## The Baily Star

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### Now for the Access Roads

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With the grandiose Bangabandhu Jamuna Bridge in place, the post-inauguration euphoric gliding through the skies savouring the taste of once-in-a-lifetime infrastructural success, must now descend on the eye-level. We must now see the realities on the ground that cry out to be addressed with no less commitment, tenacity and vigour than that which characterised the shaping of the Jamuna bridge itself. Given our penchant for exhausting energy and excitement over a big achievement, a word of caution needs to be uttered for all concerned not to rest on the oars of this feat as a one-off affair.

There are two considerations central to the construction of this multi-million dollar bridge in a resource-poor developing country like ours. First and foremost, we incurred a heavy debt to lay the bridge across. This has to be repaid on time to obviate higher debt servicing costs. The tolls to be collected on the bridge are to finance multi-dimensional maintenance works and enable us to repay the loans as well. That being the case, it is absolutely essential to optimise utilisation of the bridge so as to earn enough to pay for the bills.

Secondly, the BJMB is billed to be a harbinger of economic revolution through chain and lift-pump effects generated by the shrinking of distances and travel time between the eastern and westerns tracts of Bangladesh.

To fulfil both the objectives underlined above, ancillary road, gas, electricity and railway linkages have to be forged to the super-infrastructure that the Jamuna bridge sprawls as. Unless this is done, it could turn into a technological show-piece. Already the coach operators and truckers have served a notice that if the single-lane road from Nabinagar to Tangail on the eastern side of the bridge is not widened and at least 11 small culverts falling on it, are not repaired they would simply hold on to the Dhaka-Aricha route. In fact, one oft cited weakness of the service area has been the dearth of access roads to the bridge-head and we must fill in this void as soon as we can. On the western bank too, we need forward linkages.

We now have the pivotal infrastructure requiring capillary sub-infrastructures to be built around it to make a real sense of the big bridge. If we can have such a huge network the Asian Highway will be of as much benefit to us as it would be to its other

### Politics of Propaganda

What is so unique about the Jamuna bridge? Perhaps that it epitomises a rare and remarkable trend of continuity. In the whole history of our divisive, tumultuous and traumatic political culture since independence there is not another instance where successive governments managed to keep their nose above political differences and drive a national dream to its destination. It has been a long trek since Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman set the ball rolling by attaching due priority to Jamuna bridge. There were periods when the project was clouded in controversy with people both at home and abroad questioning its economic viability. It was after assailing a long and strong negative campaign that this dream-link between the east and west of the country has become a reality. The surcharge for it was levied during Ershad's regime. That the bridge never lost its importance although individual and party fortunes dwindled showed when the foundation stone was officially laid during Begum Zia's time. Today the whole nation rejoices in the fact that Sheikh Hasina's Awami League has seen its speedy completion to usher in a new age in the history of our communication.

But what could and should have been a symbol of continuity and an elevating source of collective glory and national integration has regrettably been reduced to party propaganda. The spectre of historical distortion which was a part and parcel of all the post -'75 governments has come back to haunt us again and most unfortunately. Jamuna bridge, a magnificent engineering marvel that embodies the collective dream of all of us is at its centre. The ruling party is out on a passionate propaganda trip to corner all the glory. Poor history is the casualty. AL was in power after independence for three years. It came back to power after 21 years. If the bridge had its conceptual initiation with AL, other parties must have chipped in these twenty one years to carry it forward. Only in a fairy tale can one suggest building a huge project like JMB in two years' time.

The propaganda campaign over 'JMB shows history's lessons are rarely learnt. For God's sake spurn propaganda. Let history be the judge.

### Why This Delay?

There are things that good intentions alone cannot get done. There have to be the necessary resources. And there are things which wait for little else than the right will, the necessary intention. There has been for over two years a talk of naming a part of the Old Elephant Road after Shaheedjanani Jahanara Imam. She spent the last decades of her life in a lane issuing from the Bata junction to Gausia part of the Old Elephant Road. It is in this house the tragedy immortalised by her in her Ekatturer Dinguli, took place. Yet a most abominable thing is occurring about naming the road after her. Although numerous organisations have called for it and even a human chain had been formed to press the demand, things haven't moved an inch. The point is why should it need to be sought from government? It was government's duty to show respect to that wonderful leader and mother to millions. The proposal from the people for the roadrenaming only helped the government find an apt way to do its duty. The rest should have been a matter of course.

It wasn't. Who could it be that is against the move? It couldn't be Awami League or its many subsidiaries. And it couldn't either be her political adversaries who would not stoop so low as to block the celebration of a person of Jahanara Imam's standing with the hearts of the people, specially students. So why should the issue be left unresponded to for over two years?

Mayor Hanif and his whole team at the DCC are all for the proposal but it is not physically moving to the works ministry for approval and formal renaming. We condemn this delay and demand that there be on that stretch of the century-old Elephant Road a Jahanara Imam Sharoni within this year.

### Is there an Easy Solution to Kashmir Problem?

Even a complex problem like Kashmir can be resolved if the leadership of India and Pakistan truly care about security of one-fifth of human race presently residing in the region. olution pending. And with

OLLOWING the nuclear tests → by India and Pakistan in ■ May 1998, Kashmir, and endemic and symptomatic problem between India and Pakistan, has once again been internationalized. There have been calls from all over the world to both South Asian antagonists first to go for immediate disarmament talks; and second, to reach for a solution to Kashmir dispute which is thought to be the core underlying cause for India and Pakistan going nuclear. Peaceful resolution of

Kashmir dispute is, thus, considered to be an imperative so that the escalating tensions in South Asia and a possible exchange of nuclear weapons between India and Pakistan can be restrained. As such the international community, out of acute apprehensions, has given a clarion offer of help to New Delhi and Islamabad in order to remove the fundamental cause of discord between the two. Recently, the five recognized and original nuclear powers, in an unusual manner acted in concert outside the purview of United Nations Security Council, and gave a joint declaration in this regard. They not only demanded India and Pakistan to give up their nuclear ambitions but also offered their good offices to resolve their difference over their competing claims to the Himalayan territory of Kashmir. Then came forth the United States. It felt that there should be direct talks between the two to agree on a solid framework to deal with their mutual differences including Kashmir, especially in the given dangerous security environment of the region.

They were, however, not the first to come up with such offers of help. Japan, which has an impeccable record of impartiality in any Indo-Pakistan conflict, was stoutly turned down by India, when it offered to help these adversaries to overcome their differences, especially the thorny issue of Kashmir. Same was the fate of Bangladesh's Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina's endeavours and her trip to New Delhi on June 16, 1998, as reported by the media, to play a meaningful role in bringing these two countries closer together. New Delhi insisted that there was not even any such proposal

from Bangladesh not to speak of formulating any modus operandi for such undertaking. Such stance only reconfirms New Delhi's determination not to allow any country, including a peace loving South Asian country like Bangladesh whose security environment has been dangerously threaten due to the state of affairs between these two core regional countries, and which has locus standi to be concerned about. New Delhi's stance is easily discernible in the context of its opposition to such diplomacy since its emergence as a regional power following the Indo-Pakistan war of 1971 over Bangladesh, although the offer of a third party mediation has always been welcomed by Islamabad since the dispute erupted in 1948. Under the circumstance what are the chances of a peaceful solution of Kashmir problem?

The prospects are not very bright. Unfortunate fact is that since the first Indo-Pakistan war over the legitimacy of Kashmiri Maharaja Hari Singh's Instrument of Accession to Indian Dominion in 1948, and New Delhi's promise to honour United Nations resolution to hold plebiscite under UN auspices following UN intervention, much water has flown through the Ganges. New Delhi instead of holding the plebiscite, especially since the break up of informal alliance between Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah, and subsequent imprisonment of the latter in 1953, took systematic steps to incorporate New Delhi held State of Jammu and Kashmir into Indian Union.

Islamabad on its turn protested 'India's design' in Kashmir and attempted to muster diplomatic support to force New Delhi to uphold UN resolution. Subsequently both India's and Pakistan's foreign. policies got transfixed on Kashmir issue in such divergent ways that prospects of a negotiated settlement of the problem got dim. Notwithstanding the issue was not completely done away with.

Following the signing of Simla Agreement on July 3, 1972, in which a major issue of negotiation was Kashmir and a redefinition of the cease-fire line (CFL), henceforth known as line of control (LOC), which had been delineated under the auspices of United Nations Commission in 1949, there were hopes for a negotiated settlement of the issue. Both sides pledged "to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them." And the argument was "pending the final settlement of any of the problems between the two countries, neither side was going to unilaterally alter the situation." Moreover, a change of terminology from "cease-fire line" to "line of control " still implied about the controversial nature of Kashmir's actual sta-

Since then and despite the promise to have a final settle-

solidarity with the people of Kashmir in their process of alienation from New Delhi. The culmination of which has been the spontaneous outburst of insurgency by the Kashmiri people since 1987. Since then it (the insurgency) has had Islamabad's alleged moral, diplomatic and otherwise support.

Obviously the Kashmir problem presently has become manifold and complicated. Besides the question of national identity and national prestige the contentious issue is deeply mired in both New Delhi's and Islamabad's 'entrench security dilemmas.' Kashmir's strategic location makes it an imperative for both to have it within their respective fold. The lifeblood of Pakistan i.e. its river system originates in Kashmir. For a country which was baptized in blood and had from the beginning a deep rooted suspi-



ment of Kashmir and Jammu, India's and Pakistan's positions have diverged and widened further apart. Rather it has been Indian position which has shifted to an extent that even during the latest and much trumpeted post-Gujral Doctrine Indo-Pak secretary level talk, which was resumed after it was broken in 1994. even a working group to discuss Kashmir issue could not be formed. In a hundred eightydegree turn-around, New Delhi is now taken a stand of not recognizing the State of Jammu and Kashmir as disputed territory and considers it to be an integral part of the Indian Union. The question of holding any plebiscite is, thus, considered to be quite out of the question. Pakistan, on the other hand, in the face of intransigent Indian stand on Kashmir, has used every available opportunity to make the issue inter-

nationalized and declare its

cion its bigger neighbour's alleged ulterior motives about its emergence as an independent nation it is not surprising that it would try to wrestle Kashmir for security reasons. Subsequently, the near-war situation over the sharing of Indus River in late 1950s made the argument only more convincing. Willingness on the part of Indian government to the peaceful solution to Kashmir has, thus, been considered by Islamabad as a genuine gesture to signal its acceptance of Pakistan as a truly independent and sovereign country.

India's stake in Kashmir has also serious security connotations. Initially, however, it was rather simplistic. Once the dispute arose it could not be resolved due to India's question of national identity. The point is once the two-nation theory was accepted the identity question should not have been that intriguing. But it did keep the res-

time the problem only lingered but festered like a sore in Indo-Pakistan relations. The bitter and acrimonious bilateral relations, thus, precluded any solution to the Kashmir problem. Had it been resolved in time the history of South Asia would have been different. Subsequent addition of China factor following the Sino-Indian war of 1962 indeed made the situation even more complicated. Subsequently India's endeavours that nothing should happen in the valley which would challenge Indian claim that the State had legally acceded into Indian Union and an integral part of it prompted New Delhi with two options. First, to try to implement Article 370 giving the State of Jammu and Kashmir Dominion status within Indian Union; and second, abolish Article 370 and make its status as just one of the states among the others. Working of the second option has serious internal and international implications. New Delhi, thus, opted for the first option.

But history repeated itself,

and like the 1952 Accord of

Sheikh Abdullah and Nehru, the Kashmir Accord of 1975 also failed to produce expected results for New Delhi. On the contrary, interferences from New Delhi and its consequent impacts on the State administration created deep sense of alienation among the Kashmiri people. The attempts for a political solution simply vanished when New Delhi instigated vague Jammu and Kashmir State election was held in 1987. That alienation is further being exacerbated by the heavy-handed military presence of India in the valley. And today, after years of bloodshed and alleged Pakistani meddling, the Kashmir people's right of self-determination has emerged to be the key factor. Sooner this fact is realized by India the better. One must not forget that there has been recognition of ethno-nationalism by the existing international order, and flow of arms for such ethno-nationalists is only a matter of convenience.

But at the same time there is no easy solution to Kashmir problem. As mentioned earlier. over the years there has been a drastic transformation of Kashmir scenario. Nuclear dimension has added one more dangerous complexity to it. Hence it cannot be resolved overnight. But it needs to be realized by India and Pakistan that without its solution their mutual relations would never be normal and consequently the security environment of South Asia will never be on a plane conducive for peace and stability. There is an urgent need for both sides to sit down and start the process of negoti ation. Certain amount of confidence need to be developed between India and Pakistan through accords on issues like demilitarization of the Siachen Galcier in northern Kashmir, the barrage to be constructed by the state government of Jammu and Kashmir on the Jehlum River below Wular Lake, and a demarcation of the Indo-Pakitan territorial and maritime boundaries in the Sir Creek area between Gujarat and Sind. Since China is a major player in South Asia a process must also begin in order to reinstall whatever mutual confidence there were between India and China.

Lately, however, there have been numerous suggestions for a possible solution to the problem. But it would really be upto the two South Asian adversaries and Kashmiri people to work out a suitable formula. Pending a final solution confidence building measures and other bilateral interactions between India and Pakistan must be enhanced. There should be a pragmatic approach — something like Russia and Japan have taken in their security relations with regard to the final status of Tokyo's Northern islands which are still occupied by the former. The point is that it can be done if there is a political will. Without such determined political will solution to Kashmir problem would remain as illusive as ever. Even a complex problem like Kashmir can be resolved if the leadership of India and Pakistan, especially New Delhi truly care about security of one-lifth of human race presently residing in the region.

# Bangladesh's Nationhood in Post-nuclear South Asia

by Khurshid Hamid

The moratorium state out of economic compulsions or as a conscious policy delays paying her legiti-

mate defense costs as long as possible and devotes her energy and resources to cater to the economic

well-being and improving the quality of life of her people and to creating a new international order

during the interregnum of grace.

TOPIAN nonchalance for Bangladesh in the wake of the nuclear tests by India and Pakistan is the prescription one would recommend, fully aware that it goes against the grain of the mostly alarmist voices being raised in the country. But the South Asian nuclear blasts should create sufficient sonic boom to activate the Bangladesh political leaders, the intelligentsia, and the more informed segments of the civil society to finally do a deep Zenlike soul-searching to identify our real sense of nationhood, to locate whither the nation goeth, and in the light of the new geopolitical realities of South Asia to seriously attempt a conceptualization of what ideally the defence and foreign policies

of Bangladesh should be.

Japan's Okonogi Keigo has posited the thesis that the international situation at present is in a transitional stage with the traditional Westphalian international order of military preparedness gradually advancing towards Kant's ideal of a world order marked by perpetual peace through the establishment of a general collective security system. Because no world order has yet been realized that can close the qualitative gap between international and internal orders, the world's countries are in a kind of moratorium condition, not having found their true role or status. Nagai Yonosuke says that Japan is one such moratorium state. He asserts that since the end of the Second World War Japan has been a moratorium state, which was a grace period for national sovereignty under the occupation, to achieve paradoxically the escape from a moratorium condition in the narrow sense to true indepen-He feels that the Japanese people would never again agree to become a state in

the traditional sense but would choose to survive as a kind of moratorium state respecting the core values deeply rooted in national sentiment

The First World War can be described as an example of traditional power politics. Prussia was a superior country in economic and cultural standards but was not treated by the rest of Europe as a leading power, and she was thus roused to eradicate the gap or discrepancy in her prestige by increasing her military might and mounting an intensive effort to catch up. Great Britain. France and Russia, who were the great powers in Europe at the time, regarded backward Prussia's drive to catch up as a threat to the status quo, and overreacted with the defensive response of an entente against her. An international dispute thus began and ultimately led to a global armed

Despite the present being a moratorium age, power politics, with its military preparedness for the worst, has not disappeared. Catch-up drives mounted by late developing countries in an effort to seek consistency in their international status will continue. Earlier it was the People's China and recently France going credibly nuclear, then it was Israel, the Shah's Iran Iraq and Saudi Arabia in the Middle East, North Korea, and always India and Pakistan now most loudly proclaimed with their nuclear explosions.

Nation-states in the historical sense have been ideologi-

cally oriented national security states, for survival as a political entity must come first. National security is the state of affairs in which the kind of crisis that would necessitate the sacrifice of a country's core values is avoided. Conversely, a country is secure to the extent such a

Different countries have varying notions of core values and national priorities as well as perceptions of threats to them. Some countries, like the erstwhile Soviet Union and Pakistan, putting forward the bogeys of the United States and India respectively, have historically given top priority to the value of national military power, prestige and independence vis-à-vis the other superpower or her neighbour. While other countries, like Japan and Bangladesh and earlier East Pakistan, have traditionally been compelled, both for economic and ironically colonial and neo-colonial reasons, to shun militarization and thereby have given top priority to stability and welfare of the people's livelihood and their

Geographical and historical factors have influenced Bangladesh's attitude towards her national security or the detense of her core values. Bangladesh is a deltaic region located on the eastern side of the South Asian subcontinent. From times immemorial Bangladesh has remained on the periphery of the great migrations of peoples and races, the rise and fall of powerful

kingdoms and of religions, civilizations and cultures that have taken place on the northern plains of the subcontinent. She is situated sufficiently far from the Hindu Kush passes to have escaped conquest and prolonged occupation by invading forces, though close enough to have benefited from subcontinental civilizations. Bangladesh has in fact over the centuries given refuge and shelter to the persecuted minorities of the subcontinent and even won over the viceroys of the central kingdoms. In this process of continuous assimilation she has evolved a distinctive civilization and culture, whose main thought-inheritance is a broad consciousness of the ultimate and the universal and preoccupation with the end and not the means of life and whose main attribute is tolerance and lack of bigotry in the realm of ideol-

Because of her geographical advantage Bangladesh never had to organize herself as an ideology-governed nation with her own distinct core values in order to survive against annihilation by the great civilizations that prospered in the subcontinent. The Governmental power structure of earlier the province of Bengal/East Bengal/East Pakistan and later the sovereign state of Bangladesh has therefore always resembled a neutral democratic state rather than an absolutist state. That is to say the Government was always cautious to maintain a neutral stand where the actual content of values was concerned and to limit public

authority to a codified law of a technical nature. Both the British and the Pakistanis instituted in Bangladesh a regime of Government by law and bureaucratic rationalism with little or no indigenous ideological content.

In the face of the Pakistan

Army's ruthless action and the worsening internal situation in 1971, Bangladesh adapted to the crisis, forming a crisis consensus, by espousing Bangladeshi nationalism as her core value, and for a short while appeared to have a true ideology of her own. But subsequent history shows that Bangladesh's adoption of a core value was a mere flash in the pan. After liberathe Constitution tion Bangladesh adopted and even its subsequent amendments do not reflect in practice any strong ideology (of Bangladeshi nationalism? Secularism? Islam? Socialism? Free democracy?), and do not clearly indicate what core values she cherished. Rather Bangladesh has circumscribed the role of the state to the neutral, outer shell traditionally established, and this has allowed her citizens a liberal and free choice of ide-

ologies. It is imperative to reach a consensus decision as to whether Bangladesh should endeavour to become a state in the conventional sense by overhauling the core values rooted in her history or whether she should pass muster as a moratorium state respecting the core values deeply rooted in her national sentiment. The answer

is obvious. The Bangladeshi people, like the Japanese, will never agree to become a state in the traditional sense but will choose to survive as a moratorium state.

The national security state is a state in the conventional sense being in essence an organization for crisis management that deals with emergencies in order to ensure national survival. Such states because of their inherent nature must conduct their affairs while bearing in mind the moment of truth when they will be stripped of all false adornment or pretense. A moratorium state on the other hand believes that such a moment of truth in the global context can only mean the world's self-destruction in this age of nuclear proliferation, and in the regional context would also mean self-destruction in view of the overwhelming asymmetry of military capabilities. There is little merit in making preparations

for suicide. In the meantime the moratorium state out of economic compulsions or as a conscious policy delays paying her legitimate defense costs as long as possible and devotes her energy and resources to cater to the economic well-being and improving the quality of life of her people and to creating a new international order during the interregnum of grace. It is an extremely difficult task for such a state to maintain her national morale and her political as well as economic viability during such a moratorium without becoming morally corrupt, and success would be little sort of a miracle.

The author is the former Bangladesh Ambassador to Italy and Switzerland. The above is the second of his series of articles on the South Asian

### Hounding the smokers

Sir, The prices of cigarettes have gone up by 25 to 40 per cent (expensive to cheaper brands respectively) due to additional taxes or levies in the new budget (and the manufacturers have raised the prices officially within three days of the budget speech even before the proposal has been passed and legislated).

Hounding the defenseless smokers has become traditional whenever there is shortfall in the government revenue in any country. While the antismoking propaganda is strong and subsidised by foreign funds, there is hardly any lobby of the peaceful smokers. It is like the women and children who are exploited and denied many of their human rights, with the difference that the former have supporters.

A marginal raise in prices is tolerable and understandable. It may be pointed out that the government has not made smoking an offence or crime. but the financial punishment is inflicted without flinching! There are other implications on those working in the tobacco industry. How the 'poor' rural

tobacco agriculturists have been taxed repeatedly; and what alternatives have been offered to them to wean them away from profitable cash crops such as tobacco (the cultivation of tobacco has not been banned)?

While taking 'drugs' carry the death sentence, many Third World administrations are perplexed on replacement of the raw crops to wean away the farmers from the cultivation of narcotic making plants.

As a lawful smoker, the appeal is to reduce the proposed additional levies on cigarettes and tobacco products. Make it tolerable in these hard times.

A Smoker Dhaka

#### Mission to India and Pakistan

Sir, Bangladesh abounds with admiration, accolade and acclamation all over the world especially in the South East Asia for her War of Independence, gallantry, benevolence and goodwill. There is a old saying: "what Bengal (now Bangladesh) thinks today India

thinks tomorrow". A very serious and dangerous

situation has surfaced in South East Asia in the wake of India's conducting five nuclear devices followed by Pakistan's

retaliatory six nuclear tests.

People all over the world know and realise that India and Pakistan are filled with enmity. hostility and ill-will towards each other for last half a century due to Kashmir problem as a result of which both the countries have jumped into the abyss of darkness of dreadful nuclear arms race. This has not only relegated to the background the aims, objectives and principles of the UN and SAARC but peace and stability of the world have also been jeopardised and threatened.

At this critical juncture of our world history Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina has undertaken a peace mission to New Delhi on 16th June and is going to Islamabad on 27th June, 1998.

Geo-politically and economically Bangladesh occupies a very important and strategic position in South Asia. It is also wrong to say that Bangladesh is the balance of power of the sub-continent of India-Pakistan-Bangladesh of over 1000 people. Both India

and Pakistan desire intensely and covet friendship, good-will and cordial relations with Bangladesh. Bangladesh has the advantage of enjoying the sympathy and generosity of both India and Pakistan. And so the UN General Assembly President Hennadily Udovenko has welcomed the initiative of Prime Minister Hasina to undertake a peace mission to discuss the situation arising out of the nuclear tests with the Prime Ministers of India and Pak-

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### Selling bad eggs

Sir. The new budget proposals appears to encourage the selling of bad eggs; in this case, poor quality and over-priced local newsprint to the newspaper consumers, coerced by legis lation on consumption ratio of 50:50 local/imported basis. Luckily the bad coins have not driven out the good.

The crippled SOEs (state owned enterprises) have to spoon-fed be ("Our beloved children"); and the lazy, bloated

civil service have to be pampered, on the basis of spiritual visions' of the mancha kind. This is one example of transparent governance, as all can see and understand what is going on. What is there for the healthy people — healthy phys-

ically and mentally? To earn more revenue, the budget did not dare to propose fiscal penalties on the non-installation of fare meters in the 3-wheeler autorickshaws (start with Dhaka and Chittagong). On the other hand, 5,000 such vehicles were almost being imported on hush hush basis; perhaps the model had the dubious 2-stroke smoky variety of en-

Why the bottomless basket has become a dumping ground? The American gas fields in Sylhet are highly inflammable. while the Scots were charming with the tune of the bagpipes (18

months, good job). The reconditioned car market has been harshly overtaxed. alleged to be due to the pressure of vested interest to dump unsold old model new cars from cheaper exporters; similar to the new 4-wheel taxi cab service, the launching of which is being delayed time and again the backdoor specialist. Nobody likes monitoring in this country of freedom fighters, including the taxi owners!

Governance in economi cally-backward countries is full of booby traps and unexpected twists and turns. Policies have to pass through three torturous processes: shady preambles. sudden announcement of decision; and staggering implemen tation (follow-up: blaming others for on-cooperation!). The name of the game is announced as democracy (We lead, you follow, we have to make up for the 21 years of lost time).

The civil service is living a charmed life, oblivious to kalbaishakhi thrusts of abortive administrative re forms. The judiciary is not opposing the much-needed reforms, but the political will is once again lacking in this area also (the third non-issue is the SOEs). The politicians are active with politics, the game they know best at its worst peak (nothing personal in this observation)

Is there no alternative to reactive budgets?

A Zabr Dhaka

due to reasons better known to