repression from the then government instead of getting any support. Then came the democratic government. They posed in such a way that to them wage earners became mere foreign exchange-earning machines. Why a machine should have any right to talk or expose its pains? "It should only go on earning and earning as a deaf and dumb animal" — was the attitude.

Under this circumstances the only way left for the association was to avail the help and cooperation of the newspapers. More than a hundred write-ups of the association appeared in the dailies and weeklies. But no one cared. It appeared that the Ministries concerned — Labour and Manpower, Finance, Foreign Affairs, Industries, Commerce, Cooperative, Social Welfare etc — had no public relations departments.

The association had been attempting to draw the attention of the former government through its repeated write-ups in the newspapers, particularly in connection with exercising the right of casting vote by the expatriates, which remained totally unresponded in action and

words. Within a span of less than 100 days of taking over the charge, the present government declared the voting right of the expatriates, which was not done in 20 years.

To give emphasis on the issue of rehabilitation of the bulk of returnees and the expected returnees, besides some other important points, like - establishment of expatriate-repatriates bank and insurance company, abandoned house to be utilised as transit camps for stop-gap use of the expatriates on their in-coming/out-going movements, appropriate utilisation of the valuable experience of the repatriates earned from most modern working atmosphere abroad, in nationbuilding activities, building educational institutions for their children etc.

S A Hossain 85, Elephant Road, Bara Moghbazar, Dhaka.

OPINION

The Consensus Concert

A Husnain

The main political party in power is propagating, in good faith, a concept or philosophy of political consensus at the national level; and that too, in seeming hurry, immediately after coming into power after two decades.

It is a tough exercise, mental and physical — something like joining together the pieces of a broken glass, and expecting the joints to be invisible. Time is a great healer: but these are great times to hurry and catch up. On what? It will be tougher when the concept becomes an opera tion. It is easier to provoke than to persuade. Cooperation cannot be commissioned.

The exercise has been launched right after assuming power, and is being pursued with earnest resolve, visible above the surface, but 'invisible' if beneath. The net has been opened wide, and generously. Still, there are no signs that a political 'Internet' will emerge soon (it took years for the com-

puter Internet to click). The two popular ladies are dominating the local political scene, creating a bipolar stance of the supporters in the national effort. The tugging of the forces are not in the same direction, therefore the journey towards the national goal is being slowed down. The purpose may be to have the diverging and conflicting pulls coalesced together. Perhaps a command performance is not expected. Variety is the spice of life - at least, in the Parliament.

There are two preconditions to turn the concept into reality the scattered lines of forces have to change direction (as in a magnetic effect); and the right type of cement has to be found / for the bond to hold together. So

far, the search has been elusive In fact, the two polarities are drifting apart, instead of converging. To achieve the proces \$.. more tools are needed thein mere politics. Our problem is not new : we subconsciou sly tend to depend too much on 'politics — because the politic ans have so far failed to provide the right type of leadership.

The political culture is yet immature in the nation, due to factors clear enough to the students of history. The ur lifying and centripetal force of statesmanship is missing, to change the bipolar charismatic: pulls Such a situation of stalemate will continue till unity and consensus at the top is achieved.

How long this imp assioned bipartisanship spirit will continue to divide the nation, even after more than two decades? This is a vital quest ion for the reflection by all of us, when the conditions are right for the accelerated progress in a country transiting from the status of CIT (country in transition) to NIC in the near future. Ironically, are we becoming our own worst enemy? Investment and projects can be arranged. technically speak ing; but who or what can make the heart

Politics may be likened to a game of chess, but the chess board has conf. ned boundaries in a horizontal plane in two dimensions - the flight upwards is not possible. This third dimension is missing in our politics. The spirit has to soar, but the wings are clipped. We have to get rid of the deadweight of gu ilt complexes to become lighter to be outbound Don't we fe el cribbed, cabined. and confinerd?

move?