

Again!
A COUNTRY IS SEEK-
ing a global role, and a nation is
seeking its identity.

The point where the two
searches combine often leads to
a crisis. The crisis of identity
may result in another turmoil
whose first victim will be iden-
tity itself.

Here lies the German par-
adox as well as its anxiety. Af-
ter the World War II defeat, it
was West Germany that repre-
sented Germany as well as
Germans. East Germany was
merely a piece of Germans' fa-
therland that the victor against
Nazis had claimed as its prized
part of the booty. So, when the
question of reunification of
Germany arose after the Soviet
Union went into coma before
death, it was East Germany that had to
merge with West Germany rather than
other way round.

As the Wall of Berlin — reminding of
the Fall of Berlin to communism —
crumbled with the Soviet Union, the
Germans thought their unification was
going to define their identity and power
in the world that they had always wished
but could never achieve in the past 200
years. They are trying to fail again.

Germans from the east are evidently
in a hurry. Thanks to the excessive
Western propaganda, they cannot wait
anymore to enjoy the fruits of capitalism
and wealth, freedoms and democracy.
The east Germans are convinced that
they are deprived of all these comforts
and advantages that their brethren in the
western half of the country reaped for
being fortunate enough to be occupied
by the allies from the western hemi-
sphere. They have been misguided be-
cause the West is more vociferous about
its market economy than about the po-
litical behaviour known as democracy.
That propaganda is behind the eastern
German preference to material comforts
over the system that activates intel-
lectual and physical faculties in man.

The story, however, does not end
here. Violence mainly in eastern cities
is also caused by the lack of identity.
The militants are moving from where they
believe they were stopped. They also
believe that their present misery is an
outcome of their being deprived of their
identity. The last 45 years of their his-
tory is without heroes and they are un-
able to identify themselves with those
who led western Germany after the war.
This is not surprising. Equally normal is
their turn from communism to Nazism.

CHEMISTRY OF AN UNKNOWN IDENTITY

come hyperactive again. That is how
they are rediscovering Nazism. They are
starting from where communism had
frozen their movements.

Nazism was a reactive ideology. It
was the product of European struggle for
national supremacy camouflaged with
gilded slogans of a meaningful life. That
was the era when Europe was trying to
give meaning to life and was forced into
believing that material side was all that
life meant. It was an age when Europe,
emerging out of darkness, and lost itself
in the intellectual wilderness. That ex-
plains why Europeans were so active in-
tellectually in those fateful decades when
Charles Darwin, Carl Marx and Sigmund
Freud on one side and Friedrich Nietz-
sche on the other were busy in confusing
the European, and thence world minds
and when the Liberals were energetically
writing the laws for the contemporary
European polity.

Although Nazism, together with its
Italian brand, Fascism, is squarely
blamed on Nietzsche. Hitler believed
that in him had emerged the Aryan su-
perman talked about in *Thus Spake Zar-
athustra*. The truth is that like all other
philosophies, Nazism was merely a syn-
thesis or antithesis of the plethora of
ideologies that Europeans were offering
since the Fall of Granada as meaning of
life and leadership.

Europeans could have accepted Hitler,
as much a Nietzsche, as another person
in the 19th century jungle of philo-
sophies, if he didn't dare to apply his
beliefs. But he was a politician rather
than a philosopher, thus unqualified to
propound a political theory, and rejected
as politician, too. But then, with him lost,
the Germans found themselves in a phil-

an impression of recognition to the Ger-
man potential and helped those in Bonn
to contribute to a future Europe which
should dissolve all the divisive and mil-
itant national aspirations of individual
states. It raised its head, however, in the
psyche of eastern Germans because they
had to refill the void created by their an-
cient history as well as recent past of
Europe and America.

The neo-Nazis, nicknamed skinheads,
proclaim their allegiance to a "pure
Germany" free from foreigners. They,
according to a French analyst, are "a
cultural import from Britain, where
cropped, tattooed youths in Levi's jeans
and ankle-high boots were first spotted
in London's Eastend 25 years ago". He
said that even their favourite chant, "*wir
sind Deutsch, wir sind Deutsch, wir sind
Deutsch*" (we are German), is stolen
from a patriotic American tune, "hurray
for the red, white and blue". Among the
39,800 skinheads, according to the
BFV, domestic German intelligence
agency, about 5,900 can be considered
neo-Nazis, of which 4,400 are violent.

While the recent Euro-American con-
nection could be more cultural, the phe-
nomenon has roots in ancient political
frustrations embedded deeply in the
memories of the decline of a localised
power the Germanic people had attained
in the 19th century. Today's frustration
is as old as the German failure in the
previous century to make remarkable
colonial gains in Asia and Africa. Otto
von Bismarck could not succeed in that
area, which resulted in the rise of Naz-
ism three decades after the death of the
founder of the Second Reich.

The skinheads, not limited to eastern
Germany alone, have a hardcore 4,200

MUHAMMAD TARIQ GHAZI

Managing Editor

IN
POINT



PALESTINE TO BOSNIA

IT's just in the past few months
that this new linguistic concept
has taken hold. The slogan
"Ethnic Cleansing" has sud-
denly come into our mental
consciousness and quickly be-
come a term we freely and eas-
ily use as verbal currency.

Yet it's hardly that things of
this kind have just started taking
place in our world. Heaven's no!

What's at work here is a
combination of at least four in-
teractive developments.

First, though the "new world
order" in reality is little more
than a euphemism for the col-
lapse of the Soviet empire and
the unchallenged dominance of
the West lead by the US there
truly is a "new age" of instant
communications. And it's not
just one of words. Much more
than words this "new age" is
dominated by video images and
satellite transmissions creating
a virtual cacophony of non-stop
visual stimuli as never before in
history.

Something happens one mo-
ment just about anywhere and
quite literally it's on CNN the
next. Just a few years ago there
still was a 24-hour news cycle
— a kind of built-in delay en-
countered while waiting for the
next evening's news. But today
the images of what's happening
are in front of us often before
the reporters have even figured
out what to tell us in words.

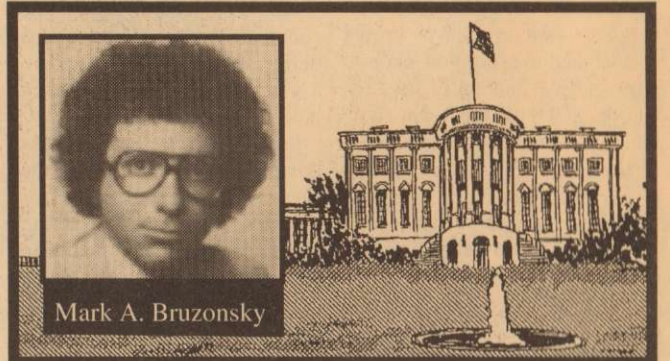
Secondly, with the advent of
global television, cable TV, all-
news networks, and the mini-
camcorder, our world has quite
literally become a single inter-
connected one. Hitherto far-off
events that previously hardly
affected our day-to-day lives
are today rapidly propelled to
being a part of our daily con-
sciousness.

This "global village" concept
has gradually been creeping
into our collective psyches — a
new mindset that is finally tak-
ing hold.

Europe may afford a third war and
may prove its shrewdness to turn that
war into a global conflagration once

ETHNIC CLEANSING OLD AND NEW

From



Mark A. Bruzonsky

Washington

CNI REVISITED

Just a few words about a previous column from mid-August.
I noted then that the organisation that purports to call itself
(quite erroneously and misleadingly) an alternative to the
Israeli-Jewish Lobby — the Council on the National In-
terest (CNI) — was in big trouble. Its chairman, former
congressman Paul Findley, had just abruptly fired the ex-
ecutive director, David Bowen who had got himself en-
tangled with another former congressman now repre-
senting Libya and CNI was flopping around trying to
figure out how to keep itself going and what to stand for
other than no loan guarantees to Israel.
At first Bowen was to depart poste haste. But as of the end

The question, therefore, is why do they think Nazism can alleviate their present misery?

Its answer can be found in the process that shattered them psychologically. Until April 30, 1945, the Germans were a politically hyperactive people. From May 8, that year, the inhabitants of the eastern part became extremely inactive — politically and economically, because they were condemned to intellectual inertia. Now, after the fall of the wall and unification of Germany, they have be-

osophical void.

Whatever Nietzsche meant by superman, he had never visualised a whole nation of supermen. It was there that Germans had stumbled and where today's neo-Nazis think they can be introduced to their national identity. Like Nazism itself, the extremism of its new advocates is also a product of neglect and defeats. If western Germans did not revive Hitler's ideology — they may secretly admire it, though — it was because France led Western Europe to give

“politicised” section which the BFV considers “the most dangerous”. A BFV report for 1991, made public this month, said there were 76 far-Right organisations in Germany. In that year, their number increased by nearly a quarter over 1990. It says that there are also several thousand “non-political” skinheads who see violence — usually after soccer matches — as additional recreation. This mode of recreation makes them “vulnerable to manipulation”.

Another factor is that the average

again. However, this time it lacks a United States to salvage it. And whatever its present economic power, Germany, which is sticking to be a global power within or without the European Community, cannot assume America's role if the European ship sinks this time. It will be defeated by today's skinheads who, in search of a national identity, are as innocent as merely angry at the foreigners who are depriving them of the fruits of free economy and freedom.

H DEEN

Special to Saudi Gazette from Colombo

SRI Lanka is watching with great interest the under-currents in Tamil Nadu politics especially because Chief Minister Ms Jayalalitha has stopped supporting the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) after the murder of Rajiv Gandhi, the former prime minister of India.

Unconfirmed reports say that Jayalalitha has tendered her letter of resignation to Governor Bhisma Narain Singh. The reason for the letter of resignation is said to be inter-party and intra-party squabbles.

On August 9, the day on which Mahatma Gandhi asked the British to “Quit India”, G Karupaiyah Moopanar, a stalwart of the Congress-I, launched a “self-respect” movement. This new organisation exposes alleged corruption and misrule of Jayalalitha's All-India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK) government. Moopanar wants the Congress-I to come back to power in Tamil Nadu.

Moopanar's theory appears to be that unless the Congress-I breaks away from the Dravidian parties, it can never build its own strength in Tamil Nadu. In the past, whenever the three major parties — the Congress-I, AIADMK and Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam led by Dr M Karunanidhi fought the elections separately, it was the DMK that won.

Incidentally, the Tamil Nadu government has appointed a commission of inquiry to look into charges of “corruption, nepotism, favouritism and gross misuse of governmental power” against Karunanidhi, the former chief minister of Tamil Nadu.

The Tamil Nadu state cab-



Tamil Nadu chief minister
At the receiving end — Brickbats and Bouquets

inet under the chairmanship of Jayalalitha appointed retired Judge S Sivasubramaniam as the one-man commission on the basis of complaints by the Tamil Nadu Congress-I president and member of parliament, K. Ramamurthy, in a letter dated January 2, 1991, to the then prime minister of India, and by two members of the Tamil Nadu assembly, R Singaram (Congress-I) and C K Thamizarasan (Republican Party) in their letter dated April 27, 1992 to Jayalalitha.

The state government's decision to set up the commission of inquiry against Karunanidhi comes in the wake of several charges of corruption levelled against the present chief minister Jayalalitha by Karunanidhi and several others.

Attempts have also been made to tarnish Jayalalitha's image by saying that she has forged a new link with the LTTE, a link established out of fear. There is also the possibility of a split in the AIADMK as a result of certain underhand

JAYALALITHA IS FIGHTING BATTLE OF STRENGTH

work by party men. If the Congress-I withdraws its support and if there is a serious split in the AIADMK, Jayalalitha's position will become untenable.

Some news magazines published in Tamil Nadu have become critical of Jayalalitha. The 43-year old actress-turned-politician, who was called the repository of though — *Sindhanai Selvi* — revolutionary leader — *Puratchi Thalaivi* — and deity of fear, is now being called “a woman Hitler”, by some people.

It is said that even before Jayalalitha became chief minister, supporters of her party attacked the newspaper *Murasoli* and that when she became chief minister, *Murasoli* was attacked soon after the murder of Rajiv Gandhi. The offices of another newspaper *Kumudam* were raided. Yet another newspaper *Rajarshi* was forced to

close down and the staff members of *Nakkeeran* were hounded.

Be that as it may, since the opposition is taking advantage of the many acts of omission and commission by the AIADMK state government of Jayalalitha, things might not be the same in Tamil Nadu in a few months time. If there is instability in Tamil Nadu, it might even destabilise the Narasimha Rao government in New Delhi because upto now, the members of parliament belonging to the AIADMK have all along supported Prime Minister Rao in all his moves.

If Jayalalitha's resignation is not true, it is possible that many heads in Tamil Nadu's state government might roll with a view to weeding out those who conspire against the iron lady or “woman Hitler”. Will she survive a battle of strength and wits?

technology there is a growing sense of one-worldness that which Wendell Wilkie forecast back in the 1940s. Spurred on in past decades by the ecological movement, this new consciousness now merges into the political realm so that the once clear distinction between domestic and foreign affairs is increasingly obscured.

Indeed as the American election process races into full-gear, political, financial and military interests around the entire globe are concerned far more than ever over just who will be in charge in the US. President Bush has even spoken in public about how this is an election for who will be “in charge of world affairs!”

Third, there is language itself. In an age of practically unsatiable media coverage writers and on-air journalists are besides themselves these days to distinguish their reporting. Increasingly pressured to sum things up into sound-bits, memorable phrases, and 30-second visual clips, the media increasingly attempt to sensationalise and magnify. As a result indepth, especially historical analysis often goes begging while sloganeers and journalistic hucksters increasingly grab for our limited attention span.

And the fourth interactive factor that has propelled the term “ethnic cleansing” into our daily consciousness in recent months is the omnipresence of “PR” agents.

In recent years public relations firms have tremendously expanded their grip in Washington. Now we've reached a point where political issues are handled pretty much as product advertising — professional teams made up of advertising specialists political lobbyists and media experts are quite literally hired to sell a cause just like cars or toothpaste. The Kuwaiti PR campaign that began almost immediately after Iraq's invasion in August 1990 in order to prepare public opinion for American intervention can already be considered classic.

And so, in this new age of saturation new coverage of wall-to-wall television programming, depth and sophistication are increasingly sacrificed for superficiality and sloganeering.

It's in this overall context that the “ethnic cleansing” terminology has been born in the Balkans. It's awful of course. But hardly more awful than the famines of Africa, the modern-day Black Plague of AIDS, the political cleansing of modern day China in the wake of the Tiananmen massacre, recent events in El Salvador or the suffering inflicted both from within and without on the Iraqi people.

Indeed today's tribal battling in the Balkans is nowhere near the scale of bestiality suffered in

of August, Bowen remains at CNI, his departure delayed a bit by an agreement to smooth over the potentially explosive controversy and to try to keep the whole mess out of the public eye. The real big problem for CNI though, in addition to trying to find someone suitable and willing to take over from Bowen, is finding a mission for CNI other than Israel bashing.

It seems the only thing the Council on the “National Interest” stands for is opposing loan guarantees to Israel. At the moment, other than still opposing the loan guarantees yet backing George Bush's reelection CNI has no serious strategy for making real — as opposed to mythical — inroads on the power and influence of the Israeli-Jewish lobby for which it provides hardly a counterpoint. Indeed, in many ways the Israeli-Jewish lobby is today more in charge here in Washington than when CNI launched itself a couple of years ago.

Anyway as soon as someone can be found willing to step in Bowen will be gone — as quietly as possible — with public smiles and handshakes masquerading the chaos and ineptitude that pervade the little clubby world of CNI.

recent years by the Cambodians, a genocide the world hardly noticed until the killing fields were unearthed and popularised after the fact

Furthermore, one of recent histories most covered-up and rationalised-away examples of “ethnic cleansing” is actually the responsibility of America's most important foreign ally and in some ways continues even today. Yet those who did it are today befriended, even lionised, by the very same Western powers who so loudly busy themselves condemning the Serbs and threatening war crimes tribunals.

For what in fact has been going on in Palestine most of this century if not an attempt by the Jewish “race” to cleans itself of the Arab “inhabitants”, pushing them out whenever possible or segregating them into their own areas if they attempt to hold on to their patrimony.

Just think back a bit. There was no American intervention after Deir Yassin in 1948, or after the expulsion of the Palestinians in 1967. And what took place after the 1983 Sabra and Shatilla massacre was but a thinly veiled excuse to intervene on behalf of Israel the perpetrator.

True enough, what the Serbs are doing to their neighbours is awful. True enough, this “ethnic cleansing” is hideous, should be condemned, should be stopped.

But at the same time we should be fully aware that “ethnic cleansing” didn't just start in the Balkans and there are past cases of much the same thing — and in some cases much worse — that still need to be addressed and resolved: with the case of the Palestinians at the top of the list.

For if today's Serb attempts to use brutal military might and ethnic-religious purity concepts is so terrible, so was yesterday's. If the Croats and Bosnians are deserving of our help and intervention, and they are, so are those who have suffered the same fate in decades past before the age of instant communications and linguistic discoveries.

We should be fully aware that ‘ethnic cleansing’ didn't just start in the Balkans and there are past cases that still need to be addressed and resolved: with the case of the Palestinians at the top of the list