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A N N I V E R S A R Y
1941 - 1991

JPRS Report

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Near East & South Asia

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NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
SPRINGFIELD, VA 22161

Near East & South Asia

INDIA

JPRS-NEA-91-069

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3 October 1991

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International

Correspondent Notes 'Pro-India' Mood in U.S.

91AS1539A Bombay THE SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA
in English 18 Aug 91 pp 1, 5

[Article by K.T.R. Menon]

[Text] New Delhi, 17 August: A new mood conducive to more friendly relations and greater understanding of the nation's economic and other problems is clearly emerging in the United States, according to Mr. Abid Hussain, India's ambassador in Washington.

Mr. Hussain, who is here for consultations with leaders of the government, noted that there were many positive elements in the relations between the two countries, as reflected in Washington's stance on Kashmir and many other issues.

"The Bush administration has indeed unfolded a policy of growing friendship with India. Even in the critical hours of the Gulf war, they did not give up (the practice of) seeking aid and assistance from India, for they knew that India most often represented the voice of conscience," he said in an interview. Washington might not have liked New Delhi's stance on some issues but never condemned it as one belonging to the "hostile camp."

Referring to the refuelling controversy during the war, Mr. Hussain said that contrary to the expectations in some quarters there was no open expression of resentment by the Bush administration because it appreciated the fact that India, with its policy of non-alignment and a big Muslim population, was under severe compulsions.

As for Kashmir, the United States "has come much closer to the Indian point of view than one would have expected. It has clearly stated that the plebiscite proposal has been overtaken by time and the intervening events and that the matter should be settled within the parameters of the Shimla agreement," the ambassador said. Similarly, on the question of militancy and terrorism, he said, "It has given no quarter to some of the forces which are causing problems of law and order in certain parts of the country."

Mr. Hussain stated: "The stand on matters relating to trade, though not very welcome to us, show quite a bit of restraint. While the U.S. administration had come to the conclusion that some of India's actions did not conform to its rules and trade interests and named the country under 301, it has not taken any action against it so far."

On the question of offering India a supercomputer a helpful attitude was reflected.

The ambassador said the initiatives taken by the Narasimha Rao government to liberalise trade and revamp the economy, had been highly appreciated by the U.S. administration as well as Capitol Hill. He specifically referred to the positive statement made in this regard by

Senator Alan Craston and remarked: "Such an appreciation on the floor of the house is rarely done unless it is the expression of a new warmth in relationship."

Mr. Hussain, a former planning commission member, said: "Some people seem to believe that the present financial difficulties of India have created a feeling of disinterest of suspicion. This is superficially correct, because Americans take the view that a country's economy and its management are not the same thing."

He said while there were no basic points of misunderstanding on Indo-U.S. relations, there were certain issues on which Washington would like New Delhi to review its stand. There was, for example, the charge of human rights violations in Kashmir. The U.S. administration feels that India should allow an Amnesty International team to visit the border state since it has nothing to hide.

While the U.S. is appreciative of India's viewpoint on chemical weapons, it continues to press New Delhi to review its policy of keeping its options open in respect of nuclear arms.

Referring to U.S. Pakistan relations, Mr. Hussain said that in the past the U.S. gave assistance and priority to Pakistan in the context of its need to "encircle" the Soviet Union. "Now that the cold war has ended, I would say that a trend of diminishing returns has become evident in the relations. But it will be wrong for anybody to conclude that America has totally abandoned Pakistan. The intensity is reduced but intimacy continues."

On occasional outbursts against India at Capitol Hill, both by senators and congressmen, the ambassador noted that while they might be harsh in their criticism of some of the happenings in certain parts of the country and the way these are handled, it would be wrong to dub them "anti-India."

About the positive elements in the U.S. policy towards India, Mr. Hussain noted that the move to extend the Pressler amendment to India (it is applicable only to Pakistan now) did not get any consistent support in Capitol Hill.

In fact, the success that Pakistan achieved in the first round in the house of representatives was undone by the second debate on a similar issue, followed by a thumping victory for India in the senate. India was able to achieve such success despite the huge sums spent by Pakistan lobbyists and the support of their allies in the legislature and the executive.

Dubey for Resumption of Indo-Soviet Talks

91AS1546A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 28 Aug 91 p 3

[Italicized words as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 27 Aug (PTI)—The most important task in the conduct of Indo-Soviet bilateral relations

today is to resume the political level dialogue, the foreign secretary, Mr. Muchkund Dubey, has said.

In an interview to PTI-TV for a programme "Soviet Union—Changing Course," Mr. Dubey said some difficulties developing in relations between India and Soviet Union could not be solved at the technical level.

"In spite of the best intentions of the leaderships in the two countries and particularly the Soviet leadership there are difficulties developing in our relationship, difficulties which arise out of the very dynamics of internal Soviet situation and they are of a nature you cannot solve at the technical level, they require to be considered at a high political level," Mr. Dubey said.

He said India had been looking forward to the visit of the former Soviet foreign minister, Mr. Bessmertnykh towards the end of 1991. "We have to revive all invitations. So this is the first thing we have to pay attention to," he noted.

Asked to react to the internal changes in the Soviet Union, the foreign secretary chose to describe them as "the continuation of the process of *perestroika* and *glasnost*."

Mr. Dubey said recent events demonstrated that the Soviet society had "walked too far down the road of freedom of assertion of human rights, basically all aspects of *glasnost* and *perestroika* for them to reverse the course of action."

Elaborating on the depth of Indo-Soviet ties, Mr. Dubey said relations had always had a mutuality of interest to an extent which was not very widely known and the two countries shared universally accepted human values and principles of international morality and legality.

The people of the two countries had come very close together and a tremendous amount of feeling and goodwill existed for the Indians in the Soviet Union and vice versa, providing the elements that made for a durable relationship.

Responding to a question on the character of India's relations with the Soviet republics, many of which have proclaimed independence, Mr. Dubey said it was no coincidence that the Uzbekistan President was in India when important political developments took place in the Soviet Union.

Leftist Reaction to Soviet Coup, Recovery

Welcome From CPI-M

91AS1525A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 20 Aug 91 p 7

[Article by Seema Guha: "Left Hails Soviet Coup"]

[Text] New Delhi, 20 Aug—The CPM [Communist Party of India-Marxist] politburo member, Mr. Harkishan Singh Surjeet, greeted the ouster of the Soviet

president, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, as a positive development and hoped that the new leadership of the USSR would be in a position to reassert itself and take its rightful place in the community of nations.

The CPM leader was critical of Mr. Gorbachev for allowing the United States complete leverage in establishing a new unipolar world order, where American imperialism could go unchallenged. He pointed to what happened in Iraq and said that if the Soviet Union had continued to assert its influence, the people of that country would not have been subject to the inhuman suffering and deaths of thousands of its civilian population.

Mr. Surjeet said that the October revolution had been an inspiration and a hope for Third World leaders and many countries, including India, may not have won freedom from imperialist forces as easily without Soviet backing.

The CPM leader maintained that the reforms initiated by Mr. Gorbachev in the last three years had not brought about the desired results. The reality was while the old structure was giving way, forces were unleashed in the country with the connivance of the imperialists to destroy the entire system and would have resulted in total anarchy.

Mr. Surjeet said that the unity and integrity of the Soviet Union was threatened. If Mr. Gorbachev had been allowed to sign the union treaty, by which the various republics in the country would have been given unlimited powers, as well as the right to secede, the USSR in its present form may have been completely destroyed.

The CPM leader hoped that the new Soviet leadership would be in a position to halt the present drift in the country and keep intact the gains of the October revolution.

There was a general air of jubilation in the generally sad CPM office at Ashoka Road yesterday. There were smiles all around as the Indian left heaved a sigh of relief as news of Mr. Gorbachev's ouster came in.

The party spokesman, Mr. Prakash Karat, was avidly listening to Radio Moscow, while his colleague, Mr. Sitaram Yechuri, was attempting to record the statements made by the new leadership, which was being hourly broadcast.

The CPM, which since the recent events in eastern Europe and the turmoil in the Soviet Union, had maintained that it was not affected by what happened to the international communist movement, broke their habitual indifference.

Mr. Surjeet, while commenting that the revolutionary government of Mr. Fidel Castro in Cuba, which was being threatened by the United States could now relax.

He pointed out that not only India, but all the developing countries, would be adversely affected if the USSR

disintegrated. He added that the Soviet Union had been a tower of strength for Third World countries and had consistently opposed American designs on the developing countries.

He felt that after the Gulf war, as the United States and its allies were busy exerting their hegemony over the world, the Soviet Union had a pivotal role to arrest the imperialist threat.

While welcoming the changes in the Soviet Union, the CPM realizes that the new government will have to face a difficult situation in the coming months. The anti-communist forces that have been unleashed in the country would not give up without a fight. The CPM was watching developments in the Soviet Union closely, hoping that the present leadership could retain its hold over the country.

The CPM, however, is quick to admit that reforms were necessary, and mistakes had been made in the past. These needed to be corrected. But reforms were required to strengthen and not to undermine socialism. The CPM has taken care not to criticise Mr. Gorbachev, saying that the former president never denied the socialist option. However, he was not the right man to guide the USSR at this critical juncture in its history.

The CPM feels that those who believed in the gains of the October revolution could not step aside to allow Mr. Gorbachev to sign the union treaty. It would go against the express wish of the people of that country, who in a referendum a few months ago, had overwhelmingly voted for preserving the country's unity.

Contrary to what the CPM leaders had been maintaining in public, the party had lost its moorings with the collapse of the international communist movement. The Indian left is now rejoicing and is hoping that the old order is restored.

Initial CPI Reaction

91AS1525B Madras INDIAN EXPRESS in English
20 Aug 91 p 9

[Italicized words as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 19 Aug (Express News Service)—The ouster of Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev is being greeted by the Indian communists with unconcealed glee, though they say, cautiously of course, that details of the developments in the Soviet Union are not yet known. The CPM [Communist Party of India-Marxist] promptly put out a cryptic statement but the CPI [Communist Party of India] chose to defer its reaction to Tuesday. The CPI secretariat will meet before that to consider the nature and the ideological implications of the changes taking place in the Soviet Union.

After taking note of the "major political developments" in the USSR and quoting the declaration of the new leadership, the CPM politburo expressed the hope that that country would be able to overcome the present

crisis, defend its unity and integrity and continue to advance on the path of socialism. As it happened, the politburo's two-day session to take stock of the changes unleashed by Mr. Gorbachev, among other things, had ended on Sunday just a few hours before a new leadership rose to power there.

CPM spokesperson H.K. Surjeet said, while talking to reporters, that whatever had happened in the Soviet Union now seemed inevitable. True, certain distortions had developed in the course of the advance towards socialism after the October Revolution but Mr. Gorbachev's reforms looked like abolishing the very basis of Marxism-Leninism. With the present development, he felt, the move to turn the CPSU into a social democratic party would be dropped.

Mr. Surjeet suspected that certain foreign powers had been active in helping Mr. Gorbachev's reforms which were in effect going to replace communism by capitalism. It was significant, he said, that Mr. Gorbachev's closest colleagues who were staunch votaries of reform turned away from him in recent days.

Era of Stalinism

He had no fears that the Soviet Union would now revert to the era of Stalinism. Mr. Surjeet expected that the new leadership would be able to correct the distortions without repression and resort to Stalinist techniques. The Soviet Union, he was sure, would hold together and march towards socialism with renewed determination.

Mr. Surjeet was critical of the Government of India for concluding an accord with Uzbekistan even before a treaty giving each Soviet republic the power to enter into agreement with other countries independently was signed in the USSR. The CPM leader said that that treaty might not be signed now and India had great embarrassment in store.

The CPM had welcomed the inauguration of *glasnost* and *perestroika* at one stage but it soon began to take a critical view of what followed. The gradual decision to omit imperialism from the list of evils to be fought by the communists the world over had been noticed by the CPM leadership some time ago. The politburo which met on Saturday and Monday was also to consider the extremely embarrassing move of Mr. Gorbachev to convert the CPSU into a social democratic party.

The CPM leadership was careful not to put out a statement hailing the agreement on arms reduction signed by Mr. Gorbachev and American President George Bush. While it welcomed the decision to reduce the levels of armament on the whole, it suspected that Mr. Gorbachev was abjectly capitulating before Mr. Bush. The reduction agreed to by Mr. Gorbachev was much more than what Mr. Bush was ready to effect.

For obvious reasons, it will not be as easy for the CPI leadership to come out with an uninhibited welcome for the change that has taken place in the Soviet Union.

After it first formulated its view on the new era of *glasnost* some years ago, there emerged two strands of views and the national council was not in a position to codify its opinion in an unambiguous manner for quite some time.

It is significant that one of its leaders, Mr. N.E. Balaram, who is heading the commission set up to draft a new constitution for the party in keeping with the changes taking place all around, told this reporter only the other day that the Soviet Union under Mr. Gorbachev was well set on its way to socialism. If it was so, it cannot be so now under a leadership which chose to put Mr. Gorbachev away.

But the general line of thinking in the top echelons of the CPI after the disclosure of the ouster of Mr. Gorbachev is that it should be welcomed. A top CPI leader pointed out that the new leadership had made it clear that it was not against reforms as such but against the distortions introduced in the system in the course of implementing those reforms. But it would be better, he felt, to react to the situation after ascertaining what had happened. The CPI secretariat has been summoned on Tuesday to discuss this subject exclusively.

'Virtual Coup'

Mr. L.K. Advani (Bharatiya Janata Party), leader of the opposition, on Monday, said the changes in the Soviet Union would give a setback to detente that had come about more specifically since the recent signing of the "START" between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Talking to reporters here, Mr. Advani said the reports from Moscow were "extremely disquieting" and that "a major political transformation" had taken place in the Soviet Union which amounted to a "virtual coup."

He said the changes in the Soviet Union were "bound to affect global politics." He said it was not known how these developments would affect Indo-USSR relations.

He expressed the hope that the government must have contacted the Indian Embassy in Moscow and the Soviet Union Embassy here.

He urged the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, to make a statement in Parliament and take the House and the people into confidence "about what is our evaluation of these developments." The government should evaluate the situation in that country and its effects on the Indo-Soviet treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation which had been recently extended by another 20 years, he said.

Namboodiripad Statement

91AS1525C New Delhi PATRIOT in English 21 Aug 91 p 6

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Trivandrum, 20 Aug (UNI)—Communist Party of India (Marxist) [CPI-M] general secretary E.M.S.

Namboodiripad today said the Soviet Union was moving towards 'civil war' and the American imperialists were abetting it to transform it into 'crusade' against socialism.

In a statement here, he said this was clear from the unsolicited support declared by the United States, Britain and the imperialist pacts, including NATO, to Mr. Yeltsin who pledged to bring back Mr. Gorbachev.

He said Mr. Bush and company were 'utilising' Mr. Yeltsin to wreck the Soviet Union, a target which they failed to hit through the 'civil war' in the wake of the October revolution, the Second World War and the Truman and Reagan-aided plans.

If they succeeded in their plans, the Soviet Union would become defunct marking a bigger blow to world socialism than that it inflicted in East Europe 19 months ago, he said.

He said they tried the same machinations in China two years ago. But failed. The present attempt to 'incite a civil war' in the Soviet Union was a continuation of their nefarious attempt.

He hoped that the working class and the revolutionaries the world over would defeat it and save the Soviet Union and the world socialist movement.

CPI-M on Yeltsin

91AS1525D Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 26 Aug 91 p 12

[Text] New Delhi, 25 Aug (The Times of India News Service)—The CPM [Communist Party of India-Marxist] yesterday accused the President of the Russian republic, Mr. Boris Yeltsin, of joining hands with imperialist forces to dismantle the Soviet Union.

It condemned the "anti-Communist witchhunt," unleashed by Mr. Yeltsin and his supporters. "The offices of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Moscow, including the central committee office, have been seized. The party has been banned from operating its offices in workplaces and security units in the Russian republic. It has been made illegal in Lithuania and Latvia. Alarming reports have also come in of the takeover of party offices, newspapers and property from other parts of the country."

The CPM feels that the desecration and removal of the statue of Felix Dzerzhinsky, a respected Bolshevik leader and colleague of Lenin, was symbolic of the reactionary offensive let loose by Mr. Yeltsin and his colleagues. These undemocratic and illegal acts are being enacted by those who are ostensibly championing democracy and the constitution. According to the CPM, they stand fully exposed.

The party feels that the concerted attack on the CPSU is part of a wider plan by counterrevolutionaries, backed by imperialist forces, to undermine the socialist system and break up the Soviet Union. Taking advantage of the turmoil at the Centre, the Baltic republics have declared independence.

The CPM was apprehensive of exactly such developments. Any serious setback in the Soviet Union would have direct and adverse repercussions not only for the Soviet cause, but on Third World countries and national liberation movements throughout the world.

The CPM stood with those forces who are for the unity and integrity of the Soviet Union, and the historic gains of seven decades of socialist revolution, while continuing the reforms essential for socialist renewal.

CPI-M 'Humble Pie'

91AS1525E Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 24 Aug 91 p 7

[Article by V.R. Mani: "CPM Eats Humble Pie as Soviet Coup Fails"; italicized words as published]

[Text] Thiruvananthapuram, 23 Aug (The Times of India News Service)—After raising three cheers for the "gang of eight" which tried to usurp the Moscow regime after ousting the constitutionally-elected President, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, the CPM [Communist Party of India-Marxist] is all embarrassment now with the putsh coming to nought.

Quite uncharacteristically, within hours of the attempted coup the Marxist leaders in the state came out totally in support of the communist hardliners who were in the forefront of the farce that it has turned out to be.

The state secretary of the party, Mr. V.S. Achuthanandan, sought to give the impression that Mr. Gorbachev deserved it for trying to trifle with Marxism-Leninism, for kowtowing before the imperialist forces.

The emergency imposed in parts of the Soviet Union was also justified along with the unconstitutionality of the removal of Mr. Gorbachev. After all, Mr. Gennady Yanayev (the vice-president who replaced Mr. Gorbachev), was also elected by the party, Mr. Achuthanandan argued. The CPM general secretary, Mr. E.M.S. Namboodiripad, wondered why the newspaper editors in India and the U.S. President, Mr. George Bush, had not called the removal of communist governments in Eastern Europe recently as unconstitutional.

The Marxist organ, DESHABHIMANI was full of stories trying to portray Mr. Gorbachev as a renegade out to liquidate the Soviet Union and give up Marxism-Leninism. At the same time, the now disgraced Mr. Yanayev was a person rooted deeply in communism. On the second day after the coup the paper triumphantly declared that the new set-up in Moscow was becoming strong.

When the gang of eight was finally vanquished by sheer people's power, the state leadership of the CPM did not feel any remorse in having supported a possible return to dictatorship. Mr. Achuthanandan said, "It is a big loss to socialism."

One of the possible reasons for backing the hardliners was perhaps the hope that the Soviet Union would return to the pre-Gorbachevian era and with that there would be no taunting from its detractors that communism had no hope after having failed in its bastion.

It is precisely this attitude of backing the wrong horse that has given the opposition a strong talking point much to the embarrassment of the Marxists. It is also quite possible that the party leadership at the national and state levels will have to do a lot of explaining at its 14th congress in Madras in January next for its haste in backing the communist hardliners.

This was exactly what the state Congress president, Mr. A.K. Antony, was trying to do—sow the seeds of dissent in the Marxist camp. The CPM is the only party in the world to have supported the coup aimed at taking the Soviet Union back to the Stalinist dictatorship. This showed that the party was still anti-democratic and fascist. Thus, it was time the enlightened sections in the CPM reacted to this attitude of the party leadership, he said.

The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] state president, Mr. K. Raman Pillai, has contended that the Marxists have shown that they were the enemies of democracy and freedom and worshippers of Stalinism.

The Indian Union Muslim League has termed the Marxist support to the "gang of eight" as ridiculous. It reflected the ideological confusion that the party was facing.

This is not the first time that the Marxists have given the feeling that when it came to choosing between democracy and dictatorship it would perhaps choose the latter. For, in June 1989 when the pro-democracy demonstrators were crushed by Chinese tanks at the Tiananmen Square, the Marxists were all condemnation for the students who were branded counterrevolutionaries.

It is this attitude of clamouring to be for the people and democracy and giving the impression of doing quite the opposite when the crunch comes that is possibly going to be questioned now.

It is not only the anti-Marxists who will prove to be an embarrassment to the CPM. For, even some leaders of the CPI [Communist Party of India], its electoral ally, had come out against the Stalinist putsch. The differences in perception between the two major partners of the Left Democratic Front on the issue has the potential to estrange them further.

Another partner of the Left Front, the Janata Dal, is also likely to be piqued at the attitude of the Marxists towards the Gorbachev regime, particularly its marching towards

the formation of a social democratic party. The Janata Dal leaders in the state are essentially social democrats.

Bengal Gloom

(TOINS from Calcutta)—The CPM West Bengal leadership is deeply embarrassed over the incredibly speedy collapse of the hard-liner-staged coup in the Soviet Union.

The jubilation, very evident on 19 August because orthodoxy had at long last been restored in the Soviet Union, which would lead to an end to the confusion and turmoil characteristic of the *glasnost-perestroyka* policies, has given way to gloom in the state committee's office.

Veteran CPM leaders said "the counterrevolution has succeeded" implying that Mr. Yanayev was on the side of the orthodox Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist revolution, whereas Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Boris Yeltsin were the counterrevolutionary forces.

Younger CPM members said with considerable embarrassment that the CPI's line, that the events in the Soviet Union were an internal matter, appeared to have been more correct than their own. There were sniggers over the long and impassioned support of the Yanayev regime by the former state minister, Dr. Ashok Mitra, in an English daily published from Calcutta.

Dr. Mitra was the CPM's nominee for the Chowringhee assembly constituency this year, pitted against Mr. Sidhartha Shankar Ray, former Congress chief minister.

The biggest faux pas, however, was in the CPM's daily GANASHAKTI. In a four-column anchor spread, GANASHAKTI has joined issue with the "disinformation campaign" of the western media, in particularly the Voice of America. The contention seems to be that disinformation was based on reports emanating from the Yeltsin camp.

More on Communist Reaction

91AS1525F Madras THE HINDU in English
23 Aug 91 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, 22 Aug—The "guns" at 14, Ashok Road, headquarters of the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist], have been silent since the collapse of the short-lived coup in the Soviet Union exposing what observers here see as its increasing vulnerability in a climate bereft of ideological certainties.

Even more than 24 hours after Mr. Gannady Yanayev and his comrades called it a day, there has been no comment from the party with its leaders evading the issue saying that they are waiting for more "detailed information." This is in sharp contrast to its reaction to the ouster of Mr. Gorbachev on Monday. On that occasion, although the information was almost as sketchy—in fact more confusing—the CPI(M) was quick to hail the coup describing it as a "positive" development.

The senior politburo member Mr. Harkishan Singh Surjeet was ecstatic as he justified the coup saying that it was a "natural" corollary to the policies pursued by Mr. Gorbachev. Speaking with the authority of a man who had first-hand knowledge of the events in Moscow, Mr. Surjeet claimed that the coup had the support of the people, and had not been imposed from above as the men behind it were party leaders who had been involved with the reforms initiated by Mr. Gorbachev.

Not Bothered About Legitimacy

The CPI(M) leaders were not bothered about the legitimacy or the constitutionality of the coup, and when a reporter asked if Mr. Gorbachev ought to be put on trial, they said: "What trial? He is already on trial." They were dead certain that the Central Committee, which was due to meet later in the day, would legitimise all that had been done by the State Emergency Committee. In Thiruvananthapuram, the party general secretary, Mr. E.M.S. Namboodiripad was tilting against the West accusing it of using Mr. Yeltsin, who had by then become the rallying point against the coup leaders, to unleash civil war in the Soviet Union.

In the event, the Central Committee failed to materialise and one by one members of the State Emergency Committee began to develop cold feet, some fell "sick," and some simply gave up. Mr. Yeltsin, on the other hand, managed to mobilise support so swiftly that the "hard-liners" crumbled like soft cookies. It seemed that "Gorby" had never gone.

Embarrassment

This was bitter stuff for the CPI(M) and until this evening it had not been quite able to gather its wits. In Parliament, the embarrassment of its members was palpable as the entire Lok Sabha rose as one man to greet the Soviet people on their "triumph." They maintained that they were committed to their "principles" and good luck to the people if they chose to bring Mr. Gorbachev back. For Mr. Saifuddin Chaudhury said nothing could sustain against the will of the people.

The CPI(M) would have saved itself much humiliation if it had not so enthusiastically welcomed the coup, giving the impression that it understood the nature of the developments in Moscow and that the coup represented the will of the people. By its own standards, the party's response was uncharacteristically shrill; and in a sense even unbecoming of a party credited with sobriety and restraint. There was considerable speculation today about its implications for the CPI(M)'s relations with the CPSU.

CPI in a Better Light

The CPI, for once, was closer to the mark. Its reaction was considerably restrained. It opposed any change through a military-backed coup and made it clear that the party did "not wish to pass judgments on the Moscow events which are complicated and still far from

clear." Subsequent events have shown the CPI in a better light than its more doctrinaire comrades at Ashoka Road.

The CPI's reaction to the failure of the coup has also been more unambiguous. It has welcomed the "restoration of the legally elected President to power" and said the collapse of the coup attempted by "extra-constitutional methods" would be acclaimed by all. The party in a statement said it had already clearly indicated that it did not approve of the changes in the power structure brought about by a "military-backed coup." "We therefore warmly welcome Comrade Gorbachev back from the ordeal to which he had been subjected."

That the CPI(M) slipped badly is admitted by its own sympathisers, and there is a feeling that Mr. Surjeet has much to answer for speaking out of turn.

Communists Attack 'Witchhunt'

91AS1525G Madras *THE HINDU* in English
25 Aug 91 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, 24 Aug—The two communist parties have reacted with anger to what they have called the "anti-communist witchhunt" in the Soviet Union.

In separate statements here today, they condemned the ban on the communist party in several republics including Russia, closure of party newspapers and seizure of its property. Both have come down heavily on Mr. Boris Yeltsin, who has become virtually the power behind the throne, and said that he is being propped up by "imperialist" forces.

The CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] said that the "concerted attack on the CPSU is part of the wider plan by counterrevolutionary forces backed by imperialism to undermine the socialist system and break up the Soviet Union." It accused the post-coup regime of resorting to undemocratic and illegal acts "and said that the people who were ostensibly championing democracy and the Constitution "stand fully exposed now." The party criticised the dismantling of the statue of Felix Dzerzhinsky, a prominent Bolshevik leader and a colleague of Lenin.

CPI(M) Warning

It said it was apprehensive precisely of such developments. It warned of serious repercussions not only for the socialist cause but also for the Third World and national liberation movements if these developments were not checked. It affirmed support to the forces who wished to defend the unity and integrity of the Soviet Union while continuing the reforms essential for socialist renewal.

The CPI accused Mr. Yeltsin of taking advantage of the situation created by the "adventurist" coup attempt to impose his personal dictatorship on the Russian and the Soviet people. "All his claims of defending democracy stand exposed," a statement issued by the party's central

secretariat said demanding restoration of democratic rights and lifting of the ban on the Russian communist party, PRAVDA and other party journals.

Politicians React to Soviet Coup Failure

Rao Messages

91AS1523A Madras *THE HINDU* in English
23 Aug 91 p 9

[Article by K.K. Katyal: "PM's Messages to Gorbachev, Yeltsin"]

[Text] New Delhi, 22 Aug—In extremely warm messages to the Soviet President, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev and the Russian Republic's leader, Mr. Boris Yeltsin, today, the Prime Minister [PM], Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, expressed relief and happiness at the end of the 72-hour ordeal of the Soviet people.

The message to Mr. Gorbachev hailed his safe return, saying that the people and the Government of India were highly pleased with the latest turn of events in the Soviet Union. There had been considerable anxiety in India, according to Mr. Rao, at the developments three days ago (when the power of the President was sought to be eroded and state of emergency declared), but the restoration of the constitutional authority showed the maturity of the Soviet people and the validity and strength of perestroika and glasnost—the concepts India had consistently supported.

Then followed a reference to the abiding character of the Indo-Soviet friendship, to the manner in which it had been put on a more enduring basis under Mr. Gorbachev's leadership and to the way the relations between the two countries acquired a qualitatively new line. The recent extension of the Indo-Soviet Treaty was seen as testifying to this.

Admiration for Yeltsin

The message to Mr. Yeltsin spoke of the admiration of his role in the defence of the constitutional power and democracy in the USSR and in providing courageous leadership to the Soviet people in a period of crisis. It expressed India's confidence that the Soviet Union would emerge as a strong, vibrant and dynamic democracy.

The warmth of today's messages contrasted with New Delhi's conduct in choosing not to respond to the letter received from the coup leader and the Vice-President, Mr. Gennady Yanayev, a day after he seized power. Mr. Yanayev had defended his action, saying that there was no alternative to resorting to strong measures in view of the social and economic crisis and the country's march towards disintegration. The measures taken by him and his colleagues were temporary, solely designed to restore stability, he said, promising that the reforms initiated by Mr. Gorbachev would be continued and there would be no change in the mixed economy, democratic processes

and glasnost. It spoke of his regime's resolve to have friendly relations with other countries on the basis of equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs and to abide by international commitments. He reaffirmed his faith in Indo-Soviet friendship, regarded as a matter of great importance.

Text of Message

The following is the text of the message to Mr. Gorbachev: "It is a matter of great satisfaction personally to me and to the Government and the people of India that the ordeal which the Soviet people underwent during the last 72 hours is now over. We are particularly relieved and happy to learn of your and your family's physical well-being and safe return to Moscow.

"Your Excellency is aware of the keen interest which India has always shown in the success of perestroika in the USSR and the strengthening of the Soviet Union as a world power. The events which unfolded on the morning of 19 August in your country caused great anxiety and concern to my Government. The final denouement has demonstrated the maturity of the people of the Soviet Union and the essential validity and strength of the spirit of perestroika and glasnost initiated by you, and ultimately, the triumph of the will of the great Soviet people.

"Our relations with the Soviet Union have been deep, abiding and time-tested. Under your leadership these relations have been put on an even more enduring basis and have acquired a qualitatively new character. The recent extension of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation reflects the resolve of the people of both the countries to continue and develop our multi-faceted and friendly ties.

"I send you, Mr. President, my best wishes for your good health, happiness and success in the tasks ahead of you and for the peace and prosperity of the friendly people of the Soviet Union."

The message to Mr. Yeltsin is as follows: "The Government and people of India have watched with admiration the significant role you have played in the past days, in the defence of constitutional principles and democracy in the Soviet Union. As the elected President of the great Russian Republic, you provided determined leadership to the Soviet people in their courageous defence of the fruits of glasnost and perestroika. We are extremely relieved to learn that President Gorbachev is back in Moscow and the situation throughout the country is returning to normal.

"The people of India and the Soviet people, including the people of the Russian Republic, enjoy a relationship of mutual trust and friendship. We are convinced that the Soviet Union will emerge as a strong, vibrant and dynamic country within a restructured Union, and play the role destined for it in world affairs.

"Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration."

Gorbachev Message to Rao

91AS1523B Madras *THE HINDU* in English

28 Aug 91 p 1

[Article by K.K. Katyal: "Gorbachev Writes to Prime Minister"]

[Text] New Delhi, 27 Aug—The Soviet President, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, has written to the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, formally informing him of the collapse of the coup. The constitutional order has been restored, Mr. Gorbachev's letter says. All the decrees issued by the organisers of the shortlived coup have been annulled, according to the Soviet leader.

Mr. Gorbachev's communication to Mr. Narasimha Rao is significant, and should reassure those who feared a setback to bilateral equations because of New Delhi's hesitant response to the overthrow of Mr. Gorbachev and imposition of the state of emergency by the now incarcerated coup leaders.

In a statement to the Lok Sabha after the coup, the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Madhavsinh Solanki, had briefly mentioned the takeover by the Soviet Vice-President, Mr. Gennedy Yanayev, apart from saying that India was closely monitoring the situation. And soon after Mr. Gorbachev's return to power with the failure of the coup, Mr. Rao sent a warm message to him to the effect that the restoration of the constitutional authority showed the maturity of the Soviet people and the validity and strength of perestroika and glasnost. An equally warm message had gone out to the Russian President, Mr. Boris Yeltsin.

The Government appears to prefer a wait-and-see policy in regard to the three Baltic republics, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, now on the verge of independence. Some months ago, New Delhi received a letter from the "foreign minister" of Lithuania, seeking recognition by India. It was not acknowledged because of India's commitment to supporting the unity and integrity of the Soviet Union. The situation is now fast changing.

A despatch from the Soviet news agency, Novosti, released here today, describes how the fragility of the Soviet system helped the coup leaders.

"The coup attempt made by a group of political adventurers led by Yanayev," it said, "has shown how fragile the legal structure is in the USSR. For two days, when a dictatorship of the reactionary wing of the party and state apparatus tried to establish itself, the entire mechanism of the not fully destroyed totalitarian system effectively worked for the putschists.

"The statement by the Chairman of the Federal Parliament, Lukyanov, released simultaneously with a hypocritical message to the people from the organisers of the

coup, and the statement by the Constitutional Compliance Committee sounded almost like a blessing for the anti-constitutional action of Yanayev and Co. The highest body of state authority—the USSR Supreme Soviet—was approvingly silent, and so was the CPSU, the backbone of the totalitarian system. The state machinery of disinformation again began to function unflinchingly. The television and broadcasting corporation and news agencies obsequiously served the conspirators.

Only toward the end of the third day, when it became clear that the military coup had failed, did statesmen recall the constitution and laws. Recovering their spirits, they reminded the public of themselves.

Lok Sabha 22 Aug Discussion

92AS1523C Madras THE HINDU in English
23 Aug 91 p 6

[Text] New Delhi, 22 Aug—There were many red faces on the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] benches as an ecstatic Lok Sabha today greeted the return of the Soviet leader, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, to power.

Members of the CPI(M), which on Tuesday welcomed his fall, were clearly embarrassed as the entire House hailed the "triumph" of the Soviet people; and the party leader, Mr. Somnath Chatterjee, reacted sharply when Mr. Jaswant Singh of the Bharatiya Janata Party sought to have a dig at "our CPI(M) friends."

An agitated Mr. Chatterjee interrupted Mr. Singh and said he was "spoiling" the atmosphere. "We have our commitments, our principles." While Mr. Singh was talking so enthusiastically about the democratic rights of the Soviet people, his party was doing something else at home.

As tension seemed to build up, the Janata Dal leader, Mr. Chandrajit Yadav, appealed to the members not to divide the House on party lines. The Speaker, Mr. Shivraj Patil, also urged the members to be "very very careful," and express their opinions in such a way as not to touch off controversies. Several times during the discussion, raised by Mr. Manoranjan Bhakta (Congress-I) during zero hour, the Speaker intervened to emphasise the "delicacy" of the issue.

Govt Response "Blinkered"

Amid sharp criticism of what Mr. Jaswant Singh called the "blinkered" response of the Government to the developments in the Soviet Union, the leader of the House, Mr. Arjun Singh, clarified that there was no dithering on its part and what had been construed as silence was simply "diplomatic reticence." He "rejoiced" at the fact that the people of the Soviet Union had once again established their hegemony over their affairs.

Associating his party and the Government with the "triumph" of the Soviet people and return of Mr. Gorbachev, Mr. Singh said Indo-Soviet friendship had never

been a matter of "expediency" or "convenience." It had "forged ahead in the crucible of time" and was a shield against threat to peace and democracy. In an apparent reference to the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], he said though there were people who "in their logic" thought that India had gone too far in its relations with the Soviet Union, the policy of friendship had a wide support from all quarters.

Earlier, Mr. Jaswant Singh hailed the defeat of the "undemocratic coup" and restoration of the sovereignty of the Soviet Parliament. He said his party greeted the moral and physical courage shown by the people, who, under the leadership of the Russian President, Mr. Boris Yeltsin, resisted the coup. He took exception to the "unnecessarily homilies" from the Prime Minister, who had been quoted as saying that reformers should be cautious. He described the Indian Government's response as one of "blinkered timidity and ineptitude."

The BJP leader also criticised the reported statement by the Indian Ambassador in the Soviet Union that Mr. Gorbachev had brought about the disintegration of the party and perhaps the new man (Mr. Yanayev) would rebuild it. He wanted the Government to make "amends" if the report was correct, or clarify it if it was not correct. Mr. Arjun Singh said he could react only after ascertaining the facts because the statement did not quote the Ambassador directly.

The Janata Dal leader, Mr. George Fernandes, was furious over the Government's stand on the developments and said because of this "our heads hang in shame before the people of the Soviet Union." Mr. Gorbachev was a democratically-elected leader and it was the duty of the Indian Government to have stood by him.

There was an attempt by some BJP members to heckle Mr. Saifuddin Chaudhury (CPI-M) when he rose to speak but they were restrained by their leaders. Mr. Chaudhury, in a brief intervention, said "nothing can sustain against the will of the people." It was good that no blood had been shed. His party would like to see the Soviet people gain in strength.

Mr. Loknath Chaudhury (CPI), while describing it as a "momentous" event, said the fact remained that what had happened in the Soviet Union was its "internal affair"—a point also made by Mr. Chitta Basu (Forward Bloc). Both opposed outside intervention in the internal affairs of another country. From the Congress(I) benches, Mr. Buta Singh wanted the Speaker to move a resolution congratulating the people of the Soviet Union. The Speaker said he would discuss the matter with party leaders later.

Dig at Cong-I

PTI and UNI report:

Mr. Fernandes, in an obvious dig at the treasury benches, said what happened in the Soviet Union was

possible because it had no "darban" (court) culture in which people could accept without demurring any change in the leadership.

The events there proved that ultimately it was the people who triumphed and not the coterie.

Mrs. Geeta Mukherji and Mr. Loknath Chaudhary (CPI) termed the developments as "epoch-making," but condemned the "interference" by the United States in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union.

On the reported observation by the Indian Ambassador on which several members expressed concern, Mr. Arjun Singh said he would request the External Affairs Minister to ascertain the facts from him and come before the House.

Lok Sabha 23 Aug Discussion

91AS1523D Madras THE HINDU in English
24 Aug 91 p 6

[Article by K.K. Katyal: "Soviets Hailed for Faith in Democracy"]

[Text] New Delhi, 23 Aug—Amidst scenes marked by euphoria and unanimity, the Lok Sabha today hailed restoration of the constitutional and democratic authority in the Soviet Union. Paying handsome tributes to the Soviet President, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, members wished him all glory, peace and prosperity.

A resolution read out by the Speaker, Mr. Shivraj Patil, said "the people, Parliament and the authority in India" rejoice at Mr. Gorbachev's return to presidency. It was adopted enthusiastically.

The suggestion that the House felicitate the Soviet leadership came from Mr. L.K. Advani, leader of the Opposition, after the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Madhavsinh Solanki, made a statement, welcoming the "reassertion of democratic values and triumph of the policy" to which "we ourselves are deeply committed." It was backed by Mr. Chadrajit Yadav (Janata Dal), Mr. Somnath Chatterji (CPI-M [Communist Party of India-Marxist]) and Mrs. Geeta Mukherji (CPI).

Summing up the sentiments of the members Mr. Patil congratulated Mr. Gorbachev, Parliament and people of the USSR "on their faith in their principles and democracy and on seeing the triumph of their principles and democracy in their country." And to emphasise the unanimity, he said: "The members in the House are of these views" and would like these to be conveyed to the USSR.

Envoy Denies Remarks

In the course of speeches, there were references to the alleged remarks of the Indian Ambassador in Moscow, Mr. Alfred Gonsalves, that Mr. Gorbachev had been instrumental in causing fissures in the Communist Party.

Mr. Solanki replied that he checked up with the Ambassador, who categorically denied the remarks attributed to him.

Mr. Solanki's statement contrasted sharply with the one, noted for its emptiness, made soon after the coup. After narrating the course of events, leading to the return of Mr. Gorbachev, he said: "What has happened in the Soviet Union is a reassertion of democratic values and triumph of the will of the people. These are the values to which we ourselves are deeply committed and on which our polity is based."

He reminded the House of the "unique role of Mr. Gorbachev in initiating the process of *glasnost* and *perestroika* and a vision of a world based on disarmament, peace and cooperation—a vision which we share and which has been reflected in the Delhi Declaration on Principles for a Nuclear Weapon-Free and Non-Violent World, signed by the former Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, and President Gorbachev on 27 November 1986."

"President Gorbachev," he said, "has also played a stellar role in adding new dimensions to the time-tested, warm and friendly Indo-Soviet relations based on mutual interest and trust. The Government of India is convinced that these relations will grow from strength to strength."

Meeting With Soviet Envoy

91AS1523E Madras THE HINDU in English
24 Aug 91 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, 23 Aug—Soviet Ambassador to India, Mr. V. Isakov who called on the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao today said that the President, Mr. Gorbachev, has already called a meeting of the nine republics which had earlier rejected signing the draft union treaty. Apparently, the meeting has been called in the hope that the expected spurt in Mr. Gorbachev's popularity after the failure of the attempted coup would urge republics to show flexibility on the treaty proposals.

The Ambassador said that while slight postponement of the Union treaty was expected, the decision would be taken to "complete this process speedily."

During their talks the Soviet Ambassador informed the Prime Minister that Mr. Gorbachev was back in Moscow and was "fully in command of the situation."

Constitutional Order Restored

Referring to the speedy return to normality in his country, he said that constitutional order in the Soviet Union was being restored and "the State is functioning normally in all respects."

Mr. Isakov intimated that the Soviet troops which were on the streets to enforce the coup had been ordered back to the barracks.

Expressing his personal concern, the Prime Minister said that he was greatly relieved and happy that Mr. Gorbachev was back in Moscow and had resumed his official duties.

Conveying his goodwill towards changes in the Soviet Union, he said that in the coming years, he hoped that Mr. Gorbachev would have the opportunity to complete the tasks he had undertaken.

Expressing his desire to further consolidate Indo-Soviet ties, Mr. Rao said that much of the closeness, warmth and depth of relationship between India and the Soviet Union was linked to "the persons of Mr. Gorbachev on one side and the late Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi" on the other.

The Prime Minister said that his Government was committed to making the relationship "closer and deeper." This was in fact evident in the decision taken by both countries to extend the Indo-Soviet friendship treaty for another 20 years.

Praising Mr. Gorbachev, Mr. Rao said that his contributions to disarmament, peace and detente would not be forgotten.

Contents of Planned Indo-UK Pact Told

91AS1522A Madras *THE HINDU* in English
24 Aug 91 p 3

[Text] Madras, 23 Aug—India and the United Kingdom will sign very soon a "landmark agreement" enabling mutual confiscation of assets used for terrorism and drug trafficking, the British High Commissioner, Sir David Goodall, said here on Friday.

An official delegation from India was expected in London shortly for the final round of talks on the details of the agreement, which would be the first such accord between any two countries, Sir David told presspersons.

Replying to questions, the High Commissioner said Britain and India had common perceptions on the increasing menace of terrorism in modern life. It had been noticed that funds gathered for charity or refugee relief had been misused by Khalistanis or terrorists of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in Britain, which allowed organisations like these or the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] to operate information offices as long as they did not breach the laws of the country.

Besides, India was increasingly becoming a source of drug trafficking. The Drug Liaison Office of the UK in India had been coordinating its activities with the Narcotics Control Bureau of the Government of India. "The problem of drugs passing through India is becoming serious," he observed.

Deportation of Kittu

Sir David said the British Government had issued a deportation order on Mr. Krishnakumar (alias Kittu) of

the LTTE on the ground that his presence in the country was 'not conducive to public good.' Mr. Kittu's lawyers had sought 14 days' time to prefer an appeal. If the deportation order was upheld, he would have to leave for any country which was prepared to accept him or otherwise for his own country, viz, Sri Lanka. The deportation order had nothing to do with the Rajiv Gandhi assassination case.

There had so far been no request from the Government of India for extraditing Mr. Kittu, the High Commissioner said. In case India asked for extradition, it would have to produce evidence in court that he was guilty of offences warranting extradition.

Calls on Jayalalitha

The High Commissioner, who is here on a farewell visit before retiring from service, said he had called on the Chief Minister, Ms. Jayalalitha, and discussed with her the global political and economic situation, developments in the USSR and India's economic and investment needs. No specific projects were discussed, he said.

Sir David said many British companies like Northern Engineering Industries (NEI) and GEC were in a position to help increase power generation capacity in the private sector in different States but they could not go ahead because under the present policy of the Government of India, they were not sure of economic returns, and conditions regarding distribution of power generated, price and other details had not been settled to the satisfaction of potential investors. He said Tamil Nadu had the largest number of collaborations with British industry and this could increase once the outside world was satisfied with the implementation of the new policies the country had adopted.

Kashmir Issue

Sir David said the reported remarks of a British MP [member of Parliament] on the Jammu and Kashmir issue did not reflect the view of the British Government, which favoured a bilateral and peaceful settlement on the basis of the Shimla agreement. The MP, he said, had favoured a Commonwealth initiative on the dispute.

The High Commissioner said his tenure in India had shown that it would be very difficult for anyone to deprive India of its democratic structure and that democracy had become a part of the people's psyche. He was impressed with the way the country fulfilled the 'formidable task' of conducting elections with the electorate totalling 500 million, the unchallenged fairness of the electoral process and with the smooth change of power. In the realm of human rights, while the Indian Government's policy was commendable, its practice was 'not all that successful,' Sir David said.

Regional

SAARC Chairman Interviewed During Delhi Visit

91AS1543A Madras *THE HINDU* in English
23 Aug 91 p 8

[Boldface words as published]

[Text] It is no easy job to carry the torch of the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] from one capital to another—from Male to Colombo, for instance. The Maldives President, Mr. Abdul Maumoon Gayoom, Chairman of the South Asian grouping displays a good measure of zest now that he is engaged in precisely this task. Currently, he is visiting the SAARC capitals with suggestions for a substantive, purposeful role for it in the achievement of its objective—to promote the welfare of the people of the region through collective initiatives. It is an exciting spectacle—a tiny member nudging the giants into action.

In New Delhi earlier this week, Mr. Gayoom talked at length with Indian Government leaders on the problems before the SAARC, apart, of course, from issues of bilateral cooperation. He is clear about ways to strengthen the regional association. As he sees it, the SAARC will not be effective unless it takes up matters of trade and economic development. It's not an original idea: India mooted it at the very first summit of the SAARC—in Dhaka—but some others viewed it with suspicion, seeing in it a design to dominate the economy of the region to the detriment of local efforts. There is better realisation now that the SAARC's cooperative programmes need to be given an economic content for a meaningful advance. What is required is the political will that has been missing so far, to back up the effort. The SAARC may have its problems, some inherent constraints, but it cannot lose sight of the realities, both regional and local. Think of the other regional associations, the European Community or ASEAN, think of the primacy given to the economic matters, and the inadequacy of the SAARC will be clear.

Mr. Gayoom had to work hard to host the summit last year. Sri Lanka which had skipped its turn in 1989 (on the plea that it could not organise a major international meet with "foreign troops," the Indian Peace Keeping Force, on its soil) staked its claim for last year. Maldives was not prepared to yield because 1990 also marked the 25th anniversary of its freedom—and had its way. Incidentally, Sri Lanka's protest emanated from a bilateral problem (involving it and India), which cannot be imported into the SAARC framework under its charter.

In a wide-ranging interview with K.K. Katyal, Mr. Gayoom outlines what in his view are the priorities for the SAARC. Also he responds to queries on other issues—like Maldives' stand at the recent Ministerial meeting of the Organisation of Islamic Conference. Here are the excerpts from the interview:

Question: To start with, a question in your capacity as the Chairman of the SAARC. The main criticism against the

SAARC so far has been that things have moved too slow, programmes are too preliminary and that it needs to be made meaningful and relevant to the realities of the situation. Maybe, you could give an idea of the steps that could be taken or contemplated by you to give greater meaning and substance to it.

Answer: First of all, let me say that the slow pace at which the SAARC was moving was deliberate. That is because there are so many differences among the seven countries. The forms and systems of government are different. The sizes are different, there are large countries such as India, and to a lesser extent, Pakistan and Bangladesh and there are tiny countries such as Maldives, Sri Lanka, Nepal and Bhutan. So we thought it would be better if we began slowly and if we adopted a gradual approach to all the problems. Now after, say, five years of the formation of the Association, with various programmes having been carried out, many leaders think we have reached a stage where we can plan ahead for important, wider programmes, especially in the trade area. As you know, trade and economic cooperation are the most important areas which will have a direct bearing on the improvement of the standard of living in the countries of the region. We have agreed to form a high-level expert group on economic cooperation. It will meet in Kathmandu next month and it is hoped that a consensus will be reached on the study at the regional level on trade, manufacture, etc. It has been, in fact, worked out by the coordination group. Now it is time that some decisions are taken. We are hopeful that in the next meeting of the expert group, something will come out. I think that will be the real beginning of the SAARC.

Trade Ties

That was a point emphasized by India right from the beginning but because of inherent difficulties, the asymmetry in size, etc., the fear of Indian domination, there was very little advance. Do you think that phase is over now and that they will be able to move ahead?

I can't say that the phase is entirely over. Still certain doubts remain but I think we have reached a stage where we can at least agree on embarking on trade and economic cooperation.

Various regional groups are being formed elsewhere which should impart a sense of urgency here for some sort of a regional trading group.

Yes, there is that feeling now. It is growing—that there should be a trading area of the seven countries and the possibilities will be explored by the high-level expert group.

The EEC started with steel and then moved ahead to other areas of cooperation. Could not some such thing be done here?

Well, of course, I think there are many possibilities. It is up to the technical people to tell us which area will be the most viable to begin with. I think it is for the expert group to give us options.

Environment

What about environment? We all are affected by common environment. What do you think about cooperation in the environment field?

We have already agreed on cooperation on environmental affairs. In fact we have two studies on hand—one, on the Greenhouse effect which will be ready by March next year, the other on the causes and consequences of natural disasters. This is going to be ready this year. First, every country prepared its own environment papers and submitted these to the Secretariat. They have now come up with one paper for the whole region and this is going to be discussed at the Colombo Summit this year. That is about the causes and consequences of natural disasters. The other one will be ready before the U.N. Conference on Environmental Development in Brazil in 1992. We have already agreed since 1987 to cooperate in this field but we want to know, first of all, what are the opportunities, what are the consequences, and what are the actions we might be able to take. This has to be studied first and, based on that study, we can take decisions on where to cooperate, which programme to start with. This is going to take place soon.

Should not the SAARC have a common negotiating position in international fora like the Uruguay Round, etc.?

I think it will help. We have the Group of 77, we have the developing countries.

Another controversy. Although the charter bars the discussion of bilateral and contentious issues, there have been demands from some member countries that these issues need to be taken up and thrashed out and that this is a pre-requisite for any meaningful advance by the SAARC. What do you think of this?

I don't think that is going to be a good idea. In the beginning, we studied this aspect very carefully whether to discuss bilateral issues on the floor of the SAARC and it was decided to leave that out. However, the meeting itself provides an opportunity to the leaders, ministers, and various levels of officials to meet informally and discuss these issues. In fact, this opportunity was used by India and Pakistan when the Prime Minister, Mr. Chandra Shekhar and Mr. Nawaz Sharif met in Male. It was the beginning of a new round of talks between the two countries. I think the present format is very good because if we allow bilateral issues to be discussed it is very likely that the meeting may be divided sharply and it will not be good for future cooperation.

Colombo Summit

What do you think will be the main task for the Colombo summit?

As you know, every summit is based on the decisions of the earlier summit. We had taken certain decisions during the last summit, which will be considered at Colombo. We have decided to have a more business-like format for our meetings. Maldives was asked to prepare a paper, to give suggestions on how to reduce the ceremonial aspect and make the functioning more businesslike. We have done so in consultation with the Government of Bangladesh as was decided by the summit. This paper has been circulated to all the member countries and we are awaiting their comments. We hope to adopt the new format at the Colombo summit. We will be cutting down on ceremony and provide more time for informal and bilateral talks. Also, we decided to mark 1992 as the SAARC Year of Environment. Again, Maldives had to prepare an action plan which has been circulated to the member countries. We will discuss this also. We signed the convention on narcotics, drugs and psychotropic substances and it has been ratified by most countries. I have been urging all the member countries to speed up their processes of national legislation. I think it is going to be completed by the end of the year. Also, we have decided on cooperation in tourism. A committee has been set up for this purpose. This is a very interesting, viable area. A country like Maldives gets a lot of tourists now. Last year, we had almost 200,000 or about 195,000, I think. Almost equal to our population! Tourism is the main exchange earner. These are the new areas we are consolidating for the next summit.

There are other areas as well—like the development of women and the girl child—because in most SAARC countries, girls are discriminated against. Instead of marking one year as the Year of the Girl Child, we have decided to mark the whole decade, 1991 to 2000. We have also embarked on an ambitious plan for regional action for improving the conditions of children. This is based on the conference that took place at the United Nations, known as the World Summit for Children.

Kashmir Issue

Moving to another subject that has led to some comments here—the stand taken by the Maldives Foreign Minister at the OIC [Organization of the Islamic Conference] ministerial meeting. The resolution adopted there was not to the liking of India because of its reference to Kashmir. That, of course, is one aspect. Then there was the position taken by individual countries. There is a feeling of disappointment at the stand taken by Maldives especially when India expected a better understanding of the issues involved. Your comments.

I think the whole thing is a misinterpretation of what our Minister said. Our position has been very clear. We have openly expressed our views at the United Nations, at the Non-Aligned meetings, at various international fora. There has not been any change, and there will not be any change. The Minister did mention Kashmir but there was a specific purpose. You know there was a resolution, and it was going to be adopted by the OIC. So the

Minister felt that unless he mentioned Kashmir in his speech, our association with that resolution will be complete and absolute. Everybody will think we have associated with the resolution. So in order to say that we do not fully agree with the provisions of the resolution, we mentioned the Kashmir issue. I have explained to the Indian Government that our position is unchanged and it will remain unchanged.

What is that position?

We have always said that we don't regard the Kashmir issue as a religious one, because we do not think it is a good basis for looking at the problem, for reaching a solution. We have always said that the agreement between the two countries will have to be the basis on which any future understanding or solution could be found.

Under the Shimla Agreement?

Yes, of course, the Shimla Agreement, why not? Because it is an agreement both countries have signed. We think it is a matter between India and Pakistan. We have always said so. We want them to sit together and if there are any difficulties, or problems, talk to each other and solve them. I have been trying hard with India and Pakistan, to urge them. We have very strong ties with both countries and we don't want to harm this relationship in any way. We have been trying to tell both the sides that we like them to sort out the issues rather than let things go out of hand. We have said that it is in the best interests of the region that there should be less tension between India and Pakistan, there should be complete understanding on all issues. If there is tension between these two large countries and a crisis situation is reached, then what is there for the SAARC?

During the current round, have you been to Islamabad?

Yes, I was there from 14 to 16 August in Islamabad.

Did this issue crop up there?

Yes, of course. I did avail of the opportunity and said the same thing there.

Are you satisfied with the position that your Foreign Minister took at the OIC summit? It appears whatever position he took, he did not take into account the sensitivity of India.

That is what I am saying. It is a misinterpretation of what he actually said. I have explained to our Indian friends what the Foreign Minister said. Our position is the same: it has not changed.

The reference to Kashmir as a global issue—that was what led to criticism here.

Well, global in the sense, everywhere you go you are asked the same question—what is going to happen in Kashmir? Any such dispute is of global interest. The Minister was asked—what is happening in Kashmir,

what is going to happen there, what are the chances of mutual solution, will there be more violence and all that? It is mentioned everywhere in the world. It is of global interest in that sense.

An issue of global interest, you can't say global issue?

It is not a global issue but of global interest.

What is the impression in Maldives about Islamic fundamentalism? Is it affecting Maldives?

No it is not affecting us. We have always been a very moderate, middle-of-the-road Islamic country, in the sense we did not favour fundamentalism at any time in our history. Even now, our way of life is different from what you find in the Gulf countries. The partition or the purdah between men and women is not there. It has never been. People work together—men and women—in industries and agriculture. You can't have this type of separation between the sexes. So we have never had such traditions or customs. We are not troubled by extremist or fundamentalist concepts.

Bilateral Cooperation

In terms of the bilateral aspect what exactly transpired during your meetings here?

We reviewed our bilateral relationship and cooperation in several fields, mainly in the technical field and in education. We have our students over here. Opportunities will be given to us to send them on a regular basis. Our students are to be trained here. Also, India is helping us in building hospitals—Indira Gandhi Memorial Hospital—which will be completed next year. Work is going ahead on schedule. India is going to build a vocational training centre. We already have one but that is very small. It is not going to be enough for coming years. So we are going to have a new one. We also now have got television receiving antenna which has been installed at Male so that we can receive Doordarshan programmes. Your Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting, will be visiting Male, later this month to hand over the antenna and the set-up. We have all these things and I would like to send a fisheries team here.

Security Aspect

Any discussion on security?

Security. Yes, we have. Some of our National Security Service personnel have been trained here. On a regular basis we have been sending them to be trained here.

Maldives has taken up the issue of the security of small nations at the United Nations and at other international fora. How far have the discussions progressed?

The resolution on the protection and security of small States was passed two years ago by the U.N. General Assembly. We presented that proposal which was co-sponsored by many countries, including India, and it was passed unanimously. It called on the Secretary-General

to have consultations with all interested countries in order to evolve a mechanism through which the United Nations will be able to respond quickly in any such contingency. If a small country is faced with foreign threat or is faced with any threat, then the United Nations will be able to provide help through that mechanism. The Secretary-General has almost completed his consultations. This is going to come up before the General Assembly after this year. What we want to achieve is the realisation that it is an international responsibility to protect small nations who are not able to have large armies, who are not in a position to defend themselves in the case of a large-scale threat.

If such an obligation is recognised, under that, we can ask for help from any bilateral source also, without anybody thinking that there is a desire on the part of a large country to have its hegemony over smaller countries. There will be recognised international procedures through which small countries could either seek bilateral or regional military assistance or the U.N. military assistance.

Developments in Indo-Pakistan Relations

Special Envoy Arrives

91AS1553A Madras *THE HINDU* in English
19 Aug 91 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 18 Aug—The arrival today of the Pakistan Foreign Secretary, Mr. Shahrayar Khan, in the capacity of his Prime Minister's special envoy, at a time when relations between the two countries are at a low ebb, has not set doves aflutter here. Official circles have expressed bland cynicism, even some amusement, at a time when the political reaction to Pakistan in the country has not been especially friendly.

Mr. Khan told newsmen on arrival that the purpose of his visit was to establish the first formal contact with the new Government here. He will deliver a special message from Mr. Nawaz Sharif to the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao. Of course, the two Prime Ministers have been in touch with each other on the hot line since Mr. Rao assumed office about two months ago.

An Unusual Move

In official circles Mr. Khan's visit in the capacity of special envoy is seen as an unusual move, since only in a few weeks' time the Foreign Secretaries of the two countries are slated to meet in Islamabad as part of the ongoing contact between the heads of the foreign service of the two governments. The scheduled September meeting still stands.

While official circles are waiting, not with any particular anticipation, for Mr. Khan to offload his wares, the country's largest opposition party, the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], shot off a strident anti-Pakistan statement on Kashmir today, but did not specifically place its

observations in the context of Mr. Khan's arrival with a message for the Prime Minister.

'An Attempt To Build New Future'

Mr. Khan, whose three-day visit commences tomorrow, made clear today that the purpose of his being here was not to negotiate specific issues. Sticking to diplomatic generalities, he said the visit was a 'sincere and genuine attempt to build a new future.' The special envoy also hoped that the visit would contribute to a 'constructive and positive mood' in the bilateral relations between the two countries.

The exercise, he sought to underline, was not aimed at taking political advantage, and that there was no element in it of 'public posturing.' No doubt, this is intended to dispel just that impression, for it is widely felt here that Pakistan has undertaken the exercise of despatching a special envoy to India in order to impress western capitals that on its part it continues to be sincere, flexible and accommodating in sorting out disputes between the two countries.

Aid to Terrorists

It has not escaped notice here that this is at a time when Pakistani assistance to terrorism in India, especially in the context of Kashmir, has been substantially stepped up. Pakistani efforts to internationalise the Kashmir dispute in total disregard of the Shimla agreement have also been pitched at a dramatic level in the past few weeks. At the same time, it is felt here, there has been no significant movement on Pakistan's part in areas that were supposed to be taken up in right earnest after the last round of Foreign Secretary level talks a few months ago.

Whatever the burden of the message Mr. Khan is carrying—and he is said to be eager to convey Mr. Sharif's 'thoughts' to Mr. Rao—the Indian side is expected to take the opportunity to tell him bluntly that Pakistan's escalated assistance and encouragement to terrorism is not the best means to engender good neighbourly ties with India.

India is unlikely even to bring up with the Pakistani special envoy the subject of his Government's recent propaganda moves on Kashmir from the forum of the Organisation of Islamic Countries, for the Indian attitude is to ignore with disdain the exertions of any and all international agencies on the question of Kashmir.

Talks at External Affairs Ministry

91AS1553B Madras *INDIAN EXPRESS* in English
20 Aug 91 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 19 Aug (Express News Service)—Pakistan assured India on Monday that it will provide concrete proof in the coming weeks of its desire to improve relations between the two countries.

The assurance was given by the visiting Pakistan foreign secretary, Mr. Shahryar Khan, to the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Madhavsinh Solanki, when they met on Monday evening. Mr. Khan is here as a special envoy of the Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif.

The External Affairs Ministry spokesman told correspondents after the meeting that Mr. Khan had emphasised the desire of the Pakistan Government to give a "new orientation" to Indo-Pak relations. The foreign secretary told Mr. Solanki that while similar sentiments had been expressed in the past, this time, Pakistan was ready to give "proof on the ground" in the coming weeks of its "sincerity and earnestness."

Mr. Khan did not, however, elaborate on what sort of "proof" it would provide, the spokesman said.

Earlier in the day, Mr. Khan handed over a letter from Mr. Nawaz Sharif to Mr. Narasimha Rao and reiterated Pakistan's "earnestness and sincerity" to resolve "all problems" affecting relations between the neighbours.

Expressing the desire of the Pakistan Government to move forward in a meaningful way to resolve all outstanding issues, Mr. Khan underlined the need to break away from the "straitjacket of old attitudes and mind-sets," the foreign office spokesman said.

Although the contents of Mr. Nawaz Sharif's letter to Mr. Narasimha Rao are not known, the letter is believed to have hinted at the need to inject a degree of "political will" into the on-going foreign secretary level dialogue between India and Pakistan if concrete results are to be achieved.

Kashmir and other specific points of dispute and tension between the neighbours were not discussed during the meetings Mr. Khan had with Mr. Narasimha Rao and Mr. Solanki. The talks are believed to have been general in nature.

Doubts Persist

While Pakistan appears to be trying to send some positive signals with Mr. Khan's visit, diplomatic circles here view these signals with a certain degree of scepticism. Given the anti-India tone of the resolution passed by the Organisation of Islamic Countries at Pakistan's insistence and the recent interview of Mr. Nawaz Sharif to a western journal in which he has hinted at the possibility of war between India and Pakistan, diplomatic observers are unsure of the genuineness of the message Mr. Khan has brought.

The reaction of both the Prime Minister and the External Affairs Minister was, therefore, cautious. They both reciprocated the sentiments expressed by Mr. Khan but emphasised the need for a concrete and practical reflection of these sentiments.

India is equally willing to help resolve all pending problems across the board and fully reciprocates the

desire to work with "sincerity and earnestness" but such sentiments should be reflected in "practical steps," Mr. Rao told Mr. Khan.

Outcome of Visit

91AS1553C Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 22 Aug 91 p 16

[Text] New Delhi, 21 Aug (The Times of India News Service)—Meetings between India and Pakistan on all pending issues leading up to the fifth round of talks between the foreign secretaries will be held as scheduled.

This was decided at a one-hour meeting between Mr. Shahryar M. Khan, special envoy of the Pakistan prime minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif, and the foreign secretary, Mr. Muchkund Dubey, here yesterday.

Mr. Dubey and Mr. Khan, who is Pakistan's foreign secretary, are scheduled to meet in Islamabad in the third week of September.

The special envoy, who met the Prime Minister and the minister for external affairs on Monday, called on the defence minister, Mr. Sharad Pawar, yesterday and conveyed the Nawaz Sharif government's desire to give a new orientation to Indo-Pakistan relations.

While thanking Mr. Khan for the sentiments expressed, Mr. Pawar reiterated New Delhi's commitment to the process of bilateral negotiations in terms of the Shimla agreement.

Mr. Pawar expressed the hope that the Pakistani approach to relations with India, as conveyed by Mr. Khan, would be reflected in the situation on the ground, especially, in Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab. Such a step would create an atmosphere conducive to the conduct of negotiations. The discussions lasted about 30 minutes.

Meanwhile, the government spokesman declined to comment on Mr. Sharif's remark in an interview with NEWSWEEK that tension over the Kashmir issue could lead to a war.

Border Talks

91AS1553D Madras THE HINDU in English
29 Aug 91 p 9

[Text] Islamabad, 28 Aug (PTI)—Military officials of India and Pakistan have established contact to review the recent border skirmishes and agreed to bring the situation under control, a Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman said here today.

Responding to questions, he said some clashes had taken place on the Line of Actual Control but these were not of a serious nature. The Pakistani Defence authorities were keeping a close watch on the situation.

He said the casualty figure on the Pakistan side during the recent incidents was on the lower side. He, however, did not give any number of those killed.

To another question, he said the Pakistani military authorities had no reports of intensified Indian troop movement on the Rajasthan sector.

Earlier reports had stated that the Directors-General of Military Operations of the two countries had spoken on the hotline and agreed to defuse tension.

12 Pak Soldiers Killed

Our Jammu Correspondent writes:

Twelve Pakistani soldiers and three Indian army jawans, including a Captain, have been killed in non-stop exchange of fire since Tuesday night in the border areas of Poonch and Mendhar in Jammu region and Keran, Titwal in Srinagar, according to Defence authorities here.

The authorities said that in the counter-offensive launched by the Army, three houses of kidnapped villagers were recaptured after dislodging the Pakistani troops near village Chedney in the early hours of Wednesday. Ten houses in the same area, located at the top of a hill, were still under the occupation of the Pakistani troops which continued to fire on Indian pickets.

The authorities said the situation in the border areas of Chedney district and Hajipur and Mendhar in Poonch was fast deteriorating with continued Pakistani attacks and their occupation of Indian houses. Tension continued to mount on the frontiers due to the unprovoked actions of the Pakistani troops.

The Defence authorities said that 12 Pakistani soldiers were killed when three houses from which they were firing on Indian pickets were blasted by heavy gunfire and mortar shells. The bodies were found inside the houses. Two Indian jawans were killed and a captain who was seriously injured in the encounter, died in the Army hospital.

Analyst Views Pakistani Military Threat

91AS1274A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi
13 Jul 91 p 6

[Article by Jawaharlal Kaul: "Pakistan's Multifaceted Military Policy"]

[Text] First arresting and then dismissing Mumtaz Hussein Rathore, prime minister of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, is not a common occurrence in Pakistan's volatile politics. It is true that a confrontational situation had developed between Mr. Rathore and Pakistan's Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, and according to Pakistani tradition, no regional chief could stay in his position under such circumstances. However, if it were just a struggle for power, the danger of the challenge could have been

eliminated by just removing him from the position. The reason for conflict obviously made Rathore a danger to Pakistan as long as he was free. Actually, the former prime minister of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir was playing the same role as Simaranjit Singh Maan is playing in India. Mr. Rathore believes that Jammu and Kashmir are not part of Pakistan. According to him, Pakistan-occupied Kashmir is part of Pakistan as long as the Kashmir problem is not resolved. He was dreaming about making a separate nation with Jammu and Kashmir. Mr. Imanullah Khan, leader of the Jammu-Kashmir Liberation Front, was cooperating with him in this effort. Aman Ullah Khan also had presented the proposal according to which Jammu and Kashmir were neither part of India nor of Pakistan. He considered it a separate nation.

Pakistan approved Aman Ullah Khan's propaganda in the beginning because his extremist organization, The Jammu-Kashmir Liberation Front, appeared to be a good vehicle for spreading instability in Kashmir. This organization was very successful in the beginning phase of terrorism. Actually, the Front was controlling the whole extremist movement in those days. However, when Benazir Bhutto came to power, Pakistani rulers felt that Imanullah Khan's Azad Kashmir movement had reached a dangerous stage. Mr. Khan had established contacts with several Western nations. Benazir felt that if he succeeded in convincing those Western nations that Kashmir should be a separate nation, then the whole affair would be taken out of Pakistan's hands. It is obvious that Pakistan does not want to let Kashmir go. It is just using the idea of freeing it to create problems for India. The cooperation between Imanullah Khan and Mumtaz Hussein Rathore appears to sabotage Pakistan's plan of action. Nawaz Sharif reduced the efforts to train the Jammu-Kashmir Liberation Front terrorists as soon as he took office. He also stopped economic and military aid to them. New extremist groups also emerged and made the front weaker. The Jamaat-i Islami also helped this effort. This religious organization also gave birth to several extremist groups. Among them, Hizbul Mujahiddin is the most successful. This group does not work for Kashmir's independence; it just wants to merge Kashmir with Pakistan. It left everyone behind in terrorism in the first few days of its existence. However, the Jammu-Kashmir Liberation Front has not become totally inactive. It continues to get support from Rathore's government in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. Its terrorists also received military training and weapons from this region.

This confrontation between Nawaz Sharif and Mumtaz Hussein Rathore reached its apex when Rathore did not only ask for returning Gilgit and Balistan areas, but also established a new party led by Qayum Khan, president of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, to work against Nawaz Sharif. He did not permit Nawaz Sharif to campaign during the regional elections and started to arrest federal employees. It should be remembered that there is no article in the constitution that allows separate status to

Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. In India, a constitutional guarantee under its Article 370 was given to Kashmir. Pakistan had forcibly annexed Gilgit and Balistan. Both these areas are under Pakistan's government. Rathore's actions began to receive support from the people of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. The people in Gilgit and Balistan also began to agitate to get out Pakistan's clutches. Imanullah Khan was born and raised in Gilgit. Thus, it became important for Nawaz Sharif to take action against Rathore.

There were two major reasons for this action. First, Pakistan will never let Jammu and Kashmir become independent. Second, the recent success of terrorists in the Kashmir valley has raised Pakistan's hope that a civil war-like situation can develop in Kashmir. There problems began to appear on the mountain passes used by Pakistan-trained terrorists to enter Kashmir. There was competition between Hizbul Mujahiddin and the Jammu-Kashmir Liberation Front for using these passes. Therefore, dismissal of Mr. Rathore's government was also important to add more routes for entering the Kashmir valley. In addition, more training to terrorists could be provided in the so-called Azad Kashmir.

Pakistan had prepared blueprints of this strategy several months ago. Pakistani experts had assumed that none of the Indian political parties would be able to attain a majority in the Lok Sabha after the April elections. They thought that any government that would be formed would be a coalition or a very weak government. They hoped to start a major campaign against India at that time. There were two parts to this campaign. The first was to advertise India's problem at an international level. Pakistan perhaps knew also that India was going through serious economic problems and that it was going to ask for help from Western nations. It wanted to put pressure on India through the United States and Great Britain. We cannot exactly ignore Pakistan's role in getting the Pressler Amendment implemented on India during our elections. Until now, this amendment was implemented on Pakistan only. According to it, Pakistan was to prove that it neither had atomic bombs, nor was it involved in making any. The United States had not used this amendment towards India because it provided negligible economic aid to India. Implementation of this amendment to India during the elections left a psychological effect on the Indian Government and the political parties. The second part of the plan was to increase terrorist activities in Jammu and Kashmir. There were two aspects of this strategy. Kidnaping important leaders and demanding the release of terrorists in return had been tried successfully in Jammu and Kashmir. The plan to expand this activity was made before the Indian election. Kidnapings of Swiss engineers, Israeli tourists, and now the chief official of Indian Oil and Natural Gas Commission, Durai Sawami, are all part of this plan. The second aspect of this plan was to provide more powerful weapons to the terrorists so they could attack security forces and the armed forces. This part of the plan has been implemented during the last few months.

Dismissal of Mumtaz Hussein Rathore and agreements with Qayum Khan are part of this plan. It is feared that the incidence of violence will increase in the Kashmir valley during the next few days. Pakistan did not make any mistake in reading Indian politics. Even though a coalition government was not formed at the center and Congress has won the majority, for the most part, the situation has not changed much. Rajiv Gandhi's assassination has not made much of a difference. While his assassination helped Congress win more seats, it also deprived it of a strong leader. Pakistan's assumption is that the Indian Government does not have a strong desire to control terrorism in Kashmir at a war footing after their success in kidnaping the daughter of former Home Minister Mufti Mohammed Sayyid. The terrorists and their advisers may have concluded that the Kashmir government cannot control kidnaping. Kidnaping of Swiss engineers is an example of this belief. The Kashmir government was frustrated while looking for them for several weeks. According to one assumption, there are 10,000 armed terrorists in the Kashmir valley. An equal number of terrorists are waiting to cross the border.

The Pakistanis had a reason to implement this plan in June and July. It begins to snow in the mountains by 15 September, and crossing the border becomes very difficult. Smuggling weapons is also a very difficult task. Therefore, it was important for them to send as many terrorists before 15 September. The Nawaz Sharif government hopes that the present Indian Government also fails to establish a clear policy about Jammu and Kashmir, not only because the present government lacks a clear majority, but also because, except for the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], no other Indian party will support any policy. It also hopes that the Western pressure on India will continue and India will not be able to have an independent policy because of its precarious economic conditions. A few days ago, Pakistan's Government announced suspending all permissions to Indians to visit Pakistan. This was just a test, and Pakistan was checking to see how far the Indian Government would bend. Pakistan knew that if India took similar action against Pakistani citizens then it would be hurt more, because a lot more Pakistanis come to India than Indians go to Pakistan. Had the Indian Government threatened with retaliation, then the Pakistani Government would have been forced to change its policy. In other words, Pakistan's strategy about Kashmir was dependent on the Indian Government's determination.

India, Sri Lanka Differ on Anti-LTTE Steps

91AS1549A Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
13 Aug 91 p 1

[Article by Sankarshan Thakur: "India, Lanka Differ on Steps To Check LTTE"]

[Text] New Delhi, 12 Aug—A joint Indo-Sri Lankan effort to out-manoeuvre the LTTE [Liberation Tigers

of Tamil Eelam] has failed to get off the ground due to a lack of communication and trust between the two governments.

Both nations are eager to reduce the LTTE's growing menace but cannot work out concerted measures because of continuing disagreements on the nitty-gritty.

The Sri Lankan foreign minister, Mr. Harold Herat, who was here last fortnight, is believed to have made a strong plea to India for joint action against the LTTE. "We need to face common threats with common responses...joint action will be decisive action," he is believed to have told his Indian counterpart.

The Indians share that perception and have been particularly keen on arresting the LTTE's growth since the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. But nothing has moved since the two sides do not seem at ease with each other's intentions.

While India would like the Sri Lankans to give up the idea of talks with the LTTE altogether, the Sri Lankans are yet to convince themselves that New Delhi will not, at some future date, turn pro-LTTE. News from Colombo that the President, Mr. Premadasa, might be sending one of his key advisers, Mr. Bernard Weerakoon, for renewed talks with the LTTE is not likely to be welcomed in New Delhi.

Well-placed sources in the Sri Lankan high commission here, however, pointed out, "We too are not sure whether India itself has broken off completely with the LTTE. After Rajiv Gandhi's assassination the threat perception from the LTTE in India has increased and after a long time you have an avowedly anti-LTTE chief minister (Ms. Jayalalitha) in Tamil Nadu. But something constructive has to happen to convince us that India is genuinely interested in doing away with the LTTE menace for good."

The Sri Lankan suspicions arise from the view that the LTTE is "essentially India's creation" and that in Tamil Nadu, the "pro-LTTE undercurrent still runs very strong." They readily admit that Ms. Jayalalitha is determined in her drive against them, at least as far as "cleaning up" Tamil Nadu is concerned.

But what bothers them is a scenario without Ms. Jayalalitha at the helm. Pointing out the "awesome threat" to her life, the sources wondered what the attitude of the AIADMK [All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] minus Ms. Jayalalitha would be to the LTTE. "After all, it was the AIADMK of MGR [M.G. Ramachandran] that supported the LTTE at one point, and those people are still around," the sources said.

India, on the other hand, is wary of the Sri Lankan Government's attitude to the whole issue and is alarmed everytime the Premadasa administration calls the LTTE for talks. New Delhi has burnt its fingers once in this game when the Tigers agreed to talks with Colombo and were successfully able to drive a wedge between the two

nations, resulting in a protracted war of words and, eventually, the withdrawal of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) from the island. Now again, even as they appeal to India for cooperation, the Sri Lankan Government is sending feelers to the LTTE.

The other sore point where India is concerned is that the Sri Lankan Government has not yet been able to implement the 13th Amendment to their Constitution which relates to the devolution of powers in the Tamil-dominated northern and eastern provinces.

The Sri Lankan, however, have pleaded helplessness on this, saying these areas are plunged in chaos and under the de facto sway of the LTTE. Unless they can be reduced in military strength and, to a great extent, disarmed, free elections and genuine devolution of powers cannot take place.

They also pleaded that no matter what the extent of their military successes against the LTTE on the island, no meaningful victory can be had without India's assistance.

According to reliable sources, the Sri Lankans have, in fact, sought concerted patrolling of the waters and more exchange of intelligence in order to tighten the noose around the LTTE but complain of a "lack of response" from New Delhi.

Progress in Indo-Bangladesh Relations Noted

Dhaka Minister's Visit

91AS1529A Madras THE HINDU in English
29 Aug 91 p 1

[Article by K.K. Katyal: "Dhaka Optimistic of Solving Issues"]

[Text] New Delhi, 28 Aug—The first high-level contacts between the new Government in Bangladesh and India have gone on well, promising early solution of present problems and a strengthening of political and economic ties.

A satisfied Mr. Mustafizur Rehman, Bangladesh Foreign Minister, today left for Ajmer on pilgrimage after completing an intensive round of talks with his counterpart, Mr. Madhavsinh Solanki. Mr. Rehman's upbeat mood, evident during an hour-long informal conversation, was as eloquent as his words.

What led him to take an optimistic view of the development of bilateral relations was the evidence of political will, both in New Delhi and Dhaka, to "build new bridges." The fact that Bangladesh was now represented by a democratically elected Government was considered particularly helpful by him.

Mr. Rehman was emphatic that given the political will there should be no difficulty in resolving problems. When the countries in the West which had fought each

other were coming together there was no reason that "we who were once together should be far away."

Hope on Tin Bigha

As regards specifics, he was hopeful that the issue of Tin Bigha, a tiny enclave in West Bengal to be leased to Bangladesh in perpetuity, would be settled by the end of this year. India had made a commitment to this effect as far back as 1974 but legal hurdles came in the way of actual transfer. With the Supreme Court judgment last year, the litigation process ended and a grim view is not taken of the fresh legal challenges in the Calcutta High Court. As the Indian side told Mr. Rehman, all that remained was the resettlement of some 35 families who would be uprooted.

To the extent the delay on Tin Bigha had become an irritant in Bangladesh, symbolising Indian obduracy, the transfer is certain to have a beneficial effect in the bilateral field. Mr. Rehman who had met the West Bengal Chief Minister, Mr. Jyoti Basu, in Calcutta, felt encouraged by the State Government's approach.

Economic Cooperation

While the problems of the river waters sharing and Chakma refugees will be tackled vigorously, a new area—of economic cooperation—is proposed to be given special attention. The complementarity of the economies and the liberalisation process, started in the two countries, are among the favourable factors. Bangladesh is naturally worried about the highly adverse balance of trade, with its imports from India at Rs[rupees]550 crores last year against exports amounting to a paltry Rs 36 crores. To help it bridge the trade gap, Bangladesh was assured of unrestricted entry of its goods into India. The two sides saw big scope for joint ventures—a line that was expected to be followed seriously.

On the sharing of the Ganga water and related problems, each side was aware of the other's constraints. India will soon present a paper to Bangladesh setting its ideas on the subject—perhaps suggesting a comprehensive, long-term solution.

If India had to do some defensive explaining on the delay on Tin Bigha, Bangladesh bent over backwards to show that it had done its utmost to create conditions of security for the Chakma refugees who had migrated to India in thousands. As he had done in his talks with Mr. Solanki, Mr. Rehman detailed the steps taken by his Government to give the tribals an effective say in the administration of their areas—the establishment of the Hill Council with the charge of 24 subjects, the embargo on non-tribals owning land in the tribal areas spread over three districts.

Mr. Rehman conceded that the Chakma issue had embarrassed his Government, and that the migrant had had misgivings but maintained that "the situation had changed now and it is right time for them to go back. There is the self-governing set-up in the three districts

and three MPs [members of Parliament], all belonging to the Opposition, to represent their case." So far, the MPs, he said, had not voiced any complaint. Elements like the Shanti Bahini, which had a vested interest in the migrants' continued stay in India, he said, were obstructing their return.

Indo-Bangladesh Credit Agreement

91AS1529B Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 28 Aug 91 p 15

[Text] New Delhi, 27 Aug—India today extended a concessional credit of Rs[rupees]30 crores to Bangladesh as part of its bid to strengthen and diversify economic and commercial relations.

The money will be used for the import from India of capital goods such as equipment for jute, sugar, textile and paper mills and cement plants, transport machinery and telecommunication equipment.

The Credit agreement was signed by the foreign secretary, Mr. Muchkund Dubey, and the Bangladesh high commissioner, Mr. Farooq Choudhury. The external affairs minister, Mr. Madhavsinh Solanki, and his Bangladesh counterpart, Mr. Mustafizur Rahman, were present on the occasion.

Mr. Solanki and Mr. Rahman signed a convention on avoidance of double-taxation. The immediate beneficiaries of the accord will be airlines and shipping companies.

Both leaders agreed that some of the pending problems had to be resolved so that both countries could look forward to a future marked by a fresh approach towards enhanced co-operation in economic development.

On the Tin Bigha issue, Mr. Solanki reiterated India's commitment to bringing about early leasing of the corridor. He detailed various steps being taken in this regard so that the necessary formalities could be completed.

About Chakma refugees in Tripura, Mr. Solanki outlined some of the difficulties faced in arranging for their early repatriation. Mr. Rahman noted that following the return of a genuine democratic system in Bangladesh, the refugees had adequate mechanism for seeking redressal of their grievances.

On the issue of sharing river waters, the two ministers agreed that the necessary arrangements had to be worked out. Further discussions would be held towards this end.

Mr. Solanki expressed concern at the continuing influx of illegal immigrants from Bangladesh. Mr. Rahman acknowledged that movement of people had taken place, but contended that the magnitude of the influx was not as big as alleged in some quarters.

Briefing newsmen on the talks, a government spokesman said India expressed its interest in expanding and strengthening its economic and commercial relations

with Bangladesh. It was decided to hold the next meeting of the joint economic commission in Dhaka before the year-end.

Internal

Solanki Interviewed by Mauritian Radio

91AS1551A Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
13 Aug 91 p 5

[Text] Port Louis, 12 Aug—The External Affairs Minister, Mr. Madhavsingh Solanki, has said that it was in the interest of the people of India and Pakistan to resolve all outstanding bilateral problems within the framework of the Shimla agreement, reports PTI.

In an interview to the Mauritian Broadcasting Corporation, Mr. Solanki said India is sincerely committed to this and expressed the hope that Pakistan would reciprocate these gestures and stop assisting terrorists in the border States and refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of the country.

Speaking on a wide range of subjects, Mr. Solanki, who concluded his three-day visit to Mauritius on Saturday, said India wished to strengthen its friendship with all segments of the Mauritian population, without any exception.

On South Africa, Mr. Solanki said the process of dismantling apartheid has not reached an "irreversible" stage and hoped that urgent steps would be taken to facilitate the creation of a unitary, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Mr. Solanki said the process of negotiations on the constitutional future of South Africa should commence at an early date.

Mr. Solanki described as "disturbing" the recent revelations about the South African Government's involvement in efforts to destabilize the African National Congress by promoting non-violence among black groups.

He, however, welcomed the changes instituted by President F.W. de Klerk especially the repeal of apartheid legislation.

Mr. Solanki said it was India's desire to strengthen relations with China and broaden the areas of cooperation. All outstanding issues should be resolved through negotiations and in an atmosphere of mutual trust.

On the new world economic order, Mr. Solanki said the developing countries must take cognisance of changes in the Soviet Union and the eastern Europe and the prevailing reality in the international economic cooperation.

He said the role of direct foreign involvement, modern technology and services in meeting development aspirations is being seen in a much more "positive perspective."

Analyst Calls For Foreign Policy Focus

91AS1272A Varanasi AJ in Hindi 13 Jul 91 p 6

[Article by Saundryanidhi: "The Challenge Is To Determine Foreign Policy"]

[Text] The world was divided into the Soviet bloc and the U.S. bloc after World War II and the start of the Cold War. In this situation, no country could escape being caught up in the Cold War and remain neutral. The countries that were not members of the NATO under the leadership of the United States or members of the Warsaw Pact under Soviet leadership were leaning toward one or the other group. Even the newly independent and developing nations that did not belong to either block were close to one or the other.

India was one of the founders of the neutral movement. The Indian foreign policy developed according to the values of the independence struggle. It was designed to unite all exploited nations of the world and to use the socialistic powers to establish a fair world order. A new experiment in the communist system was carried out in the Soviet Union. It too was fighting the socialist nations. The Soviet leadership came out with the principle during the 1960's that it is also a part of the neutral nations movement. Many neutral countries, including India, accepted this principle.

India formed a foreign policy at that time which helped it decide its direction in international affairs easily. This stand was generally against the United States of America and favored the Soviet Union. This helped deteriorate India's relations with the United States of America. The United States used Pakistan to siege India. This siege became even stronger when U.S. relations with China improved in the 1970's. In this situation, friendship with the Soviet Union became a prerequisite for India.

The Soviet Union has helped India at every crucial point. It has vetoed in support of India in the U.N. Security Council more than once on the Kashmir issue. During the 1971 Indo-Pakistan War, it supported India. When the United States mobilized its 7th Fleet and tried to enter the war, the Soviet Union responded appropriately and made the U.S. effort unsuccessful.

However, the Soviet Union is not in the same position now. Its internal problems have weakened it so much that it appears to be depending on Western nations for its own existence. Mikhail Gorbachev took over the Soviet leadership six years ago and started the perestroika program. This brought the weakness in the Soviet system out into the open. Today the Soviet Union is facing catastrophic economic crises. At least six of its republics are campaigning to secede from the union. Many of the other republics have also announced their intention to become independent. Still, Mikhail Gorbachev is trying his best to keep the nation united.

The Soviet foreign policy also changed totally when Gorbachev took over. Now it does not have enmity

towards the U.S. bloc and has started cooperative projects with those nations. This was clear during the Gulf war. Because of the prevalent influence of perestroika, the Warsaw Pact became ineffective. New democratic processes began in Poland, Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria. These countries are joining the Western nations because of their economic problems. East Germany does not even exist now; it has joined West Germany.

There is no Soviet bloc now. Therefore, it is natural for the nations, which had their foreign policy tied to the Soviet Union, to have problems. The present world is a one-polar world. It means that the center of world power is at one point, which is the United States of America. We can deny calling the Soviet Union a superpower now. It is obvious that India's foreign policy is anachronistic and useless in the present atmosphere of changing world politics. The neutrality movement in which India played a key role has also become outdated.

India has to formulate a new, meaningful, and practical foreign policy. It is important to discuss all the options that India has in front of it in this context. One option is to join the United States in this unipolar world and forget all its principles, acting according to its conditions in internal development. One condition for U.S. friendship is that a country change its political and economic conditions according to U.S. wishes. There is always room for conflict between American imperialist interests and the interests of the country. The U.S. can use economic aid and military action to eliminate the conflict. It is obvious that this option of being a friend to the United States at its own conditions is not appropriate. This could be equivalent to betting on our independence and autonomy.

India cannot adopt the policy of opposition to the United States in this new world. Therefore, India will have to define the principles on which it wants to form a stand on any international issues. These principles will be the cornerstone of Indian foreign policy. Therefore, the most important question centers around what these principles should be.

Of course, the main goal of these principle is to establish a fair and just world order. Under such a world order, all nations would have a right to independence and autonomy, and no nation should have the right to interfere in another nation's internal affairs. After building on its economic, political, and cultural priorities, the country can be a part of a new world order. India can establish an important position for itself in world politics after it has determined its principles and goals.

The Soviet Union used to keep the Western imperialist powers and desires in check. This specific role is finished now, and many developing countries are concerned. They cannot decide how to counter the Western economic and political stand. Under the pressure of these developments, several countries are ready to submit to the United States

of America. The Indian rulers are not very different. However, the Indian people will oppose it.

If India formulates its foreign policy based on these principles, it can also act as a guide to other developing countries in the world. Before adopting such a foreign policy, India should take some realistic steps. It should first solve some of the problems it has with its neighbors, such as those with China and Pakistan. Most important, these problems can be solved if a realistic attitude is adopted. Our main problem with China is the border issue. It would not help if both countries are stubborn on their stands; the problem can be solved if both are willing to be flexible.

The main problem with Pakistan is Kashmir. India should take the Kashmiri people into its confidence and solve this problem. The establishment of SARAK [expansion not given] was a wise decision. However, it did not function as desired. India is the largest country in this region. Therefore, our role is also very important. We can be the bridge between all the nations in this region.

Even though resolving all these issues is not easy, it is important that a positive atmosphere, conducive to understanding, is created. This has not been done so far. If our relations with our neighbors improve, then we will not have unnecessary pressure in the defense area, and we will be able to formulate a new foreign policy in an atmosphere free of tension. We should take the initiative in two directions. The first is defining the principles on which our new foreign policy will be based. The second direction is our relations with our neighbors. Formulation of the new foreign policy can be successful only after our relations with our neighbors have improved.

President's Rule in Kashmir Extended 6 Months

91AS1527A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 28 Aug 91 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, 27 Aug (UNI)—The parliament approved the extension of President's rule in Jammu and Kashmir for six more months with effect from 3 November with the Rajya Sabha today adopting a resolution.

A similar resolution was approved by the Lok Sabha yesterday.

Replying to the two-day debate on the statutory resolution, the minister of state for home, Mr. M.M. Jacob, said that all parties would be consulted to find a solution to the problems confronting the state.

He said the Kashmir problem was a national problem and could not be ignored.

Asserting that Jammu and Kashmir, including Pakistan occupied Kashmir, was an integral part of India, Mr. Jacob said no power could separate it from India.

While accepting the need for strengthening intelligence agencies in Kashmir, Mr. Jacob stressed on the "fuller participation of the people in the affairs of the state." There was need to bring the Kashmiris into the national mainstream, he said adding that, fortunately, the situation had started improving there now.

Expressing serious concern over the migration of people from Kashmir, Mr. Jacob said the government was taking all possible steps to normalise the situation in the valley so that they could return to their home state.

The Union home minister said that any negotiations between India and Pakistan on Kashmir would be held under the auspices of the Shimla agreement.

He admitted that the tourism industry in the state had suffered from terrorism and had affected the income of the people. He added that though the government wanted to hold elections, it could only do so when the situation returned to normal.

Mr. S.P. Maiviya, who had moved an amendment in the resolution earlier withdrew it after the minister assured him that President's rule would not be extended any more. The house later adopted the resolution by a voice vote.

PTI adds: Amidst desk-thumping by members, Mr. Jacob said a political initiative was underway and this would focus on generating public opinion against militancy and its sponsorship by Pakistan.

Referring to the BJP's [Bharatiya Janata Party] demand for the abolition of Article 370, he said this was a political decision taken by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru which would never be surrendered.

Center, Province Relations Seen Key To Stability

91AS1160A Varanasi AJ in Hindi 28 Jun 91 p 6

[Editorial: "Stability of the Center and the States"]

[Text] Narsingh Rao's government, established at the Center, will always be in hot water unless it gets strong support from non-BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] opposition parties. The Congress (I) leadership at the Center has to compromise on several issues with the opposition parties in order to run the government smoothly. In order to stabilize the government, the Congress itself has to make sure that it remains united. The unity of the Congress party was saved because of the legislative leadership within the Congress party. When Maharashtra's former Chief Minister, Sharad Pawar, pitted his claim to the leadership, there were fears of a deep chasm occurring in party unity. Finally, Mr. Pawar agreed to share power in the central government, but he also succeeded in keeping Maharashtra as his own power base by appointing a successor of his own choice. Thus, among the people who pitted claims for leadership at the Center, only Pawar succeeded in keeping his feet firmly on the ground.

Because no stable government has been formed at the Center, instability and uncertainty are being felt in several state governments. It is being felt both in the states where legislative elections had only recently been held and in those where parties other than the central government party are in power. After the recent legislative elections, governments in Haryana, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Assam, and Pondicherry have changed. West Bengal is the only state where Chief Minister Jayoti Basu has succeeded in forming his Marxist government once again. However, this time he did it facing the emerging strength of the Congress (I) and the new challenge of the BJP. This time, among the returning chief ministers, only Jayalalitha of Tamil Nadu can remain assured of being unchallenged. Her lone opposition, the DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam], was totally wiped off the legislative assembly. The only candidate elected to the legislative assembly, the former Chief Minister Karunanidhi, turned in his resignation and, for the first time in 30 years, the DMK's representation in the legislative assembly ended. Because of a solid majority, Kerala's Congress chief minister, Mr. Karuna Karan, will be able to rule easily. However, he has to give priority to reduce unemployment in the state and to fulfill the election promises he made in this context. Mr. Bhajan Lal and Mr. Hiteswar Saikiya, chief ministers of Haryana and Assam, will have to keep in mind both their opposition parties as well as the internal struggles within their own parties. Among the states where elections were not held, the incumbent BJP chief ministers of Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan are being criticized because the Congress (I) managed to get more Lok Sabha seats from those states. They will also suffer from vengeful activities of the Congress Party. Only one problem is haunting the Janata Dal chief ministers elected in Bihar and Orissa. Especially in Bihar, where the deteriorating law-and-order situation could invite the central government's interference at any time. The chief minister of Karnataka, Mr. Bangrappa, was criticized because he could not stop the rise of the BJP and was not able to win as many Lok Sabha seats as was expected for the Congress party. He will have to remain very alert to keep his leadership. In Gujrat, the Janata Dal chief minister, Chimanbhai Patel, had to make Congress his partner after his party was defeated in the Lok Sabha elections by the BJP. The situation in Maharashtra is totally different. The new chief minister there, Mr. Subhakar Rao Nayak, was appointed with the approval of Mr. Sharad Pawar. He will have to work on being accepted as a leader in the state in order to stabilize his leadership.

With the appointment of a BJP government under the leadership of Mr. Kalyan Singh in Uttar Pradesh, a totally new situation has developed. Uttar Pradesh leads the states that can have a direct confrontation with the Center over policies and actions. The second in line is the Janata Dal Chief Minister Laluprasad Yadav in Bihar. Even though Uttar Pradesh's chief minister, Mr. Kalyan Singh, has declared law and order as the top priority for the government, the party members who have managed to get him the majority are looking very

closely at the stand he will take over the construction of Rama's temple and the promises he has made to the northern hill areas for forming a hill state. Any delay or excuses made in this context could cause problems for the ruling party. The kind of cabinet the chief minister has formed does not include representation from major election areas. His party is unhappy over this and some of his supporters are disappointed. The BJP government of Kalyan Singh in Uttar Pradesh and the Janata Dal government of Laluprasad Yadav in Bihar will be the focus of not only the people of those two states, but also of the entire country. The policies and actions of these states and their relations to the central government will affect the stability of these states as well as of the central government.

Underground Panthic Group Issues Policy Statement

91AS1547A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 26 Aug 91 p 1

[Text] Chandigarh, 25 Aug (The Times of India News Service)—The underground militant Panthic Committee (Zaffarwal), known for its close links with Pakistan, has urged Sikhs in Punjab to launch a civil disobedience movement against the state government.

In an eight-page pamphlet containing its latest policy programme and issued in London, the committee reiterated its commitment to "Khalistan." The pamphlet, printed in Gurmukhi, has been published by the "Sikh information centre" in London.

The policy programme, which has been sent to various Sikh opinion leaders in Punjab sympathetic to the militants' cause, has been issued even as India and the UK are close to finalising a bilateral agreement on checking terrorist activities in the UK as stated by the outgoing British high commissioner to India on Friday.

The fresh set of guidelines issued on behalf of five members of the committee also contains a 10-point code of conduct for militants apart from a 10-point directive to the Sikh populace to launch a civil disobedience movement in the state. The pamphlet also contains a brief backgrounder to the "Khalistan" cause, apart from also briefly tracing the history of the Panthic Committee.

Significantly, the committee has emphasised the need to convert the militant movement into a mass movement. While "realising" that the militants cannot achieve "Khalistan" by the gun alone, the militant group has observed that a mass movement will have to be created, which will stand by and propagate their cause with determination and counter "misconceptions" about and "propaganda" against "Khalistan" through the media.

In its list of ten directives to the initiated only after the "offender" is given a hearing and even then, the authority to decide on the nature of punishment can be decided only by the panchayat, it has said.

It has also directed its activists to respect women, to be well versed with religious scriptures and to honour all directives issued by both the Panthic Committee and the Akal Takht from time to time. Sikhs in Punjab, it has urged them to boycott all government functions, not to co-operate with government officials of India's "Hindu government," not to help or co-operate with either the army, the CRPF [Central Reserve Police Force] or the BSF [Border Security Forces], not to pay land revenue or any other government taxes and to prevent supply of power generated in Punjab to other states.

With a view to affecting the grain supply to the national pool, it has urged Sikh farmers to plant only that much paddy and wheat as is enough for their needs and instead diversify into dairy farming, horticulture and forest plantation "in order to bring the Centre to its senses."

NRI [nonresident Indian] Sikhs have been directed to withdraw their money from Indian banks, to stop importing commodities from India and to cease travelling by Air India. The militants, who have also asked Sikhs to avoid travelling by Indian Airlines, have warned NRI Sikhs visiting Punjab that their airline tickets would be checked by militants and that they would have to face the consequences for violating the orders.

The committee, which commands the support of three other militant outfits in the state, has also issued a set of guidelines for the militants, which is apparently aimed at generating mass support and goodwill among the Sikh peasantry in the state.

Plans for Congress-I Organizational Polls

91AS1537A Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
18 Aug 91 p 5

[Boldface words as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 17 August: The organisational elections of the Congress(I) will be set in motion on 30 August with the issuing of notices and will be completed by the end of December.

According to the schedule finalised by the Congress Working Committee (CWC) at a meeting late last night, candidates for the elections, which are being held after 19 years, are to file their nominations by December-end. The returning officer, who will conduct the election of the Congress president, is to be appointed on 30 December.

Mr. H.K.L. Bhagat, a senior CWC member, described the finalisation of the schedule as "momentous" occasion for the party, as organisational elections would be held after a long gap.

The party spokesman, Mr. C.P. Thakur, said once the Pradesh Congress Committee delegates were elected, 10 of them could get together and nominate a candidate for

the party presidentship. If there is only one nomination, the candidate would naturally be declared elected unopposed, he said.

The election process will begin simultaneously in all the states except in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh, where the draft rolls of primary and active members are yet to be prepared. The delay, Mr. Bhagat explained, was due to the Assembly elections held in the two states. The process of finalising the lists would be completed simultaneously in the state.

The selection of office bearers of the party at the Centre, in the AICC [All India Congress Committee], the states and the Pradesh Congress Committees as well as the District Congress Committees will not be done till the election is complete. Mr. Thakur said all vacancies would be filled temporarily till the election, after which the posts would be filled by the elected members.

Mr. Bhagat said the election process would be completely decentralised. The senior party office bearers would be elected on the basis of nominees elected at the grassroots level. He released a detailed schedule of the organisational election which included the publication of draft rolls of primary and active members, the last date of appeal to the scrutiny committees, appeals to the AICC, publication of final rolls, issue of identity cards to delegates and election of district and pradesh committees, among others. The schedule has included at length the recommendations made by the Uma Shankar Dixit committee.

Chidambaram attack: The CWC also discussed at length the attack on Mr. P. Chidambaram, Union commerce minister, and two party MPs [members of Parliament], at Tiruchirapalli allegedly by supporters of the AIADMK [All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam]. The CWC was of the view that nothing should be done that may strain the alliance between the Congress(I) and the AIADMK.

The CWC also condemned the attack by BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] workers on the residence of the Union civil aviation minister, Mr. Madhavrao Scindia, and said the government should immediately bring the culprits to book: The CWC appealed to partymen to maintain calm and not to get provoked by such incidences.

Ms. Meera Kumar presented a detailed account of the attack on Harijans at Tsunder in Andhra Pradesh. The state's chief minister, Mr. V. Janardhan Reddy, who attended the meeting as a special invitee, gave his account of what the government was doing as relief work. The party spokesman claimed that there was no difference of opinion between the two leaders.

Opposition Leaders Request BCCI Investigation

National Front's V.P. Singh

91AS1518A Madras *INDIAN EXPRESS* in English
17 Aug 91 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 16 Aug (Express News Service)—The former Prime Minister and convener of the National Front, Mr. V.P. Singh, has in a letter to the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, requested him to table a white paper on two issues—the allegations against activities of the BCCI in India, and the proposed takeover of Larsen and Toubro by the Ambanis.

Suggesting that the two issues might be “interconnected,” Mr. Singh further urged the Prime Minister to get the affairs of the BCCI [Bank of Credit and Commerce International] thoroughly investigated by a Joint Parliamentary Committee.

In his letter, the former Prime Minister mentioned that “the entire quantum of the so-called NRI [nonresident India] subscription to RIL's [expansion not given] E-series and F-series debentures...was routed through BCCI.” Describing the bank's Indian operations as “shrouded in mystery,” Mr. Singh pointed out that it was the “duty of the state” to ensure that a reputed company like L&T was not seized by the Ambanis with funds “probably derived from a bank against which criminal proceedings have been initiated in various countries.” He wrote that the method in which the Ambanis' acquired the L&T was “neither transparent nor a part of corporate democracy.”

Mr. Singh pointed out that financial institutions had of late advanced huge amounts of money to Reliance, and this money, in turn, had been used by Reliance to corner additional shares in L&T. He reminded the Prime Minister that the institutions were bulldozed in the past to offload their L&T holdings in favour of Reliance “through questionable methods.”

With a fresh bid by Reliance for control of L&T drawing near, and with extraordinary general meeting of L&T shareholders having been fixed for 26 August, many political leaders are becoming vocal in their condemnation of possible acquiescence by the Union Government. BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] leaders like Mr. Jaswant Singh too have written to the Finance Minister requesting him to intervene in the attempt at re-annexation of L&T by the Ambanis through capitulation of the government.

Even Congress-I members are agitated over the issue. A memorandum has reportedly been drafted by over a dozen Congress-I MPs [members of Parliament] and half a dozen senior ministers in which both the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister have been gently reminded of the fact that the image of the party had received a beating in the past because of the indulgence shown by the previous leadership towards the Ambanis.

BJP's Vajpayee

91AS1518B Madras *THE HINDU* in English
19 Aug 91 p 4

[Text] Lucknow, 18 Aug—The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] leader, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee on Sunday demanded constitution of a committee of all-party MPs [members of Parliament] to probe into the affairs of the BCCI [Bank of Credit and Commerce International]. He said a prima facie case did exist warranting such an inquiry.

The statement of the Union Finance Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, in this regard had concealed more than it had revealed and full facts about the functioning of the bank and the industrialists and officers connected with it could be brought to light only by an inquiry by a parliamentary committee, Mr. Vajpayee said while addressing a news conference here.

The Bank had been an instrument for laundering money collected through illegal means and there were allegations that it had funded the purchase of arms by the terrorists in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. The public had a right to know on whose instance the bank had been allowed to do business in India.

Test Case

The issue involving the BCCI was a test case for the new Finance Minister who was considered to be an honest person. He should not try to hush up the issue and instead help bring to light all matters about it.

The BJP leader denied the reports appearing in a section of the press that his party was not serious about pressing the cut motion introduced by it on the Budget in Parliament. On several issues the party was quite specific and it would not relent on these questions. The party would insist on raising the personal income tax limit from the present Rs[rupees]22,000 to Rs 30,000 to make up for corresponding inflation in the economy.

Mr. Vajpayee suggested issuance of 10-year gold bonds and permission to non-resident Indians to import gold after payment of duty. In lieu of interest payable to gold bond holders the Government might allot land, he added.

Denial

The BJP leader denied that his party youth workers while holding a demonstration in front of the residence of the Union Minister for Civil Aviation Mr. Madhav Rao Scindia, had become violent. It was a totally peaceful demonstration for which the workers had every right in view of the remarks made by Mr. Scindia against the party.

He expressed complete satisfaction over the functioning of the Uttar Pradesh Government that it had done a good beginning.

Punjab Reaching Crucial Crossroad

91AS1159A New Delhi *JANSATTA* in Hindi
27, 28, 29, 30 Jun 91

[Article by Prabash Joshi: Punjab: At the Crossroads of Tragedy and Opportunity“]

[27 Jun pp 1, 10]

[Text]

'Must Remove the Stigma of Sheshan's Dictatorial Order'

Punjab has been pushed back again into the pitch dark alley of hatred and terrorism. This crime of destroying all the work done earlier was mainly committed by Mr. Sheshan, the chief election commissioner. We may not try him for other crimes, but we must have a major criminal case against him for postponing the elections in Punjab at the eleventh hour. The chief election commissioner cannot be excused from his responsibilities to the people of this country. He must also make good the damage he has done to the impartiality, autonomy, and trust of the basic democratic institution like the election commission. Mr. Sheshan cannot escape the accusation of ridiculing the democracy and our nation.

There is always hope of a bright morning even after the darkest night. This situation has provided a similar opportunity to Punjab and the nation. We can leave the 22 unhappy years of mistrust and violence behind and have a new beginning. The country should not miss this opportunity. Indira Gandhi continuously mentioned putting a salve on the wounds of the Sikhs, however, she was assassinated as she was believed to be the one who had caused the wound. Rajiv Gandhi wanted to foster brotherhood and unity again with his Punjab agreement. He too was turned to ashes with a Tamil bomb. Narsingh Rao now has the opportunity to implement a new beginning in Punjab. Many times, history looks for a medium from whom the people never had any expectations.

However, this beginning has been seriously jeopardized because of the stigma that the chief election commissioner by the name of T.N. Sheshan has forced on Narsingh Rao's government. No one in Punjab is willing to accept that Sheshan decided to postpone elections on his own just 30 hours before they were scheduled to be held because of the law-and-order situation. The truth is that Sheshan did not consult either with then Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar or with Narsingh Rao who was to become the prime minister within the next 12 hours. Sheshan did not even think it necessary to consult with General Malhotra under whose security administration Sheshan was claiming to hold elections on schedule. No one is ready to believe that the law-and-order situation between the nights of 20 and 21 June had become so bad that fair and impartial elections in Punjab were not possible. It is not possible that the Election Commission, which had this assumption for

three months and seemed to be right on the mark, and both Sheshan and Gen. Malhotra had repeatedly assured that the elections would be held on 22 June, suddenly decided on the night of 20 June that they should be postponed.

The people are not wrong when they say that the situation in Punjab on 20 June was not different from the day when the decision to hold elections was made. The elections could have been postponed when some candidates along with eight or ten of their supporters were killed. Law and order was also destroyed on the day when an attempt was made to blast the procession led by Subadhkant, home minister and a candidate from Ludhiana. The day terrorists killed 75 people in two trains in Ludhiana district was the perfect time and provided the most important reason for postponing elections. However, Sheshan did nothing at that time. Deployment of the National Guard in Punjab became difficult when the elections were postponed after Rajiv Gandhi's assassination. Governor Malhotra had recommended postponing the elections from 22 June to 30 June at that time. Sheshan rejected this recommendation because he wanted elections in Punjab as scheduled. Sheshan did not think that all the violent incidents that indicated the deteriorating law-and-order situation and the governor's recommendation were worth being considered. However, on the night of 20 June, he had a revelation and the dictatorial Sheshan postponed the elections for three months.

You know that anti-elections separatist-terrorist groups had ordered a strike in Punjab for 21 and 22 June. Warnings threatening to sever the finger that had an ink mark from previously voting were posted at many places. To counter this campaign to stop the elections by scaring the voters, the Punjab government placed advertisements in newspapers encouraging people to vote and not to give up this sacred right under any kind of pressure. The governor himself appealed to the people on the television and radio on the evenings of 19 and 20 June to vote without fear because there was good security arrangements. In other words, this was an open confrontation between our government and the anti-election, separatist terrorist groups working under Pakistan's direction. The government had deployed 70,000 men of the National Guard and had stationed soldiers everywhere. The governments of the nation and Punjab, the police, and a retired general were all prepared to control the anti-election groups. Holding elections against the wishes of Pakistan's agents became an issue of national pride. However, the dictatorial Sheshan helped the Pakistani agents be victorious against India.

More insulting than this is that fact that a democratic country had used all its strength to help people exercise their right and had then bowed down to the separatist and terrorist forces. Sheshan sacrificed the Indian Government, Punjab's government, the army, the police, and hundreds of thousands of citizens desiring a democratic government on the altar of terrorists. The terrorists had tried repeatedly to undermine the veteran Gen. Om

Prakash Malhotra. What the terrorists could not do, the chief election commissioner did one night with the snap of his finger. Which democratic government has Sheshan, who has insulted General Malhotra and Punjab's administration, served? Everyone believes that Sheshan postponed the elections when he saw that Congress was in a position to form the government and it did not want elections in Punjab because it wanted to overturn Chandra Shekhar's decision. Sheshan's decision could be his personal tribute to Rajiv Gandhi! All political leaders in Punjab believe that it was the first decision made by the Narsingh Rao government. No one believes that Sheshan made this decision independently because of the law-and-order situation. Sheshan has stigmatized the central government and the Congress Party and this only proves that the propaganda carried out by the Akali Party and the terrorists was true. Since the Congress Party had opposed the elections in Punjab, Narsingh Rao cannot but express his pleasure at this decision. He could not remain silent either.

Still, Narsingh Rao will have to clean up after Sheshan if he wants to have the Punjab issue resolved. Chandra Shekhar's fears would be proved right if the presidential rule is further extended. Therefore, it is imperative to hold elections there immediately. As long as Pakistan is aiding them, such terrorist groups will remain active in Punjab to stop the elections at gun point. It means that terrorism in Punjab cannot be eliminated until Pakistan is defeated in an open war. The elections will still be held amidst violence and these are important for establishing peace and democracy for the Sikhs who are opposed to separatism and terrorism. Whatever the result of these elections, these are important for pulling Punjab out of the dark alley and onto the public road to the highway of government.

[28 Jun pp 1, 10]

[Text]

'The Vicious Cycle of Sikh Opposition Is Breaking Now'

The elections, which were not even held in Punjab, had the most violent campaign ever. There is no doubt that along with the uncertainty, an AK-47 also was pointed at this election. Impartial, independent, and peaceful elections cannot be held in the shadows of terrorism, and a real democratic government cannot be established as the result of such elections. However, terrorism cannot make the elections any worse considering the way the election process is manipulated and distorted in other states by using force and wealth. The people may have not attended meetings and corner gatherings, but that does not mean they were not going to show up for the polls. It was depressing all over the country after Rajiv Gandhi's assassination, however, voter attendance was higher during the second part of the polls and people voted with even more determination. The Punjabis are neither timid nor do they support terrorists.

The elections may not have taken place in Punjab, but they did affect some changes. This time, there was not heavy support for anyone the way it was for Simaranjit Singh Maan and his terrorist supporters in the 1989 Lok Sabha elections. The Akali Dal, of course, had divided into five or six factions, however, their competition helped traditional Akalis to run for elections against terrorists and separatists. When the Manjit group of the All India Sikh Students Federation [AISSF] entered the elections arena after talking to the government, the terrorists also began to compete for election seats after getting cooperation from Baba Manochahal's Panthak Committee. These confrontations not only exposed the truth about them, but also divided the terrorists into two election camps. The Panthak Committees also broke into two factions. Not even one BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] candidate was killed. Most of the candidates killed were either Akalis or the terrorists. The fact that the BJP was the most vocal opponent of election postponement indicates what kind of election atmosphere was there. It would have won many more Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha seats in the absence of the Congress Party.

There were coalitions of groups that opposed or boycotted the elections and there were murders, too. Still, there were 185 candidates for the 11 Lok Sabha seats and 1,732 candidates for the 105 Vidhan Sabha seats. They were determined since they expected something. Running for election in Punjab is a matter of life and death and no candidate was doing it for fun or as a hobby. In addition to the traditional leaders, the candidates included extremists, terrorists, and criminals! In other words, despite all the dangers involved, all kinds of people were risking themselves in the democratic process. They saw a future in it. These people would not have entered the elections arena if they were not sure of getting votes. In spite of 10 years of terrorism and separatism, the people's participation in the democratic process assures us that Punjab has not wandered away from the mainstream. If they use democratic common sense, elections can make Punjab just like any other Indian state. The people in Punjab can respond to terrorism and separatism in democratic terms by holding elections. That is why it is important that parties and coalitions are given freedom to compete and the people have the right to elect their government. By holding elections immediately and participating in them, Narsingh Rao can reestablish his and the Congress Party's credibility despite the Sheshan fiasco.

At the same time he can start a new chapter of the relations and accord between the Sikhs and Punjab and the central government. The rest of the country may view Operation Bluestar—military action on the Golden Temple—indifferently, however, the Sikhs still consider it a wound on their foreheads. Even the most patriotic Sikh considers Operation Bluestar unnecessary and avoidable. The Sikhs consider Indira Gandhi personally responsible for this wound. Beant Singh, who had betrayed her and attacked her, and Satwant Singh, who had helped him, were avenging the Bluestar. The Sikh

Gurus preached compassion, pity, and forgiveness and there is no room for revenge in the Sikh religion. There is room for only being a martyr. However, the Jat Sikhs have strong tribal tendencies and revenge goes from one generation to the next. This tradition of the Jat society combined with the martyrdom of Sikhism makes the vicious cycle of revenge a mandatory part of their life.

The Sikhs could never establish friendly relations with Indira Gandhi after Operation Bluestar. This did not end with her assassination. Rajiv Gandhi was also pulled into this vicious cycle of revenge. The Sikhs's wrath at him did not diminish even after the Punjab Agreement. Security personnel have indicated that Rajiv Gandhi was at the top of the list of people that the terrorists wanted to eliminate. In other words, the fire of revenge was touching the next generation. The Bluestar was avenged upon Rajiv Gandhi because he was Indira Gandhi's son. Some terrorist groups had even taken the vow to destroy Indira Gandhi's dynasty totally. It would not have mattered how friendly Rajiv Gandhi tried to become, the extremist groups would never have let him form a friendship with the Sikh society just as they did to the Punjab Agreement after Sant Langowal's murder. The Sikh wrath did not go despite the fact that Rajiv Gandhi was not only the prime minister but also the leader of the largest party in India. They would never have let him start a new chapter of friendship. They had transformed their enmity with Indira Gandhi's family and the Congress Party into a confrontation with the central government. There would have been no resolution of the Punjab issue as long as Rajiv was alive.

A tragedy mercilessly removed Rajiv Gandhi from the national scene. Indira Gandhi was also removed similarly. The nation did not only bear these tragedies, but also paid a heavy price for them. These also ended control of the Gandhi dynasty. We know and feel the harm these did to the Congress Party and our nation. However, with the end of this political dynasty, an opportunity has emerged for resolving the Punjab issue. The fire of revenge in Sikh hearts will not flare now when they look at Delhi or the Congress Party. Their wound could heal slowly by itself and they can unite with the rest of the country. The thorn between them and the nation hurt them more when they were brought closer to it. The two tragedies have removed that thorn.

The mistrust between the Akalis and the Congress Party was not from Nehru's time; it started with Indira Gandhi. It does not matter what Nehru wrote or said about Master Tara Singh, their personal relationship was always cordial. The Punjab in the form of a Punjabi state was formed during Indira Gandhi's government in November 1966. However, the enmity between the Congress Party and the Akalis started in 1969 when the Akalis had accepted the "Punjab Award" offered by Indira when they were in Delhi and rejected it when they reached Amritsar. This "award" gave Haryana Hindi-speaking areas of Abohar and Fazilka in exchange of Chandigarh being given to Punjab. This incident convinced Indira Gandhi that the Akalis could not be

trusted because of their dichotomous and deceptive ways. Indira Gandhi's belief made Giani Jai Singh more religious than the Akalis. The issue of religion among the Sikhs became more pronounced during Jai Singh's chief ministership from 1972 to 1977 than it had from all the Akali efforts. When the Congress Party lost the 1977 elections, the Akalis formed a government in cooperation with the Janata Party. Sant Bhindrawala was made a candidate to counter this. We have seen the result of this in the form of violence, terrorism, and separatism. Indira Gandhi tried to use the Sikh religion to remove the religious base of the Akalis and the call for a religious state—Khalistan—emerged from this effort.

However, the Akali mistrust should have been removed with the assassination of Indira Gandhi and their wrath with Rajiv Gandhi's departure. Punjab, Sikhs, and the Akalis can start a new chapter with Delhi and the Congress Party now. Many opportunities emerge in the history of nations that change old enmities into new friendships. The nation is above individuals and parties and it is important to leave the 22 years of a bloody past behind us for the sake of the nation. It is a good coincidence that the new prime minister is Narsingh Rao who has nothing to do with the Indira Gandhi-Akali mistrust and had no hand in Operation Bluestar. He did not even have any role in the Punjab Agreement. Narsingh Rao does not have any history of involvement in the Punjab issue either. Therefore, if he takes the initiative, he can solve the old and unfortunate problem of the Sikhs and the Akalis. Narsingh Rao is a cool and sensible person and avoids confrontation. History has given him an opportunity that if he utilizes wisely, he could resolve our most difficult national problem.

[29 Jun pp 1, 10]

[Text]

'This Autonomy Will Emerge From National Need'

The Akalis have some other complaints in their minds in addition to their mistrust of Indira Gandhi and Operation Bluestar. It was a historical coincidence that this mistrust began when Indira Gandhi was the queen of our democracy. Except for three years, Indira Gandhi and her son ruled India from 1970 to 1989. The Akalis used democratic means to oppose it and demanded autonomy and a real federal structure. The demand made through the Anandpur Sahib resolution appeared to Congressites as well as most people around that country as a constitutional demand for a Khalistan [Sikh nation]. The more the Akalis talked about the Anandpur Sahib resolution, the more the people believed that they were asking for a separate country for the Sikhs.

The Akalis argued that the central government has so much authority that the country had become centrally controlled instead of being a federation. Individual states could not prosper without decentralizing this authority. They said that the economic resources that should have been under the states were with the central government. The central government did not only act

tightfisted when sharing these resources with the states, but also made them feel like beggars. They also accused the Center of using these resources for political protection and since the Akalis did not cooperate with the central government, Punjab was discriminated against. The Akalis gave this political line an ethnic color and accused the Hindu central government of being prejudiced against the Sikh Punjab. The Anandpur Sahib resolution declared that the Khalsa could be successful in Punjab and the Sikhs could be glowing with the spirit of freedom only when the central government had control of four functions—defense, foreign affairs, currency, and communication. The remaining functions should be given to the states.

The Soviet constitutional structure, which allows the states the right to secede, was also discussed in the context of the Anandpur Sahib resolution. The communists inspired this resolution. The smartest Akali political leader, Gurucharan Singh Tohra, had very good relations with Harkishan Singh Surjit of the Communist Party of India (M) [Marxist]. There was a time when the communists viewed Akali activities as a farmers' revolution in this country. The communists have always supported more autonomy for the states. However, the communists in Bengal refused to participate when they formed the government in West Bengal and the ruling Akali Party in Punjab called for a national convention to discuss autonomy. They had realized by that time that the religious color the Akalis gave to their political demands could make the situation dangerous. Also, it did not matter what was included in the Soviet constitution, Indian communists have always supported a strong central government. They did not want the Center to become as weak as the Akali wanted it in the name of autonomy. No wonder that it was the communists in Punjab who were victimized the most during the terrorism that came with the rise of Sant Bhindrawala and his religious quackery. Even now, Simranjit Singh Maan's greatest enemies are Harkishan Singh Surjit and the communists.

The Akali demand for autonomy and the Anandpur Sahib resolution did not actually come out of an understanding about a true federal structure. The Akalis are very brave fighters, but they do not know how to run a government. A government unites groups with similar vested interests, however, it divides the Akalis into groups with their swords drawn pitted against each other. This could be because of the continued struggle between the Sikhs and the Moguls [Muslims] in Delhi and this mentality does not foster the patience, understanding, and foresight necessary to run a government. The truth is that internal strife hurt the Akali government more than the Delhi government. They had three opportunities and each time they proved to be very inept rulers. The Akalis have been hiding this ineptitude behind the enmity of the Center and the Congress Party toward the Sikhs and the Akalis. They did use their religion for staying united, however, the credit for destroying the religiousness also goes to the factionalism

within the Akali Party. The increasing number of Panthak [religious] committees and chief priests in the Akal Takhat [temple] has also resulted from this strife.

The nation was not wrong in associating the Akali demand for autonomy with religion. Had Punjab been discriminated against because of its Sikh majority then it would not have become the most prosperous state with the highest per capita income in the country. The Sikhs got more than their share. If they want special treatment and position in the armed forces as they had during the time of the British, democratic India cannot provide that. Even when the Maharajas do not have their privy purses, why should the Sikhs have special status in the armed forces? The Akalis have impressed on the Sikhs that Punjab cannot make progress and they cannot live with dignity without autonomy using the issues of hiring in the armed forces and lack of industrialization. With the support of separatist Pakistan, the Akalis are trying to use this emotion for establishing a separate Khalistan. In this situation, giving autonomy would be falling on its knees to religious factionalism since no other state has demanded such autonomy.

The situation has changed now. Let us first discuss economy because the economic system is the biggest challenge facing the nation. The Soviet model, which we had copied to establish controlled and nationalized economic system, has failed in the USSR itself and in East European countries. We have no alternative but to give up the undue insistence to follow socialism and think about a new start. Otherwise, we will not be able to stand on our own. It is imperative for us to liberalize our economic system in order to maintain our economic independence. We must adopt more liberal policies and encourage prosperous Indians living abroad to invest their money in India's industry and agriculture. In areas where we have the confidence to allow foreign investment, we should allow entry to international companies. We have to end the control of quotas and permits and remove unnecessary controls like old clothes. We should also make room for private industry in the public sector. We must liberalize and decentralize our economic system in order to mobilize it and to prosper from its own environment.

This required decentralization will effect the central control and influence in the economic area. If we want to encourage private industry then we cannot stop the states from providing economic incentives. Our own economic system's limitations and international pressure will force us to give more autonomy in the economic area to the states. We cannot establish a new system without first giving economic autonomy to individual states. This economic autonomy can meet most of the Akali demands for autonomy. Because it will not be given to Punjab because of the religious demands, it will not effect the nation the way it would have 10 years ago.

Farming is good in Punjab and so is trade. However, except for small industries, no other development occurred there. The Akalis consider it a flaw in our

economic system and blame the central government for not starting major industries. No one pays attention to the fact that Punjab's per capita income is the highest in the nation. The Punjabis living abroad also send a lot of money. The agriculture in Punjab has reached the highest point of production. Why don't the Punjabis invest their money in industry? The reason is that Punjabis are not much interested in major industries. Economic autonomy will not only solve one of the puzzle in Punjab's politics, but it will also challenge the Punjabis, especially the Jat-Sikh farmers, to demonstrate their ability in financial management. We shall discuss the puzzle of political autonomy tomorrow.

[30 Jun pp 1, 12]

[Text]

'The Akalis Will Not Get This Opportunity Again'

Akali propaganda says that the Congress Party's central government does not let its government, as elected by the people, be successful. We can ignore the coalition governments that the Akalis formed between 1967 and 1972. The central government dismissed the two Akali governments last year alone. The Akali Party had formed a government with the cooperation of the Janata Party in June 1977. That Janata Party in Punjab actually was formed by defectors from the Bharatiya Jana Sangh. When the Janata Party dissolved in 1979 and Charan Singh formed his government with the support of the Congress Party and defeated Morarji Desai, the Akalis supported Charan Singh. The Janata Party or the Jana Sangh of Punjab separated itself from the Akali government. Prakash Singh Badal held a majority but only by one or two legislators. The independents also endorsed him. Thus, Badal's government was not really a minority government, however, Tohra and Talwandi worked to make his government unstable.

Indira Gandhi thundered back to power again in 1980 and she treated the non-Congress state governments the same way the Janata government had treated the Congress state governments. They were all dismissed and the elections that were held in March brought a Congress government to Punjab just like in other states. Only the left-wing front in West Bengal managed to survive the powerful Indira wave and returned to government. The Akali government had not done anything for three years that the people in Punjab would vote them back into power. The Congress Party did not win a clear majority in Punjab, however, Darbara Singh could have run the government on his own. The activities that are known as terrorism today started during Darbara Singh's second year in office. Giani Jail Singh was the home minister in Indira Gandhi's cabinet. His political enmity with Darbara Singh encouraged more terrorism in Punjab. Sant Bhindrewala, whom Indira Gandhi and Jail Singh had pitted against the Akalis, had joined the Akali camp and was separating Sikh from the Hindus by becoming a

leader of a violent religious quackery. The Akalis tried to justify this movement as a reaction to the dismissal of their government.

The Akalis managed to form a government on their own in September 1985. Rajiv Gandhi signed the Punjab agreement with Sant Langowal in July 1985 to end the bitterness that had resulted from Operation Bluestar, Indira Gandhi's assassination, and the resulting anti-Sikh riots in Delhi. One article of this written agreement was that the Akalis would be permitted to return to power using democratic means. Sant Langowal was assassinated in a gurudawara [Sikh temple] in August 1985, however, his two associates, Surjit Singh Barnala and Balwant Singh, led the Akalis in the elections and the Congress Party's pre-agreed apathy helped them win two-thirds of the seats and form their government. Since the triumvirate of Badal, Tohra, and Talwandi was neutralized by the Punjab agreement, they gave the impression of being with Barnala but were helping the extremists and terrorists who did not want the Barnala government to last because of its agreement with the Central government.

Mr. Barnala could not take the same kind of action against the extremists as Siddharth Shankar's Congress and left-wing government had taken against the Naxalites. The extremists wore the religious costume and carried the Sikh flag in their campaigns. It was easy for them to declare Barnala government anti-Sikh since the government formed by the "Delhi agents" was not easily accepted. Barnala was using some firmness and some negotiations to push the extremist "boys" toward a democratic process. He would have been successful if the Punjab agreement was followed through. However, Chandigarh was not given to Punjab by 26 January 1986. Barnala's government began to lose respect and credibility from that day. One Panthak committee demanded Khalistan in April 1986 from the Golden Temple. If Barnala had ignored this announcement then it would have been against national interest and if he had taken action against the instigators, his government would have been in danger. This demand was made to put Barnala in this difficult position.

The Barnala Government was finally made to take police action to force the Khalistan-supporters out of Harminder Sahib temple. The police could not find either the Panthak committee members or any terrorists there. However, this police action divided the Akali Party into two groups and Barnala found himself in the minority party. His government stayed with the help of the Congress Party and the independents, however, it lost its effectiveness and power. His situation deteriorated even further because of the Punjab Agreement problem. However, Barnala determinedly remained in position for the sake of democracy, constitution, and the nation. The Sikh religious establishment declared him a mercenary and Barnala had to suffer in atonement. Then, Rajiv Gandhi dismissed his government in 1987. It is true that by that time the Barnala government had become unimportant and was a government in name

only, however, this dismissal had nothing to do with his performance or the situation. Devi Lal had declared the Punjab agreement as against Haryana and had started a powerful campaign against it. Elections were being held in Haryana in June 1987 and Rajiv Gandhi, in a last-ditch effort to win these elections, dismissed the Akali government, which had forced the Punjab agreement.

We have seen that Badal's Akali government was dismissed by Indira Gandhi two years before its term was to end. Rajiv Gandhi did not even let the Barnala government finish two years. The Congress government's dismissal of these two Akali governments was not an unique development. Indira Gandhi had dismissed her own party's Darbara Singh government in October 1983 when some terrorists had killed six Hindus after forcing them out of a bus. Such incidents do not get much attention these days, however, at that time this incident left everyone stunned. Darbara Singh was only in the government for three years and was dismissed two years before its term was to end. However, Indira Gandhi's action is not considered unfair to Punjabis and the Sikhs. Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi had dismissed other state governments also—both of their own party as well as of the opposition. Our Constitution's Article 356 was abused in every part of the country.

The Akalis, however, do not consider this as an extremity practiced by the central government in all the states. They look at it through the communal glasses. They tell the Punjabis that Akali governments are dismissed because they are Sikh party governments and the Hindu government at the Center cannot tolerate a Sikh rule in Punjab. Gurucharan Tohra has left politics now. He used to say that why not leave Punjab for the Sikhs since the remaining 20 or 22 states were ruled by the Hindus! According to Tohra and Maan, a Hindu in any party is not a member, leader, minister, chief minister, or a prime minister; he is just a Hindu. Therefore, anything that the Congress or other parties say about Punjab or its Akali leaders or the extremists, it is a Hindu atrocity against the Sikhs. Therefore, Sikhs cannot live with freedom and respect until they have their own state. This argument is used by the supporters of a separate Sikh state. The Akalis have changed their failure as a democratic political party and their inability to take deep roots as a ruling party in Punjab into a confrontation between the Hindu central government and the demands for a separate Sikh state.

There has been a monopoly of one party during the period when Nehru, Indira Gandhi, and Rajiv Gandhi were prime ministers. The three also believed that they had the divine and manifest right to rule the country. The reason why leaders of so many countries attended Rajiv Gandhi's funeral, even though he was just the president of the Congress Party, was because the world considers the Nehru family the royal dynasty of democratic India. This dynasty ended with Rajiv Gandhi, therefore, those leaders came here to pay their homage. This dynasty is now finished. Those who tried to bring Sonia Gandhi in did not know that the nation would

never recognize her as the daughter of the Nehru dynasty. Anyhow, whoever becomes the prime minister now will not consider himself as an emperor of India with divine rights. The time of one-party monopoly has also gone. The Congress government, which is now in Delhi, does not dare to dismiss non-Congress state governments just for political reasons. No political party can insist that all states must have governments formed by their party. No political party will have the arrogance to dismiss any non-Congress party by first weakening it by causing instability. We have not only entered the era of coalition governments but also the era of different or coalition party governments in the states.

This is a historic occasion for the Akalis. They can establish new relations and understanding with the Center and the national parties if they get out of the clutches of terrorists and religious quacks, show their prowess as a democratic political party, and win public support. They will not be able to establish a stable government if they continue to run for elections for a Sikh state. There are large minorities in Punjab and they cannot win enough seats for a strong government without their support. They cannot run for elections or win seats on the slogans of extremism or separatism. They should start new politics based on the economic and political autonomy that Punjab can get now. The Akalis will not only become timely and appropriate for Punjab, they will also be able to get the Sikhs and Punjab out of the pitch-dark blind alley.

Process of Punjab Election Postponement Revealed

91AS1159B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 1 Jul 91
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[Article by Prabhu Chawla: "Presidential Hand in Postponement of Punjab's Elections"]

[Text] New Delhi, 1 July—It has become evident now that President Venkataraman played a very important role in the postponement of elections in Punjab just a few hours before the polls. When the Congress (I) failed in forcing the Chandra Shekhar government to postpone the elections in Punjab, the president himself became involved.

Until the noon of 19 June, it appeared that the Congress (I) was going to form a government at the Center. Then the president asked then Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar to postpone the elections in Punjab. At the same time, he suggested to Chandra Shekhar that he should announce the decision to postpone the elections and that the new government would run according to his order. The president told Chandra Shekhar that it was important to postpone the elections because he had received some information from various sources that did not sound good.

Chandra Shekhar informed the president of his government's position and clearly said that he had no reason to postpone elections in Punjab. He told the president that

if he wanted to postpone elections in Punjab badly that he should ask P.V. Narsingh Rao to form his government immediately and then let him order postponement of elections in Punjab.

Chandra Shekhar said that when he was told to postpone the elections, he told the president that his decision would be even worse than the 1984 Operation Blue Star action. After Chandra Shekhar's refusal, various activities were accelerated. First of all, the chief election commissioner T.N. Sheshan changed his stand. Mr. Sheshan, who was unaware of the conversation between Chandra Shekhar and the president, said in his 19 June press conference that the election commission had not decided anything about postponing the elections. He announced that all election plans were unchanged.

A few hours later, Mr. Sheshan assured the governor of Punjab that elections in Punjab would not be postponed unless he believed that there was insufficient security in the state. After Mr. Sheshan's assurance, General O.P. Malhotra, governor of Punjab, appealed to the voters on the radio to come out and vote without any fear.

When on 20 June it became clear that the Congress (I) would be able to form a government at the Center, the president became very active. Mr. Sheshan went to visit the president with the information about the tenth Lok Sabha formation. Mr. Sheshan's attitude changed right after this meeting. His attitude about the election, which was clear and direct, suddenly became very vague. When the news correspondent asked him questions, his answer was, "Until there are changes, the election will be held as announced."

While Mr. Sheshan was unable to make any decisions over the Punjab election issue, the Congress (I) parliamentary leader, Mr. P.V. Narsingh Rao met with the president with his claim to the central government. The president did not consult any opposition leaders about the Congress (I) government and went ahead and invited Mr. Rao to form his cabinet. Mr. Rao, after this invitation, met with some government leaders and officials at his house on 9 Moti Lal Nehru Marg.

Mr. Rao hinted without giving any orders to the officials that his party wanted to postpone the elections in Punjab. Mr. Rao talked with Mr. Subrahaynam Swami, his law minister, and asked him to use his connections in getting the elections in Punjab postponed. Mr. Swami, however, refused to obey his orders because Chandra Shekhar was against such an action.

Mr. Sheshan, after talking with some "big people," announced postponement of elections at midnight. He did not inform the central government or the state government about this. Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar learned about it from newspapers the next morning. He demanded an explanation from Mr. Sheshan, who could not give any reason for postponing the elections. However, he promised Mr. Chandra Shekhar

that he would explain everything to him later. Mr. Sheshan has not met with Chandra Shekhar to this date, though.

What is more? Mr. Sheshan openly refused to talk to his boss Subrahaynam Sawami about this issue. Mr. Sheshan said in a television interview that Mr. Sawami was his contact to the government, but this "contact" was ignored because of the situation in Punjab. Chandra Shekhar announced very unhappily that unfortunately the president was taking undue interest in the daily operation of his government. Some of the letter that he wrote to the prime minister were now sent to the press!

The president pressured Chandra Shekhar last April to not insist on elections in Punjab. He also ignored the recommendations of the cabinet about the elections and sent the election issue back to election commission for reconsideration. However, Chandra Shekhar did not bow down to the president's demands and appointed his law minister to discuss this issue with him. The president told Mr. Sawami that the elections in Punjab were not good for the nation. The president also said that Chandra Shekhar was only a caretaker prime minister and his resignation was already accepted. The president also hinted to Mr. Sawami that he was thinking about appointing a temporary government.

Mr. Chandra Shekhar was outraged when Mr. Sawami told him about his discussions with the president. He called an emergency meeting of his cabinet and repeated his decision about elections in Punjab. The president had no alternative but to accept the recommendation made by the cabinet.

Delhi Janata Dal Said Divided

91AS1273B New Delhi DINMAN TIMES in Hindi
13 Jul 91 p 3

[Article by Habib Akhtar: "Delhi's Janata Dal is on the Precipice of Splitting"]

[Text] The Delhi Janata Dal is ready to break up. The main reason for this breakup is that the national leader of the Janata Dal, Vishwanath Pratap Singh, is very angry at the state leader, Viresh Pratap Chowdhery. The party leadership was criticized because the state leader was not given an election ticket from Chandni Chowk's constituency. In the first national working committee meeting of the Janata Dal after the elections, Viresh Pratap Chowdhery had accused the national leadership for the failure of the Janata Dal in the elections. He said that the middle class and the upper class had deserted the Janata Dal because of its stand on the Mandal Commission. He believed that the Janata Dal had to follow Gandhi's philosophy and adopt the formula over the reservations issue.

There are several leaders who want to become the state leader of the party. However, V.P. Singh wants to appoint a person of his own choice. According to informed sources, Mr. V.P. Singh was pressuring the

national president of the party, S. R. Bommai, even before the Lok Sabha elections to replace Viresh in Delhi. However, Mr. Bommai, who knew about the importance of the Delhi region, had ignored his request.

The opposition camp is trying to make the regional president the sacrificial goat for the failure in the elections in Delhi region. Meanwhile, the Viresh supporters are raising questions about the two candidates from Delhi. They ask why a person who never went out to campaign was issued a ticket in south Delhi? He lost the election very badly. Also, Mr. Kishori Lal, who was supported by the Shahi Imam of the Jama Masjid Maulana Abdullah Bukhari and V.P. Singh himself, was issued a ticket in the Chandni Chowk constituency and came out third in the elections. The Janata Dal leadership had considered this seat already won.

They are talking about changing the regional president and also about starting a democratic system within the party organization, and are planning elections for party officers. They will hold a membership campaign between 15 July and 15 September this year. Party elections will be held after the announcement on 15 October. Elections of state-level committees will be completed by 8 September and elections for the central offices will be held between 8 and 31 December.

Everyone is trying to grind their own axes within this atmosphere. There are several people who want the regional presidency. This list includes V.P. Singh's proteges, Kishore Lal and Ramvir Singh Vidhudi; Ajit Singh's follower, Tarif Singh; and veteran leader Chowdhery Braham Prakash. According to various factional equations, Ramvir Singh Vidhudi is in a better position to win because he was not involved in the formation of the Lok Dal, Janata Party, and Janata Dal. Since he entered the party because of V.P. Singh, he considers him his leader.

The future of leadership in Delhi and other states will depend on who is elected parliamentary leader in the 9 July elections. It will also tell us which party will endorse Narsingh Rao's government on 12 July.

The attitude the Janata Dal had adopted after joining forces with the National Front and the left-wing front will cause bitterness between the national and state level leaderships. Soon various leaders that are sitting quietly now will start tirades against each other and become active. However, they are all active behind the scenes.

The accusation against the state level leadership about not having a strong structure at that level can also be levied against the national leadership. It simply is not possible to criticize anyone under the present circumstances. The organization of the party will depend on whoever is elected leader of the party in the near future.

Janata Dal Crisis Termed 'Hopeless'*91AS1413B Varnasi AJ in Hindi 9 Aug 91 p 6*

[Article by Vijay Narain: "Janata Dal's Crisis Is Apolitical"]

[Text] The politics of elections have introduced some bad habits in our political parties and these will not go away in the near future. The worst bad habit is running elections on a wave, waiting for or creating a wave on which an election could be fought. This wave system has made our politics and the political parties apolitical in nature.

Whenever there is such a wave, nonpolitical and non-social groups do not only enter politics but also get into the legislative assemblies. The leader who is identified with a specific wave causes catastrophic problems when he appoints his friends and relatives to important government positions. Political workers suffer when powerful leaders distribute the loot among themselves.

When a national leader presents a long list of his nonpolitical supporters, he wants to have favors distributed among them according to his position. If he is not satisfied with what he gets, he threatens to either break up or leave the party. It is personalization of the politics in one sense and is totally against the democratic system and against the rules that govern a political party.

If we look at the Janata Dal's problems in this context, we can easily determine whether these problems are political or nonpolitical. The Janata Dal had faced this unfortunate situation since its inception. This party was born in 1988 when the whole nation was drowned in the Bofors scandal and other corruption issues. Mr. V.P. Singh led this campaign against those activities and, perhaps, was elected Janata Dal's leader for this reason. However, the format of the party allowed for the creation of small groups. Now, leaders of each of these small groups are asking for their shares of the loot.

The people perhaps will not believe how the leaders fought over the elections tickets for the Lok Sabha and legislative assemblies after the elections were announced. That is why the people who won elections include politicians, antisocial elements, and relatives of some national leaders. This was a coalition of such disparate people that it was not possible to fight a basic and strong evil institution like corruption.

The Janata Dal would not have been effected much even when the Janata Dal government fell if the party had still kept fighting corruption as its first priority. Perhaps, this goal alone was enough to bring about revolutionary changes in the country. When, knowingly or unknowingly, this goal was taken away from the party, only then did other powers tried to tumble its government. The party had to look for another goal for the elections after its government fell. The National Front government had decided to implement the Mandal Commission recommendations. However, the government had forgotten that it was important to organize forces at a lower level to

counter the confrontational environment that might result when implementing the Commission's recommendations.

The Janata Dal perhaps had the misunderstanding at that time that the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and the left-wing parties were forced to accept its government. Harijans and tribals had become very politically aware after the declaration to implement the Mandal Commission recommendations was made. V.P. Singh's public meetings attracted huge crowds everywhere, however, the organization required to unite these crowds was not there. These crowds moved toward other directions. The temple campaign was also running at the same time as the Mandal Commission, and Congress (I) got the sympathy support when Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated. It is clear that the parties that had strong organizations at lower levels benefited from these three waves.

The arguments that took place at the national working committee, political committee, and other levels in the party indicated that the party was not mentally prepared for its declared election goals. Some leaders complained that the party had emphasized the Mandal Commission too much. Some complained that important issues like inflation and unemployment were ignored. Still others complained why specific castes were not included in the Mandal Commission report.

Before the party could make plans to prepare itself mentally, it faced the dilemma of supporting or not supporting the minority government of Congress (I). Many leaders announced direct or indirect support even before the party leadership made any decision. The surprising thing is that both Ajit Singh and V.P. Singh also gave hints in this context. George Fernandes and Lalu Yadav said that the people mandated them to sit in the opposition benches and it was not their responsibility to protect the government. Still, the atmosphere of confrontation between Ajit Singh and V.P. Singh was created.

Ajit Singh's supporters demanded that he should replace Mr. Bommai as the party president. However, as soon as this demand was made, Sharad Yadav, Ramvilas Paswan, and Mufti Mohammed Sayyed groups all united in support of V.P. Singh and divided all the important party positions among themselves. Exactly at that time, the rumor about Ajit Singh's joining the Congress (I) also became very strong and this aggravated the situation even more. George Fernandes, Biju Patnayak, Madhu Dandvate, and Surendar Mohan all came forward to make peace.

Were this problem political in nature, it would have been solved. However, it is extremely difficult to find solutions to such nonpolitical situations in which personal ambitions clash and getting one's personal share is the major issue. This crisis has also reduced the possibility for the party's to have a lower level organizational structure and become the basis for social and economic

changes. The pitiful condition of Janata Dal workers can be determined by the fact that when they were trying to appeal to the leaders not to break up the party, the leaders avoided even seeing them!

Congress(I) Said Unable To Accept Sonia's Refusal

91AS1275B Jalandhar PUNJAB KESARI in Hindi
10 Jul 91 p 4

[Article by Kuldip Nayar: "The Forces of Confusion in Congress (I): They Are Still Attempting To Bring in Sonia"]

[Text] A drop of sweat does not mean the arrival of summer, and a little rain does not herald the monsoons. However, both of these indicators point to a change in the weather. Mr. Shiv Shankar's resignation as leader of the Congress (I) Party in the Rajya Sabha may not have caused a crisis in the party, but it does indicate the rising dissatisfaction in the party. This could present a major challenge to Prime Minister Narsingh Rao one day.

Mr. Shiv Shankar has signed a statement in which a demand to elect a legislative leader for the Congress Party was made. He is a strong supporter of Defense Minister Sharad Pawar, who is considered the main hope for the anti-Narsingh Rao elements. Shiv Shankar may not have consulted Mr. Pawar before turning in his resignation; however, he must have told him about his decision.

Therefore, this affair cannot be dismissed as easily as the Congress (I) "sources" have done. The so-called "sources" are actually a band of people that have no power base in the party, but they have money and muscle to solve their problems. Their apathetic reaction to this resignation was not unexpected, either.

The speed with which Mr. S.B. Chavan's name was "leaked" to the press shows that this group of people has a strong influence on Mr. Narsingh Rao, or that Mr. Rao himself had concluded that he is capable of dealing with any challenge, including Shiv Shankar. This is difficult to explain, while Mr. Shiv Shankar was not asked even once to reconsider his one-sentence resignation letter.

Mr. Shiv Shankar was specially invited to the special meeting of the Congress (I) Working Committee, which was called after Rajiv Gandhi's assassination. Mr. H.K.L. Bhagat, who issued press releases, was reminded about it. Later, Mr. Shiv Shankar was never invited to any meeting. There is no doubt that this group was upset with Shiv Shankar, because they considered him as one of the people who had argued that election of the Congress (I) chairman should be postponed when the name of Sonia Gandhi was brought up.

But Mr. Karuna Karan, leader of Kerala's Congress (I), who also supported this postponement, had been appointed chief minister and no one expressed anger at whatever he had said in the Congress (I) Working

Committee meeting. Why then was Shiv Shankar victimized? There is only one explanation for this development. It could be that he was considered indigestible. It could also imply that his leader, Sharad Pawar, is also being considered dangerous.

It is true to an extent that when Siddhartha Shankar Ray and Karuna Karan were polling the opinion of Congress (I) legislators as to whom, between Narsingh Rao and Sharad Pawar, should be elected leader, Narsingh Rao's side had been a lot stronger. The Shiv Shankar fiasco could be the result of this lopsided competition. However, it also appears that dissatisfaction is increasing.

To express their anger at not being consulted, meetings of various Congress (I) legislative groups are being held. One campaign is to require that one person should hold only one position. The purpose of this campaign is to target those members who have cabinet membership as well as position in the party, but also Mr. Narsingh Rao, who is both the chairman of the Party and the prime minister.

Criticism of Chandra Sawami is also being carried out just to harass Mr. Narsingh Rao. They both are said to be very close to each other, and I.N.K. Singh, the CBI [Central Bureau of Investigation] official, had said in his appeal against his transfer in the Supreme Court that they both were involved in the Saint Kitts case. The history of problems in Congress (I) indicates that its leadership was never directly challenged. This series of events had evolved in a very simple way. Shiv Shankar and his followers have formed a group of "disappointed people," which has branches in all states and districts. The purpose of this group is to present complaints against the people who are responsible for putting them in this situation. This group is open to all parties and people. Mr. Jayoti Basu, chief minister of West Bengal, was asked to preside at this group's inauguration. This convention will be held in New Delhi.

Formation of such a group within or without Congress (I) is not a new development. There was a time when even Jawaharlal Nehru had blessed this group that was formed to straighten out his opponents within the party. Mrs. Indira Gandhi had also organized a group before the division in the Congress Party in 1969 when she was being pressured by the "syndicate," or the old boys' network. The group that Mr. Shiv Shankar has organized is different in nature because his group has been organized by people who are opposing the group that is in power.

The sources of information in this group are very potent. It is not ignoring facts. These people think that their greatest benefactor is Sonia Gandhi. They want to have her elected to the Lok Sabha from Amethi and have her rise up in the party. Mrs. Sonia Gandhi seems to be shifting her original position of staying away from the Congress (I) and its politics. She has started meeting with Congress (I) members. It should be mentioned that Sharad Pawar had visited Mrs. Sonia Gandhi after

taking his oath as a cabinet minister. Mrs. Sonia Gandhi had also invited Mr. Shiv Shankar a day earlier.

It remains to be seen whether this group convinces Sonia Gandhi to take an active role in the party. However, it is claiming that it has Mrs. Sonia Gandhi's support and is acting as if the power behind the throne is Mrs. Sonia Gandhi. However, no solid proof has been presented in this effort. It is better not to say anything about the Congress Party. The presence of this group in the cabinet does not give weight to its claims, now that Mr. Narsingh Rao has put all of them in their places by giving them unimportant departments. Still, they have not stopped demonstrating their old feelings.

So far, only Sharad Pawar is an exception. He has been given the Defense Department, which he wanted because his political guru, Y. B. Chavan, who was Maharashtra Chief Minister before, was Defense Minister in a previous cabinet. However, those people who had proposed election of a party leader at Mr. Chavan's urging were kept out of the government.

The pressure and tension in the party is emerging before it was expected. The forecast made by some that this party will fall prey to internal strife after the power struggle is finished has not proved to be correct. They had said that the cracks in the parties will continue to widen. Mr. Narsingh Rao needs some time to establish his supremacy and hold on people.

However, the image of both Congress (I) and the government will naturally be tainted at a time when the prime minister should appear strong and influential. He should not be busy trying to put out the fires of internal strife within the party. His attention would be diverted in such a situation. His full energies should be focused on the economic and political problems in the country.

The prime minister has only two options. First, he should invite the Janata Dal, National Front, and left-wing parties to give broad support to the Congress. If this happens, Shiv Shankar or Ratnakar Pande will have no importance.

The second option for Mr. Narsingh Rao is to present himself totally separate from this group. He can do this by restructuring the cabinet. All of them are busy making their plans and responding to the plans of other members. This will not help to improve the image of the prime minister or of the government. Mr. Narsingh Rao has seen those glorious days of the Congress when following ideals and morals were very important. Later, however, some men and women pushed the ideals aside and created a condition where they thought petty and selfish interests were more important.

Mr. Narsingh Rao must end the influence of this group. It is his duty to rid the nation of such corruption and factionalism based on selfishness. Once he puts his efforts in this direction he will find that he is not unprotected, and that no challenge is too big for him to take care of. He will find the whole nation behind him.

CPI Leaders Call on Left Through Writings

91AS1552A New Delhi PATRIOT in English
17 Aug 91 p 5

[Italicized words as published]

[Text] Two veteran CPI [Communist Party of India] leaders, Mr. N.K. Krishnan and Mr. S.G. Sardesai, have pleaded with the leadership of Left parties, particularly of the CPI and the CPI-M [Communist party of India-Marxist], to give up the dogmatic inhibitions about political alliances and evolve a more flexible tactic to meet the new situation which is full of turns and twists.

Writing in the Independence Day issue of NEW AGE and other central journals of the party, the two leaders have termed the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] as the real enemy and called upon the Left to initiate mass movement in defence of secularism while uniting all the secular and democratic forces, including those inside the Congress.

Mr. Sardesai, whose article has been qualified by an editorial note that "it is by the Communist veteran who is well known for his thinking and writings off the beaten track," is in the form of questions posed to the leadership. Mr. Sardesai has said "we have daydreamers in the NF [National Front]-Left camp as well. The JD [Janata Dal] has been reduced to a Bihar party. Mandal is not a magician's wand and no national party can maintain its appeal for long just on one plank.

"M. Karunanidhi, Rama Rao and P.K. Mahanta have exhausted their steam. Can such company build an alternative to the Congress on a national scale? There are no miracles in politics."

Posing the same question, Mr. Krishnan says "wedded to the philosophy to be in "alliance" with this or that bourgeois party, the CPI and Left parties should analyse their past. For instance, one of the main reasons that led to the DMK's [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] unprecedented rout in the recent elections in Tamilnadu was not merely "sympathy wave" after the dastardly assassination of Rajiv Gandhi but was also people's anger against them for their nexus with the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam], which the CPI and other Left parties studiously ignored. Similar lessons could be drawn from other States also."

While Mr. Sardesai pleads for "politics of consensus and not of confrontation" he points out that "Jyoti Basu and a number of prominent leaders of other parties have gone on record that India's economic, political and social crisis can no longer be solved by any single party. There is no solution short of a consensus between secular, democratic and left parties."

Mr. Krishnan also feels that "the urgent task before us on the political front is an all out *political ideological offensive* against the BJP and its rightist policies and against communalism of all hues.

Advocating for a flexible tactics and "retaining and strengthening of independent capacity of action and independence of initiative, based on a clearcut class and national approach, integrated together," Mr. Krishnan clarifies that "this does not mean sectarian isolationism, but the capacity to unleash widest mass movements and militant struggles from issue to issue, mobilising suitable allies flexibly without any dogmatic inhibitions or tying up with permanent political alliances which inevitably hamper such mobilisation."

BJP Mandate, Challenges in U.P. Viewed

Unprecedented Opportunity Seen

91AS1161A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi
28 Jun 91 p 6

[Article by Banwari: "Historical Opportunity for Uttar Pradesh"]

[Text] For the first time Uttar Pradesh [U.P.] has a government that is not influenced by Delhi. Most of the time, in spite of a strong government in Lucknow, it is Delhi that runs the government. This practice started during the time of Govind Vallabh Pant's over whom Jawaharlal Nehru had no control. However, he [Nehru] did not want to let Uttar Pradesh leave its sphere of influence. Therefore, he used Chander Bhan Gupta to weaken Govind Vallabh Pant and create a situation that forced Pant to move to Delhi. Mr. Sampurnand also ruled Lucknow. However, all the chief ministers, including him, were really running the government under the orders from the Delhi government.

Uttar Pradesh has become famous for providing leaders for the nation. Therefore, all prime ministers watch Uttar Pradesh closely. None of the Congress prime ministers ever let the Uttar Pradesh chief minister become strong enough to run his government on his own. Not just chief ministers; they also did not even let any other leaders in the state, who could challenge the Delhi leadership, because of his ability and talent to emerge. This is true not just for Uttar Pradesh, but in other states, too. All of the leaders in Delhi have followed the policy of making sure that no leader emerges in any state to become their rival.

The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] government in Uttar Pradesh is the first government that can be free from Delhi's control. This has been the first time that one single party has been able to form a strong government in this state, and that party is not in power at the center. The central government is weak because it does not have a majority. The atmosphere in Uttar Pradesh is such that the Delhi government cannot even look for an excuse to overthrow the Lucknow government. Creating such mischief for Narsingh Rao's government would be analogous to playing with fire. Therefore the BJP government in Lucknow can run its affairs without any worry.

The Kalyan Singh government in Uttar Pradesh could use this situation for overhauling Uttar Pradesh. The

people in Uttar Pradesh do not have the time to worry about themselves. Any region or sect can progress only when it faces an outside challenge. It feels that it will be left behind when compared to others. Uttar Pradesh is backward compared to many other states. However, the people of this state never felt it strongly.

The main reason is because they see their paths open in all directions. They believed that they would make progress with Delhi's help. Delhi had supremacy over northern Indian states. Because of this supremacy, it could lead many states. This keeps the people happy and they do not feel inferior to anyone. This self-satisfaction has hindered Uttar Pradesh's progress and did not allow it to play any role at the national level.

The Ganges and Jamuna valley has played a very important role in this country. This valley has been an important pilgrimage place for the nation. Whenever something excelled in any part of the country, it has always been brought to the Ganges and Jamuna valley for acceptance. Scholarship has prospered very well in the whole country, but all scholars had always wanted to demonstrate their scholarship in the Ganges and Jamuna valley. Great sadhus and sages have also come here. This area has also been attractive to artisans and other important people.

The whole country has also expected a get deal from Uttar Pradesh. The antinorth campaign prospered in Tamil Nadu; however, it always expected the people from the Ganges and Jamuna valley to protect it from danger. These expectations, however, had been proved futile during the last 40 to 50 years. The political leadership had excelled in Uttar Pradesh. However, the social, economic, and political situations had deteriorated rapidly. It appears that its knowledge and strength are gone.

In the beginning, the reason for this was the total neglect of the U.P. leaders that had left. Jawaharlal Nehru and several of his associates were worried that they would be accused of taking sides with their own state. As a result, Uttar Pradesh became backward in the areas of agriculture and industry. The new programs implemented in the early years also benefited the non-Hindi speaking states. It is true that in spite of all of this, Uttar Pradesh is not lifeless. The reason for this is that this state has been one of the most active in the nation.

Uttar Pradesh got some attention when news about poverty and maladministration was spread. Some development work was done during Chanderbhan Gupta's era. However, good progress in agriculture and industry was made during the last 10 to 15 years. This happened because of the initiative and action of the local people. New techniques were used in agriculture and industry. Some side effects of this progress were also felt just like in the rest of the country. Unemployment has increased, and economic disparities have increased also. All in all, this state is not as poor as it once was.

We have to expect Uttar Pradesh to look for new paths. Until now, the people in Uttar Pradesh did not think about improving their own lot. They did not work on finding new ways that could be copied by other states. There is no vested interest for Uttar Pradesh in the present Delhi government. Therefore, they have the opportunity to focus their energy on themselves and on their skills and abilities. The Lucknow government should not miss this historic opportunity.

It has been often said that Uttar Pradesh is large and strange from a geographic point of view. It is not easy to look at it from one point, and it causes regional imbalance. It has been suggested that Uttar Pradesh be divided into two or three states. We have to think from the very beginning to say if this division would be good or not. However, initiatives can be taken to solve this problem at various government levels.

Our administrative structure is very confusing, and it encourages inefficiency and waste. The government functions are divided, and all plans are made at the top and are distributed among the divisions. These plans have no relation to the actual happenings in the regions. One experiment was conducted during Kasturi Thakur's reign to solve this problem. Every state minister was given two districts. One benefit of this arrangement was that the government began to be aware of major local problems and various regional plans were implemented more carefully. Later, some Congress governments also emulated it. However, none of these governments expanded this experiment with seriousness.

The problem is how to overhaul the whole working arrangement. Ideally, all plans should be made at district levels. Their implementation and direction should also be taken out of the hands of the bureaucracy and given to selected local organizations. However, the selfishness of political leaders, their mutual jealousies, and fear of losing power does not let Panchayat [village council] institutions rise. Many states have tried to forcibly implement the Panchayat system; however, they are only used to implement the plans made at the top government level. A good Panchayat structure can be started in Uttar Pradesh that can have supremacy in its region.

Cultural groups and regions can also be established at this level. A healthy rivalry among Avadh, Baraj, Ruhelkhand, Bundelkhand, Kumayun, and Garhwal should be encouraged, and the people of these regions should develop regional identities. This would help expand current progress. There are two problems with present development plans. First, instead of improving skills of people, attention is given to producing things. No attention is given to improving education, understanding, talent, and courage of the people. All that is considered is the total production, even when it increases unemployment and makes them weak and fearful. Second, progress is viewed within the framework of economic development.

If we keep in mind that we not have only to increase production but also have to expand our culture, then many disparities can be removed. Culture can be improved only when our goal is not to develop an industrial state, but to make progress in every area. Such inspiration can emerge only when our main goal is cultural revolution. This experiment can be carried out in Uttar Pradesh, because the government was elected by various social groups.

Most important, the BJP government of Uttar Pradesh should be different from the Congress governments of the past. To achieve this, we should decentralize instead of centralize the functions of the government. The Indian approach has been that whenever there is a center of power, it should not be revolted against because such revolt will destroy the establishment. We have to learn to divide government and power following this principle. We should focus on people instead of things, and find ways to improve their energies and abilities. This can be achieved only when the responsibility for development is given to the Panchayats and taken form of government.

Meaning of Mandate Analyzed

91AS1161B Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi
2 Jul 91 p 6

[Article by Vishwanath: "The Meaning of the Mandate Received by BJP"]

[Text] "We make a covenant with Rama that we shall build a temple right here." This slogan was started during the Ayodhya campaign. Later, when the elections were held, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad repeated this vow in large posters. The election results were declared. The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] formed the government in Uttar Pradesh [U.P.]. The BJP cabinet went to Ayodhya to take a group oath as its first task; its oath was to build a Rama temple. Such oaths were taken in Ayodhya in the past too, but this was the first time an entire government cabinet raised the same slogan that volunteers had raised in the past.

The main leaders of the BJP were very careful in using religion to ask for votes during the election. It is not true that votes were not asked in the name of religion, because the BJP had other people do this work. Posters challenging the Hindus and taking oaths over the region were posted by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Bajrang Dal. They used parties like Sadhvi Writemra, that were not members of the BJP group, to spew fire in their speeches in the name of Hinduism. The BJP does not feel it is necessary to be careful about it any longer. This is clear from the travel of the entire cabinet to Ayodhya to take the oath. It shows that it is going to strengthen the Hindu vote bank, which the BJP had cashed hiding behind the Bajrang Dal.

Outwardly, Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Kalyan Singh is talking about opening the door to a congenial atmosphere and mutual agreement. However, he does not hesitate to send out the message to the whole nation that

he has taken the oath in Ayodhya and his goal is to build the temple. Mr. Murli Manohar Joshi, the BJP chairman, has openly stated that there will be no compromise about building the temple, and it would be at the same site!

Anyhow, this oath-taking incident is not being mentioned here in context of the Ayodhya conflict; rather, it is being mentioned in context of the BJP's "positive secularism." The commonly accepted meaning of secularism is considered false by the BJP. It considers it an excuse to take the side of the Muslims. Then what exactly is positive secularism? If it means what it appears to from the U.P. cabinet's trip to Ayodhya, then there is no difference between the BJP and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad.

It is true that the BJP could not form a government at the Center. However, attaining a majority in an important state like Uttar Pradesh and winning over 100 seats in the assembly is not a small victory. This victory is not so big, however, that the BJP should lose its sense of direction. It is true, however, that the BJP's base has expanded. It is also true that this is the first time in the history of the BJP that it has won the support of so many voters; it did not receive so many votes in the past. However, it does not mean that the BJP has received a mandate to become sectarian. Whatever the BJP won, was won on the Hindu vote. The BJP cannot ignore the fact that only a minority of the Hindus support it. If all the Hindus of this nation were with the BJP, it would have replaced the Congress party at the Center. Not only this, but also the voters in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Himachal Pradesh rejected BJP policies and proposals. Against this background, it is important that the BJP does some thinking. It should think about how the value of the blank check given to it by the Hindu vote. It should think about how such stunts as taking an oath in Ayodhya fit in with its positive secularism. It should think about how the Bajrang Dal, Shiv Sena, or Sadhvi Writemra fit in with such a definition of secularism.

Since we have expected secularism as a price of life and have added it to our Constitution, we did not mean that no state in independent India will have any religion. Instead, we meant that all religions would be equal. The secularism in the West was borne out of the church-versus-state struggle. The question was whether the church or the government was bigger. The government won in this struggle. This meant that religion could not interfere with politics in the government. In other words, freedom from religion was the definition of secularism. Government's freedom from religious control was the definition of secularism. In India, secularism means equal protection to all religions by the government. We had accepted this principle during our struggle for freedom. Since then, it has become an integral part of our politics. By accepting this principle, we gave a mantra to Indian people of different religions. This concept was based on the premise that this nation is shared by followers of various religions.

The BJP has called this mantra of unity a means to take sides. It says that the minorities are false in the name of secularism. It has presented positive secularism to counter it.

If this message of this positive approach means taking oaths in Ayodhya, then this message is very dangerous. This is even more dangerous than the messages given by the Sadhvi Writemra and Vishwa Hindu Parishad in their election meetings. It is more dangerous because this message is given by a government. Government has the responsibility to establish law and order, assure all groups of security, and guarantee to protect their rights.

The BJP and the whole nation have to accept the fact that the majority does not become an autocratic force in a real democracy. The other fact they must accept is that secularism is the opposite of religious communalism. When we strengthen the feelings of secularism, we can counter communalism effectively. In our country, secularism also stands for the uniqueness that guarantees our unity. It does not cover just our unity, but also our faith in the democratic institution.

The Rama Janambhumi conflict has become a criterion. The U.P. chief minister has declared his goal to "build a temple right here." He has made the assurance that the "changing situation" will force the central government to help rather than hinder this effort. If he means that the increased number of BJP seats in the Lok Sabha and the formation of a BJP government in Uttar Pradesh have changed the situation, then he should remember that the so-called changed situation has also made it clear that the majority of the Hindus have voted against the communalism that he and his associates were encouraging during the election. The majority of Hindus have voted against using Hinduism and Rama to collect votes. When the mandate for the BJP is to unite the nation and not to break it up, they should worship Rama, but not gather votes in his name. They should not use Hinduism to grind their political axes. If there is a mandate, then it says that one must save the country from burning in the fire of communalism instead of taking oaths to fulfill its desires. They should look at other peoples' desires with love.

Analyst Views BJP Resolve To Construct Mandir
91AS1273A Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi
11 Jul 91 p 5

[Article by Ram Bahadur Ray: "When Will the Mandir Be Built?"]

[Text] The six-year-old campaign to build Rama's Temple has reached a new phase. Now the new ingredient of responsibility has been added to this struggle. This change was effected by the recent elections. The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] government is installed in Uttar Pradesh [U.P.] now. The BJP got popular support mainly because of its promise to build a temple. We do not think that the BJP even got one antitemple vote. As soon as the election results came out, and before the

cabinet was even formed, the BJP legislators and Lok Sabha members (who technically were already elected candidates) were asked by the people: When will the temple be built? This question is asked of them everywhere. It appears that the Kalyan Singh government has only one mandate.

Mr. Kalyan Singh ignored Atal Bihari Bajpai's anger and expressed his promise in Ayodhya. Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi led them in this effort. The legislators and Lok Sabha members who were present at this occasion said that this whole atmosphere was created by Dr. Joshi. If Mr. Bajpai is dualist on this issue, then Dr. Joshi is monotheist. The BJP's stand here is clear, and this stand is taken by a national political party. Kalyan Singh gave a political hint by going to Ayodhya. This was a hint to both the temple supporters and its opponents. Mr. Kalyan Singh really has proved to be unique as a politician. His visit to Ayodhya was the first hint. The second step was going to Delhi and holding separate meetings with Vishwa Hindu Parishad, the BJP, and temple supporters. It is important to note that Chief Minister Kalyan Singh visited all those peoples and places openly (he had a car with a siren and lights flashing ahead of it). He simply made no effort to be secretive at all. His working style is the exact opposite of that of Vishwanath Pratap Singh and Subodh Kant Sahay. The umbrella on the foundation stone has been reinstated. This could be called the third hint.

Acharya Giriraj Kishore, Joint Secretary of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, viewed this whole development differently. According to him, this is the first and very important step in fulfilling the desires of the people. The revenue minister of Uttar Pradesh, Braham Dutta Duvedi, told journalists that the site of the foundation stone is correct. A similar statement was also made by two former Home Ministers, Sardar Buta Singh and Mufti Mohammed Sayyed, in the Lok Sabha in the past. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad has repeatedly said that the foundation stone has been laid at the main gate, according to the blueprint of the temple. When construction begins, the work is to start from that exact spot. The disagreement is about the location of the birth place. The Parishad believes that the nursery is the spot where Rama was born. The nursery the temple is considered its most important part. Worshipers have been worshipping there for the last four decades. The building on top of this place is the Babri Mosque.

The main problem is related to the location of the nursery. The question arises: Will the U.P. government be able to resolve this argument? Who will work on this problem: the courts, talks between the three groups, the state government, or the central government? This disagreement is considered a question of ownership in the eyes of the law. The basic questions can be resolved once the ownership of the property in question is established. More than 40 years have passed, and the courts have not made any decision on the ownership. This is a ridiculous side of our legal system. All political parties, except for the BJP, say that this issue should be settled in a court.

This makes the BJP suspect in our eyes. The BJP considers this whole issue as being above the law. Mr. Lalkarishan Advani said that a court can make decisions about the ownership of property, but it cannot make a decision on this issue. All efforts to have talks on this issue have proved futile because of these disagreements. Mr. Ashoka Singhal, General Secretary of the Parishad, told newsmen last week that he considered any discussion of the issue useless, because the Parishad has presented solid proof for their case. He was saying this keeping in view the talks held during Chandra Shekhar's time.

The situation has changed, and a minority government of the Congress party is established at the Center. A BJP government with a negligible majority is ruling Uttar Pradesh. The Home Ministry at the Center had conducted all the formal talks. It established a special department to work on this issue during V. P. Singh's time. This department has been dissolved now, and all special officials of this department have been relocated. The new home minister, Shankar Rao Chavan, has taken a very different stand. All in all, the Rama Janambhumi-Babri Mosque conflict is not on his priority list. In other words, the central government is not going to make any effort to resolve this issue. All the statements issued by the specialists and experts representing the Parishad and the Muslim groups have been locked in a bureau. No official has been appointed yet to study them. All talks with the Indian Archaeological Bureau have been suspended. Home Minister Shankar Rao Chavan has adopted a fair attitude toward the U.P. government. He has declared that it is the responsibility of the state government to maintain peace and good will. Prime Minister P.V. Narsingh Rao wants this issue to be resolved at the state level.

The P.V. Narsingh Rao government has sent the ball of the temple construction into the court of the state government. This is not a new game. In 1987, then Chief Minister Narain Dutta Tiwari had played the same game and created a major problem for Rajiv Gandhi's government. After learning from past experiences, P.V. Narsingh Rao has adopted an attitude about which two people are very knowledgeable: Atal Bihari Bajpai and Ashoka Singhal. Their priorities are different; however, both agree that the temple should be built. Mr. Bajpai is trying to keep the distance between the government and the Janata Dal to minimize the hurdles in the path of temple construction. Mr. Ashoka Singhal is reminding the central government about the whole struggle and that it should not make the mistake of interfering in this issue.

Now the whole responsibility falls on the U.P. government. Mr. Kalyan Singh, the U.P. chief minister, is trying not to repeat Mulayam Singh's mistakes. He wants to avoid being called onesided. He has overturned all of Mulayam Singh's efforts by appointing Braham Dutta Duvedi as the revenue minister. Mulayam Singh had appointed Babri campaign leader Mohammed Azam Khan to the revenue ministry. The site of litigation and

the land around it is supervised by this ministry. The new state minister is a confidant of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad. He is a famous lawyer. The BJP leaders had repeatedly said during the election that all hurdles in the path of building a temple would be removed once their government was established. They are giving interpretation of this assurance now. The government has been established in Uttar Pradesh, not at the Center. The BJP supports a campaign for building a temple; however, the temple will be built by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad. The BJP and the Parishad both are painting the central government as the main opponent to the temple construction. The Congress Party is quiet at this time. The National Front, the Left Front, and the Socialist Janata Party are all demanding explanations from the central government.

The main hurdles in the path of building the temple are political forces. Either these political forces are unaware of some very important historical facts, or they are tied by political and cultural restrictions. The fact is that the Islamic government built two kinds of mosques during the Middle Ages. The first type of mosques were religious in nature, and worship was permitted according to Islamic rules there. The second type of mosques were political. The religious mosques are clear in their stand. Books have been written about them, and there are thousands of those mosques in the country.

The political forces that support temple construction and those who oppose it both need to rethink the whole issue now. They have to decide where they want to take this question. The last election clarified two issues. The temple building issue has become very important to the Hindu society. This is causing various reactions among the Muslims. The campaign to build Rama's Temple at the site of the Babri Mosque was originally started because of religious beliefs. However, this issue stretched into the political battleground. The time has come to draw a line between the two groups. Once this line is drawn, and this problem is viewed from a historical perspective, then Indian politics can be saved from going wayward. However, dozens of questions are waiting to be answered. Two examples of these are entry of foreign nationals into border states (Article 371) and the decreasing population of the Hindus because of the mistakes and failures of V.P. Singh's government policies. The question of the temple has become very important. Everyone is being tested now. Who will emerge from the subterfuge of their political limitations?

The stand of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad is clear. Its leadership is not ambiguous. They are aware of their success. The organization of the Parishad is loose and weak, but whenever they need it, they receive full support from their campaign. The Parishad had established a network among Hindus all over the country during the last six years. The Parishad leaders have repeatedly said that their campaign is not to establish a BJP government; rather, they want a government that helps in building the temple. They have in Kalyan Singh's government an answer to their prayers. This government has eliminated

most of the security arrangements in Ayodhya. A meeting of the Rama volunteers is being held under the auspices of the Parishad in Ayodhya on 20, 21, and 22 July. The Parishad has invited BJP legislators, ministers, and chief ministers to this meeting. The Parishad will expand its credibility in the Ayodhya meeting. A committee has been established for building a temple in Lucknow. The Parishad's stand is clear on the issue of building the temple. It does not want to push the issue. The Parishad is quiet about "hurrying" and "doing it very fast." The deadline could be in four months. The U.P. government and the Parishad experts met in Lucknow on 5 July. Chief Minister Kalyan Singh had discussed the issue in Delhi on 1 July. We can guess the speed at which this project is moving by the fact that he had two meetings in one week.

All buildings over 100 years old are considered to be historical. The Babri Mosque comes under this category. It is included in a current list since it meets this criterion. The state government has to accept the central government's decision over this list. If the central government decides to take it under its jurisdiction, then the role of the state government would be eliminated. However, if the state government declares it a religious place, then this building will be eliminated from the special list. A lot of discussion is being carried out over these two options.

BJP Proceeding Cautiously on Mandir Construction

Differences With VHP Said Growing

*91AS1400A New Delhi DINMAN TIMES in Hindi
10 Aug 91 p 12*

[Article by Salma Zaidi: "The Difference of Opinion Between BJP and VHP Is Growing"]

[Text] Both the BJP [Bharatya Janata Party] and the VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad] are adamant that a temple be built in Ram Janambhumi area. However, the BJP seems to be softening its attitude since the election results were declared. The VHP has maintained its same attitude. BJP leaders are pressing to solve this issue with talks while Ashoka Singhal of the VHP is declaring openly that if this issue is not resolved by 18 November, they will start building the temple.

This hidden conflict between the BJP and the VHP has not yet come out in the open. However, it is crystal clear that there is dissatisfaction somewhere. The DINMAN TIMES talked with some VHP and BJP leaders to get clarification.

Uma Bharati, the BJP legislator, is a hard-working member of the VHP. She denied that there was any difference between the two parties. She said that it would be better if this issue is resolved by talks and that the U.P. [uttar Pradesh] government has been given until 18 November to work on it. When asked why the BJP did not demonstrate the kind of zeal it had during the

"Rathayatra," she replied, "that zeal was reactive because Mulayam Singh Yadav was unyielding about building the temple and placating the Muslims. His attitude had added fuel to the fire and doubled the demand for building the temple. Now, since there is no such complaint against Kalyan Singh's government, such zeal is not being demonstrated."

Her demeanor was shaken when her attention was brought to the fact that the VHP was still showing the old zeal while the BJP had softened its stand. She said angrily, "The VHP is not a slave to the BJP. It is not necessary for it to form its policies to meet BJP plans or make changes as BJP wishes."

Mahant Adwait Nath, the BJP leader, seems to be fully satisfied with the BJP approach. He believes that since the previous governments were given time to solve this issue with talks, the BJP should also have this similar opportunity.

Mahant Nath said, "The BJP government would not have been formed in U.P. for another 20 years if Maulana Bukhari and such other Muslim leaders had not been so stubborn in their demands. If they do not give up their rigid attitude about building the mosque, the day is not far when a BJP government will be installed at the Center."

Anand Ratan Mauriyya, the BJP legislator elected from Chandauli, rejects the rumors about differences between the two parties. He said that it was already decided that the VHP would be responsible for financing the temple construction while the BJP would provide support at government level. He believed that it was happening as planned and no one should have any complaints.

Mauriyya said that Chief Minister Kalyan Singh was willing to hold talks because he believed that he was capable of assuring the opposing group. He said that he (Kalyan Singh) should be given this opportunity.

He further said that no difference was noted even during the recent convention of the VHP. Some minor VHP leaders might be complaining about the decreased zeal shown by the BJP. However, top leadership has never indicated this in their talks or by their attitude.

Anand Ratan Mauriyya declared that there was no possibility of confrontation between the BJP and the VHP on any issue now or in the future.

Both BJP and VHP leaders are avoiding making any open statement. However, it is evident that given the opportunity they do not miss taking shots at each other. When VHP's Ashoka Singhal emphasized that since the BJP had won the elections on the temple issue it should not be slack on it, it shows some dissatisfaction with the BJP strategy. Meanwhile, when Kalyan Singh's attention was brought to the fact that some VHP leaders were not satisfied with the BJP strategy, he said, "They are free to criticize, but the government will do what it considers

appropriate." The time has not come for open accusations and counteraccusations, however, we cannot deny its possibility, either."

Rao Government Not Seen as Obstacle

91AS1400B New Delhi DINMAN TIMES in Hindi
10 Aug 91 p 2

[Article by Habib Akhtar: "No Clash Expected With Center Over Temple Construction—K.R. Malkani"]

[Text] Bharatiya Janata Party's [BJP] vice chairman, K.R. Malkani, said that his party did not want to clash with the Center over the temple construction issue and that the central government also favored resolving this issue peacefully.

Mr. Malkani told the DINMAN TIMES while discussing the Babri mosque-Ram Janambhumi issue that that BJP wants to build the temple. We will remove any hurdles that comes in the way of building the temple, he said.

When asked if this meant that the BJP was retracting from its promise, he said that we never promised to build a temple. The temple was to be built by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] and the committee especially formed for this purpose.

The BJP ran for election with the stated purpose of 'liberating' Rama's birthplace and building a temple. The party president, Lalkarishan Advani made a long trip from Somnath to Ayodhya and said that he was joining the volunteers demanding to build the temple. Mr. Malkani replied that his party was not a construction company. The committee would supervise the construction. He said that this was the task for all of society, however, the committee was especially involved.

Mr. Malkani said that the temple will be built at the site of the original temple and where the alleged Babri mosque is located now. He said that government documents showed that the Babri mosque was originally known as "birthplace mosque." The name Babri was added later on.

Mr. Malkani said that the Hindus believed that the Muslims were wrong. The Muslims and the Hindus looked at history differently. People from different countries came here, however, the Hindus are still dissatisfied with the Muslims. Therefore, it was important that the issue of the three temples be resolved to remove this resentment.

He said that this will help the Muslims. "We have solid proof of some temples being razed for building mosques. The temple in Ayodhya was not destroyed by Babar. It was the Turks and it appears that it was wrecked many times. It did not happen in 1528."

What will be the result of this practice of distorting historical facts and digging old graves? He replied that he was embarrassed at what was being said and what was being done. The Muslims think that they used to rule in

this region and their nawab ruled in Faizabad. Urdu was supported everywhere before. Now that Hindi is being used, people ask where did Hindi come from? They did not want to give equal status to Hindi.

Mr. Malkani became a little angry and said that the seed for Pakistan was not sown in Karachi or Lahore. It began in Lucknow.

How appropriate is it to start a campaign over Muslims not ruling the country? Everything is being done according to the Constitution and the law. He asked, what made us think that the Muslims are not in the government. They have 100 million votes and a 10-percent share in the government. However, they are not the rulers. He said that [the Muslims] were never rulers here. The Turks ruled here and so did the Moguls. They all considered the Muslims here as their agents. They cannot be rulers. The Moguls considered themselves closer to the Rajputs.

Because India is a democracy, everyone who has a vote will use it. Mr. Malkani said that the remaining votes will also show their power as they wished.

Can we find a solution without hurting the feelings of 10 percent of our population? The BJP chairman said that we need to be creative to find such a solution. The Muslims should think, why are the Hindus doing all this and why are they saying what they are saying. It is not a minor matter that forts and temples built by Hindu kings were destroyed. The Hindus cannot forget these incidents.

The way you have raised the temple issue does not indicate that you feel that the so-called fanatical Muslims will back out. He replied that he did not believe that. The Muslims should try to understand what the Hindus are saying and why are they saying that. They are human after all.

He is not worried about the possible confrontation over this issue. He believes that actions and reactions happen in a society and ideologies clash. That is life. This will improve the situation. All of it will be viewed in a new light. He believes that Muslims are not logical people, while Hindus are. He added that if he wrote a religious book, the Hindus will include it in the list of their religious books if they like it. It does not happen in the Muslim world. Whatever is happening is part of being educated.

Do you welcome the displaced Indians? No, this is not our policy. The Muslims are also Indian citizens and they come under the uniform civil code. There are also laws that our national legislators have made. He said that there is a lot more in our constitution than the "personal laws" of the Muslims.

The Central government favors a status quo of 15 August 1947 on all religious places. Expressing his reaction over it, Mr. Malkani said that under this system even Somnath temple would not be saved since it was rebuilt after the independence. Similarly, several other Hindu and

Sikh temples would need to be torn down. The mosques that were changed to homes in Haryana and Punjab would have to be restored to their original condition.

Mr. Malkani expressed his anger at Sayyed Shahabuddin several times during his conversation. He asked, who is he to ask us where Rama was born?

Doraiswamy Urges Dialogue With JKLF

*91AS1556C Secunderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 22 Aug 91 p 9*

[Text] New Delhi, Aug. 21 (PTI)—The Indian Oil Corporation (IOC) executive director, Mr. K. Doraiswamy, released on Thursday after 54 days of captivity in Kashmir Valley, on Wednesday offered to help in initiating a dialogue between the Government and the militants (JKLF [Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front]).

If the Government wants my help to initiate a dialogue with the militants, I am available, a cheerful 58-year-old IOC official told reporters soon after his arrival at Delhi airport from Srinagar.

The arrival of Mr. Doraiswamy in the capital by a special BSF [Border Security Force] aircraft was delayed by nearly four hours due to bad weather over Srinagar. He was accompanied by the Minister of State for Communications, Mr. Rajesh Pilot.

Responding to a question, Mr. Doraiswamy said that militants in the Valley were all youths in their formative years and were victims of a vicious propaganda by Pakistan and Pak-occupied Kashmir.

Mr. Doraiswamy who answered a volley of queries from newsmen said the Government should begin a dialogue and felt it would help in clearing the matters.

I do not know if militants are ready for a dialogue at this stage. But the Government has to keep persuading them, to bring them to the negotiating table, he said.

Asked if he justified his release in exchange of militants, Mr. Doraiswamy said that it should be decided on a case to case basis. I do not think release of militants in exchange of kidnapped persons should be a policy, he said.

The Indian Oil Executive Director said the Government should probe whether militants were detained on specific charges or they had simply been taken into custody under Terrorists and Disruptive (Prevention) Act and other provisions.

Mr. Doraiswamy said during his captivity he tried to probe the political ideology of the militants.

The militants said they were carrying on the movement to get Azadi (independence). Despite my telling them that they were free to elect their own representatives and have their say, the militants felt that under the circumstances these were not possible, he said.

The IOC official said the Government should do its best to find out the grievances of militants most of whom were very young. I feel sorry for militants, their lives and their families, he said.

Mr. Doraiswamy, who was wearing a light brown safari suit, looked relieved and composed. I want to go back to my work and join duty right away, he quipped smilingly as IOC colleagues garlanded him and presented bouquets.

Asked if any other militant outfits like the JKLF had any role to play in his release, Mr. Doraiswamy said as far as I know JKLF did not have any role in it.

Treated With Respect

To a query about the treatment meted out to him by his captors, the Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen, Mr. Doraiswamy said that he had been treated with respect and politeness.

Asked if at any time he apprehended the threat of death, he said once or twice I felt they will kill me but that was only momentary.

I did not think they will carry out the threat to kill me. They had demands and once they carried out the threat their bargaining power would have gone. It was in their interest to keep me alive, he told reporters.

With a keen desire to join his work and family in Bombay, Mr. Doraiswamy said Indian Oil officials would continue to visit Jammu and Kashmir in future to keep the projects and establishments running.

Virtually mobbed by reporters and photographers at the VIP lounge of the airport—they had waited for more than four hours—Mr Doraiswamy said he was positive that the security forces would not be able to trace him.

"I was kept in remote places but the militants were very respectful and never tortured me. They used to bring fruits and often told me to take milk, said Mr. Doraiswamy who appeared to have taken his captivity in its stride.

He said that he was hopeful that the Government would do its best to secure his release although he had anxious moments at times.

Confusion and chaos prevailed at the airport as photographers repeatedly demanded access to Mr. Doraiswamy soon after his arrival.

New Steps in Gandhi Assassination Probe

Verma Panel Extended

91AS1520A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 26 Aug 91 p 11

[Text] New Delhi, 25 Aug (UNI)—The term of the Justice J.S. Verma commission of inquiry has been extended till 31 December this year to enable the panel to complete its task of identifying security lapses responsible for Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's assassination.

A notification to this effect was issued by the Union home ministry yesterday, ministry sources said today.

The term of the Verma commission was to expire on 26 August.

The sources said the extension had become necessary as nearly two months were taken up in the process of filing of affidavits before the commission by important eye-witnesses and organisations concerned. The commission was appointed by the Union government on 27 May and was given three months' time to give its recommendations.

The sources said the commission had accepted the request of some individuals and organisations seeking more time to file affidavits before it.

The new deadline for filing of affidavits is 7 September.

More than a hundred eye-witnesses and organisations have so far filed affidavits before the Verma panel, including the CBI [Central Bureau of Investigation], the Intelligence Bureau and the research and analysis guard and the special protection group.

The panel has asked the CBI to file a supplementary affidavit as its earlier statement was found lacking in several aspects, the source said.

The sources disclosed that the Verma commission would not be able to start public hearings before the end of next month.

They also said public hearings would not be given to any individual or organisation as a matter of right but at the discretion of Justice Verma, a sitting judge of the supreme court, who is heading the commission.

Congress leaders, Ms. Jayanti Natarajan, and Mr. G.K. Moopanar, and Delhi police commissioner, Mr. Arun Bhagat, were yet to file affidavits before the commission, they said.

The director-general of the Tamil Nadu police had been granted more time to file affidavits on a specific request to that effect.

Meanwhile, 12 people were taken in for questioning at Holehalur in Karnataka's Dharwar district this morning on suspicion that they had links with the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam], according to official information reaching here, reports PTI from Dharwar.

The persons, hailing from Tamil Nadu, are contract labourers, the information said.

The police are in contact with their counterparts in Madras to cross-check information given by those being questioned.

The leader of the Congress opposition in the Tamil Nadu assembly, Mr. S.R. Balasubramaniam, today welcomed the Centre's reported move to seek the extradition of the LTTE supremo, V. Prabhakaran, and some other leaders of the militant LTTE group in connection with the Rajiv Gandhi assassination case, reports PTI from Madras.

Mr. Balasubramaniam said there was little doubt about the involvement of the LTTE in the assassination of Mr. Gandhi and that Sivarasan and Subha, the prime suspects who committed suicide when their hideout was raided in Karnataka, must have only acted as tools.

He suspected a greater conspiracy behind the assassination, involving the LTTE leader, Prabhakaran.

Hence the Indian Government should ask its Sri Lankan counterpart to extradite Prabhakaran and the former should extend all possible co-operation, help and assistance to the latter to take Prabhakaran alive and bring him to India to face a trial before a duly constituted court of law.

New Panel Probes 'Conspiracy'

91AS1520B Madras THE HINDU in English
27 Aug 91 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, 26 Aug—The Government today appointed a second commission of inquiry to probe any possible "conspiracy" behind the Rajiv Gandhi assassination. To be headed by Mr. Justice M.C. Jain, former Chief Justice of the Delhi High Court, it will be "in addition" to the Commission headed by Mr. Justice J.S. Verma, a sitting judge of the Supreme Court.

"The second Commission will look into the sequence of events and all facts and circumstances relating to the assassination, other than matters covered by the terms of reference of the Verma Commission," an official release said.

"It will also inquire whether any person, persons or agencies were responsible for conceiving, preparing and planning the assassination and whether there was any conspiracy," the release continued.

To Give Report in 6 Months

The Jain panel, to be headquartered in Delhi, has been asked to submit its report within six months. It may also submit interim reports, the release said.

The Verma Commission, which was appointed by the Government shortly after the assassination has already been granted one extension by the Government. Its term has now been extended to 31 December this year.

According to the notification issued by the Home Ministry, setting up the first probe panel, Mr. Justice Verma was asked to inquire into "whether the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi could have been averted and whether there were lapses or dereliction of duty in this regard on the part of the individuals for his security."

Further, the panel had been asked to probe the "deficiencies, if any, in the security system and arrangements as prescribed or operated in practice which might have contributed to the assassination."

Corrective Measures

The notification said the Commission "may also recommend the corrective measures and remedies that need to be taken with respect to the matters specified above."

Interestingly enough, the Chandra Shekhar Government, which was in power when the assassination took place, did not think it necessary in the initial stages to broaden the terms of reference of the Verma Commission despite demands from several political parties.

It was after considerable debate and demand that the former Prime Minister, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, had agreed to expand the terms of reference of the panel. The Narasimha Rao Government, however, has chosen to appoint a second and totally separate commission into aspects not covered by the Verma panel.

Supreme Court Clears Hurdles to Bofors Probe

91AS1524A Madras THE HINDU in English
28 Aug 91 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 27 Aug—A certified copy of the Supreme Court order, passed today upholding the validity of the First Information Report (FIR) and letters rogatory in the Bofors case, will shortly be transmitted to the Geneva Cantonal Court in Switzerland. This is expected to set in motion the investigation into the case once again.

Through its long-awaited judgment, a Division Bench of the apex court removed all the hurdles in the investigation of the gun deal case and permitted the CBI [Central Bureau of Investigation] to proceed with the FIR filed on 22 January 1990 and the subsequent letters rogatory issued to Swiss courts seeking assistance in the probe.

The Bench consisting of Mr. Justice S.R. Pandian and Mr. Justice K.J. Reddy set aside the *suo motu* notice issued by the then Delhi High Court Judge, Mr. M.K. Chawla, asking the CBI to show-cause why the FIR not be quashed.

Swiss authorities had made it clear that if they did not receive the views of the Indian Supreme Court before 31 August on the legality of the letter rogatory and the Bofors FIR, they would defreeze the six secret accounts suspected to be containing the payoffs in the case running into millions of dollars.

'Convoluting Reasoning'

The judges said that the *suo motu* action of Mr. Justice Chawla in taking cognisance in exercise of powers under Sections 397 and 401 read with Section 482 of the Cr. P.C. [Privy Council] "based on convoluted and strained reasoning" could not be sustained.

On 23 January this year, the Cantonal Court, which is considering the request of the Central Bureau of Investigation for confidential documents relating to five frozen Swiss bank accounts, had decided to await till 31 August the verdict of Indian judicial authorities on the validity of the letters rogatory issued on 7 February 1990 by a Special Judge.

For the last six months little has happened by way of investigation into the Bofors case. All the action had been confined to the courtroom. The probe had come under severe threat following the stance adopted by Mr. Justice M.K. Chawla (since retired) of the Delhi High Court during the hearing of a revision petition filed in the public interest by Mr. H.S. Chaudhury, a local advocate.

The petition had been filed before Mr. Justice Chawla on 18 August 1990. Mr. Chaudhury had called upon the court to quash the FIR filed on 22 January 1990, by the CBI and not issue any letter of request to the Swiss courts.

Hearing in the case began on 11 September. Eight days later, Mr. Prashant Bhushan, who has written a book on the Bofors scandal, filed an intervention/impleadment petition. The judge ruled that he would not allow any intervention at this stage.

With the Chandra Shekhar Government in place, a new set of law officers were appointed. Indication that some drama was in the offing came when Mr. K.T.S. Tulsi, Additional Solicitor-General, created a sensation when he said before the court that in his personal opinion the FIR should not have been filed and a preliminary inquiry would have sufficed.

At this stage, Mr. K. Madhavan, Joint Director of CBI, wanted to make a submission but Mr. Justice Chawla asked him to speak through counsel. On 10 December, the Janata Dal and other parties obtained an order from the Supreme Court directing the High Court to issue clear orders on the impleadment petitions. Mr. Tulsi was replaced by Mr. Anand Dev Giri.

The next day, Mr. Ram Jethmalani, lawyer, created a stir in the courtroom when he asked Mr. Justice Chawla as an "officer of the court" to recuse (withdraw) himself from the case owing to the "hurry" shown by the judge.

'Threat' to Judge

Amidst high drama, a visibly disturbed Mr. Justice Chawla agreed to Mr. Jethmalani's request, but changed his mind shortly afterwards—formally declining on 14 December what the lawyer had asked for. The judge also said in open court that there was a "threat" to his life.

On 19 December, Mr. Chawla, on the last working day before he retired, asked the CBI and Union of India to "show cause" why the proceedings in the Bofors case cannot be quashed. He held that the FIR filed in the case "on the face of it does not disclose any offence." Further,

he maintained, that the investigation was "biased and influenced by outside agencies."

Dismissing Mr. Chaudhury's petition and the other impleadment petitions, Mr. Chawla held: "So I, suo motu, take cognisance while exercising my powers under Sections 397 and 401 read with Section 482 of the Cr.P.C. and direct the (High Court) office to register the case under the title 'Court of its own motion vs. State and CBI'."

The judge had also listed six prima facie illegalities by the "trial court":

(1) That the FIR filed by the CBI in this case on the face of it does not disclose any offence. It is in violation of Section 154 (Cr.P.C.) inasmuch as no investigation can be carried out for an offence alleged to have been committed outside India, and the court of the Special Judge should not have taken cognisance of the same.

(2) That the CBI should have exhausted their remedies before the Joint Parliamentary Committee [JPC] before launching proceedings in the court of the Special Judge inasmuch as the same investigating agency cannot be allowed to override the findings of the JPC, and this aspect has not been taken into consideration by the trial court.

(3) The court of the Special Judge who issued letters rogatory had no jurisdiction to entertain such a request or pass any order on it.

(4) The so-called memo of understanding relied upon by the trial court was contrary to the municipal law of the land and is violative of Article 21 and 300-A of the Constitution of India.

(5) That the CBI is not a legally constituted force which can be entrusted with the investigation; and

(6) That on the face of it the investigation was biased and influenced by outside agencies.

The matter came to the Supreme Court through appeal, which today allowed the investigation to proceed unfettered.

Chairman Reports Meeting of Northeastern Council

91AS1550A Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
13 Aug 91 p 12

[Text] Imphal, 12 Aug—The seven north-eastern States have decided to "act together" in dealing with the security problem created by different insurgent organizations operating in the region, reports PTI.

Talking to reporters here today, the North-Eastern Council [NEC] chairman and Arunachal Pradesh Governor, Mr. Surendranath Dwivedy, emphasized the need to establish peace in the region for bringing about all-round development.

"Whatever action in any State or in the region as a whole to tackle the issue should be treated as an action of the united voice of the north-eastern States," Mr. Dwivedy said.

Pointing out that the disturbances in Assam had affected life in the entire region, the NEC chairman urged the Centre to give "special attention" to the problems confronting the region. "These problems should be tackled by the State Governments in consultation with the Centre," he said.

Describing the region as "sensitive," the NEC chairman urged the Centre to create a separate Ministry for the council directly under the charge of the Prime Minister.

Mr. Dwivedy said the NEC had urged the Centre to take over the Regional Medical College in Imphal and place it

on a par with the All India Institute of Medical Sciences in Delhi or the Post-Graduate Institute of Medical Science at Chandigarh.

Earlier, an official statement said the council had discussed the present situation with regard to transport and communication and the power situation in the region.

The NEC meeting had unanimously adopted a resolution urging the authorities concerned to take immediate steps to resume Vayudoot service in the north-eastern region and see that the operation of this service was restricted to the region only to ensure its efficient functioning.

The statement said the NEC would request the Centre to make available 12 percent of the power generated by the Loktak Hydro Electric Project free to Manipur.

New Public Distribution System Announced by Rao*9IAS1521A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 24 Aug 91 pp 1, 7*

[Text] New Delhi, 23 Aug—Announcing that an effective public distribution system (PDS) would be developed in about 18 months, the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, asked the states today to revive the practice of giving food as wages under the employment-generation programmes.

“This would be an excellent method of self-selection of beneficiaries as only the poor and most needy in the rural areas come to work under these programmes,” he said, while addressing the chief ministers participating in the advisory council meeting of PDS, here.

He stressed the need for extending the scope of PDS to “the remotest nook and corner” of the country and said all blocks under the Drought-Prone Area Programme (DPAP), Desert Development Programme (DDP) and Integrated Tribal Development Programme (ITDP) should form the special focus for a reoriented and more effective PDS. Besides, the hilly areas identified by the planning commission should also be chosen for special treatment.

Development of PDS should get sustained attention all the time and not only during the periods of scarcity. “In the next 12 to 18 months, we shall be able to present to the country a PDS that is not only effective in the remotest of areas but is also seen and accepted to be such by the consumers,” he asserted.

Mr. Rao asked all the states to take up “door delivery system” in interior and difficult areas. The scheme of the Union civil supplies ministry for providing financial assistance to states for the purchase of mobile vans could be modified to facilitate the flow of funds from banks and other institutions for this purpose.

The Prime Minister’s suggestion for routing PDS foodgrains through rural employment programmes like the Jawahar Rojgar Yojna was generally welcomed by the chief ministers. Mr. Rao pointed out that the quantity of wheat and rice distributed through these programmes, which had reached a level of around two million tonnes a year, had dwindled to near negligible last year. Restoration of the earlier level would mean that at least a part of the total 14.15 million tonnes of grain distributed through PDS went automatically to the deserving group of people.

While pointing out that the Centre was facing severe constraints in providing edible oils and increasing allocation for kerosene, Mr. Rao suggested that the states should start distributing through PDS more items of mass consumption like tea, soap, dhoti and saris, cheap exercise books, etc. He also mooted the idea of including gram in the list of items for PDS. He promised to provide the states all possible help through the ministries of commerce, industry and textile. Vigilance committees

should keep a watch over the PDS system to prevent the diversion of stocks to other areas.

Most chief ministers criticised the Centre for stopping the supply of edible oils, notably palmolein, for PDS for the last four months. They felt that some way should be found out to import edible oils to meet the demand of consumers through PDS.

They also wanted the Centre to change the norms for deciding the allocations for states. Some chief ministers, including Mr. Bhajan Lal of Haryana and Mr. Kalyan Singh of U.P. [Uttar Pradesh], pointed out that the margin of 15 percent allowed to fair price shop owners was too little to cover all the costs, including transportation and levies. This did not leave any profit margin for an honest shop holder.

The Gujarat chief minister, Mr. Chimanbhai Patel, pointed out that kerosene was being used to adulterate petrol because of the wide price gap. The suggestions like adding a colour to kerosene should be considered seriously, he felt.

Mr. Bhajan Lal suggested that oils like mustard and sunflower should be refined and sold through PDS in view of the scarcity of palmolein. He also wanted re-imposition of price and production control over the cement industry to check the rising prices.

Mr. Kalyan Singh complained that U.P. was not getting justice in allocation of foodgrains. On per capita basis, the quota for the state worked out to only 685 grams, against over 1,000 grams in the case of some other states. The FCI [Food Corporation of India] had failed to supply adequate stocks to areas like the Garhwal region.

Rao Replies to Debate on Industrial Policy*9IAS1530A Madras THE HINDU in English
27 Aug 91 p 1*

[Text] New Delhi, 26 Aug—The Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, today said the new industrial policy would change the very face of the country and he promised that the interest of workers would be protected and full encouragement given for workers’ participation in management.

Replying to the debate on the demands for grants of the Industry Ministry in the Lok Sabha, the Prime Minister said there was no point in repeating old slogans. He declared that the new industrial policy was neither dictated from outside nor was any departure made from the policies pursued in the past. In fact it directly emanated from the Congress(I) poll manifesto which laid stress on increasing export production and import substitution and raising efficiency levels.

Walk-out

The Opposition members belonging to the National Front and the Left and a few others barring the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] walked out of the House after

the Prime Minister's reply. A cut motion on the demands for grants was later defeated by voice vote.

The Prime Minister said that though the public sector had played an important role in the country's development, recent experience indicated that returns from it were not enough. Describing it as stark reality of today, he said, it was not possible any more for the Government to finance the massive investment required in the public sector. Mr. Rao said "What you are going to produce in the public sector like steel, fertilizer, etc., is not sufficient and the Government does not have the money for further expansion." The growing needs would have to be met either by imports or by diversifying it to sectors which could produce.

According to the Prime Minister all other countries with centralised systems were entering the global economy in a big way and India also had to do that. If the country failed to do so events would overtake it, he remarked. Mr. Rao said India could not and would not be allowed to remain backward for all times. "We will have to modernise and rub shoulders with others. Let us be clear about it."

The Prime Minister allayed fears expressed by some members over the possibility of small scale industries being swept aside as a result of the new policy measures. He said competition would be between the likes and all the three sectors—small, medium and large—will coexist, survive and flourish. This was the essence of the new policy.

The aim of the new policy, Mr. Rao said, was to ensure that an increasing number of Indians got good things, increase in income and improvements in the overall life standards. The days of benefits going to the few had gone and the country as a whole would be buzzing with industrial activity, he said.

Stating that the new policy was pragmatic and not dogmatic as critics described it, he said the Government wanted the public sector to enter the frontier areas of high technology and as in the past the private sector would follow. By removing licensing controls, the Government had only removed all man made barriers.

Mr. Rao said it was unfortunate that many were still haunted by the fear of multinational corporations [MNC]. The MNCs might have been perceived as big monsters in the past, but it was not so now.

When the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] member, Mr. Nirmal Chatterjee intervened on the issue of MNCs, the Prime Minister said "there is no alternative and it has to be done as otherwise the same fate will befall everybody." He said amidst thumping of desks by the Congress(I) members that India would have to break new paths. The issue was not only about the big and outside investors, but also the need for providing impetus from within. In this context, he said if there was no "ancillarisation," then the small scale industries would not flourish.

The Prime Minister said villagers today wanted to buy Bata shoes and nylon nets. Gone were the days when they preferred to acquire them from nearby sources. If change was not introduced at every level, then even the village society would not flourish. The result of the new industrial policy would be good for the country.

Inferiority Complex

While countries such as Thailand, Korea, Malaysia and Indonesia were attracting increasing amounts of foreign capital, the flow of foreign investment into India had actually shrunk, he said and asked "why should we be squeamish I cannot understand." Inferiority complex and nothing else seems to be the reason. There is no need for this complex."

He told the House that the policy on foreign investment was based on national confidence and not on inferiority complex.

The Prime Minister said the new policy had been hailed by all and told the members about the encouraging hints received by him about the possibility of increased investment and technology flow to India. He said he would be visiting Germany after a few days and described the prospects of increased investment and technology flow to India from there as much better than ever in the past.

On MRTP [Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practice] regulations, he said their operation over the past 20 years had not really helped and the time had come to remove all pre-entry restrictions as their continuance only stifled industry. When members of the Left Front referred to their plan the Prime Minister said the country could not continue with negative aspects of no alternative for anything. "We will have to take risks and if there are any mistakes they will be corrected," he said. In this context, he said the decision to allow 24 percent equity for big houses in the small scale units was an experiment and in case the small units were swallowed by the big ones, then it would not be continued. The idea behind the liberalisation of the industrial policy was to ensure creation of wealth for everyone in the country.

Billions in World Bank Funds Reportedly Unused

91AS1540A Madras THE HINDU in English
20 Aug 91 p 10

[Text] Madras, 19 August: At a time when India is facing a severe foreign exchange crunch, project related loans from the World Bank and its soft-lending associate, the International development agency (IDA), totalling a staggering \$12.15 billions are lying unused as at the end of June 1991.

According to information given to the Rajya Sabha recently, the unutilised amount had been sanctioned by the World Bank and the IDA for 97 projects. But large chunks of the loans, in some cases the full amount sanctioned, could not be used for various reasons.

Not only are the funds idle, the country is paying every year commitment charges ranging from 0.25 percent to 0.75 percent to them.

Some of the projects in which the unutilised amount is more than \$150 millions are the third national seeds project. Punjab irrigation and drainage, industrial technology development, Upper Indravati hydropower and the third Bombay water supply and sewerage project. [as published]

The Minister of State for Finance, Mr. Rameshwar Thakur, told the Rajya Sabha recently that the undischarged balance appears large but is dependent on the time profile of various projects.

Mr. Thakur gave several reasons why this monumental amount is lying idle. In a written reply to the House, he said the gestation period of externally aided projects is one reason: inadequate counterpart funding by the Central and State Governments (the Centre and the States in which the projects are located do not have enough rupee resources); exchange rate fluctuations; and slow land acquisition procedures are some of the others. "Such problems sometimes lead to a delay in utilisation of World Bank assistance which is taken care of through extension and restructuring of projects."

The following table details the projects where the undrawn amounts is more than \$200 millions.

Project	Undrawn balance in \$ millions
1. A.P. Irrigation-II	469,872
2. Northern region transmission	462,753
3. Naphtha Jhakri	448,286
4. Maharashtra Power	376,651
5. Talchar Thermal Power	327,928
6. Uttar Pradesh Power	302,952
7. National Capital Region Power	299,315
8. Upper Krishna Phase II	298,759
9. Railway Electrification	297,200
10. National Dairy-II	269,948
11. Vocational training	264,423
12. Railway modernisation-III	263,558
13. Technician education-I	263,265
14. Karnataka power-II	233,287
15. States' roads	231,605
16. Tamil Nadu Urban Development	231,386
17. Sardar Sarovar	20,000

Source: Rajya Sabha unstarred question No. 1158 answered on 30 July 1991.

Reserve Bank Chief on Control of Inflation

91AS1528A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 23 Aug 91 p 13

[Text] Calcutta, 22 Aug (PTI)—The governor of the Reserve Bank of India [RBI], Mr. S. Venkitaramanan, has said the essential steps to control inflation have already been taken by the bank.

Important among the steps are tightening of the credit flow and controlling of the speculative activities, he said and added that "inflationary tendencies were bound to be present whenever any structural adjustments of the economy was attempted." Mr. Venkitaramanan was speaking at the inauguration of the eastern zonal office building of the Bank of India here today.

Referring to the recent hike in the rate of interest for corporate borrowings, he assured industrialists of a roll back in the rates of interest as soon as the inflation rate was brought down.

Referring to the import compression measures, initiated by RBI since early this year, Mr. Venkitaramanan said that these steps could not be continued for long as a solution to the balance of payments problem.

Such measures would, in fact, hurt the industry and result in economic stagnation if continued for too long. Neither was "over-dependency" on non-resident Indians (NRIs) for flow of foreign exchange advisable as they would "naturally first like to see the Indian economy back on the rails before remitting their money to their native country."

The option of resorting to international commercial banks as a bridge to overcome the present critical condition on the foreign exchange front was also not likely to be fruitful as they follow certain norms of profit and repayment from the recipient country, he said.

Stating that at the present juncture India's only choice was to resort to multilateral borrowings, the RBI governor said that negotiation with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) were going on now and one could look forward to release of funds shortly.

Turning to the banking industry he said that there was a need for expansion of the equity base of the banks as only then they could service the growing credit needs of their clients.

Speaking on the occasion the Bank of India (BOI) chairman, Mr. R. Srinivasan, said that this was the first time for any BOI zonal office have its own building in the country.

Outlining some of the banks' activities, he said that Rs[rupees]600 crores has been mopped by the Bank of India mutual funds which today had over five lakh subscribers.

Later, inaugurating the Allbank Finance Limited, a wholly owned subsidiary of the Allahabad Bank, Mr.

Venkitaramanan said that the nationalised banks would provide support to the business community which, he hoped, would work for the regeneration of the industrial climate of West Bengal.

He said that the banks were passing through a difficult time and many were incurring losses. Several reasons including extraneous ones were responsible for the losses. To tide over the crisis, he suggested strengthening of the inspection and supervision system. It would also instil confidence among the customers. The corporate sector had a role to help restore the health of the banks, he asked.

Calling for measures to enhance the banks' capital structure, he recommended that shareholding right should be extended to the bank employees so that they would have a stake. For this, laws might be changed.

He said that the Narasimha Rao Committee was considering among others the measures to increase the equity capital of banks.

Referring to the recent imposition of credit restriction of the RBI, he said that the objective was to contain inflation. "We need to be careful that all our social policies are not disregarded," he said.

The RBI governor said that supervision of the RBI over the subsidiaries of the banks was imperative for their success. He hoped that the Allbank would work for the development of Calcutta.

The chairman-cum-managing director of Allahabad Bank, Mr. R.I. Wadhwa, said that the Allbank had already commenced its operation and handled 40 capital issues involving Rs 15 crores. Its working capital would be raised from Rs 5 crores to Rs 10 crores in future, he said.

Panel Set Up To Examine Financial System

*91AS1548A Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
15 Aug 91 p 1*

[Text] New Delhi, 14 Aug—The Government today announced in the Lok Sabha that a high-level committee had been set up headed by the former Reserve Bank Governor, Mr. M. Narasimham, to examine all aspects relating to the structure, organization, functions and procedures of the financial system, reports PTI.

The nine-member committee will submit its report by 15 November this year. However, it could submit an interim report on any specific matter, according to the memorandum on the committee on the financial system laid on the table of the House by the Finance Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh.

The other members of the committee will be the Deputy Governor of the RBI [Reserve Bank of India] (banking operations), the chairmen of the State Bank of India, the Industrial Development Bank of India and the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India and Mr.

Manu Shroff, Mr. Y.H. Malegam and Mr. Mrinal Datta-Chaudhuri. The Additional Secretary (banking) will be its member-secretary.

The memorandum said despite the phenomenal expansion of the financial system over the past two decades, certain rigidities and weaknesses had developed in it recently.

"These have to be addressed to enable the financial system to play its role in ushering in a more efficient and competitive economy."

The terms of reference of the committee will be to examine the existing structure of the financial system and its various components and to make recommendations for improving the efficiency and effectiveness of the system with particular reference to the economy of operations, accountability and profitability of the commercial banks and financial institutions.

The committee will make recommendations for improving and modernizing the organizational systems and procedures as well as managerial policies.

It will make recommendations for making the system more competitive to enable the banks and financial institutions to respond more effectively to the emerging credit needs.

Commerce Ministry Reports Trade Deficit Growth

*91AS1544A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 12 Aug 91 p 14*

[Text] New Delhi, 11 August (PTI): India's export growth in 1990-91 was disappointing with the trade deficit touching an alarming Rs.[rupees]10,644 crore, 37.7 percent higher than the previous year, according to the annual report of the commerce ministry.

Export will return to the high trajectory of growth prevalent between 1986 and 1990 if exporters take full advantage of the new policy framework, according to projections by the ministry.

The annual report of the ministry released yesterday underlines the need to reverse the loss of momentum in exports and points out the viability of the balance of payments position in the current and subsequent years would depend crucially on the country's ability to contain imports and improve export performance.

It says the far reaching trade reform programme is geared to ensure that exporters have an environment conducive to rapid expansion in exports and aims at removing most of the impediments to a healthy export growth.

The 1990-91 annual report concludes that export growth was the only viable medium-term solution to the balance of payments problems and international credibility would depend upon a healthy export growth.

In contrast to the trends in 1986-87 to 1989-90, India's export growth during 1990-91 was disappointing according to the report.

The country's exports during 1990-91 amounted to Rs. 32,527 crores as compared to Rs. 27,681 crores during 1989-90, a growth of 17.5 percent. In dollar terms, exports grew by just 9 percent.

At the same time, India's imports were higher by 21.9 percent in 1990-91, compared to 1989-90. The trade deficit during 1990-91 was Rs. 10,644 crores which was higher by 37.7 percent compared to 1989-90.

Foreign Investment Procedures Outlined

91AS1556B Secunderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 21 Aug 91 p 13

[Text] New Delhi, Aug. 20—Foreign companies planning to set up units in high priority industries with 51 percent foreign equity, covering import of capital goods under the new industrial policy will have to apply to the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) seeking permission for such investment.

With this, the Government has kept some sort of indirect control on these majority foreign equity investments. Under the existing procedure, all foreign investment proposals are first cleared either by the Foreign Investment Board or the Projects Approval Board and later taken on the record by the RBI.

According to an official press note issued here on Tuesday to announce the procedures for foreign investment approvals under the new industrial policy, the foreign applicant will be required to submit a composite application, including detailed information on capital goods to be imported.

The note says that the Reserve Bank will issue the necessary permission for foreign equity investment under the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (FERA), 1973. This permission will include exemption from the operation of Section 26 (7), 28, 29 and 31 of the FERA. Simultaneously, the RBI will confirm that the import of capital goods is covered by the foreign equity. Based on this confirmation, the Chief Controller of Imports and Exports shall issue the relevant import licence for capital goods imports.

Under this procedure, the applicant will not be allowed to import second-hand equipment. The company will, however, not require any indigenous clearance for these goods financed through foreign equity.

The relevant part of industrial policy reads as: approvals will be given for direct foreign investment up to 51 percent foreign equity in high priority industries (annex III). There shall be no bottlenecks of any kind in this process. Such clearance will be available if foreign equity covers the foreign exchange requirement for imported capital goods. Consequential amendments to the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (1973) shall be carried out.

As the amendment to the FERA is going to take some time and may not come through because of opposition from Members of Parliament, the Government has apparently thought it fit to introduce this RBI clearance facility, including exemption from certain specified provisions of the FERA.

As regards monitoring of balancing of foreign exchange outflow through dividend payments with export earnings by the RBI, the Press note says that the balancing will be done over a seven-year period commencing from start of commercial production. Balancing will not be required beyond this period.

Dividend remittances should be covered by earnings from export of products produced by high-priority industries. The amount of dividend may be covered by export earnings of such items recorded in years prior to the payment of dividend. The RBI will issue appropriate instructions to give effect to these provisions, it adds.

The note says that the applications for 51 percent foreign equity investment in export-oriented trading business and hotels and tourism-related industry will also have to be submitted to the RBI.

These trading companies shall be at par with the domestic trading houses and shall operate in accordance with the import-export policy.

The note says that all other foreign investment proposals including 51 foreign equity offers in other sectors will be subject to the existing procedures. The foreign companies in this case will, thus, have to submit their applications to the Secretariat of Industrial Approvals in the Industry Ministry.

Top Foreign Firms Attracted to Indian Market

91AS1534A Madras THE HINDU in English
15 Aug 91 p 9

[Boldface words, quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 14 August: The Government's decision to grant automatic approval for foreign investment up to 51 percent foreign equity has evoked a keen interest among major international companies with a host of them already indicating their desire to enter the Indian market.

Information available here with highly placed Government sources indicates that the list of multinational companies (MNCs) interested in India reads like a virtual who's who. The list, which comprises mainly U.S. and Japanese companies, includes such top notchers like General Motors, General Electric, Ford, Dupont, IBM, Kellogg, Motorola, Asahi Glass, Nippon Electric Corporation, Toshiba, Honda Motors, Fujitsu and Seagram.

Car manufacture: Preliminary indications are that IBM is keen to return to India to tap the vast computer software market while General Motors has expressed the desire to

link up with the Birla's Hindustan Motors for manufacture of a passenger car which is to be introduced in the European market in 1993. The product is aimed at both the domestic and export markets.

Incidentally, the production of motor cars requires licensing as per the new industrial policy but this is not expected to pose a problem as Hindustan Motors already has the permission to manufacture this product. Still, the company is expected to seek official approval for a capacity hike and till this comes through, the collaboration with the U.S. giant can be put through by taking advantage of the broad-banding facility under which the Indian company can cut down on its production of other four-wheelers and divert the capacity for manufacture of the new car.

Ford-Maruti arrangement: Similarly, Ford is understood to have worked out an arrangement with the public sector Maruti Udyog Limited for the manufacture of radiators. General Electric, on the other hand, has also worked out a collaboration with another public sector enterprise, Indian Petro-Chemicals Limited (IPCL), for the production of engineering plastics and is reported to be interested in expanding the collaboration to other areas. Indications are also available from Kodak that it is interested in coming to India.

The other area of enthusiasm among the foreign companies is food processing and Kellogg, the well-known multinational which is practically a household name in many countries, has expressed its inclination to come to India just as the Japanese leader in the food processing industry, 'Seagram, has done. Coke, similarly, has been trying to enter the Indian market for quite some time and its entry is now expected to be facilitated with the announcement of the new policy.

Stringent terms: Despite this impressive line-up by international companies interested in India, official sources are taking a realistic view and feel that some of these proposals may not actually translate into collaboration arrangements because of the stringent conditions of the policy. In particular, some of the foreign companies may find it difficult to comply with the requirement of foreign exchange cover for the import of capital goods where such investments will be heavy. Consequently, the expectation is that the real inflow of direct foreign investment of any significant magnitude will start only from the next year.

This is because of two factors. First, the foreign companies are expected to closely follow the performance of the Government in the next few months, particularly its ability to push through the reforms package in Parliament. Secondly, the implementation of the new policy will require certain legislative amendments, particularly in the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (FERA) to enable automatic approval for 51 percent foreign equity. This amendment is expected only in the next session of Parliament as the current session is to end within a month's time.

Official sources, however, say that even without the FERA amendment to raise the foreign investment limit to 51 percent from 39-99 percent at present, the Reserve Bank can in certain cases grant exemption from some sections of the FERA. This is expected to facilitate collaboration arrangements among interested parties till the FERA amendment is passed by Parliament.

Apart from this route, in case of a possibility of substantial foreign investment, the Special Empowered Board can be approached for permission since it will have the powers to grant exemption from many conditions. The industrial policy stipulates that this Board will negotiate with a number of large international firms and will consider their investment programmes in totality, free from pre-determined parameters or procedures. The composition of the Board is expected to be announced soon and is most likely to comprise senior Secretaries to the Union Government and some eminent individuals.

New Economic Politics Seen Leading to Discontent

91AS1495A Jalandhar PUNJAB KESARI in Hindi
15 Aug 91 p 4

[Article by Ashok Mitra: "The Government's New Policies Will Result in Dissatisfaction in the Country"]

[Text] The results of the unprecedented financial decisions made during the last month are evident in the budget. It is clear that the government has succeeded in achieving its present goal. The IMF and the World Bank are satisfied that the new New Delhi government has proved to be extremely meek. They expect that during the next interim period the government will make the necessary arrangement. After all of this is repeated, our nation will be trapped very deep in debt. However, the situation where it is not able to pay interest on old debts will be postponed for a while. Devaluation of currency, major reforms in business and industrial policies, and the final decision on the budget are all being done according to IMF and World Bank expectations. All of this is being called a part of the systematic changes. These include devaluation of the rupee, removal of restrictions on foreign trade, loosening industrial restrictions, opening up paths for foreign investments, selected cuts in public welfare spending, restricted government aid, and additional taxes on the poor and the middle classes.

This important agenda was formed on the orders of foreign financial agencies. The government has admitted that it has no alternative but to accept it regardless of the political effects. It is important to mention here that despite the sympathy wave after Rajiv Gandhi's assassination, the Congress (I) was only able to get one-third of the total votes cast during the last elections. It was able to form the government even though it did not have the majority in the Lok Sabha. According to traditional standards, this government is on a very weak foundation, however, in spite of repeated criticism on the

question of economic autonomy, this government has managed to stay alive. The only major problem it had was over the Kaveri water dispute mainly caused by the rift within the ruling party itself. What could be more complicated? A weak government has devalued the rupee and the cost of living is increasing and is expected to go up even more after the budget is passed. The trade and industrial reforms being implemented according to the conditions levied by the IMF will compromise our economy autonomy. The legislators are also very upset. Still, the government is not in danger. It seems that its weakness has become its strength! No opposition party wants to take any step that might force the nation into another election. Everyone agrees that even the voters are tired after participating in two elections within the short period of 18 months. Most of the political parties do not have the funds for another elections.

The minority government has reason to believe that there is no possibility of a no-confidence motion against it in the Lok Sabha. During the last two weeks propaganda about the agreement of the middle and upper classes that the government had no alternative but to accept the IMF requirements was accelerated. Such a situation was not really unexpected. If a concept is pursued by the government, and the media supports it strongly, then it does not take much time to change the popular opinion in its favor. Only the left-wing economists are facing a dilemma. They will not openly admit that the middle-of-the-way political parties will tolerate the minority Congress (I) government's talks with the foreigners just to solve the problem of foreign exchange balance.

The country reached this difficult economic situation because of the [lack of] serious economic steps. It appears that the government will have an easy time during the next few months. We are not sure what will happen later. The Indian rupee was devalued more than 300 percent during the last 25 years, beginning in 1966. No improvement has been made in the import-export ratio. There are hundreds of problems and inequities in the international trade. The exchange rate based on realistic expectations, about which the government spokesmen never get tired of talking, are not going to help solve this problem. For example, the U.S. Congress could be convinced to reduce the quotas of shoes and textiles from low-wage Asian nations.

Controlling domestic production costs and prices are equally important in export promotion efforts. The insistence of the IMF on reducing [our] deficit was made because the reduction in government spending will affect prices. The Congress (I) will have problems reducing subsidies to agricultural production, keeping in mind the base of its supporters. The government has admitted that it has to increase realized costs. It will have to prepare to face strong opposition by labor unions and powerful urban groups when it makes significant reduction in public distribution. A government that does not have a legislative majority will also face problems in reducing defense spending. The opposition parties are demanding

an increased in the defense budget. One reason for this is the nuclear capability of Pakistan. At the same time, security needs within the country cannot be ignored either. Quasi-military forces are deployed to control unrest within the country. Thus, the budget cuts will be limited to developmental projects and social spending.

Suspension of the 8th Plan indicates future tendencies. It appears that budget cuts will effect only employment plans for rural areas, education and literacy projects, and social welfare projects including nutrition and health plans for children and females. The IMF and the World Bank have instructed the government to increase government revenue in order to decrease the budget deficit and protect corporations and the wealthy groups from direct taxes. They recommended increasing production taxes, the prices of necessary consumer goods as well as of electricity, coal, steel, nonferrous metals, petroleum products, and public transportation fares. Some of these steps have been approved or will be implemented through the budget. Only the middle class and the laborers will be the most negatively affected by these changes.

These steps, after the devaluation of the rupee, will affect prices. It will become almost impossible to control internal costs and export efforts also will be less successful.

The joy being expressed in government circles will disappear soon. The major reason of the foreign exchange crisis is the unnecessary purchases made by the wealthy class. Too many imports of needed machinery for producing luxury goods at home also aggravated this situation. Now the lower and fixed income classes are being asked to pay the price for these mistakes. They will not accept this arrangement easily. This will only increase economic discontent. More problems will emerge. Who knows if the voters will have gotten over their election fatigue by that time.

Plan Commission Reconstituted, Members Named

91AS1538A Bombay THE SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA in English 18 Aug 91 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 17 August: The planning commission was fully reconstituted today with the induction of seven full-time members, including the former Steel Authority of India Ltd. (SAIL) chairman, Mr. V. Krishnamurthy, and the former RBI [Reserve Bank of India] deputy governor, Dr. C. Rangarajan, and three part-time ministerial members, reports PTI.

Dr. D. Swaminadhan, a former vice-chancellor of Jawaharlal Nehru Technical University, Hyderabad, is the sole member of the previous commission to be retained by the prime minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, who is also the commission chairman.

Other full-time members of the planning commission appointed today are Dr. Chitra Naik, director, Institute of Education, Pune, Dr. S.Z. Qazim, vice-chancellor of

Jamia Millia Islamia, Prof. J.S. Bajaj, a well-known cardiologist with the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences, and Dr. Jayant Patil of the Institute of Rural Reconstruction.

The defence minister, Mr. Sharad Pawar, the finance minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, and the agriculture minister, Mr. Balram Jakhar, are the part-time ministerial members of the commission.

The reconstitution of the commission began with the appointment of Mr. Pranab Mukherjee as deputy chairman in the last week of June following the resignation of Mr. Mohan Dharia and other members with the change in government after the recent elections.

Mr. Krishnamurthy is a technocrat who had headed the giant public sector undertaking, Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd., (BHEL), before taking over the reins of SAIL. From SAIL, he moved over to Maruti Udyog Limited. At present he is the chairman of the standing committee on public enterprises (SCOPE).

A scientist, Dr. Qasim was secretary in the department of ocean development and after retirement was appointed to head the Jamia Millia Islamia.

This is the third change in the planning commission after the defeat of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in the 1989 elections even as the commission was in the midst of finalisation of the eighth five-year plan which was to have commenced from 1990.

With the new government taking over in December 1989, the commencement of the plan was delayed and the change in government in November last further delayed the process.

Soon after taking over, the Narasimha Rao government took a decision to commence the plan from 1 April 1992.

Andhra Pradesh Budget Sets Economic Priorities

*91AS1556A Secunderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 21 Aug 91 p 8*

[Text] The Andhra Pradesh Budget for 1991-92 represents a substantial restoration of the time-tested economic priorities without diluting the commitments in the social welfare sphere. Realising the pivotal role of power generation in the economic development of the State, the Budget, presented to the State Assembly by Finance Minister S. Santosh Reddy, provides Rs.[rupees]420 crores for power. This is the highest sectoral allocation and it constitutes a little over 24 percent of the Plan outlay (Rs. 1,724 crores). The importance of the allocation for the power sector can be gauged from the fact that the average Index of Industrial Production for 1990-91 increased by 8.7 percent over that for the previous year owing to improvement in the power

position and also in the labour situation. The State achieved the target for 1990-91 by increasing the total installed capacity to 4893 MW [megawatts], comprising 4131 MW in the State sector and 762 MW in the Central Sector. During the current financial year, it is proposed to raise the installed capacity to 5054 MW. Power and irrigation are the infrastructure for the accelerated development of the State. As agriculture is the mainstay of the State, the Government has provided Rs. 347 crores for irrigation, which works out to 23 per cent of the total Plan outlay. The allotments for power and irrigation and the Rs. 52 crores (3 percent) provided for special area development together total up to 51 percent of the Plan outlay. The more the allocations for the two vital sectors, the greater the possibility of the State making all-round progress. This was what the State had done before the advent of the Telugu Desam rule in 1983. Power was the main casualty of that rule and there was a disturbing slow-down in the State's industrial development. That situation has now been rectified to a great extent.

The present State Government has struck a balance between the long-term and short-term goals. As much as Rs. 388 crores has been provided for social services. This amount represents about 23 percent of the Plan outlay. It is fully commensurate with the Government's objective of bringing about a change in the well-being of the poor. The 1991-92 Plan outlay has been fixed at Rs. 1,724 crores. Against an outlay of Rs. 1,410 crores approved by the Planning Commission, the Government fixed the size of the Plan at Rs. 1,716 crores in the vote-on-account presented to the Assembly in March last. Because of additional commitments, the outlay has been raised marginally. To fund new Plan initiatives, the Government, in view of resource constraints, has in the recent past sought external assistance. The State has been able to get clearance for a number of schemes from external agencies. Completion of these schemes on schedule should give the much-needed impetus to the State's economic progress.

Though the Budget is tax-free, the deficit of Rs. 247 crores shown in it has given rise to the fear that the Government, in order to bridge the gap, might resort to additional taxation. Anticipating the fear, the Finance Minister assured the House that the Government would endeavour to make good the large uncovered deficit by minimising non-productive expenditure in maximising tax collections through more vigorous efforts. This is all the more necessary in view of the staggering revenue deficit of Rs. 562 crores. The Government is under the necessity of dispelling the impression that it is depending too much on the World Bank. With better resource management the Government should be able to cover the deficit. The Budget proposals, if given effect to with alacrity, should increase the momentum of the State's socio-economic development.

Challenges Facing Defense Minister Analyzed*91AS1160C New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi
3 Jul 91 p 6*

[Article by Jawaharlal Kaul: "Difficult Problems for the Defense Minister"]

[Text] Sharad Pawar has been appointed defense minister. We do not know how much Mr. Pawar understands the extremely difficult defense issues. There have been defense ministers before him who have spent their lives away from defense and military issues. However, it is not appropriate to conclude that a leader should have special military training before becoming a defense minister or that a defense minister is unable to understand the intricacies of his ministry in a short time. In a democracy like India, the responsibility for the defense falls upon the whole cabinet. Anything that Sharad Pawar does will be considered the actions of the prime minister. Prime Minister Narsingh Rao was our defense minister before, anyway.

What are our defense problems? It is obvious that India has a very long border, of which are very different. Some are in the areas of plains and some are in the desert. Some are on the ocean and some in the difficult mountain terrain. Obviously our defense strategy must have variety. We also need a large number of soldiers. This is also very important, because we are not only threatened by Pakistan but also by China, two very different countries. Pakistan is a small country and cannot afford a long-term war. China is a large country and its population is concentrated very far from our border. It has the capability to wage a long war because of its size and strength.

Unfortunately, our government formed our defense policy keeping only Pakistan in mind. We suffered badly when China attacked us in 1962. We did not try to get out of the international situation into which we had forced ourselves. We fought the danger from China and made preparations to counter it, but we did not try to rectify the mistakes that former Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and his stubborn defense minister, Krishna Menon, had made.

Our mistake was to depend wholly on the Soviet Union for our defense needs. In the beginning, we depended on the Soviet Union for 75 percent of our defense needs. Not only did our ground forces depend on the Soviet Union, but our air force was also fully dependent on this nation. After Soviet arms were vanquished in the Arab-Israeli war, our defense experts began to pressure the government to look for other options for procuring weapons. This was done to an extent; however, the international situation changed in a way that we could not get rid of this dependence.

We were forced into the Soviet bloc. The previous action of our leaders played a major role in this development. The Western nations, especially the United States, in their confrontation with the Soviet Union during the

cold war, started to make Pakistan their military base. It is obvious that Pakistan benefited from this development. The United States continued to support Pakistan's anti-Indian stand. As a result of this, we could not even benefit from the anti-China attitude of the United States during the Vietnam war. There was no better country for the Western Nations than India for controlling China. However, we were known as a pro-Soviet country. Also, Pakistan considered us its enemy. Then our leaders were raising the slogan, "Indians and Chinese are brothers" and the opportunity to stand up as a rival to China was lost.

It is not true that we have not bought weapons or other defense implements from other countries during the last 20 years. After the MiG's, we bought many modern airplanes from some western nations. We also bought some war ships and cannons for the navy from Western sources. However, by that time the prices of weapons had become so high that it was not possible for us to continue this practice.

The situation now is that 70 percent of the Defense Department purchases are from the Soviet Union. This has proved economical for us, since the Soviet Union supplies weapons at a lower price. Its loans also carry lower interest compared to other loans. The other benefit is that the trade between the Soviet Union and India is based on the rupee currency. However, the Soviet Union is suffering from an economic crisis now. The Soviets have also lost interest in helping India because of its political problems. It is demanding cash in international currencies for new purchases. India cannot afford to do this because of its own foreign currency crisis. This means that we have to buy things from the Soviet Union on the same conditions that we can buy from Western nations.

There are two important aspects to this situation. It is important to change older weapons or improve them for a modern army. The airplanes we bought from the Soviet Union a decade earlier are not very useful now. We have to either change them or improve their efficiency. The problem is that the production of some of these weapons has ended in the Soviet Union. Some of the useful weapons and implements constantly require parts. It has become difficult to get those parts because of the present economic situation in the Soviet Union.

The defense minister is facing the problem of keeping the nationalized organizations in mind. We have been working on developing light-combat aircraft for a long time. However, so far this project has not reached its last phase. The same problem applies to the mid-range tanks. The Defense Ministry has been successful in only one area. India has left almost all advanced countries behind with its series of "Parithvi" and "Agni" missiles. It is important to mention here that the Defense Development Department has also kept long-range problems in mind when developing these missiles. For example, the range of the Agni missiles can be extended to 2,000 km. It is obvious that its range is beyond Pakistan's borders.

These four missiles have proved to be very expensive. We also have to develop assistive devices for the missiles. The most important problem in this context is to have advanced warning devices. The truth is that the Patriot missiles that made Saddam Husayn's Scud missiles obsolete are similar or better developed versions of what is developed in India.

All these projects require money, and our defense minister does not have that. Because of the recession and unavailability of foreign exchange, Defense Minister Sharad Pawar will be pressured to reduce his budget. How can the defense of the nation be effective in such a situation?

The advanced countries are reducing their ground forces. The United States has already done it, and now the Soviet Union is reducing the number of its soldiers. We have 1 million soldiers. We can save millions of rupees by reducing it by 25 percent. Can we do it? The Western nations that have reduced their armed forces are not like India. The strength of Western armies is modern weapons. In addition to missiles and ABMs, they also have stockpiled nuclear weapons. We cannot expand or purchase modern weapons within two to four years. The money we can save by reducing the traditional armed forces is not enough for modern development. The example of the Soviet Union is also useful for us. The problems this country is facing because of the disintegration of the Soviet empire are forcing it to be friends with Europe on one side and with China on the other side. This has enabled it to reduce its traditional armed forces. Our situation is entirely different. We have the threat of Pakistan on our western border and of China on our northern border. Both depend on the numbers of traditional armed forces. Therefore, we do not have much

hope in reducing our armed forces. We can, of course, make some improvements in this area. That would be possible only if our government stopped using our armed forces to curb riots and terrorism within the country.

Another way to save money in defense is to have more cooperation between various armed forces. Mr. Abdul Kalam, chairman of the Defense Research Institute, has informed us that the private sector should be asked to cooperate in making defense weapons. If this is done in selected areas, then the government will not have to bear the whole burden, and more capital can be procured for making weapons. This support has been practiced in Western countries for a long time. Some private companies depend wholly on defense contracts.

The other option is exporting weapons. We are unable to export tanks, airplanes, and missiles. However, there is room for exporting smaller weapons. The Defense Department has started making automatic rifles for our armed forces. It is possible to export these weapons. The Western nations still export millions of dollars of weapons even today. We can take a major portion of this market if we can beat international competition in standards and prices.

However, it is important that we first focus on fully utilizing our manpower in the Defense Ministry. Complaints about redundancies in the Defense Department are heard often, and some divisions have been expanded unnecessarily. Our ordinance departments are not being properly supervised. All of this results in loss of billions of rupees. It is important to have a thorough investigation of the whole work force. The purpose of this investigation should not be to punish someone, but to remove flaws in the system. This approach would help win the confidence of military officers.

Scholar Urges Reevaluation of Basis of National Unity

91AS1413A AJ (Supplement) in Hindi 11 Aug 91 p 1

[Article by Dr. Yugeshwar: "In Search of a New Rationale for National Unity"]

[Text] Both the socialists and the communists consider India's unity a gift from the British. An educated person today considers this an undisputed truth. The basic logic for considering British rule the main reason for India's unity is related to administration. British imperialism gave India one government and made it one nation. However, this administrative unity is superficial and just for outsiders to take care of some outside activities. It is important to mention here that the Congress Party also recognized this belief mainly because it ruled a British India. The British mentality is still hovering around India like a soul in the limbo.

Sardar Patel formed free India by including in it about 500 small kingdoms. This was also an administrative unity. Sardar Patel easily assimilated these kingdoms into India. This was possible only in a few countries because unity in most countries is administrative in nature. The basis of Indian unity is cultural and ideological instead of administrative. The rulers of small kingdoms read the minds of their people who always considered themselves Indians. This mentality was the secret of Sardar's success. The kingdoms that hesitated in joining the Indian union were forced to join because of the desire of the people. A few rebels proved to be of no significance.

The Congress Party under Gandhi's leadership started a never-ending wave of nationalism, which continued to flourish despite opposing elements such as Aryan-Dravida, North-South, Hindu-non-Hindu, and Brahmin-non-Brahmin. It was only defeated over the Hindu-Muslim issue because the Congress Party could never succeed in uniting Hindus and Muslims. There can be many reasons for this. The first reason is that a large portion of Hindus do not trust the Muslims and the second is that the Muslim community has more faith in its leadership than in the nation itself. These leaders mislead them to help attain their selfish goals. Their personal decisions were overshadowed by the Prophet's desires. The Muslim leadership in India won because of the ambiguity caused by the memories of former rule and a majority mentality and narrow-mindedness about philosophy.

The Islamic leadership was also afraid of the leadership in India's socialist democracy. The Congress Party eliminated the landlord system while this system is still predominant in Pakistan. The British and the communists supported the partition and the Congress Party also accepted it. This partition was affected without any referendum. The fact that this very Congress Party agreed to a referendum in Kashmir demonstrated its double standards. First, as a Hindu party it divided the nation. The Hindu mentality was so strong that it left the

pioneering Gandhi and his followers to their own fate. It did, however, managed to keep the image of India's unity by not allowing a population transfer and by giving equal rights to the Muslims. The Muslims were not included in the national mainstream, instead they were used as a vote bank. This was mainly done by using fear or greed. The Congress Party worked relentlessly in Junagarh and Hyderabad, but failed in Kashmir. It even gave a special status to Kashmir. The referendum was approved, but it put a question mark over secularism. Secularism became a strategic issue rather than an awareness. Thus, no political party gave any solid support to secularism. The Muslims were forced to consider themselves strangers here because of their vote bank status. Their disenchantment increased.

Today, Muslims, Sikhs, Harijans, backward castes, and Buddhists all are looking for their identities. The majority is also searching for its own identity. The small and large states are also looking for their identities. There is terrorism and separatism in Punjab and Kashmir. The Nepalese, the Assamese, and the Manipuris are also caught up in this identity riddle. Sometimes Nagaland and Mizoram campaigns take momentum, at other times demand for a Dravida nation becomes strong. Where is India's unity in such an atmosphere? The talks about reservation and quota system has caused terror and enmity everywhere. There is such thing as loving your neighbor. Every group is encouraging hatred and dissension. The leaders are transferring their own frustration and hatred to the people.

All leaders belong to factions. There is no leader that stands for unity. The fighting leaders expect the people to fight. The elections are analogous to winning wars. No one is paying attention to unemployment, the embarrassing drop in educational standards, violence, black marketeering, smuggling, illegal weapons or drug abuse. They are protected by many leaders. The feeling for nationalism has been replaced by feelings for sects, castes, and regions. The devils of luxuries and enjoyment are very active, while the gods of spartan life are hiding in the nether world.

The unique thing is that separatism is more prevalent even in the concept of unity. The bureaucrats and the anarchists do not want any system to work. Security and police forces have become useless. The separatist elements have, of course, divided the Hindus and the Muslims and now are actively dividing the Buddhists, Jains, and Parsees. There is this conspiracy of limiting the Hindu religion to the Vedics and fundamentalists. The Westernized mind, instead of encouraging unity, is causing even more rifts among people. The flag of individualism is flying among the flags of dynasties, castes, and factions. There are unity and fights in the old Indian society also. However, the fights are discussed loudly while the unity is hidden. Hindu society is studied as belligerent, exploitative, and unfair. Its qualities are hidden and only its flaws are flagrantly advertised.

Spreading hatred for the majority religion is considered progressive. Differences are being used for breaking up unity.

The English-educated group is suffering from an inferiority complex and is frustrated. It is a marginal group superimposed on Indian society and is unaware of the strength and the greatness of our nation. It looks toward the West for knowledge. It practices the Western ways even when the West itself is frustrated. It does not and cannot have any idea about India's unity. The communist ideology is disappearing and the remaining Western nations are also worried. Western ideologies that helped foster intellectualism in India have now become obsolete. We had the habit of looking for a Western solution to every problem. We have begun to slowly see the results of this tendency. Visits to Western shrines have also caused "intellectual smuggling." Smuggled Western ideology is prevalent in all our textbooks all of which are written with smuggled pens, paper, and ink. This is not improving, but deteriorating our educational system. The whole educational system is antiknowledge. It is not only anti-India, but also antihumanist because Western education in India has always been imperialist and antihumanist.

Both education and writing have become mechanical and any talk about these is useless. Increasing literacy and education itself have become contaminated. The criminals are all graduates of this educational system. This education does not produce humans; it produces robots! The computers will decide on the unity of India and the people's internal peace.

The Bhagvadgita was important during the independence campaign. Gandhi had become a mahatma [great soul]. He made creation of Ram rajya [ideal government] his goal. No one wants to become a mahatma now. No one wants to make Bhagvadgita, Ram rajya, and Upnishdas their mission. Chanting of mantras and Muslim or Hindu worships in temples and mosques is increasing. Religious ceremonies take place and talks about temple-mosque problems and astrology are rampant. Readings of Bhagvadgita, Upnishdas, and Ramayana has stopped. The Manusmriti is referred to only in antihuman contexts. The West could not create India even if it wanted to because every builder has convictions about his customs, tradition, and needs. But then, the West does not deal in humans; it deals in machines. Man is not made with a machine; it is made by spiritual reasoning. Worshipers of the Western ways hinder it.

The leaders have been used to running away from thinking. The goal before independence was to make the British leave India. After independence, it was implementing socialism. The British did go; socialism was never implemented, nor will it ever be. The problem is becoming worse. They are trying to fill this hole with Western trash, but that is aggravating the problem even more. The Mandal [Commission] issue is making the problem more and more serious instead of solving it.

Mutual differences are increasing and self-centered attitudes have increased to suicidal proportions. Moving the focus from the Hindus and Hindi language would be very dangerous. This focus is not complete in itself, anyway. It will be complete only when various religions, factions, and languages are included. They are all in danger when they stand alone.

The difference in public and private lives as well as in our words and actions have made our thinking process timid. The hidden sediment is rising to the top slowly. Even the highest positions are being accused of various wrongdoings.

The freedom struggle was not secular; it had the Hindu imprint on it. After independence, the Hindus began to rule and the word "Hindu" began to mean a political faction. Hindus are on the defensive now. As the result of it, all slogans about national development and unity have become useless. Unity is being popularized even when there is hatred in the hearts. No one tried to understand this hatred. Today, India has unity at the governmental level, however, nongovernment unity is being totally neglected. This should be studied within a new context. Unity cannot be achieved through Western philosophy; it needs Indian philosophy. Analyses of nongovernmental discord, philosophy, literature, and action is the need of the day. The united India of the British is today at a crossroads. It is ready to fall apart. One must try to stop this by also using a nongovernmental approach. India is just a form now; it must be tied to a philosophical substance. We need to learn from the fall of dictatorships, and Islamic and Muslim nations.

BJP Issues Statement on Civil Code

*91AS1531A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
17 Aug 91 p 1*

[Boldface and italicized words as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 16 August: In a significant statement, the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] today said the case of 11-year-old Ameena who was "married" to a 60-year-old Saudi Arabian "once again raises the issue of a modern uniform civil law in India" and urged the Muslim community to accept "a minimum of social reform."

The statement issued by the party Vice-President, Mr. K.R. Malkani, said the Saudi Arabian's counsel had argued in court that since the Sarada Act, prescribing the minimum age of marriage for men and women, does not apply to Muslims, his client had not violated any law. Mr. Malkani said, "He is technically right. But how long shall we allow such iniquities to be perpetrated in the name of religion?"

Mr. Malkani said the argument was reminiscent of how Maulana Mohammad Ali had "misbehaved" over the Sarada Act and insisted on Muslims being excluded from the operation of the Act because the Shariah had left early or late marriage a matter of choice.

Mr. Malkani said "Even if the Muslim community is not yet mentally prepared for a full-fledged uniform civil code as per Article 44 of the Constitution, it should have no hesitation in agreeing to the outlawing of polygamy, instant *talaq* and child marriage."

He said, "I hope friends in other parties will also persuade our Muslim brethren to agree to this minimum of social reform. I hope they know that, through Ayub Khan's Family Laws Ordinance, even Pakistan has banned polygamy and instant *talaq*."

Communal overtones: The BJP's stance is significant in view of the communal angle it is imparting to the plight of a minor girl to promote its own politics. A large body of secular opinion has also been outraged by the Aameena episode and this might enhance the BJP's ability to exploit the issue among its newly-acquired urban middle class base.

It was the Shah Bano episode of 1986 which gave a fillip to the BJP's politics against "minorityism" and built the ground for the party's subsequent "Hindutva" campaign. The BJP leader, Mr. L.K. Advani, has often admitted that if it were not for the government's capitulation to the Muslim fundamentalists on the Shah Bano issue, his party would not have been able to focus the country's attention on the "pandering to minorities."

As in the case of Aameena, the campaign against the government's Bill overturning the Supreme Court judgment on the Shah Bano case was also initially led by various women's groups and the Left parties. Later, however, the BJP appropriated the issue and made a case against the minorities.

Similarly, it is the CPI(M)'s [Communist Party of India-Marxist] women wing—the All Indian Democratic Women's Organisation (AIDWA)—and other Delhi-based women's rights groups which have taken up the fight on behalf of Aameena. These groups also desire a uniform civil code but have a secular orientation and believe that the case of Aameena has only highlighted the issue of child marriage which is prevalent among many Hindu communities as well.

Commenting on the BJP's stance, the AIDWA secretary, Ms. Brinda Karat, pointed out that if the party was genuinely concerned with the issue, it should curb the practice of child marriage widespread in the BJP-ruled state of Rajasthan.

Auditor Scores Poor Police Management

91AS1536A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 19 Aug 91 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, 18 August (UNI): The ministry of home affairs has been severely criticised by the comptroller and auditor-general (CAG) for its failure to provide adequate arms and ammunition to ten battalions of the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) in 1988.

Against the proposed operation of 13 CRPF battalions from 1987 to 1991, the ministry sanctioned ten battalions to be raised in 1988 alone. This resulted in considerable difficulties in providing arms and ammunition to the newly-raised battalions, it said.

The CRPF's training capacity was also strained due to the decision the CAG said in the recent audit report.

The CAG said the deficiency in providing some arms to the newly-raised battalions ranged between 11 and 38 percent of the authorisation. The shortfall in quantity of arms demanded and quantity supplied ranged between 67 and 100 percent and ammunition and explosives between 36 and 100 percent.

The shortfall in supply largely affected training and fire practices besides efficiency and effective performance. There was a need to upgrade the arms supplied to the CRPF during the period the CAG said.

The programme for modernising the signal communications of the CRPF was not implemented speedily and the induction of new equipment was tardy, the report said.

The capacity of the training institution for the newly-raised battalions was not up to the mark.

The centres for training recruits were unable to meet the requirements of new recruits. A total of 25,725 recruits were trained in battalions and at group centres.

The force could not impart rotational training to 3,810 out of the 4,572 companies from 1980 to 1989, the CAG said.

Due to non-availability of firing ranges, the CRPF personnel had to travel long distances to ranges of state police or the army authorities.

These were not made available to the CRPF personnel for the requisite time. Hence, adequate training in handling firearms could not be given to the CRPF personnel, the CAG said.

Non existence of firing ranges in the CRPF was "considered by the CRPF as a major handicap which adversely affected the efficiency of the force while carrying out operations in the field."

Second Remote Sensing Satellite Launched

91AS1556D Secunderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 30 Aug 91 pp 1, 9

[Text] Moscow, Aug. 29 (PTI)—India's second remote sensing satellite, IRS-1B, today shot into space on a Soviet rocket notching its eighth success in space in 16 years.

The indigenously designed state-of-the-art remote sensing satellite was successfully launched from Baikonur cosmodrome in the Soviet Union on Soviet rocket "Vostok" at 12.18 p.m. IST [Indian Standard Time].

Immediately after launch, the participating ground stations across the globe tracked the satellite and received telemetry signals indicating healthy functioning of the satellite, its solar panels were deployed soon after, and the satellite swung towards the sun for generation of maximum electrical power from the panels.

The country has thus joined a select band of nations which had established an operational space segment for remote sensing on a continuing basis with the deployment of IRS-1B.

It was the fifth launch of an Indian satellite from the Soviet Union. All of them have been successful like the first Aryabhata, launched on March 19, 1975. The other satellites are Bhaskara-I, Bhaskara-II and IRS-1A.

Built by the ISRO [Indian Space Research Organization] Satellite Centre in Bangalore, it will replace IRS-1A which was launched on March 17, 1988, and is nearing the end of its life. IRS-1A has provided invaluable data for better use of the country's agriculture, land, mineral, marine and water resources.

Scientists said the satellite will orbit over the poles at a height of 904 k.m. taking nearly 103 minutes for each orbit.

IRS-1B weighs about 980 kg. and carries a 700 Watt solar array. Its main payload consists of three cameras to provide visible and infrared imageries of the earth.

Of the 12 launches, only four were failures, including Rohini earth observation satellite launched on August 10, 1979, and Scross-II technology and application satellite launched on July 13, 1988.

The Indian Remote Sensing Satellite IRS-1B resembles an albatross with the solar panels spread out during its voyage around the planet.

The satellite, with the deployed solar panels, measures eight metres from end to end. It hurls through space at seven km, a second, making 14 orbits around the earth a day or 5,110 orbits a year. It covers the sub-continent every 22 days and 307 times a year.

From an altitude of 904 km. from the earth, the satellite's all-seeing-eyes can come up with stunning close-ups that help scientists to identify, for instance, underground water, mineral resources, the crop yield and the extent of

damage caused by the floods, super-thermal power stations, dams and mining activities on the environment. The movement of wildlife in various game reserves, the presence of fish catch off the coasts and data for planned growth of urban areas are also provided by the satellite.

The imaging payload system constitutes the "eye" of the satellite. This system is made up of three Linear Imaging Self-scanning Sensors (LISS) which work on the "push-broom concept" of scanning. LISS-I provides a swath of 148 km, while the other two give a composite swath of 145 km.

This satellite has been built at a cost of Rs.[rupees] 15 crores. The launch would cost about Rs. 20 crores. The launch cost covers pre-launch checks, fuelling and mating with "Vostok" rocket, and use of the Bearslake ground-station in the Soviet Union.

Scientists said the resolution of the pictures sent by satellite will enable clear separation of areas of the size of a football field, PTI reports from Delhi.

According to ISRO, three years experience with IRS-1A had led to some modifications and improvements in IRS-1B. The modifications resulted in increase of payload by 12 kg.

The USSR which had launched four of India's scientific satellites free of cost stopped free launches in 1988. IRS-1A was the first commercial launch by the Soviet Union and IRS-1B is the second.

According to ISRO, future satellites in the series—IRS-1C and IRS-1D—would be more advanced both in resolution and revisit capability. Preliminary design of these satellites has been completed and their launches are scheduled for 1993 and 1996.

The successful completion of three years by IRS-1A and flawless launch of its successor have demonstrated India's capability for building and operating sophisticated remote sensing system. The United States, France and Japan are the only three other countries that operate similar system.

IRS-1B will become the mainstay of the National Natural Resources Management System (NNRMS) under the Department of Space. NNRMS is a unique system in which conventional data sources are integrated with the spake-based [as published] remotely-sensed data for effective management of India's natural resources.

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