

LETTER FROM AMERICA

Pakistan Ignores Clinton, and Follows India to the Nuclear Brink

Dr. Fakhruddin Ahmed writes from Princeton

Now that both India and Pakistan have proved their manhood, which way will they turn? Will they follow the ruinous Russian example, keep on building expensive bombs that may never be used, until their bankrupt countries fall apart?

told the US outright lies about its nuclear intentions! Pakistan's rationale for going nuclear was that the world dismissed their genuine concerns. Since the 1990 Pressler Amendment, which denied Pakistan the 28 F-16 fighters it had paid for, America had effectively ended all military and economic aid to Pakistan. In the aftermath of the Indian tests, both the US and China refused to give Pakistan any security guarantees. BJP's declared intention of grabbing all of Kashmir threatened to sever Pakistan's only territorial link with China. Pakistan concluded that between India and Pakistan, the world had chosen India.

China still occupies the Ladakh region of Indian Kashmir, as well as Indian territories in the north-east. Since India has to face both China and Pakistan, it has to be stronger than Pakistan, Indians argue. America's recent cozying up with China did not sit well with India. India, too, concluded that between communist China and democratic India, the world had chosen China.

Recent developments have highlighted America's dwindling influence with the subcontinental belligerents. America had worked on the premise that the only way to eliminate regional conflicts was through globalisation of markets and technologies. That theory needs major revision. America's real concern

now is that Pakistan may explode more bombs, and that India may provoke an incident in Kashmir to go to war with Pakistan. America believes that India and Pakistan may be less reluctant to drop the nuclear bomb on each other, killing millions of their own citizens, as well as citizens of Bangladesh, embedded within the subcontinent, and polluting the atmosphere for the rest of the world.

Meg Greenfield wrote a revealing piece in the current issue of NEWSWEEK regarding the foreign minds and the American reading of it. A lot of the times what a foreign nation does, makes no sense to America. It looks suicidal and downright stupid to them. Americans remain oblivious of the fact that the dynamics of foreign decision making does not follow the American or western thought-process.

During the cold war, with mutual obliteration assured at any miscalculation, Russia and America kept their allies on a tight leash. With the fall of the Soviet Union and the cold war constraints gone, nations are now beginning to exercise foreign policy based on domestic imperatives.

Israel's rejection of President Clinton's peace proposal has nothing to do with "threat to Israel's security"; it has everything to do with keeping Netanyahu's fractured right-wing coalition together. India manufactured imaginary external threats "from the north and

west", as an excuse to detonate bombs that, they hoped, would solidify BJP's hold on power through "Indian pride." If Mian Nawaz Sharif had not replied to India's challenge in kind within a month, his Prime Ministership would be history. Israel's defiance of America emboldened both India and Pakistan to do the same. Dr. Abdul Kalam, the father of Indian atomic bomb, is correct when he says that while outsiders invaded India from time immemorial, India did not attack anybody. The Indian leadership is equally right in their observation that only declared nuclear states constitute the United Nations Security Council. However, the fallacy in these arguments is that India's detonation of the nuclear bomb does not mean that outsiders are now trembling in their boots, or that the path has been cleared for Indian Security Council ambitions.

The world looks up to India not for violence, but for non-violence. India is not a country the world associates with brute force; it has taught the world moral force. The world is in awe of India not for its Prithvi and Agni Missiles, but for its Pandits (as in Jawaharlal Nehru) and Mahatmas (as in Gandhi).

Some nations have unique role to play in the world; India is to teach the rest how to be better human beings. When Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru proclaimed a secular India, he knew that that was the essence of India. Mahatma Gandhi's reply to the question, "what do you think of western civilisation?" ("I think it is a good idea") summed up his belief in the moral, not military, superiority of the Indian civilisation. Even in this electronic age, both Apple Computers and Microsoft feature Mahatma Gandhi in their advertisement as someone who made the world a much better place.

American civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. employed Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent techniques to win civil rights for African Americans. Lech Walesa utilised Gandhi's technique in Poland to dismantle communism. Gandhian non-violence is being practised in Africa and South America as the most civilised way to counter injustice. To the Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists and Christians of the Indian subcontinent, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru are unquestioned heroes.

Although Pakistan's founder, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was himself a very secular person and preached tolerance for all religions, modern day Pakistan judges everything in religious terms. When it looks at a Hindu, it sees a fundamentalist. To the Pakistani media, India is always "Hindustan." After beating India in field hockey matches, Pakistani players perform the religious "sejda." As though the same God did not create the Hindus and the Muslims.

Pakistan's paranoia regarding India's "real intention" (that is, undoing the partition of 1947) was beginning to stale, until BJP came to power. The vicious circle of vilification and re-vilification received a tremendous boost with BJP's talk of "confederation", and aggressive posturing culminating in the detonation of the nuclear bombs. Because of its foolhardy determination to match every Indian act, Pakistan, one-fourth India's size and far less in resources, is forever condemned to emptying its treasury to keep up.

While it is true that some Indians will never accept the creation of Pakistan (and Bangladesh), and that some Pakistanis will not settle for anything less than the whole of Kashmir, that is not necessarily how the majority of the Pakistanis and Indians feel. If the Indians and Pakistanis got along as well in the subcontinent as they do here in America, the subcontinent would be a peaceful and prosperous place.

The immediate fall out of the subcontinental nuclear explosions is that it has made India and Pakistan instantly poorer. Led by the United States, many nations imposed economic sanctions on both the nations. Because of its size and importance, sanctions will not bite India much. Pakistan should be more adversely affected, but may pull through if the Muslim nations reward it for giving them the eagerly-awaited "Islamic Bomb."

Indeed, the "Islamic Bomb" does worry the West. US Senator Daniel Moynihan, former Ambassador to India, expressed concern that Pakistan may share the technology with Israel's Middle-Eastern enemies. They are particularly worried about Iran, Iraq and Libya acquiring the bomb.

Now that both India and Pakistan have proved their manhood, which way will they turn? Will they follow the ruinous Russian example, keep on building expensive bombs that may never be used, until their bankrupt countries fall apart? Or, will they follow the example of the Chinese, who after satisfying their nuclear lust, limited nuclear expenditure, and are well on their way to becoming the most dominating economic power in the world?

Effect of Pol Pot's Death on the Khmer Rouge

by ASM Nurunnabi

Though Pol Pot died, some larger questions remained unanswered: Why did he do it? What forced him to instigate one of the century's most brutal reigns of terror? How could this man be understood?

DEATH came in the last week of April for Pol Pot, the man blamed for the deaths of more than one million of his countrymen. His attempt to remake Cambodia society by mass murder turned out badly, and he ended his days a prisoner of his former colleagues, themselves a tiny band hiding in a remote corner of a jungle. Pol Pot died peacefully in his bed, in a small hut deep in a remote Cambodian mountain, according to accounts by his captors from the Khmer Rouge, the party he once led.

His death might have brought relief to some of his comrades in genocide, but it dismayed many of those who survived his massacres. The four years between the fall of the US-backed Lon Nol government in 1975 and the invasion of Cambodia by Vietnam in 1979 saw the wholesale slaughter of the nation's educated elite and ethnic minorities, round-the-clock executions of real and imagined dissenters, and untold deaths by disease and starvation resulting from Pol Pot's attempt to impose a state of pre-industrial agrarian self-sufficiency on his nation.

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When he took power in April 1975, Pol Pot emptied the cities, abolished money and markets, shut down schools and monasteries and forced the entire country to wear black pajamas as he tried to implement "instant communism." People died in thousands from starvation and of diseases and the economy ceased to function. Anyone who questioned the system was executed.

Although the social programme was going awry, the Khmer Rouge thirst for power intensified, and Pol Pot turned his attention to Vietnam, Cambodia's centuries-old enemy. He launched a series of cross-border raids in 1977 and 1978.

The mounting hostilities with Vietnam and the diversion of food and resources to the army made the situation worse in the rest of the country, but Pol Pot seemed oblivious to the disaster he was inflicting on his

people. Somewhat dishearteningly, the regime did not fall to an uprising or collapse of its own ineptitude and stupidity.

It was done by Vietnam which invaded its neighbour after a series of border clashes initiated by Pol Pot and installed a puppet government of Khmer Rouge defectors. Pol Pot fled to the mountains with a small army of loyalists and resumed life as a guerrilla. The Khmer Rouge fought skirmishes with government troops and obtained some support from China, Vietnam's historic enemy, and quietly from the other great enemy of Vietnam — the US.

Pol Pot was able to inspire devotion in his youthful Khmer Rouge followers even after he lost power when the full extent of the killings became known. Changes in the world since then seemed to have mostly passed Pol Pot by. His forces boycotted the UN-supervised elections in 1993, which led to a coalition government of Hun Sen and Prince Norodom Ranariddh, the son of the country's titular monarch, King Sihanouk.

The Khmer Rouge kept their Leninist faith through the collapse of the Soviet Union and the stealthy triumph of capitalism in next-door China. But some of Pol Pot's troops caught the scent of the first stirring of prosperity in Cambodia itself.

In 1996 his long-time deputy and brother-in-law Leng Sary defected to the government side with the bulk of Pol Pot's army. Sensing disloyalty from another top aide, Defense Minister Gen. Sen, Pol Pot had him killed last year. Ta Mok, presumed to be next on the purge list, was on Pol Pot and had him arrested. A show trial ended in a sentence of "house arrest" for life.

Today the Khmer Rouge has reached the end of the road. The fragmented guerrillas army is spread out in the jungle close to the Thai border. After years of denouncing their foes in Phnom Penh as "despicable puppets of Vietnam," the Maoist cadres of Khmer Rouge are suing the puppets for peace.

Dissemblings, contradictions, deceptions — much of Pol Pot's behaviour seemed to derive from insecurity, the insecurity of a peasant revolutionary, with no training in the exercise of power, compounded by the insecurity of an entire country threatened for centuries by

its larger neighbours, Vietnam and Thailand. Together they fuelled an extreme behaviour pattern, one that left no room for moderation, debate or the subtle compromises that normally underlines civilised human intercourse.

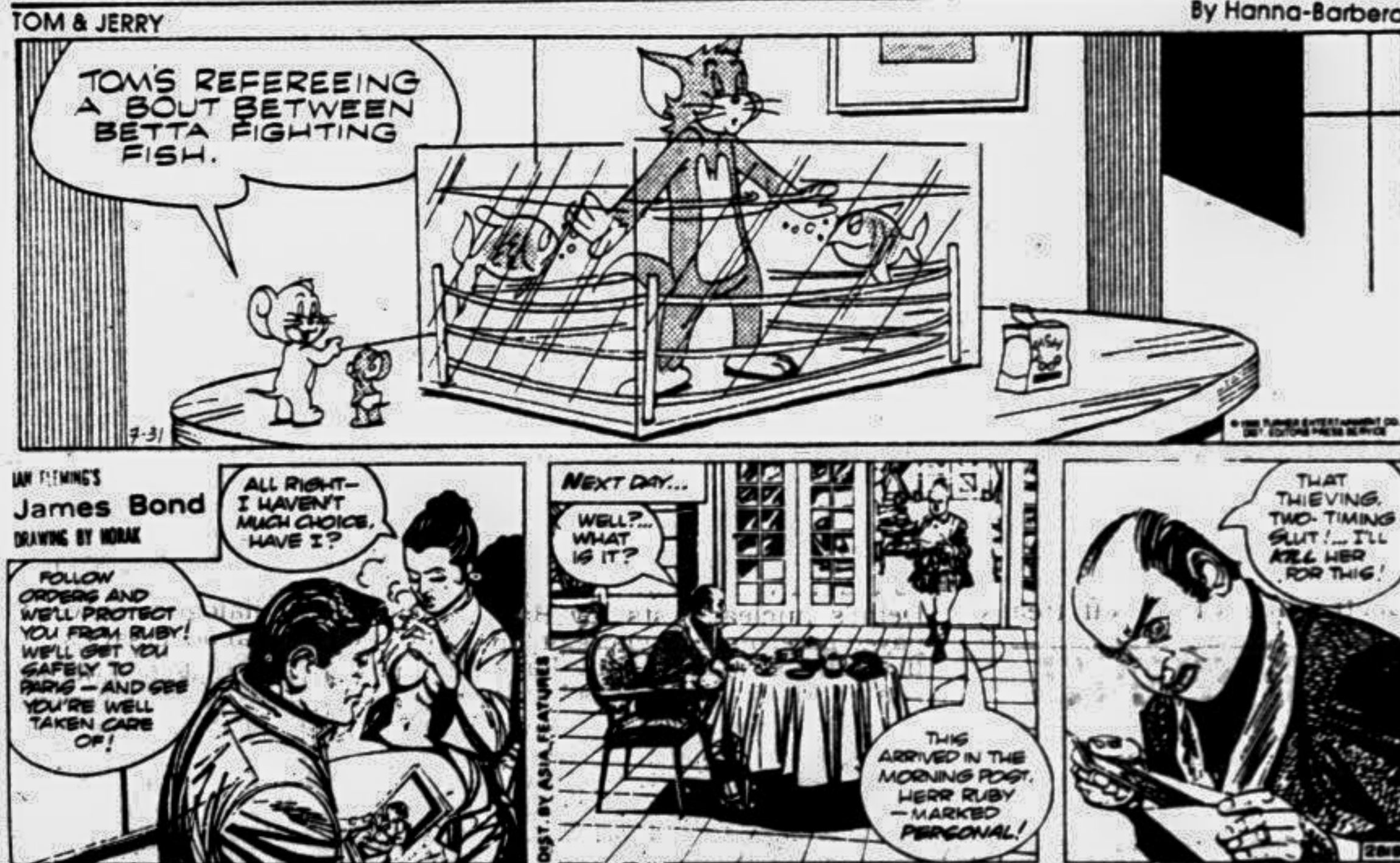
After nearly half-a-century as one of the world's most fervent and implacable Maoists, at the end of his life Pol Pot reserved his hatred almost exclusively for Cambodia's ancient ethnic enemies, the Vietnamese. He hoped to go down in history as the man who had saved his country from domination by foreigners.

Will Pol Pot's death help bring peace to Cambodia? King Norodom Sihanouk, who had been held under house arrest by Pol Pot in Phnom Penh during the years of Khmer Rouge rule, said recently, that Pol Pot's death had in a certain sense "liberated" Cambodia. But others were sceptical that the death of an old man who no longer held any real power would have a major impact inside the country. They, however, strongly feel that by his death, he will not be punished for what he had done, but he was just one person — there are many others who are also guilty. What will happen to them?

Whether anyone will be put trial for the crimes of the Khmer Rouge remains to be seen. The UN has said it will not give up but will be dispatching a team of investigators this summer to examine if a case can be made against surviving Khmer Rouge leaders. Advocates of bringing Pol Pot to trial hoped it could help break the cycle of violence.

With his premature death Pol Pot performed one last disservice to his people. He will be remembered as the last great ideological villain of this century, the last to commit mass murder in the service of an abstraction. Mankind's limitless capacity for slaughter, in the years since Pol Pot's reign, has increasingly found expression in the primal rivalries of tribe against tribe and God against God.

Whatever the vision that drove him to such unspeakable cruelties, it vanished with him into a smudge of black smoke in the jungle. But his spectre will continue to haunt the deeper shadows of the Cambodian psyche for years to come.



What's on today

- Fashionwear exhibition: A 5-day 'Summerfest '98', a summer fashionwear exhibition by Kay Kraff, will begin. Venue: Alliance Francaise, Rd: 3, Dhanmondi. Time: 5 pm to 8 pm.
Painting exhibition: The 2nd solo painting exhibition by Shahla Vinita Karim will begin. Venue: Drik Gallery, House: 58, Rd: 15/A, Dhanmondi. Time: 5:30 pm. Till June 10 from 3 pm-8 pm daily.
Function: On the concluding day of Sammilito Sangskritik Jote's 3-day inaugural programme of its year-long celebration of Kazi Nazrul Islam's birth centenary, a cultural function, poetry recital and a play 'Rakkhushi' will be present. Venue: Public Library auditorium. Time: 6 pm.
Workshop: A workshop on 'small enterprise promotion and development in Bangladesh' will be held. Organiser: Bangladesh Unnayan Parishad and Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation. Venue: BUP auditorium, House: 33, Road: 4, Dhanmondi. Time: 3 pm-6 pm.
Roundtable: A roundtable discussion on 'USA and South Asia: A Bangladesh Perspective' will be held. Organiser: Institute of Policy Studies. Venue: CIRDP auditorium, 17, Tophkhana Road. Time: 3 pm.
Film show: 'Beyond Rangoon' by John Boorman will be screened as part of Zahir Raihan Film Society's session on 'The Indian Sub-continent in the films of foreign filmmakers'. Venue: Indian High Commission auditorium, Rd: 2, Dhanmondi. Time: 6 pm.
Art competition: The Bangladesh Society for Conservation of Environment has arranged an art competition for children marking World Environment Day '98. Venue: Shishu Academy premises. Time: 3 pm.
Seminar: The National Association of UNESCO clubs in Bangladesh will hold a seminar and training workshop in cooperation with the UNESCO headquarters on 'No to drugs: Role of UNESCO clubs in developing environment. Venue: BANBEIS auditorium, Palashey, Nilkhet. Time: 10 am.
Roundtable on communalism: A roundtable on 'Communalism and Fundamentalism in Bangladesh: Role of Mass Media' will be held. Organiser: Ekatturer Ghatok Dalal Nirmul Committee. Venue: Planning and Development Authority auditorium. Time 4 pm.

JS body on Water Resources Ministry reviews progress of dev projects

A meeting of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Water Resources Ministry yesterday reviewed the progress of various development projects being implemented in the country, including those in the southwest region, reports UMB. Committee president Abdul Motin presided over the meeting held at the Sangsad Bhavan. It expressed deep concern over adverse effect on environment following decrease of underground water level due to widespread use underground in irrigation purpose. The meeting also stressed on proper use of surface water. The meeting referred to the importance and necessity of constructing the proposed Ganges Barrage and informed that ADB, World Bank and Islamic Bank have shown interest in the project and pledged to assist it. Highlighting the increase of water flow of Ganges, storage of water, prevention of water salinity and a bright prospect of irrigation, the committee expressed the view that the excavation of the river Goral is imperative. The meeting also directed the concerned authorities to implement the Barabaisidha project in Patuakhali district on priority basis for public interest.

JP holds protest rallies in city

Jatiya Party held demonstrations in the city yesterday in protest against, what it said, a move by a certain quarter to involve its secretary general, Nazur Rahman Manzur, in the murder of Obaidul Haq Babul, reports UNB. All thana units in the city held rallies and brought out processions protesting the alleged move. Rallies were held in Kotwali, Sutrapur, Lalbagh, Demra, Motijheel, Sabujbagh, Ramna, Dhanmondi, Mohammadpur, Mirpur, Pallabi, Tejgaon, Cantonment and Uttara thanas. Among the party leaders, Hasanuddin Sarkar, Shah M Abu Zafar, Jahangir M Adel, Saifur Rahman, Abu Hossain Babla, Amena Bari, Joly Rahman, Lily Chowdhury, Iqbal Hossain Raju, Kamrul Islam Sajal and Nirmal Das led the processions.

Iranian envoy meets Sayeed

Iranian Ambassador to Bangladesh Mohammad Sadegh Fayyaz called on State Minister for Information Prof Abu Sayeed at his office yesterday, reports UNB. During the meeting, they discussed various issues relating to bilateral relations.

Obituary

Syed Abul Hasan Quli alias Quasem Quli died yesterday at Ishpani Colony. He was 78, says a press release. He is survived by his wife, daughter, grandchildren, relations, friends and admirer to mourn his death. He was buried in Hussaini Dalan after Asr prayers. He had served in Ralli Brothers for three decades.

Alhaj Golam Rabbane, a former employee of Jambuna Oil Company was electrocuted at Mathertok residence yesterday. He was 65, reports BSS. He left behind his widow, two sons and two daughters.

BBC roadshow in city tomorrow

BBC World, the 24-hour international news and information channel of the British Broadcasting Corporation, is going to host a roadshow in the city tomorrow, says a press release. Alan MacDonald, Regional Director (South Asia), BBC World will host the roadshow along with Amitabh Srivastava, Distribution Manager, Dhaka-Narayanjan link road opens

From Our Correspondent

NARAYANGANJ, June 3: A link road between Dhaka and Narayanjan was inaugurated here today by Shamim Osman MP. The eight kilometre long road, from Mukti Sarani at Siddhirganj to Chashara Rifle Club, will pave the way for easing communication between the two cities. Minister for Communications Anwar Hossain Monju was present as the chief guest on the occasion.

Saifur to attend workshop in London

Saifur Rahman, MP and former finance minister of the BNP government leaves for London today at the invitation of the Commonwealth Secretary General, to participate in a workshop on 'deepening democracy', said a press release yesterday. The four-day workshop beginning from June 7 will be held at Marlborough House, London, the release added.

During the workshop, Rahman will also chair a session on government's recognition of responsibilities to the opposition, the release said. The workshop is aimed at providing an opportunity for an exchange of experience and information among a selected group of parliamentarians and academics from a range of Commonwealth countries.

Sayed refutes Khaleda's comments about the press

State Minister for Information Prof Abu Sayeed yesterday refuted some recent comments made by Leader of the Opposition in Parliament Khaleda Zia about the press and urged her to be more responsible while giving statements, considering her position, reports BSS. The opposition leader will understand the baselessness of her comments if she compares the present state of the newspapers with that of the period when her husband and she herself were in power, he said in a statement. Quoting Khaleda Zia as saying her husband allowed rampant publication of all newspapers and ensured their freedom, Prof Sayeed said that during Zia's regime that 'Banglar Bani and The New Nation' had to regain their right to publish through High Court writs. 'It is also not true that the Ittefaq and the Sangbad were released during Zia's regime,' he said adding, 'Although The Bangladesh Times was released during the regime, the High Court verdict was ignored by not returning the newspaper to its owner.' The state minister called Ziaur Rahman an 'exponent of martial law and coup,' saying the people have not forgotten how he had seized the right of the people to express opinion and free speech by imposing press censorship. Prof Sayeed said the BNP government under Khaleda Zia had set an unprecedented example by 'letting loose' the police against journalists in broad daylight at the National Press Club, and attacking newspaper offices. 'The people are also aware that Khaleda Zia promoted the police officer who performed well in the attack at the press club,' he said.



Bangladesh Chhatra Maitree brought at a procession in the city yesterday protesting the recent nuclear tests conducted by Pakistan and India. — Star photo

Advertisement for Yumna Ayeel Company Limited. Text includes: 'যমুনা অয়েল কোম্পানী লিমিটেড', 'পুনঃ দরপত্র বিজ্ঞপ্তি', 'নং ৩০/৯৮', '১৯৯৮-৯৯ চতুর্থ ত্রৈমাসিকের হিসাব', '১৯৯৭-৯৮ চতুর্থ ত্রৈমাসিকের হিসাব', '১৯৯৬-৯৭ চতুর্থ ত্রৈমাসিকের হিসাব', '১৯৯৫-৯৬ চতুর্থ ত্রৈমাসিকের হিসাব', '১৯৯৪-৯৫ চতুর্থ ত্রৈমাসিকের হিসাব', '১৯৯৩-৯৪ চতুর্থ ত্রৈমাসিকের হিসাব', '১৯৯২-৯৩ চতুর্থ ত্রৈমাসিকের হিসাব', '১৯৯১-৯২ চতুর্থ ত্রৈমাসিকের হিসাব', '১৯৯০-৯১ চতুর্থ ত্রৈমাসিকের হিসাব', '১৯৮৯-৯০ চতুর্থ ত্রৈমাসিকের হিসাব', '১৯৮৮-৮৯ চতুর্থ ত্রৈমাসিকের হিসাব', '১৯৮৭-৮৮ চতুর্থ ত্রৈমাসিকের হিসাব', '১৯৮৬-৮৭ চতুর্থ ত্রৈমাসিকের হিসাব', '১৯৮৫-৮৬ চতুর্থ ত্রৈমাসিকের হিসাব', '১৯৮৪-৮৫ চতুর্থ ত্রৈমাসিকের হিসাব', '১৯৮৩-৮৪ চতুর্থ ত্রৈমাসিকের হিসাব', '১৯৮২-৮৩ চতুর্থ ত্রৈমাসিকের হিসাব', '১৯৮১-৮২ চতুর্থ ত্রৈমাসিকের হিসাব', '১৯৮০-৮১ চতুর্থ ত্রৈমাসিকের হিসাব', '১৯৭৯-৮০ চতুর্থ ত্রৈমাসিকের হিসাব', '১৯৭৮-৭৯ চতুর্থ ত্রৈমাসিকের হিসাব', '১৯৭৭-৭৮ চতুর্থ ত্রৈমাসিকের হিসাব', '১৯৭৬-৭৭ চতুর্থ ত্রৈমাসিকের হিসাব', '১৯৭৫-৭৬ চতুর্থ ত্রৈমাসিকের হিসাব', '১৯৭৪-৭৫ চতুর্থ ত্রৈমাসিকের হিসাব', '১৯৭৩-৭৪ চতুর্থ 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