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# ***JPRS Report***

# **Near East & South Asia**

***INDIA***

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# Near East & South Asia

## INDIA

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15 June 1992

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### U.S. Pressure Against Rocket Sale Condemned

#### Condemnable Interference

92AS0959A Varnasi AJ in Hindi 2 Apr 92 p 6

[Editorial: "America's Condemnable Interference"]

[Text] It is natural for our members of Parliament to be concerned about the rocket technology agreement with Russia. To assuage this worry, Prime Minister Narasimha Rao had to make a statement during the presentation made by the foreign ministry. He rejected the report that the agreement with a Russian firm to transfer rocket technology has been cancelled. While clarifying the goals of this agreement, the prime minister said that the new technology for rockets is very important for our space program. Russian rocket technology is comparatively cheaper than that of the United States, France, and other countries. In the near future, India will start using satellites for peaceful purposes. The above-mentioned agreement was made with the Russian firm for this purpose. As we mentioned earlier, the U.S. Government had warned the Russians about this agreement. At the same time, it also threatened Russia that if it transferred the technology to India, the United States would impose restrictions against it. Russia today is not the Russia of the times of the USSR. It has been destroyed economically and is suffering from too many domestic problems. Therefore, Russian President Yeltsin had to cancel the agreement.

When the prime minister made this statement, Professor U.R. Rao, director of our Space Commission, was negotiating in Russia. His delegation has now returned from Moscow to India. Prof. Rao will present his report to the Foreign Ministry. It is not appropriate for us to make any comment or conclusion. Still, his face showed disappointment. It clearly shows the direction the talks took and the blocks they faced. Because of this delay in the transfer of rocket technology to India, all development work in the satellite area has been slowed down. The report that Professor Rao is giving to the Foreign Ministry will tell us the real situation. At present, all we can say is that the fears expressed about this agreement are not baseless. As foreign minister, the prime minister should give clarification to the Lok Sabha about this. It appears that the technology agreement was not approved due to U.S. pressure, and they are trying to divert attention from it. In this situation, instead of begging help from other countries, India should try to move ahead with full confidence.

The space scientists from Bangalore have presented some facts in this context, and these indicate that U.S. pressure has been the major reason for Russia breaking this agreement. The United States does not want this cheaper Russian technology to be given to India. This is against its vested economic interests. The United States has also asked Russia to explain the purpose of this

rocket technology being given to India. Is it because of competition with Pakistan? India has clarified that this technology will be used for peaceful purposes. Other countries have been engaged in making cryogenic engines for the last two decades. India had hoped to construct this engine within a decade. It has been cooperating with Russia in space technology for the last 30 years. It should be known that the former Soviet Union has established the Aryabhata, Bhaskar, and Bhaskar II satellites in the earth's atmosphere without any challenge. In this changing situation, India has to move on in its space program, using its own talents and skills. The way the United States is hindering India's space program and is forcing Russia to cancel the agreement has been made clear to us. The United States' "friendship" for India can be understood from this.

#### Internal Matter

92AS0959B Varnasi AJ in Hindi 29 Apr 92 p 6

[Editorial: "America's Interference in Space Development"]

[Text] The U.S. Government has hindered the U.S.-Russia agreement for the transfer of rocket technology. While Russian officials and space scientists have emphasized the transfer of rocket technology to India according to their agreement, the U.S. Government has been putting threatening pressure on Russia to cancel this agreement. Russia has been pressured to the extent that it will suffer economic restrictions if it does not cancel this agreement, signed with India. The Russian Government and the space department specialists have said clearly that if this agreement is not made, the traditional friendly relationship between Russia and India would be adversely affected. Mr. James Baker, the U.S. secretary of state, has put pressure on the Soviet foreign minister. This is a serious development. Mr. Baker has created a serious situation by telling the Russian foreign minister that this will cause problems for the U.S.-Russian cooperation agreement. At the same time, the United States has threatened Russia that if it ignores its advice, Russia will face economic restrictions.

The way the United States of America is threatening and applying inappropriate pressure about the rocket technology transfer agreement is opening the eyes of India and the rest of the world. Now that the Soviet Union has disintegrated, the United States wants to be the supreme power in the world. It does not want any other country to make progress in space or rocket technology. Russian President Yeltsin finally had to bow in front of U.S. threats and has proposed a new technological agreement between Russia and India. To this end, an Indian scientist deputation under the leadership of space science director Mr. U.R. Rao, was sent to Moscow. It was understood that the Russian Government has hinted at writing a new agreement between itself and India to stop the proliferation of military technology. The Russian ambassador did not tell that the agreement for rocket technology was also cancelled. As part of India-Russia

space cooperation, the purchase of a cryogenic engine is also included. This engine acts as a booster rocket during the second stage to launch the satellite. It should be known that an agreement between the Indian space research division and the Russian space agency for \$200 million has also been suspended in this context. At this time, Russia is also expecting economic aid from the United States. Therefore, it had to submit against the U.S. threat and was forced to start talks about a new space agreement with India.

The Lok Sabha had expressed serious concern about the U.S. threat and its opposition to the agreement. It was said that it would affect our country's autonomy. Such interference or threats over an agreement between two independent nations is interference in India's autonomy and is also condemnable for the unethical pressure on Russia. Since international protocol forbids open interference in another country, the U.S. Government's threats of economic boycotts are condemnable. The Indian Government should protest the U.S. pressure tactics and should be alert to the designs of U.S. economic imperialism. It is clear that we must be careful in getting aid from the World Bank and the IMF. The imposition of economic restrictions on a country like Russia by the United States should be protested. The United Nations and its Security Council should take notice of it. The United States is bragging the victory over Iraq as its own victory. It should remember that this war was started against an aggressor nation at the orders of the United Nations. Now it is putting pressure on Libya, using the United Nations. Both of these incidents are different in nature; however, the United States, which calls itself a friend of India, is being unfriendly by causing problems in India's space technology program. The Indian Government should be very careful about foreign investment in India. This is important for our country's welfare.

### Leaders on U.S. Attempt To Bar Rocket Sale

92AS0958A New Delhi JANSATTA  
in Hindi 27 Apr 92 p 5

[JANSATTA interviews leading Indians: "Some Protests and Reactions to the Superpower's Edict"]

[Text] Whenever we talk about American supremacy, our political parties act strange. On one side, a hue and cry is raised that the present government is a U.S. puppet. At the same time, the BJP [Bhjaratiya Janata Party] begins to act like it is going for broke. A flute, wrapped in the honey of ideology, plays a beautiful tune that means both yes and no. On the third side, the Congress (I) has a new reason it refers to as the "new international situation." It hides behind it and does not let anybody take pot shots at it. We do not think the Congress (I) knows itself what relations and agreements it supports to protect the interests of the nation.

The arguments going on in Parliament over the India-Russia rocket technology agreement also shed some light

on the various thoughts in different parties. Parliament has followed this line over economic policy, technology policy, and all other issues.

George Fernandes: Part of the Pentagon Papers were published in an American newspaper, and two things were made clear. According to U.S. opinion, "we should be the strongest military power in the world. This will allow us to protect the region and enable us to stop India from becoming a power in Asia." Who are these dictators? In answer to this, these documents say, "We must stop India from becoming influential in south Asia."

This is the truth about the United States. Its secretary of state visits Russia and tells his counterpart there that the rocket technology they are providing to India is detrimental to U.S.-Russian relations. He then threatens that Russia must cancel this agreement with India; otherwise, the United States will impose trade restrictions on it.

This happened in February. On 6 March, he demanded a reply from the Russian foreign minister in Brussels as to why the agreement with India has not been broken. He tells him that if the agreement is not cancelled, then trade restrictions will be levied on Russia. On 23 March, he calls the Soviet ambassador in Washington and warns him that if the agreement is not cancelled within 10 days before, 3 April, the results will be very serious.

The talks are going on in Moscow also. The vice-foreign minister of Russia goes to the U.S. Embassy on 3 and 7 March and tells them the agreement is being revised and requests that the Americans not put too much pressure on them. The U.S. ambassador did not even talk to him; a low-level attache gave him a warning.

This is the situation.

Cuba asks for 100,000 tons of rice. We agree to 10,000 tons because of fear. Now the United States tells us that we cannot send rice to Cuba. Therefore, we have decided not to send rice to them because the United States told us so. Now the technology that is necessary for our space program and our defense is being stopped by the pressure being put on Russia. The United States has started to interfere in our nation's defense program. This country has been able to live without the United States, which talked about sending its navy during the Bangladesh war. This country has braved that threat, too. Once again the United States has started to threaten us. It wants to establish its supremacy all over the world. The United States will decide what kinds of relations we can have with our neighbors and what we will do in the area of development. We must tell the United States frankly to be careful and to stay within its limits.

Gita Mukherji: Recently, Soviet President Yeltsin said in Parliament that the \$2 million agreement for the transfer of rocket technology to India would be stopped. PRAVDA criticized him for this announcement. In other words, the Russian people did not welcome Yeltsin's announcement. According to the Pentagon Papers, a document was prepared last year in the United

States of America. According to it, India's nuclear and space research programs should be destroyed. This issue was also discussed in newspapers. However, the U.S. ambassador in India said it was a minor thing that was blown out of proportion in the newspapers. Now the United States is pressuring Russia. The Russians have to do what it thinks is proper. But we have the right to decide what we will do.

How can joint military exercises be carried out in such a hostile environment? Why should we give permission to the United States of America to use the Andaman and Vishakhapatnam ports? Parliament should use one voice and warn the United States of America that India will not tolerate its high-handedness.

Jaswant Singh: The United States of America has directly interfered in our space research program. We of the BJP cannot tolerate U.S. high-handedness. It is wrong to believe that the world must operate according to U.S. wishes and policies. The United States has done this by putting pressure on Russia. What concerns me, however, is our government's attitude. Large nations do not raise objections over minor things. They tell everything once. Our government should stand up and say once and for all that India will make its own decisions on space research, nuclear research, or any other thing. India will decide according to its own interests, and we will follow the path we have chosen. If someone wants to cooperate with us, fine; if not, that is fine also. The government should not hesitate in telling all this frankly and in following its policies. Why should we hide anything that we are doing? The government should explain the whole affair and its own decision to Parliament.

Nirmal Kanti Chatterji: It is clear that they are trying to bring the whole world under one bloc. What is our government's reaction to this? What does our government think about America's designs of supremacy? Has it already objected to their efforts? What is being done about the transfer of this technology, and has the government taken Parliament in confidence? Did the government discuss this with other Third World countries and discuss how one nation is acting like this, and that we should unite against its efforts to become a supreme power? Instead, the government has adopted this attitude and chosen not to tell us the truth.

I demand that the government tell us the truth. If there has been pressure on our government, it should tell Parliament so we can condemn it. Parliament will appeal to other Third World countries and ask them to unite against this high-handedness.

A. Charles: Our country was affected most by the fall of the Soviet Union. We are not sure of what is happening there. We thought that the Commonwealth would replace the Soviet Union. One thing is clear: India will not tolerate pressure from the United States or any other country.

However, I disagree with Gita Mukherji on one issue. What will happen to the world, no one knows. I am not

advocating that we establish close relations with the United States of America, but the government should always be on alert to protect our nation's interests.

Manoranjan Bhagat: This is a question of India's prestige. We must express our reaction strongly and in one voice.

Inderjit: We shall learn the facts from both Washington and Moscow, and should not express our wrath over news reports. We should react over the facts instead of expressing superficial reactions. We should make a national opinion over it and follow it adamantly.

Saifuddin Chowdhery: There is a lot of talk about the end of the Cold War. But has the United States learned anything from it? It is a good thing that even the Russians have condemned Yeltsin's submission. If there was a strong government in Russia, it would have been good for the whole world. It would be a good idea to tell the United States of America frankly where we stand. We must form opinions against such a bully system in the Third World countries.

We must stop joint naval exercises with the United States and give a clear warning that we will not tolerate any kind of play with our nation's independence.

Chanderjit Yadav: On one side, we do joint naval exercises, and at the same time, you expect them not to put pressure on you. This is a contradiction. It is believed on the outside that we have bowed down to the United States, and are losing our friends as a result.

The minister said that he was thinking about dealing with Cuba. What happened then? We submitted to their wishes.

We are surrounded by countries that have nuclear bombs. The United States of America is continuing its Star Wars program and is stopping even our peaceful research program. Granted, our economic conditions are bad; however, there should be some consideration given when making agreements. Our kneeling down to the United States would be the same as the whole third world doing so.

Lakrishna Advani: This affair is not limited to rocket technology. It is important that we make clear what kind of attitude India will adopt in response to the U.S. decision. Otherwise, we will not be escape pressure in every area. Russia can come under U.S. influence; however, if there are people who have similar hopes to pressure India, then they should forget it.

Ravi Ray: The government said that the space minister had gone to discuss the issue, so this pressure is so great that the situation has come to the Cabinet level. I would like to thank Russian Parliament member Vitaly Sevastinov for raising his voice in support of India and saying that Russian relations with India should not be destroyed. Journalist Aleksandr Vasilyev writes, "If the agreement with India is broken, then Russian prestige would be obliterated." What kind of world are we living

in? We are stopping the testing of Agni. We should remember that when the government was changed in the Soviet Union, the Indian prime minister's reaction was very embarrassing for us. Instead of providing the penalties imposed on them, Union Carbide said they would sell their factory to India. The United States has become so vain that it has even forgotten diplomatic language.

## UN Secretary General Visits Delhi, Meets Press

### Delhi Press Conference

92AS1032A Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
24 Apr 92 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, 23 April: The concerns of a large number of developing countries, including India, favouring democratisation of the U.N., including the expansion of the Security Council, figures prominently in the U.N. Secretary General, Dr. Boutros Ghali's comments here today.

At a press conference, when asked whether the U.N.'s democratic character was being undermined by the domination of a few powerful countries, Dr. Ghali said he did not share this view. On the contrary, he referred to the summit meeting of the Security Council heads in New York, on 31 January when demands for the world body's democratisation figured prominently.

However, indicating that the world body's representative character could be increased through collective pressure of member countries, Dr. Ghali said the desired change could be brought about only if the members collectively paid attention to international events.

Dr. Ghali's attention was also drawn on Kashmir. Asked for his views on the issue, Dr. Ghali said the U.N. favoured a bilateral resolution of the dispute by the "protagonists themselves." Ruling out U.N. mediation in the present circumstances, he felt that the world body does not have the right to get involved in the issue unless a request was made by the parties concerned.

On the Tibet issue also he said that the U.N. could not be drawn in Tibet's affairs, as its intervention there had not been sought. He, however, added that the U.N. favoured the presence of democratic institutions in order to check human rights violations.

Regarding Yugoslavia, Dr. Ghali referred to a "division of labour" between the U.N. and the European Community. He said that while the U.N.'s peace keeping role was confined primarily to check ceasefire violations, as in the case of Croatia and Serbia, the task of the European Community was to promote national reconciliation there. Those who were skeptical of the success of the U.N. mission in Yugoslavia underestimated the determination of the world body as well as of the European Community to end the conflict.

Referring to the U.N.'s increasing peace-keeping engagements, Dr. Ghali said peace-keeping, as a concept, was

not confined to physical intervention to end fighting, but also incorporated the task of rehabilitation, reconstruction and development. Cambodia was a prime example of peace-keeping where reconstruction and rehabilitation on an unprecedented scale was going on, hand in hand with a vigil to prevent fighting from breaking out. He was hopeful of the success of an enduring peace in Cambodia, as in his view, all factions who were earlier engaged in a civil war there were showing willingness to participate in elections under the supervision of the United Nations Transition Authority on Cambodia (UNTAC).

### HINDU Interview

92AS1032B Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
24 Apr 92 p 7

[Article by K.K. Katyal; boldface and italicised words as published; place and date not given]

[Text] New Delhi, 23 April: *The U.N. Secretary General, Mr. Boutros Ghali, is for democratisation of the world body but wants the initiative to come from the member-States.*

*In an interview today, he recalled his 31 January statement that reinforcement of democracy in international society was to go hand in hand with the introduction of democratic norms inside a country. In his opinion, real democratisation would be possible only if all the member-countries get involved in international affairs.*

*The following are his answers to questions on the problems facing the world body as also on its structure and role.*

**Q: What will be your approach in dealing with the situation in Afghanistan, especially in salvaging the U.N. plan which has been derailed? What in your view are the possible scenarios for the next, say, three months?**

**A:** I don't want to enter into details because I still have not seen my special representative. I will be seeing him tomorrow. I can just say that we know very well what are our objectives. Our objective is to (1) to defend the sovereignty of Afghanistan, as a member-State; (2) to defend its territorial integrity; and (3) to promote a national reconciliation. These are our objectives. Now, how will we achieve these objectives? The situation has changed and we must take into consideration these changes and act pragmatically on the basis of these.

**Q: Is the safety and security of the former Afghan President, Dr. Najibullah, the responsibility of the U.N.? If so, how do you propose to go about it? He stepped down in pursuance of the U.N. plan.**

**A:** I don't know honestly. Tomorrow I will be in a better position to know. It is not in the interest of my peace keeping operations to enter into details now. Again, I must play by the ear. Tomorrow when I see my special representative I will have more information.

**Q: So the general approach is that if the present plan works it is fine, otherwise to find out what adaptations are needed.**

A: Exactly.

**Q: How does the situation, arising out of the U.N. sanctions against Libya, look like developing?**

A: On Libya, according to the resolution which was adopted by the Security Council, I have been mandated to find a solution to this problem. I will continue to find a solution which is to be based on the implementation of the resolution 731. And I would continue to act, hoping that I will be able to obtain the implementation of 731 and this will put an end to the sanctions.

**Q: Do you think there is any ground or scope for optimism after the resolution was passed and after various contacts were established?**

A: This is a very subjective question. I am an optimist by nature.

**Q: The Arab league is still not out of the picture.**

A: Again, our approach is that we are ready to cooperate with any mediator in favour of the implementation of the resolution.

**Q: Coming to the matters connected with the U.N. If structural imbalances of the U.N. are not removed, a bigger role by the Security Council would only magnify the present distortions. Does not restructuring become an essential prerequisite for its enhanced role?**

A: This is not in the mandate of the Secretary-General. The modification or composition of the Security Council is the mandate of the member-States of the United Nations. According to Article 108, there is a special procedure to be adopted for the amendment of the Charter because the new composition of the Security Council will necessitate the amendment of the Charter and the amendment of the Charter is a process which is in accordance with the procedure, (laid down) in Art. 108. I have no role to play in this.

**Q: One of the important provisions of the charter enjoins on the U.N. not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. (Of course this does not apply to cases of recourse to the use of armed forces to enforce the council's decisions.) Some of the recent utterances of the senior members—in the U.N. and outside—threaten to blur this dividing line. Would you like to comment on it?**

A: No, we have always been very careful not to intervene without the agreement of all the protagonists of the dispute. If they don't agree we will not interfere. Because, the role of the United Nations is limited. If there is no political move among the protagonists of the dispute, the United Nations cannot play a role. The role of the U.N. in a peace keeping operation is peace keeping but if there is no will among the parties to maintain

peace how can we keep peace? Ours is a complementary role to the political wills of the protagonists of the dispute. If they don't want our intervention, or if they don't accept our role, we will not be able to do anything and we will not intervene.

**Q: Your predecessor expressed the hope that the unity of the P-5 would be complemented by a balanced constitutional relationship within and between the various principal organs. Do you visualise any follow-up study on action?**

A: We are preparing the position paper according to a resolution adopted by the summit meeting of the Security Council on 31 January, which is related to the operation of peace keeping, peace building and preventive diplomacy but (there are) other aspects of the activity of the United Nations like economic cooperation, social cooperation, human rights, technical assistance, problem of environment. We will have a summit meeting in June concerning environment. We are very active in our fight against drugs. We have a new approach in the peace keeping operations which is not only peacekeeping but moving from peace keeping to peace building. In El Salvador, in Cambodia we are not only maintaining the truce but are participating in the rehabilitation of the country. In construction of roads, in the restructuring of the administration, in the return of refugees. So we are now having a new approach to the problem of peace building which, in fact, is built on the cooperation with the different international agencies. The power is shared by different agencies. When I was in Cambodia we have a representative of the High Commissioner of Refugees, the representation of UNDP [United Nations Development Program], we had representatives of a number of organisations. So many agencies which are cooperating together now.

**Q: But on sensitive political issues, the balance between the attitude of the big five and others, and the internal rhythm of the U.N. is not being maintained.**

A: It is maintained. You cannot adopt a resolution in the Security Council without the agreement of four other non-permanent members of the Security Council. Furthermore, all the resolutions have been adopted, with few exceptions, by consensus. In other words, you will have to obtain the agreement of ten nonpermanent members. This is democracy. This is an equilibrium. The resolution is not adopted by only five permanent members. In fact the five permanent members have to persuade ten other members.

**Q: In India, there are apprehensions about the possible interference in internal affairs either on the basis of the alleged violation of human rights in Kashmir or other developments. Would you like to comment?**

A: No. We have already made a declaration concerning Kashmir. We know very well the problem of Kashmir, the Shimla Agreement, the old resolution, etc. Unless there is an agreement between two parties, nothing can be done. And I believe that direct contact between the two parties is the best way to solve this problem.

**Q: But occasionally the U.N. is sought to be dragged into this problem and this naturally creates apprehensions in India...**

**A:** No, no, the position is very clear—the position of the U.N. Unless there is an agreement between the two parties we cannot intervene. This is not only in relation to Kashmir but to problems all over the world.

**Q: And then the question of democratisation. It has been the subject of recurring talk but the sense of urgency is lacking. Do you agree with this assessment?**

**A:** No. I spoke about the democratisation in my speech on 31 January. I was saying that if you are talking about reinforcement of democratic institutions within a country, the complementary thing is to talk about reinforcement of democracy in the international society. There is a kind of parallel. You cannot have democracy within the country and no democracy within a community of nations. This has always been one of the objectives of the non aligned to have democratisation of international relations. So we are in favour of this. We believe that it is important that all the member-States of the United Nations participate effectively in the elaboration of the new norms in solving the international problem, that all the member-States of the U.N. must be interested in international affairs. But if they are not interested, if they are not playing their roles, then there will be a vacuum and this vacuum will be filled up by great powers. So in fact when you are talking of democratisation my answer is: this is the responsibility of the member-States. It is exactly like your offering the right to participate in elections and 50 per cent of the population don't participate in the elections. What can you do?

**Q: Don't you think that there is some sort of an initiative from the United Nations?**

**A:** The initiative must come from the member-States. They must pay attention to the international affairs. The way they will pay attention to the international affairs, the way they will involve themselves in international affairs, the way they will give their opinion concerning problems of international affairs, then you will have real democratisation of international affairs. But if a country is not interested in international affairs, is only interested in internal affairs, then how can you talk about democratisation. They are not interested. What we need is to encourage the participation of all the 170 members of the United Nations. In other words, small countries in Asia must be interested in what is going on in Central America. And a small country in Central America must express its opinion on what is happening in Afghanistan. And if this happens we have democratisation.

**Q: But by the very nature of things the big powers who have the veto may not be keen on democratisation.**

**A:** But I assure that if all the small countries participate, the big powers will have to take into consideration the will of the great majority.

**Q: The statement of the Security Council summit required you to prepare a report by the beginning of July on ways to strengthen the U.N.—to identify potential crises and areas of instability.**

**A:** We are working on this report. The secretary of this committee is Mr. Dayal. We have made a lot of progress, participating in different meetings and I hope we will present a very good, constructive position paper on this subject in the next few weeks.

**Q: How are you going about this major task?**

**A:** The drafting committee has already done the preparatory work.

**Q: India had reservations about the formulations in the statement on nuclear nonproliferation and related matters. What are the chances of the U.N. favouring and working for a nondiscriminatory regime of nonproliferation?**

**A:** I don't want to comment, let me tell you the truth. It is not because of political reasons, because I have not followed the problem and I don't want to show my ignorance. So, let us avoid this question.

**Q: Finally, on Yugoslavia, what is the outlook? Are you leaving it to the regional organisation?**

**A:** Yes here again, it is a very interesting case where we have done a division of labour. The United Nations is dealing with peacekeeping operations, is maintaining the ceasefire. The European Community is doing the national conciliation. This is an interesting case of cooperation between national and regional organisations and we are trying to apply this in other countries. In Somalia, where we are obtaining the cooperation of the African Unity and the Arab League who can play a role, to help us, and we are ready to help. It is exactly the case in Armenia and Azerbaijan. The European Conference and the CEC [expansion not given] is playing the role of mediator and we are ready to help. Under Article 52 of the charter, that regional disputes ought to be sorted out in a regional framework. In case they are not able to sort out the problem, we are ready to help. We are ready to be the corpus of peace. We are ready to be the fall back position. But let us encourage.

**Q: Sometimes one gets the impression that the two approaches are not in harmony.**

**A:** No, we are doing our best to have complete coordination. When Mr. Cyrus Vance (the U.N. Representative) went to Yugoslavia, he paid a visit to Lisbon where the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Portugal, is the President of the Community. We are in contact with Lord Carrington who is the representative of the Community. We have regular meetings between the representatives of

the U.N. and the Community. We are careful to maintain coordination. To avoid competition or contradiction, there is a clear division of labour.

#### **IDA To Meet Aid Commitment at Present Level**

92AS1034A Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
28 Apr 92 p 1

[Article by R. Chakrapani; boldface words as published]

[Text] Washington, 27 April: The International Development Association (IDA) will meet its aid commitments to India and China at the present level during the 10th replenishment that starts from 1 July 1993, and remains operative for three years.

Mr. Basil Kavalski, an official in the World Bank's Department of Resource Mobilisation, who reviewed the parameters and likely size of IDA-10, said here on Sunday that while new claimants, including the former Soviet republics of Central Asia, were likely to seek concessionary assistance, "we are going to give first priority to the needs of the existing recipients." (According to UNI, India is to get an interest-free loan of \$2.7 billions).

Under an existing arrangement, India and China share 25 per cent of IDA fund with India receiving 15 per cent and China 10 per cent. India has been getting about \$800 millions of interest-free assistance from IDA annually.

IDA-9, which was begun two years ago with donations totalling \$15.5 billions will terminate in mid-1993.

**"Barest minimum:"** Mr. Kavalski said that after taking into account the level of purchasing power and other factors, the size of the IDA-10 would have to be \$17.5 to 18 billions. "This is the barest minimum that will be required to meet the needs of the existing claimants. Our hope is "to have additional funding for the new claimants and also take care of the old recipients." The new claimants include Albania, Ethiopia and Afghanistan apart from the former Soviet Republics.

Some countries which were not IDA recipients but whose income had now dwindled are also likely to seek assistance.

Mr. Kavalski said that if the needs of all the countries that sought assistance were met and if the environmental components of the assistance were to be enhanced, an additional \$2 to 3 billion would be needed. The exact figure had not yet been cast but the final size of IDA-10 would have to be much higher than what it was now.

Mr. Kavalski referred to the difficulties in getting IDA-10 fully funded and said "Given the difficulties of the global situation, the odds are not in favour but we are trying."

#### **Improved Sino-Indian Relations Stabilize Asia**

92P40190A Bombay *NAVBHARAT TIMES*  
in Hindi 16 Apr 92 p 7

[Report from Tokyo, Indian Foreign Secretary J.N. Dixit and team of delegates' visit: "Improved Sino-Indian Relations Prove Auspicious for Achieving Stability in Region"]

[Text] Japan has stated that the improvement of relations between India and China, is a very good omen for achieving "stability in Asia."

A delegation of representatives under the leadership of Indian Foreign Secretary J.N. Dixit is visiting Japan. In the course of the three-day tour, they are conducting talks with Japanese officials on India's bilateral relations with its neighbors. On this occasion, the Indian officials acknowledged the recent improvement in relations with China. The Japanese observed that such an achievement would effect stability in Asia.

J.N. Dixit who left for home today with his team, felt that Japan's relations with China were good.

The Japanese have said that China has expressed to them the view that the protection of human rights is a matter of national sovereignty, whereas the West views it as an issue of international concern. The Japanese also discussed with the Indian delegation the regional matter of the four northern islands on whom the erstwhile Soviet Union held sway since 1945. Economic issues dominated the talks between the two nations. The Japanese said that the inflow of Japanese capital to the Indian market will be directly proportionate to and as great as India's liberalization of its economic policy.

In the matter of nuclear nonproliferation, Japan feels that signing the Non-Proliferation Treaty will be productive and beneficial to India.

There was general agreement, between the two nations, on the issues to be discussed in the forthcoming "Economic Summit," to be held in Brazil in June. Mr. Dixit said that India is actively preparing for the meeting. He also shed light on the current environment of economic disparities, and the necessity for a balance, and on the needs of developing nations. The Japanese officials also acknowledged the need for such a balance and said they will work towards the same goals at the summit meeting. Other matters taken up for discussion included nonproliferation, and post-Gulf War conditions in various countries, including India.

Mr. Dixit said that the delegation also met with the Japanese foreign minister. He told the delegation that the recent visit of Indian Finance Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh to Japan was both profitable and successful. He also said that he was very impressed with the steps India was taking towards economic recovery.

The Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao will be visiting Japan in June, and Indian officials also discussed the plans and the agenda of his meetings in the forthcoming trip.

## REGIONAL AFFAIRS

### Bangladesh Newsmen Interview Narasimha Rao

92AS1035A Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
27 Apr 92 p 7

[Article by Haroon Habib; boldface words as published]

[Text] Dhaka, 26 April: The Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, has expressed the hope that bilateral relations between India and Bangladesh would get a boost following the Prime Minister, Begum Khaleda Zia's visit to New Delhi in May. Mr. Rao said he was looking forward to welcoming the Bangladesh Prime Minister and discussing bilateral issue.

During a 40-minute discussion with a group of seven Bangladesh newspapers and news agency editors at his official residence in New Delhi on Saturday, the Prime Minister described the relationship with Bangladesh as "very good" and expressed the hope that they would be further strengthened in the coming days.

Mr. Rao answered questions on economic liberalisation, foreign policy reorientation in the context of global changes following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the performance of his minority Government.

**No creed:** About foreign policy, Mr. Rao said in the quest for truth, he would find the truth between dogmas without adhering to any particular creed.

When asked whether India was tilting towards the West, he posed a counter question "Where is the East?" He made it clear that one could not keep one's eyes shut to the changes taking place in the world.

The Prime Minister also disagreed with the suggestion that the world had become unipolar, adding that there always existed two paths.

About the performance of his Government, the Prime Minister confidently said he was running the Government without any difficulty on the basis of issues which were national and common. He was very happy with the Opposition's positive response to national issues. "The people and politicians of India see things rationally."

**Doubts:** The Bangladesh daily, *MORNING SUN*, today expressed doubts about the materialisation of Prime Minister Khaleda Zia's proposed visit, saying that it now seemed uncertain.

The ministerial meeting of the two Governments held in New Delhi last week did not yield fruitful results. Even the normal practice of issuing a joint communique at the end of the meeting was not followed, the daily said.

### Tin Bigha Right of Passage for Bangladeshis

92AS1036A Calcutta *THE STATESMAN*  
in English 29 Apr 92 p 12

[Text] Mr. Eduardo Faleiro, Minister of State For External Affairs, in a letter to Mr. Saurin Bhattacharya, RSP [Revolutionary Socialist Party] Rajya Sabha M.P., assured that all Bangladeshi citizens, including military, paramilitary and police personnel, would enjoy the right of passage through the Tinbigha corridor when it is leased out in perpetuity to Bangladesh on 26 June.

Mr. Faleiro's letter, which reached Mr. Bhattacharya on Monday, said Bangladeshi defence personnel had been given access to the corridor from 26 March, with the Tinbigha agreement being signed between India and Bangladesh. Mr. Faleiro denied that India's boundary with Bangladesh would increase with the leasing out of Tinbigha.

His reply was in reference to Mr. Bhattacharya asking in an earlier letter if India's boundary would increase by 45 km, requiring the setting up of nine more border outposts, including three riverine ones.

Mr. Bhattacharya's reply, sent on Monday, asked whether the 26 March agreement contained any clause providing the right of passage to the Bangladeshi military through Tinbigha. The veteran RSP parliamentarian said Bangladeshi military personnel, moving freely, would undermine India's sovereignty over Tinbigha.

He deplored the wording of the latest agreement on Tinbigha, which, he said, was meant to "confuse, mislead and suppress facts."

### Islamabad, Dhaka Said To Connive With Insurgents

#### Pakistan Pressure on ULFA

92AS1038A Calcutta *THE STATESMAN*  
in English 30 Apr 92 p 7

[Text] New Delhi 29 April: The Government has information that agents of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence [ISI] Organization were putting pressure on top ULFA [United Liberation Front of Assam] leaders from accepting any agreement or settlement with India, the Home Minister, Mr. S.B. Chavan, told the Rajya Sabha during Question Hour today. Three top leaders of ULFA's militant wing were currently in Bangladesh, where they were meeting the ISI agents.

Although about 75 per cent of the ULFA activists had surrendered or been arrested, Mr. Chavan said that "the final settlement is not in sight" because members of the military wing of that organization were not willing to come to a settlement which would involve acceptance of the Indian Constitution and their surrender, along with their arms.

### Insurgency

The Army had been deployed "in a big way" to counter insurgency in that State but "unfortunately" its operation had to be suspended from some time at the request of the Chief Minister to facilitate negotiations with the ULFA. Operation Rhino had to be resumed earlier this month. The Home Minister also referred to Operation Bajrang.

Some reports of excesses by the troops had been received, the Army authorities were examining them, Mr. Chavan said. He rejected a suggestion that the Chief Minister had not been taken into confidence about the resumption of Operation Rhino. Mr. Chavan pointed out that a coordination committee was dealing with such matters and there was "no question of starting Army operations without the knowledge of the Chief Minister."

The Home Minister said after India had presented evidence, the Bangladesh authorities were "fully convinced" that the ULFA was operating in that country, but "we would have to wait to see how they react."

India had taken up the matter with both Pakistan and Bangladesh at the diplomatic level and would continue to do so. Both countries had been told that external assistance to terrorism would not be tolerated. However, Mr. Chavan said that it was not considered necessary to raise the issue at the U.N.—India wanted to deal with it bilaterally.

Curbing cross-border movement was an important measure in controlling insurgency and Mr. Chavan regretted that the fencing of the frontier with Bangladesh was progressing very slowly. A meeting of the chief Secretaries of the States concerned was scheduled tomorrow and they would be told to expedite the acquisition of land and other activities—there was no shortage of funds.

Mr. Chavan said that while efforts at a negotiated settlement with the ULFA would continue, so would the other operations.

### Haven in Bangladesh

92AS1038B *Calcutta THE STATESMAN*  
in English 1 May 92 p 12

[Text] Guwahati, 30 April: The insurgents of the north-eastern region, after the virtual collapse of their underground headquarters in the Kachin area inside Myanmar, following the Myanmar Army's crackdown on them, were looking for another launching pad to continue their armed revolts against India and Bangladesh, of late, has fitted well into their plans.

The insurgents, according to highly-placed intelligence sources here, have already shifted their headquarters from Kachin in Myanmar to Cox's Bazar in Bangladesh. The Chittagong district of Bangladesh, where Cox's Bazar is also situated, has become a hotbed of Pakistani

intelligence and Jamait-e-Islami activities and is frequented by the NSCN [National Socialist Council of Nagaland], PLA [expansion not given], ULFA [United Liberation Front of Assam] and BSF [Border Security Force] guerrillas of the northeast, the source said.

On 3 April, a secret meeting of three such militant outfits held reportedly at Simon Hotel in Cox's Bazar, formed a coordination committee of the insurgents. The meeting was attended by, among others, Mr. Nikhang Shimray of the NSCN [National Socialist Council of Nagaland] (Muiva group), Mr. Bharat Thaosen of the PLA and Mr. Nurul Islam of the Rohingya Patriotic Front which has been resisting the onslaught of the Myanmar Army in the Arakan area of Myanmar. Pakistani and Bangladeshi intelligence officials were also present at the meeting, reports said. The coordination committee includes ULFA members, too. Mr. Shimray is the convenor.

That Bangladesh has become a grazing ground for guerrilla outfits from North-East India is no longer controversial. The arrest of five ULFA militants who had gone to that country a couple of months ago in order to pursue the ULFA's "commander-in-chief, Mr. Paresh Baruah, for a negotiated settlement bears testimony to this besides the reported interview of Mr. Baruah to a journalist from the Bangkok-based Far Eastern Economic Review which was, in fact, given at Hotel Agrabad in Chittagong but not, in any "South East Asian capital" as reported.

Of course that Bangladesh Government has been denying that it is giving any assistance to the militants from India. But in India, the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. Eduardo Faleiro, categorically told the Rajya Sabha on Monday that the government had reports about the presence of ULFA activists in Bangladesh.

Intelligence sources here said four ULFA leaders, including the chairman and the "commander-in-chief," had been taking shelter in that country, holding meetings with the intelligence agencies there and also with the NSCN leader, Mr. T. Muiva, in order to evolve joint strategies to keep North-East India boiling.

The headquarters of the NSCN (Khaplang faction) at Kachin tracts in Myanmar, which had acted as a fountainhead of all the North-East guerrillas, is learnt to have fallen due to intensive operations by the Myanmar Army. Since then, thousands of Naga inhabitants from those areas have fled along with the militants, many of whom have already entered neighbouring Nagaland and Manipur.

However, it is a fact that the Myanmar Army inflicted a major blow to the Khaplang faction of the NSCN, as a result of which the rival NSCN faction led by Mr. Muiva, operating mainly in Manipur and Nagaland, get strengthened.

It is the Muiva section of the NSCN which, of late, has established contacts with almost all rebel groups from

the North-East and entrenched itself in the soil of Bangladesh from a strategic point of view.

### **Pakistan Said Providing Continuous Training to ULFA**

*92AS0957B New Delhi JANSATTA  
in Hindi 1 May 92 pp 1, 10*

[Article by Rambahadur Rai: "Pakistan's Intelligence Agencies Are Providing Year-Round Training to ULFA"]

[Text] Bangladesh Border, 30 April—The ISI [Inter-Services Intelligence], Pakistan's intelligence agency, has been openly active in Bangladesh for the last year. This is the equivalent of using a country as a colony. It has transformed a dozen Indian separatist groups into a gang. The ULFA [United Liberation Front of Assam] leaders are being pressured by this gang. Seven hundred million rupees that the ULFA has looted are deposited in Bangladesh banks. This huge amount has become a weapon in the hands of the Pakistani intelligence agency to blackmail Paresh Barua, the so-called "commander" of the ULFA.

From the middle of the 1960's to the early 1970's, the ULFA separatists used the hills of Chattagon as their hideout. Pakistan helped them at that time. In 1965, the Naga separatists were trained in what was then East Pakistan. Until 1971, Naga and Mizo separatists had training camps there. They had the full cooperation of the Pakistani Government. When Bangladesh was formed, and during the lifetime of Sheikh Mujib, that geographic region was not the refuge of the separatists. Afterwards, many changes occurred in Bangladesh. Pakistan is taking advantage of these changes. During the last year, the Pakistani intelligence agency has started to help all separatists for a special reason.

If the ULFA had joined the mainstream, then we would not need 40,000 soldiers or four military divisions in Assam. It would be better to send them to our western border. The situation could be dangerous to Pakistan in its Kashmir plans. Many separatist groups in Nagaland and Manipur are alive and are involved minor incidents. However, they were never considered dangerous enough that we would have to send an army there. The remaining separatists in Mizoram and Tripura exist in name only. Under the shadow of the Assam Gana Parishad Government, the ULFA grew into a giant, and has emerged as the most dangerous separatist group. Pakistan is trying to keep it going at any cost. During the last year, the Pakistani intelligence agency has been very successful in joining the Naga, Podo, Khasi, and Manipuri separatist groups. Last year, when Pakistani commander in chief Mirza Aslam Beg visited Bangladesh for 12 days, the ISI got a place in the Bangladesh army. Military contacts from the undivided Pakistan era helped them. After Aslam Beg's visit, the Jhando Burma Revolutionary Front was formed on 22 May 1991 at Nukpa in Myanmar. This effort was led by ULFA's

Arvind Rajkoa, S.S. Khaplang of the NSCN [National Socialist Council of Nagaland] (a separate group), UNLF [United National Liberation Front] of Manipur, and R.K. Mejan. This group was trying to bring all the groups in the northeast under one umbrella to fight jointly.

However, because of political changes in Myanmar and India, this front could not even begin to function. It was formed to make ULFA stronger. Because of the military action in Assam, the ULFA worked to protect its own existence instead of providing leadership to the separatist groups. At that time, Assam was under presidential rule and "Operation Bajrang" was in full force. It did not have the support of the people in Assam, either. The government and the police also had sympathy for the ULFA. Still, the whole structure of the ULFA was shaken.

The ULFA changed its battle plan after Operation Bajrang. Its leadership looked for ways to contact Pakistan. They used Pakistani intelligence agencies to open bank accounts so they could deposit their loot money in the accounts of Bangladeshi citizens. Pakistan also started to train ULFA "soldiers." According to one informant, 50 ULFA youths were trained in Pakistan. Mr. Hiteswar Saikia, who is considered a devout ULFA member, is a trained soldier. According to his estimate, there are 600 devout ULFA soldiers, while another source says there are only 400. Of these, 200 were trained in the Kachin area. About 100 ULFA members were trained by Naga separatists. The Pakistani intelligence agency has made the T.H. Muiba and Ishak Shu groups responsible for carrying on activities in the northeastern states. These groups had to be forced to take refuge in Pakistan. Three years ago, after a bloody confrontation with the S.S. Khaplang group, it was almost obliterated in the Kachin and Karan areas. The area near Nagaland is being controlled by the Khaplang group. T.H. Muiba and Ishak Shu established contacts with the Khaplang group and tried to negotiate with the central government. However, this was made impossible by the Congress leaders in Nagaland. This group moved to Bangladesh after this. They have camps in Slopi and Chachang in the Chattagon hills. They are carrying out terrorist groups in Manipur, Ukrol, Senapati, and Tamen Lang, as well as in some parts of Nagaland. It is not very strong, but it is very effective.

The Naga separatists had their camps in these regions of Bangladesh in 1965. When Pakistan lost to India in the 1965 war, the Naga separatists left because of hatred. During this period, Naga camps were established in Kunming, in the Hunan province of China. At that time, the separatist movement was led by M. Angami and Day Kho Shek.

The Mizo rebels made Bangladesh their center of operations in 1966. Several of their groups were arrested during the 1971 war. After Bangladesh was established, Lal Denga took refuge in Pakistan. He stayed in Pakistan from 1971 to 1975. Before that, the whole MNF [Mizo National Front] was under Lal Denga's leadership in

Bangladesh. Last year, major changes occurred. Previously, the centers of activity for the separatists of the northeastern states were in the Chittagon hills. Their leaders visited Chittagon Rengyati and Dhaka. Now they have spread to Silhet, Memansingh, Mowlvi Bazar, and other cities. The Pakistani intelligence agencies have tried to establish relationships with Podo, the Meghalaya United Liberation Army, PLA [People's Liberation Army], the Mizo National Front, and the All Tripura Tribal Force, in addition to the ULFA. It has established more than 30 camps.

### Sri Lanka President's Speech Protested

92AS1017A Madras THE HINDU  
in English 1 May 92 p 9

[Article by Thomas Abraham]

[Text] Colombo, April 30. India has formally protested against a speech by the Sri Lankan President, Mr Ranasinghe Premadasa, describing the Indian Peace Keeping Force [IPKF] as "an army of occupation."

The Indian High Commissioner, Mr N.N. Jha, delivered the protest note to Sri Lanka's Foreign Secretary, Mr Bernard Tilakaratne, this morning.

In his speech to the Hambantota district United National Party convention earlier this week, Mr Premadasa was quoted in the government press as saying that "the bold stand taken by the Government in sending away the IPKF was a clear message conveyed to the whole world that Sri Lanka would never tolerate foreign military presence—an army of occupation on its soil."

Sources said the protest note was fairly strongly worded, and referred to the fact that the IPKF had been brought into Sri Lanka on the invitation of the Government and that Indian soldiers had laid down their lives for the unity of Sri Lanka.

Diplomatically, a protest against a statement by a Head of State is a serious step, and the description of the IPKF as an army of occupation has evidently caused annoyance to New Delhi.

Mr Premadasa was always strongly opposed to the presence of the IPKF, and after he became President, issued a public ultimatum to the IPKF to leave Sri Lanka. Mr Premadasa, had, in his speeches, frequently referred to the departure of the IPKF as one of the achievements of his administration. The references to the IPKF were one of the factors that led to a cooling of relations between the two countries, which reached the lowest level after the aborted SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] summit last December.

At a formal level, relations improved after the summit was finally held. Sri Lanka cooperated wholeheartedly with the investigations into the Rajiv Gandhi assassination, while the Indian crackdown on the Liberation

Tigers of Tamil Eelam [LTTE] and the increased patrolling on the Palk Straits have helped the Sri Lankan war effort against the LTTE. Sri Lanka has also cooperated with India on the return of refugees from Tamil Nadu.

But as the latest incident demonstrates, the irritants have by no means disappeared, and it remains to be seen how the Sri Lankan President reacts to the protest note.

At his meeting with the Sri Lankan Foreign Secretary, Mr Jha also proposed that officials from both countries meet in New Delhi next month to discuss the issue of Indian fishermen crossing the international maritime boundary between the two countries.

Our New Delhi Special Correspondent writes: The Union Home Ministry has taken strong exception to Mr Premadasa's statement that the LTTE chief, Velupillai Prabhakaran, would not be extradited to India.

Describing the statement as unwarranted, Ministry sources said that Prabhakaran, a proclaimed offender, was wanted for the murder of the former Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi.

Worried over the continuing activities and movements of Sri Lankan Tamils in the country, the Ministry is keen that a ban on the island-based militant outfit be imposed as early as possible. A proposal to this effect is pending before the Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs (CCPA).

The Government, in its efforts to combat the militant menace, is also keen that the Sri Lankan refugees living in India be repatriated at the earliest. Under the garb of refugee status, several persons were found linked with militant activity, the sources said.

The sources said a charge sheet in the Rajiv Assassination Case was to be filed shortly.

### Commentary Welcomes Ban on LTTE

BK1505032992 Delhi All India Radio Network  
in English 0245 GMT 15 May 92

[Commentary By P. Dharian of HINDUSTAN TIMES]

[Text] It is in the fitness of things that the Government of India has declared the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam [LTTE] unlawful. The only regret is that the decision has come belatedly.

How can anyone question the home minister's contention that the continued presence of the LTTE in India poses a serious threat to the security, sovereignty, and integrity of this country. Had the militant organization been a purely Indian product, some consideration to it would have been understandable. But the LTTE, born in Sri Lanka, has been working for an independent state in the island republic. There is little justification for allowing such an organization to operate from India. Had this fact dawned on the Center and the Tamil Nadu

Government earlier, many disasters that have taken place in the recent years in Tamil Nadu could have been averted.

Unfortunately, at one stage the LTTE did get encouragement from the Tamil Nadu Government and certain political parties in the state. Even the Center appeared to sympathize with it and the country paid a heavy price for its mistake.

The ban on the LTTE will help the Tamil Nadu Government and the Center to contain its activities. There are several hideouts in Tamil Nadu from where the Tamil militants not only plan their strategy, but also carry out their militant operations. Now that the LTTE has been declared unlawful, the state government and the Center are better placed to hunt them out from their hideouts and to seize their arms. The criminal elements can also be sent back to Sri Lanka.

The LTTE has only itself to blame for this. Its demand for an Eelam [separate Tamil state] is not acceptable to Sri Lanka, so are its militant activities. But it has harmed India's interests as well.

The home minister has disclosed that the LTTE, after giving training in weapons to young Tamils in Jaffna, has been sending them back to India to work for separation of Tamil Nadu from India. The LTTE's concept of Eelam covers not only the northeastern parts of Sri Lanka, but also Tamil Nadu. This is a clear threat to India.

With the ban the drive against the LTTE will be intensified. But how far it will be a success remains to be seen. The strength of the Tigers should not be underestimated. A major responsibility rests on the political parties of Tamil Nadu to make the LTTE ineffective.

## INTERNAL AFFAIRS

**Ayodhya Team Scores Uttar Pradesh Government**  
*92AS1037A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH*  
*in English 29 Apr 92 p 4*

[Boldface words as published]

[Text] **New Delhi, 28 April:** The National Integration Council (NIC) and parliamentarians team, which visited Ayodhya on a fact-finding, mission has criticised the Uttar Pradesh government for failing to fulfill its solemn assurances on abiding by the decision of the Allahabad High Court and has blamed it for heightening tensions as well as threatening the national unity of the country.

In its concluding remarks of the 20-page report which was submitted to the Union home minister, Mr. S.B. Chavan, the team has found that it did not agree with the Uttar Pradesh government's view that it had the right to demolish the structures on the disputed site. The order of

the High Court in the land acquisition suit, the report surmised, was not final but only interim and subject to further orders of the court.

"Therefore, the question arises whether status quo can be restored if the court ultimately quashes the notification for acquisition. One can draw a legitimate inference that the acts of the Uttar Pradesh government in regard to the notified land is likely to render the final decision of the court infructuous," the team observed. In short, the NIC-parliamentarian team combine has found Kalyan Singh's action not in consonance with the orders passed by the High Court and the Supreme Court in the land acquisition matter.

The delegation also concluded that the latest order passed by the High Court in February this year continues to be in force in spite of the order passed by it in the land acquisition proceedings. "The Uttar Pradesh government's decision to demolish the existing structures and levelling the land are not in consonance with the letter and spirit of the orders passed by the High Court in the pending suites," the team said.

On the wall built by the Ayodhya Development Authority, the Uttar Pradesh government feels that the boundary wall does not pass through any of the suited properties and has been built on a different land. But the NIC team has received a representation during its visit that the boundary wall passes through some suite plots and divides it.

The delegation sought the relevant records and details of the correlation between the suite plots, the land acquired and the land on which the boundary wall has been built. However, the team was not in a position to give its opinion and has appealed to the Union government to hold a further inquiry on this and if necessary find out the exact position of the boundary wall.

**New Approaches Urged To Solve Kashmir Crisis**  
*92AS0904B Varnasi AJ in Hindi 15 Apr 92 p 4*

[Article by P.N. Jalali: "Kashmir Policy: A New Context"]

[Text] The Jammu-Kashmir government's decision to free the five veteran leaders of separatist movements is the first well-thought-of step toward establishing a normal situation in the state. These efforts will help end the influence of Pakistani-supported terrorists in this sensitive border state.

The decision to free these leaders was made only when Pakistan's JKLF [Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front] group was making declarations of crossing the cease-fire line. This is a well-known strategy, according to which talks could be initiated with the terrorists and the politicians associated with them. The decision to free these five separatist leaders was made after discussions

among some veteran separatist leaders and the Center's home ministry officials. Two terrorist leaders were also included in these talks.

No one in government circles expects dramatic change. However, some people became more optimistic after the government set these leaders free. There is hope at a personal level that these five freed leaders will play an important role independently. If we look at the whole picture, however, then we cannot ignore their ability to lead the separatist movement.

One of these, Sayyed Ali Shah Gilani, is believed to be a member of terrorist branch of the Jamaat-i Islami. The Jamaat-i Islami is the stronghold for Pakistani-supported extremists. Two other leaders, Abdul Ghani Lon and Qazi Nisar, have important positions in the People's Conference. Now we have to see whether or not these two leaders will continue to support the terrorists.

It is said that in spite of being in jail for such a long time and being supportive of the goals of the terrorists, both these leaders claim to have a close relationship with three former central ministers, Sayyed Mir Qasim, Dr. Karan Singh, and former central minister, Mr. Mufti Mohammed Sayyed.

Mr. Lon's political activities have been fairly volatile. He was a Cabinet member in the late G.M. Sadiq's and Sayyed Mir Qasim's Cabinets and was a temporary member of the National Conference. When the Indira-Abdullah Agreement was signed in 1975, he joined the Janata Party. Later, with the demand of granting the 1947 constitutional status for the state, he formed his own party.

So far the National Conference, led by Dr. Farooq Abdullah, has not issued any statements about the release of these leaders. The Jammu and Kashmir Pradesh Congress has called it a step in the right direction. Former National Conference legislator Safuddin Soj has expressed his hope that these leaders will help find a solution to the problems of the state. It should be remembered that all these leaders have been bitter critics of the National Conference and the Congress Party.

According to reliable sources, Dr. Farooq Abdullah is being informed about the talks planned with the terrorist leaders. This will help in resolving the problem. It means that New Delhi believes that Farooq will not cause any problems when it tries to get the support of terrorist leaders to bring about normal conditions in the state. The situation will not be limited to freeing these five leaders. Restrictions imposed on separatist leaders and other important volunteers will be eased. It is possible that after viewing the reaction to the freedom of these terrorist leaders, some other leaders will also be freed in the near future. Among the leaders who are expected to be freed, there are some veterans leaders. They will be freed if they promise to try to find a resolution to this problem without being involved in violent activities and while remaining within the framework of the present Indian Constitution.

During this period, as some observers fear, the Indian Government may become overly optimistic about the friction among terrorist groups, especially the disagreement between the JKLF and Pakistani-occupied Kashmir's Abdul Qayum government. The increasing chasm between the JKLF and the parties in power in Pakistani-occupied Kashmir and its government indicates major changes in the state's terrorist campaign. It should also be remembered that according to the Zia plan, the JKLF and its leaders are important in Pakistan's hidden war in Kashmir.

Mr. Amanullah Khan and his associates have supported Pakistan's foreign policy, the purpose of which is to gain its goals through terrorists in Kashmir and Punjab. We should not forget this fact before taking any new steps in Kashmir.

These sources also advised to be alert about changes in the near future. While the people are tired of the violent activities of the terrorists, the terrorists have not slackened their activities of establishing centers for themselves and in looking for places to hide their weapons.

It should also be considered that our security forces are proving themselves very capable in dealing with terrorists and curbing their violent activities, and that popular support is no longer with the terrorists. It is turning against them rapidly.

#### **Kashmir: Usefulness of Elections Questioned**

*92P40194A Madras DINAMANI in Tamil 9 May 92 p 4*

[Editorial: "Kashmir Situation Is Grave"]

[Text] In Srinagar, the Kashmir militants showered shots at the car in which Cabinet Minister Rajesh Pilot was traveling. Even though they failed to kill him during this attempt, it has been proved once again that terrorism is rampant in the state.

Last January, Bharatiya Janata Party leader Murali-manohar Joshi was hoisting the national flag in Srinagar at the conclusion of his 'Ekta Yatra' [Pilgrimage for Unity]. The planes used by his team were fired upon by rockets. His escape was providential.

The dissidents in Kashmir vehemently oppose Indian nationality and India's authority. Efforts to subjugate them have not been fruitful. Pakistan has been encouraging anti-Indian activities from behind the scene. Apparently, during the last few weeks, there has been slight improvement in the situation. The Indian Government has been trying to hold elections in Kashmir. Many political prisoners have been set free.

The extremists have been controlled, and some youths have come forward to sever their ties to the terrorists. It cannot be said yet, however, that the conditions for holding free elections exist. In spite of the heavy security, if the extremists are still able to conduct their terrorist acts, it must then be realized that normalcy does not

exist. Unless the thousands of Hindus who have fled as refugees to other states are able to return home, there is no purpose in conducting an election there.

### **Gorkhaland Movement Seen Reawakening**

*92AS0818B Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA  
in Bengali 27 Mar 92 p 4*

[Editorial: "Darjeeling Again, Ghising Again"]

[Text] The game of politics began again in Darjeeling. GNLF [Gurkha National Liberation Front] leader Subash Ghising appeared again as the central figure of this drama. After a violent movement on the demand for Gorkhaland, the legality of the agreement, reached by the central government, the state government and GNLF, has been challenged by the proposed movement called by Ghising. By raising the question of Article VIII of the Indo-Nepalese Pact, Ghising is demanding the separation and even sovereignty of this district. Issuing the call for a movement on this demand, it is heard that he got a good response from the local Gorkha people. After a long period of time, people have started to gather at his meetings. Those, who had lost faith in him, again started to assemble around him attracted by the charm of the new slogan. He was able to partially brighten his image by joining the Home Minister of the central government in a private meeting, which took place at the beginning of the current month. The Left-Front government of West Bengal, especially its main partner CPM [Communist Party of India-Marxist], not only felt uneasy, but, also has become seriously anxious about the whole thing. The CPM leaders are asking for an explanation from the central government within and without parliament for indulging Ghising.

CPM has its own problems as well as the question of preference. Darjeeling was once a stronghold of this party. The GNLF movement has, in fact, wiped out the existence of this party from this hilly district. Besides opposing the Gorkhaland movement just from an administrative standpoint, CPM has a pressing urge to recover its hold and political strength in this district. When Ghising became satisfied with the self-rule of the hilly council, CPM waited for the failure of this council and the disillusionment of its people, and, to some extent, it got an opportunity to recover its strength and old glory in this district. Now, if Ghising again starts his violent movement, CPM will lose its opportunity. For this reason, the CPM members of parliament, the chief minister, and the information minister of West Bengal are overreacting to the (challenge) of Ghising. There is no way to deny that the CPM never wanted the success for the hilly council, rather, it waited to see it become inactive and to prove Ghising and GNLF unfit and unworthy. In fact, CPM tried hard to achieve its goal. For the time being, in this political game, Ghising outplayed CPM. The activities of the central government and their hobnobbing with Subash Ghising are responsible for the increasing sensitiveness of the CPM leadership. This same thing happened in the first phase of the

Gorkhaland movement. It appeared at one time that Ghising was used as a pawn in the political chess game between the central and the state government. As the state government is using the issue of indulging Ghising in their propaganda against the central government; the central government, on the other hand, is increasing that indulgence in order to politically embarrass the state government.

Ghising was able to effectively use both parties in the first round of the game. But ultimately, after realizing the danger of the game, the central government retreated and Ghising had to be happy with the self-rule of the hilly council. The works and activities of this council were not at all satisfactory. In fact, starting from embezzlement to nepotism, corruption and administrative chaos had not only turned this council into an inactive institution, but also reduced the popularity of Ghising and his party as well as their legality and acceptability. Ghising is now desperate to recover his lost image and legal standing among the people. By raising the cry for Gorkha identity and the issue of separateness, he wanted to get Nepal and Nara Bahadur Bhandari, the chief minister of Sikkim, involved. Nepal just turned its face while Bhandari ridiculed the whole matter. Under the circumstances, Ghising became very happy when the Home Minister of India invited and held a meeting with him. But Ghising is raising irrelevant and irrational demands. If the central government wants to play around with this irresponsible demand, it would, undoubtedly, be an unfortunate matter. The state government also should consider the whole matter calmly and rationally discarding excess sensitivity. Ghising is trying to fish in troubled waters. Judiciousness is necessary to foil his attempts. The good part is, the central Home Minister in a letter to the chief minister of West Bengal, informed the latter that the demands of Ghising are unjust and there is no question of discussing them. He also clearly informed Ghising of the central government's stance. Now, what steps Ghising would take after losing the support of the central government are to be observed. None would object to him shooting some firecrackers in the hills for 12 days in the name of a victory celebration, provided they are simple fireworks.

### **Tamil Nadu, Jayalalitha Accused of Autocracy**

*92AS0980A Jalandhar PUNJAB KESARI  
in Hindi 7 May 92 p 4*

["Yesterday, Today & Tomorrow" commentary by K.R. Sunder Rajan: "Jayalalitha Acting Childish, Lacks Understanding of Democratic Principles"]

[Text] Tamil Nadu's Chief Minister Jayalalitha was elected riding a wave of popularity. The newspapers described her as a dynamic leader and a lady who was playing an important role in national politics. One columnist went so far as to say that she had the ability to become India's prime minister. However, she has now lost all her prestige and is emerging as a leader whose full-time job is to preserve her position.

There were two incidents that helped win a landslide victory for Jayalalitha and her Anna Dramuk Party. First, the attack on her in the Vidhan Sabha was compared to Dropadi's undressing incident. The other was Rajiv Gandhi's assassination. Many observers considered Jayalalitha's victory in the election an indicator of Tamil Nadu joining the national mainstream. Karunanidhi had given the impression during his chief ministership that he was rekindling his party's tendency to break into factions. He was also accused of secretly helping the Tamil rebels in Sri Lanka. These rebels were believed to have assassinated Rajiv Gandhi.

However, those who knew Jayalalitha well said that she would show her real self soon. This proved to be true. She started pressure tactics against the opposition parties and the press. This resulted in an atmosphere of fear. In spite of this, Jayalalitha was feeling unsafe, and she believed she was the next target of the Tamil Tigers. Perhaps that is why she cannot tolerate even minor criticism and has concluded that everyone outside her party is against her. There can be no other explanation of her victimizing the former correspondent of the ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY.

At Jayalalitha's request, the state Vidhan Sabha has decided that correspondent K.P. Sunil abused his special privileges by writing about the incident that occurred in the Vidhan Sabha. A warrant for his arrest was issued. When the Supreme Court stopped Sunil's arrest, the Vidhan Sabha president made it clear that the Vidhan Sabha was not under the orders of the country's highest court.

I read that article very carefully and could not find anything that called for the arrest of the writer. The special privilege committee of the Vidhan Sabha had accepted Sunil's explanation at first and had declared that his purpose was not to hurt the Vidhan Sabha's prestige. Later, however, they changed their decision, resulting in the present situation.

What Sunil did was to describe some embarrassing incidents that occurred in the Vidhan Sabha. He concluded that it had been lowered from its lofty position to that of a battleground. He also mentioned that a dangerous situation had developed because the ruling party did not tolerate any criticism by the opposition. The writer also mentioned the days when the Tamil Nadu Vidhan Sabha was a model for Vidhan Sabhas in other states.

Even more critical things were said about Vidhan Sabhas in other states. However, those criticisms were taken in good faith. In 1989, Jayalalitha said herself, "The Vidhan Sabha has become an unsafe place now. I will not return here until it has changed so that a woman can feel safe here." A minor leader of the Congress(I) Party has also called the Tamil Nadu Vidhan Sabha "a violent place." Thus, it is clear that Tamil Nadu's leaders are trying to spread fear among their opponents and are

taking advantage of the situation, even when it means challenging the highest court of the country.

Under Jayalalitha's leadership, Tamil Nadu is approaching one-party rule. One newspaper faced problems when it published an article about tapping the telephones of newsmen and Congress(I) leaders. The electricity and water were cut off in the reporter's house several times. Jayalalitha is satisfied only with 100-percent loyalty and metes out rigid punishments for even minor infringements in her party. Just like MGR [M.G. Ramachandran], she is beyond the reach of her assistants and supporters. There is no doubt that Jayalalitha's Tamil Nadu will become the most autocratic state in India.

Just like Kashmir, Tamil Nadu's non-Congress chief ministers have encouraged anticentral government emotions in order to win popular support. Just like Kashmir's National Conference, Tamil Nadu's Dravida parties have also raised some issues, causing a rift between the people in the state and the rest of the country. During MGR's leadership, this had become the main issue in the state. In this context, Jayalalitha was considered more level headed than Karunanidhi. What, then, is her reason for creating this hostile atmosphere against the Center with the help of the Vidhan Sabha and her party? One reason could be her concern over her party's uncertain future. It is clear that the ADMK [Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] will not be able to be as successful during the next Lok Sabha elections as it was during the previous ones. Perhaps Karunanidhi's DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] will fare better this time. In addition, Jayalalitha is suspicious of the Congress Party, too. Both parties were together during the last election, but are now drifting apart. Some of Tamil Nadu's political observers say that incidents are pushing Jayalalitha's party away from the Congress Party, and that she is creating this confrontational situation on purpose. This will allow her to get emotional support from the people of Tamil Nadu. However, no one can definitely say why she chose the path of challenging the Supreme Court. As a Congress legislator in the state said, "The fact is that Jayalalitha is an inexperienced politician who acts like a child when criticized. She does not understand the laws of a democratic country."

If the Vidhan Sabha's speaker says that the orders of India's highest court are not acceptable to him, then what can be done about it? It is a very strange situation. In such a situation, democratic policies are hurt, and the central government has the full authority to dismiss the state government and the Vidhan Sabha, even though the state government has the majority in it. Jayalalitha, however, seems to think it will not be easy for the Center to dismiss her government, and that she will be safe even when she has disobeyed the Supreme Court.

**Top Akali Leaders Released in Punjab**

92AS1018A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH  
in English 18 Apr 92 p 4

[Text] Chandigarh, April 17: Three top Akali leaders—Mr Simranjit Singh Mann, Mr Parkash Singh Badal and Mr Gurcharan Singh Tohra—who were detained under the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act for nearly 70 days, were released today on “health and humanitarian grounds.”

Immediately after their release, the Akali Dal (Mann) president, Mr Simranjit Singh Mann, and the Shromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee chief, Mr Gurcharan Singh Tohra, reiterated their demand for “an independent, sovereign Sikh state.”

Mr Badal and Mr Mann were held under Tada from Bhatinda on February eight for allegedly aiding, abetting and conspiring to disrupt the elections in Punjab. Four days later, Mr Tohra was also arrested under Tada on an identical charge.

The arrest of these three politicians was preceded by a call by 36 religio-political Sikh organizations, including the Akali factions, to “boycott” the Punjab polls.

The court ordered the release of the three Sikh leaders after the Punjab government withdrew all cases registered against them. The release orders were sent through special emissaries to the notified jails where the Akali leaders were detained.

On Monday, a spokesperson on behalf of the Punjab government had stated that Mr Mann, Mr Badal and Mr Tohra would be released on “medical and humanitarian grounds” as they wanted to undergo treatment for eye ailments. He said a medical board comprising of eminent doctors had recommended the release of Akali leaders.

Soon after coming out, Mr Mann and Mr Tohra said. “We still abide our demand for an independent, sovereign Sikh state, he will fight for it till death.” Before leaving for his native village Talania, Mr Mann said he would soon announce a programme in consultation with Mr Badal. Immediately after Mr Mann left Nidampur, Mr Tohra left for Amritsar.

Mr Badal, who arrived at his residence in Chandigarh this evening told newsmen that the government had released him unconditionally. He denied having requested “anyone to release him on medical grounds.”

Asked if he was contemplating any new political programme, Mr Badal said “We are already fighting our struggle and the Panthic goals are clear. So where is the need for a fresh political programme.”

He said the people of Punjab had entrusted responsibility. “On the Sikh leaders by responding to their appeal to boycott the elections. We will leave no stones unturned to discharge the task entrusted to us.”

Defending the decision of the Akali factions to “boycott” the elections, the former chief minister said “boycott is our right. You cannot stop anybody from boycotting the elections. Even the Congress had done that. If we would have been given the right to hold rallies before the elections, not a single vote would be cast.”

He said the Congress(I) government in the state did not even have 10 percent mandate “and these 10 percent votes were cast by the police” he said.

The President of the Akali Dal (Badal) felt that “the Sikh issue” was not on Center’s agenda. He added “the Sikh community has no faith in the government.”

Mr Badal said he would leave for the U.S. for his cataract operation. It is reliably learnt that the Punjab government has offered to bear all costs.

**Rao Said Free of Congress (I) ‘Syndicate’**

92AS0902B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 18 Apr p 1

[Article by Suryaprakash: “Now Rao Will Also Be Free From a Syndicate”]

[Text] Rajiv Nagar, 17 April—The most bizarre aspect at the end of the All India Congress (I) conference was that when the volunteers were singing the national anthem, only the second-class leaders were surrounding the prime minister. Not even one of the 10 members elected to the working committee was present. A few hours after being elected, they had disappeared.

At present, it is more difficult to understand the situation; however, it can be said that it was an unfortunate coincidence. The people who had been present at the previous Congress (I) convention do not remember such an incident when any member of the Nehru or Gandhi family was at the stage and any of his Cabinet members or party associates had the courage to leave them. The last few minutes of the Congress (I) convention were the exact opposite of the inauguration atmosphere of Tuesday. At the time of the inauguration, every party member with a position fought for room to sit on the stage.

The Tirupati experience has been a mixed one for the prime minister. If, by holding elections of the working committee, the image of Narasimha Rao and the Congress Party has improved in the eyes of the people, then a new syndicate in the party has also emerged, and this syndicate can cause problems for Mr. Rao. It is ironic that in the old Congress, it was in Tirupati that the syndicate leaders had planned to oust Indira Gandhi. This resulted in the division of the Congress Party in 1969.

The ease and the majority with which Arjun Singh and Sharad Pawar won memberships to the working committee has increased their political influence. Now,

because of their positions, they are in the highest decisionmaking body of the party. Now that they are members of the Congress (I) working committee, they do not have to depend on anyone. It would be interesting to see whether they use this new influence or not.

If they decide to use their position, then there will definitely be problems for the prime minister. Even though the convention has approved his policies, there is still a long time left before Mr. Rao's economic reforms are completed. The prime minister will have to give a lot of attention to these in order to ensure their speedy implementation. The Narasimha Rao-Manmohan Singh duo have a long way to go. Meanwhile, Arjun Singh has already pointed out the need for group leadership in the party. When the votes were being counted for the working committee and news was being circulated that Mr. Singh was far ahead of others, he made an important statement. He said, "The next step is so big that no leader can do it alone." At the time Mr. Singh was saying this, other leaders were praising Mr. Rao's foresight.

The question arises: If Arjun Singh has a lot of clout in the party and the government, what will all of this result in? It has been evident during the last three months that there are disagreements between Mr. Rao and Mr. Arjun Singh over at least three major issues. These issues are the attitudes towards the BJP [Bharatiya Janat Party], towards Sonia Gandhi, and towards the new economic policies.

As for Sharad Pawar, the disagreement and the issue between him and the prime minister are not clear. Mr. Pawar had pitted his claims for the prime minister's position; later, however, he withdrew as a gentleman, and let Mr. Rao be elected unopposed.

Mr. R.K. Dhawan and Ghulam Nabi Azad, who were elected to the working committee, are known for their loyalty to the Gandhi family. Mr. Azad is also known for his close relations with Karnataka's Chief Minister, S. Bangrappa. Mr. Bangrappa revolted against party leadership just before the Tirupati convention.

Mr. Narasimha Rao did not lose any time in expressing his unhappiness at the results of the working committee's election. In the political resolution in the Congress (I), Mr. Rao was named the most senior leader. After attaining this position and providing a new image and the hope to the party that Mr. Rao would be satisfied with being a leader in name only, the nomination of the remaining 10 seats in the working committee is the first card in his hand. The second one is the selection of the president and vice president positions from the candidates within the party. The third card is the possible moving around of positions in the Cabinet. If he has to make good the loss he suffered in Tirupati, it will depend on how he plays his cards.

### **Congress-I Panel Submits Report on Jharkhand**

92AS1028A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 27 Apr 92 p 11

[Text] New Delhi, April 26. A delegation of Congress legislators from Chhotanagpur yesterday submitted to the Prime Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, a memorandum containing historical evidence in support of the claim for the creation of a separate Jharkhand state comprising tribal regions of Bihar and the neighboring states of Orissa, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh.

The delegation was led by Mr Gyan Ranjan, MLC [Member of Legislative Council], and included Mr D.N. Champia, Mr Bandi Oraon, Mr Kalidas Murmu, Mr Sarfraz Ahmed, Mr J.P. Chaudhry, Mr Indernath Bhagat and other leaders of the region.

All of them were members of the regional Congress Committee of chhotanagpur which has been consistently supporting the Adivasi claim for a separate homeland.

The chief argument advanced in the memorandum for a separate tribal state is that even during British rule, the Chhotanagpur region was treated as a separate province, not only for administrative reasons but also because the majority of the people there are tribals with altogether different culture and mores.

The regional Congress party has been espousing the Jharkhand cause mainly because the unified administration based in Patna failed to do justice to the people of the region.

The Congress party feels that unless the Adivasis through their representatives are allowed a say in administration, the deep-rooted resentment of the people against the government would never disappear.

Over the years, the Jharkhand region has come to be exploited by outsiders. The Adivasis have gained little. On the contrary, the Adivasis had become a minority in their own homeland following increasing migration from other states.

Apart from social and economic considerations, the regional Congress is espousing the tribal cause for it feels that is the only way to rehabilitate the party here.

Earlier, the Adivasis were staunch supporters of the Congress. But of late, their resentment has been exploited by other parties as a result of which the Congress has come to lose much ground here.

Mr Rao reportedly gave a patient hearing to the views of the legislators and reportedly assured them that the government would attach importance to feelings and try to do something to solve the problems of the regions to the satisfaction of tribals.

**CPI-M Panel To Update Party Program**

92AS1016A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH  
in English 19 Apr 92 p 6

[Article by Sattam Ghose]

[Text] Calcutta, April 18: Changes in the Socialist bloc, including the disintegration of the USSR, liberation of several Afro-Asian and Latin American countries, thaw in Sino-Indian relations and radical changes in the CPI's [Communist Party of India] outlook since 1964 have apparently induced the CPI-M's [Communist Party of India-Marxist] central leadership to constitute commission for updating the party programme.

The sudden demise of Mr M. Basavapunniah, CPI-M politburo member, will however, delay the commission's work since he was its convener. Other members of the commission are the chief minister, Mr Jyoti Basu, the former party general secretary, Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad, Mr Anil Biswas, a central committee member, Mr P. Ramachandran and Mr R. Umanath.

The party also noted that the changes in the country's internal economy, particularly in the spheres of industry and land reforms, over the past few years necessitated updating the party programme, which was revised in 1964 shortly after the split in the undivided CPI and later slightly amended at the ninth congress at Madurai in 1972.

Explaining the need for updating party programme, Mr Biswas told this correspondent today that a number of issues such as unity in the socialist block have become irrelevant after the recent changes in eastern Europe and the erstwhile Soviet Union. A number of Afro-Asian countries, have become independent as well. The CPI-M, which was deeply involved in stirs over these issues, naturally intends to redraw its programme for party workers.

The party also noted that the international scenario today was radically different from the one existing in 1964 when Korea as well as Vietnam were burning issues. The party is also concerned about the growing military might of the United States particularly after the Gulf war.

Sino-Indian relationship is another sphere which will engage the commission's special attention. Though the CPI-M had parted company with the present CPI leadership over the delicate issue of the Sino-Indian border conflict of 1962, the party's relationship with the Communist Party of China gradually improved in the eighties, particularly after Rajiv Gandhi took the initiative to normalize relations between the two countries.

According to Mr Biswas, the commission's work will greatly help party schooling.

**Animosity Between Congress (I), BJP Said Growing**

92AS0957A Varnasi AJ in Hindi 26 Apr 92 p 4

[Article by Vijay Narayan: "Congress(I)-BJP's Friendship Has Turned to Animosity"]

[Text] It is clear that since the Punjabi election, the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] has started to feel that the day is not too far off when the Congress (I) will declare war on it. It does not matter whether this is announced by words or action; the irony is that the BJP is still making one announcement after another in support of the Congress government, even after understanding the whole situation. Mr. Atal Bihari Bajpayee, the BJP leader, perhaps went to extremes in his speech in Parliament when he asked the Congress government to get popular support. He also said that he did not know if the government was inviting foreign companies to make our country their slave. When Bajpayee was saying this, perhaps he was thinking in his mind that the real enemy of his party was not Congress (I), but the Janata Dal and left-wing parties. It is also possible that the BJP has gone so far ahead in support of the Congress government that it is impossible for it to turn back.

While Mr. Bajpayee is endorsing the Congress Party government, the BJP government in Uttar Pradesh is doing such things in Ayodhya that the attention of the people could be brought to it. Some small and old temples were demolished to build Rama's Temple. A lot of noise was made over this, and a multiparty Parliament deputation was also sent to Ayodhya to investigate. All this is being done to counter the situation that the Congress Party government is creating for the BJP. It is possible that the BJP has considered that the central government can dismiss its state government in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, or Rajasthan. If this happens, then the BJP has no alternative but to focus on the Rama's Temple issue.

It is ironic that the minority government of the Congress Party has been installed at the Center for the last ten months and has been imposing new policies at will. In August 1979, Indira Gandhi's government became a minority government after the Congress Party split. However, the pressure of the opposition was so great at that time that Indira Gandhi was forced to nationalize the banks and stop privy purses for all the rajahs and maharajahs. She was also forced to start many programs for the people's welfare. This time around, however, the opposition is like a puppet in the hands of the Congress(I) government. The BJP thought its real enemy was the National Front or the Left Front, and the National Front and left-wing people considered the BJP their real enemy. The BJP has been the major opposition party in Parliament; however, it never played the role of a strong opponent. It could not win any respect, either, because of its efforts to support the government at any cost. Perhaps that is why, now that Congress has declared the BJP its real opponent, the BJP is very confused. The other

reason for its confusion is that it does not know how to suddenly start opposing the Congress government policies, which it has been supporting all the time.

One mistake of BJP parliamentary politics is that it has avoided supporting or getting the support of other opposition parties on mutually agreeable issues. Parliamentary politics are very different from election politics. Parties may not form coalitions during the election; however, in parliamentary politics, it is natural for them to agree on issues of common interest. For example, when the BJP declared that it would vote against the railway budget, the National Front and the Left Front also announced their support of this decision. The BJP, however, refused to recognize this support. This shows not only the immaturity of the BJP, but also its childishness. If the BJP had accepted the support of other opposition parties, then perhaps it would be leading opposition politics.

Now that the Congress (I) is saying that the BJP is its enemy, it only means that it wants to confront the BJP. The Congress Party wants to win back its lost powerhouse in Uttar Pradesh, and this is possible only if its traditional voters return to it. Who are the traditional Congress voters in Uttar Pradesh supporting now? Some higher caste people are with the BJP; however, the minority groups—harijans and other backwards castes—are with the SJP [Samajwadi Janata Party] or other parties. Perhaps the Congress (I) also feels that the harijans and other backward caste voters will join it when it starts a war with the BJP. The reason for this belief is that it has broken up the Janata Dal and might break up some other parties. This way, while the Congress (I) will wage a declared war with the BJP, it will also be fighting an undeclared war with the Janata Dal and other parties.

In such a situation, will not all the opposition parties join forces somewhere in order to save their existence? As for the question of selecting policies, the Janata Dal and the Left Front parties will not be able to cooperate with the BJP. However, the kind of situation that the Congress government will create during the next few days perhaps cannot even be imagined by the people. The people in our country are not used to thinking in advance, and by the time they begin to think, it will be too late for the BJP, the Janata Dal, and other parties.

### **Swadeshi Campaign Seen Likely To Grow** *92AS0901B Varnasi AJ in Hindi 12 Apr 92 p 4*

[Article by Amitabh Srivastav: "And Now the Swadeshi Campaign"]

[Text] Because of the new policy adopted by Congress (I), the influence of multinational companies is gradually increasing in India. Prime Minister Narasimha Rao is encouraging these policies to increase foreign exchange receipts. The Janata Dal and the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] have given the form of an opposition campaign to this effort in Uttar Pradesh [UP]. Mulayam Singh has

decided to give this campaign widespread support in order to become active himself. He organized rallies in every district and has decided to push this campaign against the government, so that he can get support for himself. After a decisive defeat in the last election, Mulayam Singh was waiting for such an opportunity. He can use this issue against Kalayan Singh in the rural areas. After taking over the government, Kalayan Singh could not do anything but be surrounded by many conflicting issues, and his image is not very clean now.

Socialist leader George Fernandes is also presenting this campaign to the people under the title of "Save Freedom." The leadership for this program has been given to Dr. M.A. Halil. According to this campaign, sit-ins and rallies will be staged in front of the offices of international companies. After getting support of various student leaders, foreign-made clothes were burned in Lucknow on 18 March in order to raise the feeling against foreign goods. Anti-foreign product posters were displayed on a large scale, and other propaganda materials are being sent to rural areas.

What is special about this is that even Rashtariya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) is not late in joining it? The strong group of the Sangh has started this campaign also, and there is no doubt that there will be no problem in getting this campaign to the rural public with the help of the Sangh. The Sangh has published and distributed over 10 million booklets explaining this issue with information about using domestic products [swadeshi] and boycotting foreign-made goods. Under this campaign, Sangh volunteers have been instructed to visit every home in the villages to get support for the use of domestically produced goods. This group of volunteers will explain to the villagers the benefits of using domestic goods. Other plans to spread propaganda in urban areas are also being considered.

It is true that the BJP government in UP will not be directly affected by this campaign. Still, these rallies and sit-ins will cause problems for this government. The Congress government's popular support might be hurt because of the strong opposition to its foreign policy.

The Socialist Janata Party, the Janata Dal, and the RSS are running campaigns in their own styles; however, because they have a common goal, all this will have a strong effect on the people. The fact is that foreign goods are mostly used in urban areas, and their use is slowly spreading to far-flung areas. The political parties know well that the main support for their vote bank comes from the villages. This way, a major portion of Congress support can be moved against it.

Mahatma Gandhi's photographs are displayed on posters with advice to use swadeshi goods in order to get rid of "Economic Slavery." Slogans supporting the Indian civilization's glorious tradition cannot be called inappropriate, however, at the same time the sit-ins in front of the offices in front of international offices will

disrupt their work, affecting their production, and jeopardizing the jobs of their employees. At present, this campaign has become a major problem for the Center. Joining the campaign directly with the people and the unity of all opposition parties on this issue will definitely hurt the government. The RSS volunteers have jumped zealously into this campaign. Meanwhile, the Socialist Janata Party and the Janata Dal are trying their best to make this campaign successful, in order to strengthen their own positions.

### Defense Minister Meets Reporters in Pune

92AS1027A *New Delhi PATRIOT*  
in English 26 Apr 92 p 1

[Text] Pune, April 25 (UNI)—Defence Minister Sharad Pawar today said India's relations with all its neighbors, except Pakistan were cordial.

Speaking to reporters here this morning, Mr Pawar expressed doubts over how much support fundamentalists, the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) and the army would give the Pakistan rulers who talked of normalizing relations with India.

He said with Pakistan's open acknowledgement of its nuclear capability, no peace could be expected in Asia unless its rulers changed their policy.

On the Jammu and Kashmir issue, he said the United States had agreed that it should be resolved within the framework of the Simla agreement.

U.S. visit: Commenting on his visit to the United States, Mr Pawar said the U.S. attitude towards India had changed following the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

In the changed world scenario, the U.S. wanted to reduce tension and as such where also cutting down on arms.

The Defence Minister, who had visited U.S. naval, army and air force bases, said the United States intended to reduce 25 percent of its defence personnel in the next three years, but would at the same time upgrade quality.

Mr Pawar said India's relations with the United States had improved following Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao's meeting with U.S. President George Bush during the United Nations meetings.

The United States had given importance to the recent defence delegation's visit, he said.

Low defence expenditure: Replying to a question, he said he favored reduced defence spending if relations with India's neighbors improved. He said though the defence budget had increased from Rupees 16,000 crore to Rupees 17,500 crore, the three defence chiefs had been asked to economize to the greatest possible extent with no new acquisition being undertaken.

He, however, added that we had to be in a state of preparedness till Pakistan changed its designs.

Rocket technology: Asked about the United States pressure on Russia to scrap its rocket technology export to India even while it was seeking to improve relations with India, Mr Pawar said the United States did not want the use of the technology for military purposes.

He said the Prime Minister had clarified in Parliament that the technology sought was for improving communication facilities which was also endorsed by Russia.

The Indian delegation was already in Russia to clarify its position, he said and added that the issue would be resolved.

The situation in Afghanistan was still fluid and India would not comment unless it stabilized, he said.

In continuing with its efforts to boost relations with its neighbors, President R. Venkataraman would visit China next month, Mr Pawar said, and added that he too would visit the country in July on an invitation from the Chinese Premier.

### Issue of Free Speech of Military Leader Explored

92AS0818A *Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA*  
in Bengali 21 Mar 92 p 4

[Article by Sunit Ghosh: Why Shouldn't Generals Have a Right To Express Their Opinion in a Democracy]

[Text] After the transfer of political power almost 45 years ago, our native administrators became the successors to the colonial British rulers in every aspect—in behavior, in ideas, and in administrative and political viewpoints. The leaders of the poor country, and newly independent, quickly removed themselves from the reach of the common people on the advice of Lord Mountbatten, the first and the last British viceroy of the independent India, in order to maintain the style and grandeur of colonial rule. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Indian prime minister, who was a follower of Gandhi and a socialist at the same time, chose as his official residence, "Trimurti Bhawan," which was a palatial and well-secured residence of Lord Akinlake, the last British military general of British-ruled India. The particular building was the first choice of Nehru and many others. The gorgeous palace of the British viceroys located on hundreds of acres of land was selected as the official residence of the first Indian viceroy, Rajagopalachari, and his successive presidents and is now well-known by the name "Rashtrapati Bhawan." Gandhi wanted to make that palace a hospital. But, at that time, the advice of the husband of Edwina Mountbatten was more important to Nehru than the advice of "Bapu" (Gandhi). The luxurious bungalows built in New Delhi for members of the viceroy's council were allocated to Indian ministers as their official residences. No change was made to the bureaucratic structure of the North and South blocks. Just by changing one or two letters, the ICS [Indian Civil Service] became known as IAS [Indian Administrative Service]. The word "Royal" attached before the names of the different institutions was replaced by the word

"Indian." But the change of names did not make any change of hearts. The constitution for independent India, which was written after huge fanfare, was nothing but a reformed and enlarged edition of the Government of India Act of 1935. The Indian parliament is an ineffective copy of the British parliament. In spite of speaking in favor of democracy, the colonial-minded Indian administrators could not easily accept the liberty of expression and the right to form organizations by the people in order to fulfill their demands of those who came from different classes of society. The British rulers kept the bureaucrats, the police, and the army separated from the main stream of the people for their own vested interests. They were committed to a secluded happy and prosperous class of people having no direct connection with the events of the country. During the period of the independence movement, those, who were once highly critical of the narrowmindedness of this class, followed the footsteps of the British rulers by keeping them at a safe distance from politics when they took over the control of the government after the independence.

But with the passage of time and because of growing pressure from different groups for democratic rights, they accepted the right to form professional organizations of the police and the nonmilitary forces. But the right to form professional organizations was not granted to the armed forces. The reason was if the army obtained this right, it would become interested in the domestic politics of the country, which might not be good for the democratic system of the nation. Not only that, the government, following the tradition of the colonial rule, also tactfully introduced an unwritten regulation that anything said openly about the army would be considered as illegal. In fact, no criticism was written against the army in the newspaper of the country. Everything about the army was kept secret except some news aimed at publicity. This situation partially changed after the 1962 Indo-Chinese war. The defeat of India in that war revealed the weakness of the army and it became a matter of open discussion and criticism in different newspapers and journals. Thus many secrets were revealed. Many high-ranking generals wrote books about their bitter experiences revealing the incompetence, negligence, wrong decisionmaking, and nepotism of the country's rulers. In fact, after the Indo-Chinese war, the activities of the army never remained out of view of the people. In spite of that, thoughtful persons were cautious when making any comment about the army in the interest of national defense and security.

In recent times, as the army is used more often to suppress domestic trouble in different states, the revelation of some incidents of the undisciplined activities of some members of the armed forces is damaging the army's image. It is natural that this would cause army generals to become more anxious and uneasy. On different occasions, the generals expressed their dislike about the present trend of repeated deployment of army to handle domestic security problems. But the inefficient political leaders did not feel it necessary to pay attention

to the views of the generals. Because of bad administration and the wrong decisions of these leaders, the situation in some states became such that army was deployed not only to suppress the armed terrorists, but also to guard the voting booths. In his attempts to draw the attention of the bad side of the situation, the Chief of Staff General Rodrigues, in a recent interview with an English newspaper in New Delhi, commented, "Good government is our business as well." This comment created a great uproar in parliament. On last 13 March, the members of the Lok Sabha raised the issue in the House, expressed their anger, and finally demanded the firing of the general. In that interview, Gen. Rodrigues expressed his view against the repeated deployment of the army in such great numbers to handle the domestic problems of the country and spoke about the importance of the army in maintaining the political stability of the nation. By saying "Good government is our business as well," what the general meant was, in a well-governed state, that is no need to deploy armies to maintain law and order. But knowing all the laws very well, the respected members of the parliament interpreted it incorrectly to mean that it appeared that the general was thinking about taking more power. Some overintelligent members even found some American inspiration behind this comment. These members asked the government for the immediate ouster of this general; otherwise, they were afraid that he might create more complicated problems in the future. Before this unwanted debate proceeded further, Defense Minister Sharad Pawar informed parliament that Gen. Rodrigues made some unguarded remarks in simple faith during his newspaper interview because he was not used to being interviewed like politicians. Further, he assured the House that generals would not give such interviews in the future.

If we analyze the matter deeply, we will see that Gen. Rodrigues did not say anything serious enough to make the members of the parliament so upset and angry. It is known to members that the deteriorating law-and-order situation in several states is due to governmental failure, bad administration, unjust principles, and wrong decisions. Because of these mistakes, the army suffered and is still suffering in the states of Punjab, Kashmir, and Assam. Because the army was too busy maintaining domestic security, the defense system of the country slackened. There was a period when thousands of soldiers were withdrawn from the border and sent to different states to assist local civilian authorities to maintain law and order. This kind of situation is not a desirable one for any country, especially a country like India, of which all three frontiers are highly sensitive. The opposition members in parliament, after knowing all these facts, wanted to pump some heat in politics by making a small matter a larger one, and this they did just to embarrass the government of Narasimha Rao. Just to keep the debate moving, they did not hesitate to recommend that the government control the independence of the newspapers. They argued why didn't the government try to stop the publication of the interview of the general. It should be noted that those who gave this advice to the

government claim themselves as champions of freedom of the press. When the leaders of a democratic country speak so irresponsibly and do not hesitate to damage the morale of the army by creating a storm of debate on a simple issue, it would not be a surprise if the people of that country really started thinking in a different way about how to get rid of the interference of those leaders.

The members of the armed forces, like others, are, citizens of the country. They read newspapers, they vote, and they take part in the democratic process of the country. The reflection of the same old colonial mentality is found in the attempt to deny their fundamental right to express their opinion about a different aspect of the country.

### Manmohan Singh's Reforms Not Seen in National Interest

92AS0901A Varnasi AJ in Hindi 12 Apr 92 p 4

[Article by S.R. Saundaryanidhi: "Whose Country Thing Is Manmohan Singh Doing?"]

[Text] Manmohan Singh says that he is doing his duty toward the country as its finance minister by reorganizing India's economy according to the conditions levied by the World Bank and the IMF. He says along with this announcement that he will continue these adjustments, called economic reform in common language. Looking at our country's economic situation, we can conclude that he will be successful in his "reforms" for the time being and will be able to carry these so-called reforms to their end.

The hope of continuing these reforms has increased because of a new equation that has emerged at the top level of administration. By moving members around and using smart strategies, Narasimha Rao's government has changed from a minority government to a majority government. The Congress (I) Party has been successful in dividing the Janata Dal, Shiv Sena, and now Telgu Desam. Its position has strengthened since the elections in Punjab. In addition, as Mr. Narasimha Rao put it, "We have some invisible friends in the opposition party who help the government when needed." Contrary to expectations, there does not seem to be much unhappiness over the new economic policies in the Congress Party. In this party, the efforts to bury the Nehru-type structure and to replace it with a Western kind of capitalism is approved by one and all.

In the Congress (I) convention to be held at Tirupati, Andhra Pradesh, these policies will be approved ceremoniously. Whatever the Congress (I) leaders say openly, their party will no longer be pro-Nehru after the Tirupati convention. Instead, it will be totally pro-Rao or pro-Manmohan. If we push it a little further, it could become pro-World Bank or pro-IMF. In other words, it will become pro-United States of America. Whoever thinks that I am exaggerating, should compare the documents related to economic resolutions passed during the 1990 Delhi convention and those that are being presented at the Tirupati convention. It will be clear how this party's attitude has changed during these two years.

Innumerable opportunities for investors to make profits have been opened in the new budget. Consumer goods for the middle and upper-middle classes will be openly available in the Indian market. They have divorced the ideas of socialism and social justice, and have accepted the supremacy of market powers. This way, the government has been relieved of its responsibilities to the society. While implementing the instructions issued by the World Bank and the IMF, the benefits and interests of these classes have been left untouched.

In general, there have been major cuts in developmental and social welfare plans that help the poor. In this

context, some statistics are worth paying attention to. Let us look at the social services budget. In the 1991-92 budget, 7,920,000,000 rupees were appropriated for general education. In 1992-93, only 7,812,000,000 rupees have been approved in this area. For technical education in two fiscal years, spending has been 1,840,000,000 rupees and 1,070,000,000, respectively. For medical assistance and general health, the figures were 3,019,000,000 and 3,020,000,000, respectively.

The 1992-93 fiscal year is the first one of the eighth Five-Year Plan. According to the Central Planning Commission, there has been a 20-percent increase over the previous year; however, when compared to 1991-92, there is only a 4.7-percent increase in the budget. It is estimated that there will be an increase of about 30 percent in public-sector undertakings. This estimate, however, is not realistic. There is no reason to believe that there would be significant increases in production and profits in the public-sector undertakings. It is clear that the budget for the plan has not been increased as estimated. The actual plan expenses will be significantly less. It is clear that development work in the country will suffer.

Work is being done to reenact the "required service law." This law was passed in the early 1980's, when then-Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's government had taken a loan from the IMF for the first time. At the time, the law was passed because of restrictions imposed by the IMF. This law curbs such democratic rights as strikes by laborers. In the 1990's, V.P. Singh's National Front government had eliminated this law. It has now been reenacted.

It is a proven fact that political democracy cannot be separated from economic democracy. We believe that if a government does not fulfill the duty of providing economic justice to the people, then that government cannot protect the people's political rights either. Instead, the role of such a government would be simply to crush the rights of the citizens. Western nations, who talk about an open market and competition at the international level, provide heavy subsidies to agriculture and industries at home. They also give heavy government subsidies to their exports. These countries spend a major part of their budget for social welfare projects. This way, they can protect their limited democracy and human rights. The industrialized nations do not exploit of their citizens. Instead, they use the people of poorer countries. Their purpose is to make profits in those countries. They want to make more profits there. Do not Narasimha Rao and Dr. Manmohan Singh understand this fact? It is obvious that they are not that ignorant. The main question is devotion. When the purpose is to satisfy the high and mighty of the country, provide them with what they need, and make them look successful by using the media, then knowledge has no meaning. In such a situation, a country's independence or its interests do not have any meaning either.

It is India's misfortune that the governments for the last hundred years gave more importance to their vested interests than to those of the country. This tendency reached its apex once under Jai Chand, then during Mir Jaffar's time. The story is being repeated again today. The country's economic freedom is being sold in the name of the nation. The interests of the common people are being sacrificed. The dream of building a new society on the basis of democracy, equality, and human rights is being buried now. Since the people of our nation are not fully aware of this situation, they are not yet opposing it. Therefore, Manmohan Singh will not answer any questions that we ask him. He dismisses all this hue and cry by saying that people are old fashioned. People who honestly worry about our country and its people must raise the question of what this nation means to Manmohan Singh. They must unmask his real designs in front of the public, so that the people understand the truth.

### Commentary Notes Panic in Stock Markets, Price Drop

*BK1305043792 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 0245 GMT 13 May 92*

[Commentary by B.D. Bhattacharya of the Institute of Economic Growth: "Panic in the Stock Exchange"]

[Text] One of the puzzling features of the post-budget economic scenario was the phenomenal rise in the stock prices which decide the principles of economics and finance. The 1992-93 union budget gave generous incentives and concessions for stock market investment. The budget was also hailed as a landmark for liberalization of the economy. Stock prices were therefore expected to rise. What followed, however, was an unprecedented rise in the share prices of not only traditional blue chips but even junk bonds as well. Practically all stock prices reached dizzy heights which had no relationship with the corporate profit and net worth. It was all the more baffling because stock market boom occurred when the economy, especially the industry, was passing through a recession.

The decline in the prices of gold, silver, and real estate suggest that there was a diversion of speculative capital from all other markets into the share market. All unreal booms eventually bust. Latest reports indicate that share prices have fallen in the stock markets all over the country in the last few days. The bullish phase was arrested when the government imposed regulations on the brokers' activities. The recent announcement of a CBI [Central Bureau of Investigation] inquiry into the alleged collusion between some greedy stock brokers and some fraudulent officials in the commercial and development banks has now triggered the panic button.

Will the bear pull the stock market back to the pre-liberalization period? Perhaps not. Like the boom which was the result of unrealistic speculation, the panic reaction may not also last for long. Typically, at any point of

time, only a fraction of the total stock of shares is transacted in the stock market. It is this fraction that is sensitive to the share prices. The bulk of shares are held with a long-term expectation of dividends and capital gains. If the economy recovers soon, then the bearish phase may come to an end. But, the recovery may lead to issue of new shares and debentures which may keep a check on the growth of share prices. Meanwhile, some fortunes would be made and unmade.

### Sharad Yadav Interviewed on Economic Policy Changes

*92AS0902A Varnasi AJ in Hindi 21 Apr 92 p 5*

[Interview with Sharad Yadav by AJ; place and date not given: "The New Economic Policies Will Turn Out Suicidal"]

[Text] Mr. Sharad Yadav, former central finance minister, believes that compared to the last two decades, there has been more political awareness in our society. The people are more conscious of their rights. However, there is a group in our society that is still being exploited by our own people. This group is suffering, and it must be awakened about social justice and about its rights.

Mr. Yadav was the minister of clothes, food resources, and industry during the government of V.P. Singh. At present, he is the Lok Sabha member from Madhepura and is secretary general of the Janata Dal. In political circles of the capital, he is considered especially close to V.P. Singh. Recently, we met him for an interview, major parts of which are presented below.

[AJ] The Janata Dal Party became very weak because of internal strife, and it has shrunk to a few people. What are you doing to rebuild the party?

[Yadav] Why do you say it is weak? The party is even stronger now.

[AJ] Didn't your party become weaker after Ajit Singh and his supporters left it?

[Yadav] They were already separated from the party, and their departure made no difference. If there is no support for someone, his leaving does not make any difference.

[AJ] How will you get the support of the Jat [farming caste] group now?

[Yadav] We still have their support. They will not give up.

[AJ] Then what is this riddle about the real and the fake Janata Dal? The expelled leaders are calling themselves the real Janata Dal.

[Yadav] We will know about it now. It is the people who will make the decision about who is real and who is fake.

[AJ] Is the opposition playing a realistic role?

[Yadav] Yes, and why not? We are opposing. You have seen this in the Lok Sabha.

[AJ] Which points of the new economic policy do you oppose?

[Yadav] I oppose it on every point. There will be no benefits. This policy will endanger our nation's industries, increase unemployment, increase prices, and our economic slavery. All in all, this policy will prove to be suicidal.

[AJ] What do you mean when you say that the new reservation policy based on economic status that is being proposed by the government, and which you consider a conspiracy to eliminate the 27-percent reservation quota for the backward classes, is a conspiracy?

[Yadav] This government just does not want to provide reservations for the backward people. That is why they are using this propaganda. It will never implement it.

[AJ] What does this mean? Can you please explain further?

[Yadav] There is no provision in the Constitution that requires an economic level for reservations, and what is left besides amending the Constitution? This proposal is unconstitutional. It is a conspiracy to sabotage everything.

[AJ] At present, a common man believes that anybody with money and criminal support can be successful in politics. What do you think? Is there any room in politics for people of high character?

[Yadav] No, it is not true. Only good people succeed in politics. There can be some exceptions, as you have mentioned. There will be no reforms in this society until honest and hard working people enter politics.

[AJ] Laluprasad Yadav proved to be more capable in politics than Mulayam Singh Yadav. People are amazed by Lalu Yadav's politics. What is the secret of his success?

[Yadav] It is the people's support that is the secret of Lalu Yadav's success. He is respected by the people.

[AJ] Does this mean that Mulayam Singh did not have popular support?

[Yadav] He destroyed himself by associating with Congress (I).

[AJ] We have heard that the central government is thinking of dismissing Lalu Yadav's government.

[Yadav] The Lalu government is running at the wishes of the people. The central government cannot dismiss it. As long as the people want it, there is no danger, and all this is pure rumor.

### **Analyst Suggests Alternative to Current Economic Policy**

*92AS0902C New Delhi JANSATTA  
in Hindi 23 Apr 92 p 4*

[Article by Siddharaj Dhadha: "An Alternative to Government's Economic Policies"]

[Text] The Indian Government's economic policies are being strongly and widely opposed. It is just the right thing to do. The main reason for this opposition that has emerged is that Congress (I) is changing its economic policies under the pressure of the World Bank, the IMF, and other international financial organizations, and it has opened the doors of the Indian market to multinational companies. This goal is right in itself; however, there is a fear of losing the real goal in such a public opposition. The steps that the Indian Government has taken have resulted from some basic mistakes. Perhaps it can be said that it was not necessary to take such steps, and that the present crisis could be handled by some other method. However, what were the mistakes, and what do we want in their stead? It is necessary that they be understood and clarified in order to resolve the present crisis.

The real situation is that from independence until now, economic policies have been formed the basis of India's situation and all other factors. The political and economic dangers our nation is facing now did not emerge suddenly. They are the logical result of the policies followed during the last 40 to 45 years. All the governments until now, regardless of the party they represented, had followed this direction in basic economic issues.

Indian society has depended on a system for hundreds of years, and it was systematically broken by the British during their 200-year rule. The basic premise of this system was the self-dependent and self-contained village economic system. The millions of villages were independent and self-sufficient from an economic point of view. They depended on the panchayat system in the villages, which have given a strong social structure to the system. There were small and large kingdoms above the villages. However, these kingdoms did not interfere with the internal structures and systems of these villages. The relationship between the kings and the villages was limited to the payment of taxes for central expenses. After paying some tax to the king the society was independent to run its affairs. Indian villages were fundamentally independent from economic perspective.

This way Indian society was politically free and economically self-sufficient. This self-sufficient and decentralized system was the foundation of Indian society's permanence and prosperity. Every system has defects and weaknesses, and at times, various flaws also show up in them. However, Indian society, by virtue of its self-dependence and self-reliance, was alive and vigorous. Therefore, it could adjust to its weaknesses on a timely basis. There are many episodes in Indian history when

the people successfully fought back the injustices of kings. This was possible only because the people were self-dependent and self-reliant. The people, who depend on a king, are incapable of fighting back atrocities and injustice. Because of India's independence and self-dependent village system, there was a real democracy in India, regardless of whether there was a local or central monarchies over them.

The British did not come to India to rule it or to settle down; their main and only goal was trade. Later, when they established their empire, it was also done to protect their trade interests. The British understood that until they broke up the self-dependent and decentralized system in India, they would not be able to exploit the people at will. Therefore, they tried systematically to break up India's economic and social structure, and also to break up the Indian people's pride and inner strength. They called their culture based on dependence and exploitation of others a modern one and labeled the Indian system old, out of date, and antiprogress. In this way, they were successful in breaking up the Indian people's self-confidence and inner strength.

Gandhi recognized this source of India's strength and worked hard to recreate it. At the end of the WWII, Gandhi knew that the British were not going to stay here long and raised the issue in Congress Party's working committee of reconstructing India. During the last months of 1945, he and Nehru had their famous exchange of letters over this issue. Unfortunately, however, Gandhi was assassinated soon after independence and the talks about recreating the Indian village system tested for thousands of years was left right there. The plans and policies for rebuilding India were copied from the British and the West.

This was a fundamental mistake and we are still suffering from its results. The main thing now is to rectify this very problem. Do we have the courage to replace the present economy based on exploitation and competition and unchecked desires, luxury goods, and selfishness with that of hard physical work, self-control, and cooperation? The problem is not limited to opposing government economic policies or boycotting international companies. The main question is of changing our ideology and replacing the present system with a new one. Our economic policy can be based only on some fundamental issues.

In order to make sure that the villages are self-dependent in meeting basic needs, the village should be allowed to make plans for their agriculture and industries. The government should just help them implement these plans. All raw materials produced in the villages should be processed right there when possible before sending it out. The village industries should not just be given subsidies; these should be protected. Just like the central, state, and district level governments, village-level governments must also be given recognition. The villages must be given the right to run their affairs through the village councils and panchayats. All natural resources such as water, jungles, and land, should be owned by the

villages. The nature has given these resources free to help people support themselves. They have the right to use them to meet their needs without any restrictions.

The representatives that are elected to run the government above the villages should be under the people's control. The first duty of these elected representatives should be to the people. Similarly, economic and political power should be in the hands of the people. Our major job should be to prepare and organize the people for it. We must reduce government expenses and stop all the fringe benefits enjoyed by the ministers, legislators, and representatives. Subsidies from public monies for producing luxury goods. The government should not even encourage production of such things. This is the only way to get rid of the economic imperialism.

### **Economic Basis Urged for Job Reservations**

*92AS0904C Varnasi AJ in Hindi 14 Apr 92 p 4*

[Editorial: "The Mental Struggle Over Economic Reservations"]

[Text] The policy of providing protection to socially, educationally, and economically backward peoples will be decided on with majority agreement. In this context, Prime Minister Narasimha Rao called a meeting of chief ministers in New Delhi in which most chief ministers took part. The prime minister had asked for support on this issue in an earlier letter to the chief ministers. Meanwhile, this issue is under consideration in the Supreme Court also. The Supreme Court had asked for clarification of the policy from the central government, and this information has already been provided. The policy of reserving positions on the basis of caste is being opposed all over the country. Hundreds of young men and women have committed public suicides against it. This is actually a black chapter in the history of Indian Government, which is not only being condemned by the present generation, but one that will also be condemned by future generations. There is a national agreement that the reservation policy should also benefit economically backward people. The restriction of caste should not be imposed on it. Those who are economically backward should benefit from it.

The prime minister tried to present this fact during the chief ministers' meeting. His statement that the reservation system should not exclude the people who need it is totally correct. He also feels that it is not possible to satisfy everyone; however, an honest effort should be made toward doing so. To this end, the prime minister has emphasized the need for establishing an economic limit for socially and educationally backward groups. This work can be done appropriately with national support. We have seen the negative effects of providing reservations to a specific group just for political gains. The Supreme Court is discussing this issue also. Therefore, it is important that we emphasize national support for this issue. The prime minister has emphasized the use of economic standards for making decisions on the

reservation policy. He said that the groups of people who need it most should be able to benefit from it. It is hoped that those who are economically backward will not be left without help. We must pay attention to this. It is our country's misfortune that even after 47 years of independence, we expect a reservation system in government employment. In our Constitution, all citizens have equal rights, according to their abilities and skills, for various high positions. This situation could have been alleviated through education a long time ago. Because of political vested interests, this has not happened. Its results are in front of us. The best solution for this very complicated

issue is to make large-scale arrangements for the education and training of the backward people. This fact was also understood in the chief minister's meeting, and special attention was given to it. It should be understood that all backward people, regardless of the caste they belong to, should be able to benefit from education in order to take advantage of the reservation policy. Giving important positions to ineffective and unqualified people because of the reservation policy would be dangerous for our nation's future. All these facts should be kept in mind when the economic requirements for reservations are presented for national support.

### Science, Technology Development, Potential Reviewed

92AS0904A New Delhi JANSATTA  
in Hindi 16 Apr 92 p 4

[Article by Banvari: "The Competence of Indian Science and Technology"]

[Text] The PPST [expansion not given] and the IIT [Indian Institute of Technology] of Bombay have decided to hold a congress for India's traditional science and technology. This congress will be held in May 1993 and will last five days. Its organizers have divided India's traditional science and technology into eight parts to share during the congress. The first part will cover health, medicine, food, nutrition, animals, and biological science. The second part will cover agriculture, jungles, and water administration. The third will deal with settlements, homes, and architecture. The fourth will cover the clothing, leather, and paper industries. The fifth section will include weapons, jewelry, music, and technology related to machinery. The sixth section will cover mathematics, astronomy, logic, and grammar. The seventh will deal with society and education. The eighth section will deal with education.

This is the first effort to present India's traditional science and technology and its use and production in various disciplines. Any one or two organizations would need a lot of courage to take up such a major project. However, the PPST has decided to face this challenge with the cooperation of the IIT of Bombay. Behind this effort is about 10 years of hard work done by scholars at the PPST. During the last decade, they tried to understand and recognize the vast field of Indian sciences and technologies and have succeeded in recognizing its strengths and capabilities.

About 10 or 12 years ago, scientists doing research at the Kanpur IIT wondered why our science and technology and its successors were not spread in our society. They wanted to find out why it was limited to a small portion of our nation, and why it was not popular in our country. The more it spreads, the less common Indian people know about science. They began to lose control over it and also lose their facilities. The answer generally given to these questions is that the benefits of modern science and technology are not available to the whole society. Some people had also been thinking that because of our backwardness, Indian people could not adopt modern science and technology, and therefore could not benefit from it.

These simplified answers did not satisfy the scientists. First they tried to understand the so-called modern science and technology and found that the claim that it was modern was very weak. Most of the science and technology emerging from Western tradition, which is realistic in European communities only—this so-called modern science and technology—is modified by them if

they find some of their aspects inappropriate. There is not much in this science and technology for the rest of the world.

Before reaching this conclusion, they gave up their investigation, considering that all science and technology was international in nature, and were not associated with any nation or society, and all the scientists were respected and successful in their respective fields. No one could say that they had changed their goals because of the lack of progress in modern science and technology. They still have a respectable place in the present science and technology mechanism, and their capabilities are being used to run it. However, they believe that there are special qualities in the basic framework of Western science and technology that hinders their becoming international and, at the same time, being fully adoptable in India.

Through their in-depth studies, they learned that Western society by nature mobilizes itself by forming a power structure. This power structure puts control of the whole society into a few hands. These few people, using their talents and specialties, takeover the right to control the whole society. The situation of the rest of society becomes like that of the serfs in old Europe. Western science and technology has given birth to a new power structure through its production structure, which monitors and controls the whole society's living standards and consumption. The lifestyles of the people are not decided by their personal interests and comforts; rather, they are decided by the powers in the bazaar and the way it profits from a specific lifestyle. This way, the society has changed from the old serf system to a new consumer society.

Now we are seeing that modern science and technology has helped all Western industrialized nations meet their basic needs. However, this was accomplished after World War II, and we have seen this prosperity during the last 30-40 years. Non-European countries have played a major role in this prosperity because of their natural resources and the European economic powers' control over their markets. Therefore, this accomplishment cannot be said to be attained by the inherent superiority of modern science and technology.

On the basis of all this knowledge, the scientists formed an organization called Patriotic and People-Oriented Science and Technology (PPST) and started to study Indian science and technology along with Western science technology. New people began to join this organization, and the sphere of their studies continued to increase in size and depth. During their comparative study, they learned that every society has a basic philosophical viewpoint. This viewpoint comes from its understanding of creation. This attitude is expanded in the society's lifestyle. A society forms various organizations, groups, disciplines, and tools according to it, and changes its way of life over time.

When a society expands its worldly lifestyle based on this viewpoint, it also adopts realistic ideas, techniques, and methodologies from other societies. In order to make life more comfortable, it tries to take whatever implements are useful. However, before it accepts anything from another society, it also makes the necessary changes in its own society. If this does not happen, then its own structure would be weakened, and an outside society will begin to establish its own power structure. All societies in the world take this precaution.

However, during the last 40-50 years, there has been a blind following of Western science and technology in most regions of the world. The reason for this is not the inherent superiority of Western science and technology. The reasons are historic. The continued expansion of the Europeans that started with the discovery of the United States of America was the period during which most of the world's societies faced destructions and major upheavals. Because of these defeats and the efforts to rise from them, three points of view emerged.

First, the American nations had to bear the brunt of European attacks. The population of North America was almost obliterated in this confrontation. The whole focus of the few people left in Latin America was to salvage what was left of their culture and civilization. These countries started to fight for their freedom in the middle of the nineteenth century. They had no alternative but to copy Europe and America in their living style. They made a weak effort to protect their ethnic character in the area of culture, and it is still continuing. These countries raised defensive slogans to protect themselves from the negative influences of their contact with Europeans to save the original character of their society.

The other viewpoint is mainly given by Japan. After China's defeat in the opium war, Japan, who had considered China its guru for centuries, understood that the new power was vested in the Europeans. Japan decided to study and understand these new powerful people and started to adapt to them, in order to make Japan as powerful as Western nations. This desire became stronger after its defeat in World War II and was limited in some way, because Japan was totally disarmed. At that time, the Japanese emperor said in a speech that Japan felt it was not possible to be victorious through a war, and Japan had to look for a new area in order to be

victorious. It found this area, and it is beating the West using Western science and technology.

The third viewpoint emerged from India when, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, it was said that the West had nothing to give us. In spite of Mahatma Gandhi's declaration, a colonial structure continued in India, and we continued to depend on Western science and technology, because we had become weak during the time of foreign rule, and it was not easy to return to the original living style. Western science and technology progresses through simplified structures; therefore, it is not difficult to erect them. Indian civilizations have been based on much more complicated and mature bonds. It would require a lot of effort and work to put new life in it. So far, we have just made some necessary preparations to develop such capabilities.

The PPST scholars believe that rules are most important in advancing science and technology. We establish a structure according to our viewpoint and the rules emerging from them. This will require the digestion of all those things that have been procured by Western science and technology during the last 200-300 years and those that are useful to us. Every society imports some ideas, things, and methods, but it also adopts them according to their own system. We should have no objection to doing that. Therefore, in order to reaffirm its civilization and culture, India does not have to return to ancient ages or totally relinquish the things being commonly used now.

First of all, we should understand that most of the people in India depend on Indian science and technology. However, our whole structure is such that those ideas, organizations, and techniques have been weakened. If we change our structure, then the science and technology now used by the people in India will appear to be strong to us. The PPST and Bombay's IIT's decision was to hold a congress to show the capabilities of India's science and technology. Until now, we have only heard stories and descriptions of the Indian literary heritage, techniques for making steel, advanced methods of agriculture and medicine, major undertakings for irrigation, and highly advanced systems for societal administration. These two organizations have taken up the responsibility of telling us that all these systems are not only being used now, but are also capable of running a strong and glorious societal system.