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International Affairs

Papers Print Editorials on Clinton Election

Choice Deemed Encouraging

93AS0228A *Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English*
5 Nov 92 p 8

[Editorial: "President Clinton"]

[Text] A little rebellion now and then, Thomas Jefferson once wrote, is a good thing, and as necessary to the political world as storms in the physical. While it may be trifle hyperbolic to call Mr Bill Clinton's landslide victory a "little rebellion"—by the time Americans went to the polls on Tuesday, the balance of probabilities favoured Mr Clinton—his mandate is a ringing affirmation for change. That, for sure, is trifle rebellious considering the fact that less than a year ago, Mr George Bush's popularity was at stratospheric levels and Mr Clinton, 46, was portrayed in the mainstream media as a man Americans found tough to trust. But with the grim shields of the Cold War having slipped away, and the nationwide economic gloom showing few signs of lifting, the Gulf War proved to be little more than a temporary elixir for Mr. Bush. And Mr Clinton's anti-Washington rhetoric proved to be a lot more substantial than the red, white and blue balloons floating over the heads of the delegates at the convention in New York. It was there, in his acceptance speech, that Mr Clinton promised to go beyond the "brain-dead politics in Washington." His slogan, though shorn of flamboyance, was pointed: "The choice we offer is not conservative or liberal, Democratic or Republican. It is different. It is new. And it will work."

The electorate has taken Mr Clinton at his word. He has been asked to confront its demand for change on terms more equal than those set by his predecessor. And the challenges are many. As the 42nd President of the United States of America, Mr Clinton has to be a leader at home and a statesman abroad, one who offers more than just a Kennedyesque hope of change. Because that is what most of the domestic issues are crying for: the frightening spectre of health-insurance costs, the welfare trap that stifles many of America's underprivileged, and the simmering racial tension and the explosive economic problem of America's giant, yet invisible, underclass. Foreign capitals, who prefer continuity in U.S. administration policies, will be wary of the new line that may emerge from Mr Clinton's White House. But he needs to use his largely unknown image abroad to his advantage to unravel the several diplomatic webs, including the West Asia peace talks, Beijing's record on human rights, the civil war in Bosnia, a fractured Europe groping towards economic union and the changing contours of the United Nations. What will help him in this, as in other key areas, is that from January, for the first time in 12 years, the White House will not face a hostile Congress. This will make it easier for him to introduce much-needed new legislation on crucial domestic issues.

Also, unlike past U.S. Presidents, Mr Clinton does not have to grapple with the Soviet threat. Pulling the world's most powerful democracy out of its present morass is no cakewalk. But Mr Clinton, the longest-serving Governor in the USA, has just emerged victorious out of the world's longest and, perhaps, most gruelling political campaign. A newcomer to Washington though he may be, it is encouraging that someone of his mind and mettle has been given a chance to deliver.

'Semi-Isolationism' Noted

93AS0228B *Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English*
5 Nov 92 p 10

[Editorial: "Bill to Power"]

[Text] Electoral pundits will argue Mr Bill Clinton's decisive victory in yesterday's presidential election was less a win for the Democrats than a defeat of the Republicans. Mr Bush, after all, was able to capture a third of the electoral college to make this the closest presidential poll since Mr Jimmy Carter edged Mr Gerald Ford out of the Oval Office in 1976. Mr Clinton's vote depended to a remarkable degree on a deep and widespread popular antipathy to Mr Bush as a person. This was probably more relevant to the final result than the policies of the Arkansas governor. The most telling evidence of the shallowness of Mr Clinton's support were the yo-yo opinion polls just before the booths opened. Mr Clinton cannot claim he won a mandate for his platform. Though he was a candidate who left a paper trail of detailed position papers on every conceivable subject, only a fraction of the United States' electorate was familiar with what he believed. In his desire to eradicate the stigma of being "a tax and spend" Democrat, the Arkansas governor further blurred his image by describing himself a member of a new generation of Democratic anti-liberal apostates.

It was Mr Ross Perot rather than the Democrat who embodied the restless spirit evident among the US electorate this year. Despite an excess of liabilities that included policies bordering on the inexplicable and a more than healthy touch of paranoia Mr Perot was still able to capture one out of five votes. This was the best showing in the popular vote by a third candidate since 1912. Mr Clinton can, however, claim a mandate for change. This has been the single common thread running throughout his election. Whether he spoke of an end to laissez faire economics, closing down US bases overseas or argued government was there to govern not sit around and toss horseshoes, Mr Clinton portrayed the conservative consensus of the past 12 years as creaking in the joints and unworkable. Mr Bush preferred to extol the virtues of passive government by both word and act.

The rest of the world, let alone India, should not expect to be the cynosure of the new administration. The foundation stone of Mr Clinton's world view is that an effective foreign policy starts at home. If the US wants to help the world it must look to the social and economic

ills that eat at the insides of the last superpower. This quasi-isolationism played well in Peoria. In this scheme of things India can expect to receive scant attention. However, there will be some areas where Washington and New Delhi will find common ground. The Democrat has expressed strong disapproval of China as both a military power and a repressive regime. This bodes ill for Pakistan. Mr Clinton is a zealous supporter of nuclear non-proliferation but his views are tempered by Democratic sympathy for India's nuclear stance. That Mr Stephen Solarz should be among the top three candidates for the post of secretary of state is a favourable sign. On the other hand, Mr Clinton is less attached to the ideal of free trade than Mr Bush. He is unlikely to be sympathetic to India's posturings on intellectual property rights. But these will be at best condiments in the coming White House policy banquet for this is a president who reflects the return of an old American preference for feasting only on the produce of the native land.

Faleiro Comments on U.S. Polls, Other Matters

93AS0226 Madras *THE HINDU* in English 10 Nov 92 p 6

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 9—The pronouncements by the U.S. President-elect, Mr. Bill Clinton, during his campaign on American relations with India augur well for this country, the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. Eduardo Faleiro said here today.

"Whatever he said had been good for India," Mr. Faleiro told newsmen who asked him about the implications of Mr. Clinton's presidency for India.

Mr. Faleiro said his first policy statement after being elected did not indicate any radical departure from the present U.S. foreign policy. The Minister also referred to the remarks by Mr. Clinton that 'the fundamental interests of the U.S. will not change with the change in administration.'

Nothing much on the future of Indo-U.S. relations could be outlined at this stage since Mr. Clinton was yet to formally assume office.

Noting that domestic issues and matters concerning economy were the main planks of Mr Clinton's campaign, Mr. Faleiro said the U.S. foreign policy issues were really not in sharp focus.

However, Mr. Faleiro welcomed the remarks of Mr. Clinton at a meeting with the Indo-American community that he would work 'to restore the ties as they existed during the Kennedy era'. Mr. Clinton had told the gathering that "India is going to be important to the U.S. I like U.S.-India to be much closer."

Mr. Clinton's comment that the U.S. needed to support India's liberalisation policy in the economic transition of the largest democracy was also taken note of by the Government.

Relief assistance for Somalia: On the eve of his visit to Ethiopia, Mr. Faleiro said India would donate medicine and baby food worth Rs.[rupees]20 lakhs in relief assistance to Somalia, which is facing a severe crisis following civil war and famine. The consignment would be handed over to Mr. Ismat Kittani, Secretary-General of the United Nations Operations on Somalia, either in Nairobi or in the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa. Mr. Faleiro is not visiting Somalia as scheduled in view of the tense situation prevailing in that African State.

A cheque for \$2,50,000 [as published] would also be given to Mr. Kittani for relief work on behalf of the Africa Fund. India is the chairman of the fund, which has \$5,00,000 in its kitty.

Besides reviewing bilateral relations with Ethiopian leaders, Mr. Faleiro would discuss the developments in South Africa during talks with Mr. Ahmed Salim, Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity.

Mr. Faleiro, the first Indian Minister to visit Ethiopia in a decade, said New Delhi was always considered by Addis Ababa as an important source for technical cooperation. Forty slots had been allotted to Ethiopia under the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation project. Several projects executed by leading Indian companies were also handed over to the private sector in Ethiopia.

Referring to assistance in the field of education, Mr. Faleiro said there were about 165 Indian teachers at present in various educational institutions in Ethiopia.—PTI & UNI

Faleiro Reports on UN General Assembly Session

93AS0164A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 20 Oct 92 p 9

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 22—India will be the next Chairman of the G-15, the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. Eduardo Faleiro informed during an informal press conference held here today.

Referring to the important decisions taken at the recent non-aligned ministerial conference in New York and the U.N. General Assembly session which he attended, Mr. Faleiro said that India would take over as Chairman after the coming G-15 summit. This summit is being held between November 21 and November 23 in Dakar (Senegal).

The G-15 is a 15-nation grouping of developing countries which was formed in Malaysia in 1990.

At the conference, Mr. Faleiro said it had been decided to set up a high level working group to formulate concrete proposals to restructure the United Nations.

Democratisation of U.N.: The proposals on U.N. reforms would be anchored in the NAM's [Nonaligned Movement] desire to make the U.N. more effective and democratic, he said. The Minister emphasised that there was an inseparable link between an effective role by the U.N. and its democratisation. Mr. Faleiro felt that democratisation of the U.N. went beyond the expansion of the Security Council—a large number of related issues such as transparency of the U.N. procedures had to be examined.

Among other issues which came up for discussion Mr. Faleiro said that during his meetings at New York, the U.N. Secretary-General's report on peace had been discussed. While India welcomed this report, it nevertheless felt that there was a strong case for linking global peace with the issue of development. Mr. Faleiro pointed out that India was especially concerned about this issue as at the end of the cold war, the international community appeared to be ignoring the developmental requirements of countries in the South.

While in New York, Mr. Faleiro met for the first time, his Israeli counterpart Mr. Shimon Peres and the PLO 'Foreign Minister,' Mr. Faruq Qaddumi. And his talks illustrated the Palestinian and Israeli similarities and differences on durable peace in West Asia.

While the Palestinians desired self-determination this was counterposed by Israeli insistence on Palestinian autonomy alone.

However, Mr. Faleiro felt that there was a great degree of flexibility after the Rabin Government in Israel had taken over. And this was evident in the proposal by Israel for further talks for a period of two years after a lapse of three years of Palestinian autonomous rule in the occupied territories.

On his recent visit to the Caribbean countries—Surinam, Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica, Mr. Faleiro said that these countries had conveyed their keenness to avail themselves of Indian technological expertise to suit their developmental needs. A Joint Commission between India and Surinam would be set up soon.

With Jamaica, India hoped that good relations would facilitate the establishment of 'an effective link' with North American and Latin American markets. Jamaica had recently become a member of the North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA).

Cooperation Agreement Reached With Ukraine

93AS0163A Madras THE HINDU in English 21 Oct 92 p 9

[Text] London, Oct. 20—India may buy ship engines and other defence spares from Ukraine in exchange for consumer items including tea, coffee and pharmaceuticals.

The two countries have agreed to cooperate closely in the fields of defence, shipping, banking and trade. Ukraine has proposed the signing of a protocol which India has agreed to consider.

Decisions to this effect were taken during the Defence Minister, Mr. Sharad Pawar's three-day official visit to the Ukrainian capital, Kiev from October 14 to 17.

During a weekend stop-over here, Mr. Pawar told newsmen that he had fruitful discussions with the Ukraine President, Mr. Leonid Kravchuk, and others including the Minister responsible for conversion of defence production units into civilian factories.

The two sides reaffirmed their commitment to strengthen ties on the basis of traditional friendship and principles of peaceful co-existence.

Ukraine sought India's help in conversion of defence production units into civilian factories to produce consumer durables and electronic items, Mr. Pawar added.

Mr. Pawar said his visit to Kiev was at the invitation of the Ukrainian leaders as part of the ongoing process of giving a fresh impetus to relations between the two traditional friends.

Besides talks with the Ukrainian leaders, Mr. Pawar met members of the parliamentary committee on defence conversion to understand the problems facing them since Ukraine became an independent State.

The Defence Minister said Ukraine's leaders appreciated the problems faced by India in respect of its defence spare requirements following the disintegration of the Soviet Union and there was anxiety to resolve the issue across the table.

Replying to questions, Mr. Pawar denied that India was interested in buying any of the naval ships from the Black Sea fleet and asserted that India was keen on indigenisation of its defence needs.

Mr. Pawar, however, did agree that some vital defence components and spares were required to be imported. He said a broad consensus had been reached between the two countries with regard to cooperation in defence production.—PTI

New Envoy to Moscow Presents Credentials

93AS0152A Madras THE HINDU in English 20 Oct 92 p 9

[Article by Vladimir Radyuhin]

[Text] Moscow, Oct. 19—The new Indian Ambassador to Moscow, Mr. Ronen Sen, presented his credentials to the Russian Vice-President, Gen. Alexander Rutskoi, today with both sides expressing the hope for closer and more dynamic relations between India and Russia.

Speaking at the ceremony in the Kremlin, the Indian Ambassador stressed "the mutuality of the national

interests" of the two countries that "have not necessarily changed" with the end of the Cold War. "While inheriting the best of our traditional relationship, we can, with imagination and innovation, explore new opportunities for revitalising our cooperation, in the context of changes in our two countries and the world at large," Mr. Sen said.

He also voiced the hope that India's efforts to make its economy more competitive in the global market and Russia's desire to integrate more closely with the world economy "can bring our two nations even closer and enhance opportunities for economic, commercial, scientific and technological cooperation."

The Indian Ambassador pointed out that his country "attaches high importance" to its relationship with Russia, adding that "the scheduled visit of President Yeltsin to India next January will enable us to chart the course of relations between our two countries and should represent an important landmark in our relations.

In a short reply speech, Mr. Rutskoi, said relations that existed between the Soviet Union and India "will grow stronger in the interests of both countries now that Russia is going through democratic reforms." Having recalled that "friendly ties between Russia and India have deep historical roots," Mr. Rutskoi expressed confidence that "these roots will get stronger in relations between our two democratic independent States." He said Mr. Yeltsin's plans to visit India testified to Russia's desire to develop bilateral relations.

Consular Ties To South Africa Planned

93AS0162 Madras THE HINDU in English 20 Oct 92 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 22—India has decided to establish consular level relations with South Africa in anticipation of an "all representative, non-racial" interim Government there. According to the spokesman of the Ministry of External Affairs, India has proposed setting up a cultural centre in South Africa to promote people to people contacts and "power to perform consular and visa functions."

The spokesman said the decision was taken after a meeting between the African National Congress's (ANC) chief representative here, Mr. Mphole and Secretary (East) in the Ministry of External Affairs, Mr. Lakhan Mehrotra.

During their discussions, Mr. Mphole felt that there was a case for Indian presence in South Africa as it would encourage the process of establishing "a post-Apartheid South Africa." More so, because of the progress already registered in negotiations in South Africa towards establishing an interim all representative Government.

The spokesman said the resumption of dialogue in South Africa—which had been stalled on account of a spurt in racial violence there—had raised the hope of multi-party negotiations.

According to the spokesman, in case such a Government was set up and economic sanctions against Pretoria were consequently lifted, India would encourage exploratory visits by representatives of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) and similar bodies.

Regional Affairs

Article Attacks Pakistan for Kashmir Policy

BK0411032092 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English
24 Oct 92 p 8

[By Jasjit Singh: "Endless aggression"; italicized words as published]

[Text] For the third time this year, the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir is under pressure and a threat of mass crossing by Pakistan. Starting with the crude attempts in February 1990, Pakistan has brought greater sophistication and finesse to bear on its actions. The Pakistan government continues to maintain that it is trying to do its best to defuse the problem, but lost touch with the leaders of the march.

The Prime Minister of Pak-Occupied Kashmir (who first threatened to cross the cease-fire line as early as 1954) has stated that his government is not responsible for maintaining the sanctity of the line of control, and therefore, will not take action to stop the crossing. The only bright spot is that the Pakistan People's Party wing has pulled out of the threatened march. But we need to remember that the present attempt is part of the ongoing war that Pakistan started 45 years ago in September 1947.

The question that must be asked is: what is Pakistan's *locus standi* in J&K [Jammu and Kashmir] State? The only way Pakistan comes into the picture is because it has been committing a series of aggressive acts as part of its expansionist policy. The first phase of its aggression was before October 26, 1947 when it launched an offensive against what at the time was the sovereign State of J&K. This was done in spite of its Standstill Agreement with J&K to maintain status quo. A well-researched book by a renowned Pakistani scholar Ayesha Jalal, *The State of Martial Law, 1990*, has asserted that Khan Abdul Qayum Khan, the then Chief Minister of NWFP [North-west Frontier Province] carried the principal responsibility for the invasion. And initially Pakistan army was not used "because of severe shortage of arms and ammunition" but officers were "conveniently on leave from the army" to lead the fighting. This was followed by regular army invasion. Pakistan claimed that the army was inducted in May 1948 but it failed to

inform the UN Security Council as required by the January 17, 1948 resolution.

There have been a series of aggressions since October 26, 1947 which underwent some changes after July 1972 when the Simla Agreement was signed. The most recent one is the proxy war launched on July 31, 1988 and intensified in December 1989. The United Nations—whose resolutions Pakistan keeps harping about—in its resolution of August 13, 1948 unambiguously required Pakistan to unconditionally withdraw from J&K. India on the other hand was to maintain its presence by virtue of the State's accession which was, and remains, legally and constitutionally valid and final. This is why Pakistan has to continue the facade of an "Azad Kashmir" although it quietly annexed a large part of the State as its "Northern Territories". The UN had clearly stated in 1948 that the northern areas would remain under the jurisdiction of J&K (and hence India). Incidentally, this is why Pakistan can have no legitimate claim in the Siachen area. Even the Sino-Pakistan agreement of 1963 on the borders recognises that Pakistan did not have the right of sovereignty in the area.

The problem, of course, is that even Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif perpetuates the farce that the UN resolutions are applicable only to the Indian side of the State. In 1972 India made a major concession in the hope of achieving durable peace when under the Simla Agreement it was agreed to treat the line of control as the de facto border. This was a way of settlement of the dispute although it did not alter the basic facts.

Under the Simla Agreement Pakistan is committed to "refrain from the threat or the use of force in violation of this line". It also agreed, not to "alter it unilaterally irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretation". Its political, moral and material support to militancy and separatism in J&K violates the Simla Agreement. As it is Pakistan's record of honouring its international agreements has been very poor. There are differences and tensions in the aims and policies of different sections of the elite controlling its power structure. But the Pakistan government cannot be absolved of its responsibility on these grounds. The argument that many sections are operating autonomously cannot be accepted as an excuse. Pakistan's failure to govern itself and keep its state and non-state actors under control especially from launching aggression and sponsoring terrorism against a neighbouring country, is not consistent with its obligations as a member of the UN.

It is in this background that we have to see the current effort at escalation of conflict. It is important to remember that in the current phase of its aggression, Pakistan has not succeeded in its objective. It has basically three options: escalate, continue the proxy war, or de-escalate. Having adopted the hardline aggressive position, and given the domestic political dynamics, de-escalation would not be easy. At this stage, even a bilateral dialogue with India would be a way out for Pakistan. And hence the tentative suggestions when its

Foreign Secretary came to India in August. A serious dialogue with Pakistan would be desirable, but only if Pakistan genuinely seeks a just solution. It must, therefore, demonstrate its commitment to the Simla Agreement before any meaningful dialogue can commence.

On the other hand, Pakistan may continue its proxy war and even escalate it for its own reasons. India must respond to the situation as it evolves. But along with crisis management, we have to work out a long-term strategy. At one level, a politico-diplomatic thrust must be actively pursued to highlight the basic facts relating to J&K State. The international community must be reminded that Pakistan's invasion and annexation (even if partial) of J&K is no different from Iraq's invasion and annexation of Kuwait in 1990. We do not expect a US-led coalition to come and do the fighting for us. But a clearly-understood position based on international law is fundamental to a durable solution.

Secondly, Pakistan's support and sponsorship of transnational terrorism must be acknowledged by the international community and appropriate action taken. The United States has already cautioned Pakistan on this issue. US move to get the Afghan mojahedin to return weapons supplied to them is a step in the right direction. Since the conduit for supplies was Pakistan (especially its ISI [Interservices Intelligence]) and more than 61 per cent weapons were siphoned off by Pakistan, the US should in fact be taking stock of weapons supplied to Pakistan, and their return so that capabilities for violence are reduced. The international community must persuade Pakistan to positively withdraw from transnational terrorism and militancy for the sake of peace and stability in the region.

It is indeed surprising that in spite of sponsoring terrorism Pakistan is being elected to UN Security Council membership for two years starting January next. Lastly, we need to work out a long-term strategy and solution to the problem in J&K. Serious thought needs to be given to a high level of autonomy to J&K within the Indian Constitution. Vacation of territories occupied by Pakistan since 1947 would be a prerequisite for a unified J&K State to achieve the status of an autonomous republic within the Indian Union, with well-defined mechanism for protection of the rights of the majority and the minorities in the State.

Pakistan National Assembly Resolution Protested

27 Oct Statement

93AS0168A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 28 Oct 92 p 1

[Article by K.K. Katyal; quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 27—In a sharply-worded statement, the Government of India today took Pakistan to task for its National Assembly resolution on Kashmir calling for the despatch of a U.N. fact-finding mission to investigate "human rights violations" there. This was

regarded as a blatant attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of India and a totally unacceptable proposition.

While noting that the resolution raised doubts about Pakistan's sincerity in reducing tensions in the bilateral field, the statement called upon Islamabad to give up its negative, propagandist approach.

A blend of denunciation and protest, the statement did not mince words on what it thought of Islamabad's action. Though the statement did not say so, the Pakistan National Assembly resolution could jeopardise the prospects of talks on Siachen, scheduled from November 2 to 4 and other forums of meaningful dialogue.

The following is the text of the statement:

"We have learnt of the resolution passed by the Pakistan National Assembly on October 26 on Kashmir." The Government of India expresses its regret over this resolution which was moved by Pakistan's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Kanjoo, and considers this a blatant attempt at interfering in India's internal affairs. Kashmir is and will be an integral part of India.

"The Government of Pakistan has chosen to associate itself with acts designed to inflame public opinion and incite people to violence and militancy."

"The Pakistan National Assembly resolution, apart from premising itself on a gross distortion of history, deliberately obfuscates the central issue of continued and active support by Pakistan to terrorism and subversion in the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir. When Pakistan talks about human rights violations, it should not forget the violations of human rights of the innocent victims of terrorist attacks, aided and abetted by Pakistan."

"This resolution, which is totally unacceptable, once again raises doubts about Pakistan's sincerity in reducing tensions and building mutual confidence and trust in its relations with India. We would urge the Government of Pakistan to abandon its negative approach and to refrain from propagandist actions that undermine the on-going process of bilateral dialogue."

Diplomatic thrust: Yesterday's was the third India-related resolution adopted by the Pakistan Assembly this year and, as such, New Delhi is confronted with a diplomatic thrust from the other side of the border it had not faced so far.

There is even a 'first' to yesterday's resolution—as it nearly coincides with what in Pakistan is observed as a protest day, October 27, (it was on this day 45 years ago that the Indian forces went to Kashmir to meet the situation created by the Pakistan-aided tribal raid).

In February, too, the National Assembly's resolution alleged human rights violations in the State and sought to make a case for holding a plebiscite. Babri Masjid and the developments relating to it were the subject of the second resolution adopted in September.

Additional dimensions: The latest move has additional dimensions. One, a plea to the U.N. Secretary General to send a fact-finding mission to the "occupied territory" in Jammu and Kashmir. And, two, the call to the international community to exercise pressure on India to "honour the commitment made by it in terms of the U.N. resolutions," and provide free access to human rights organisations and representatives of the world media to witness the situation in the "occupied" Kashmir.

Unlike the earlier resolutions, which were sponsored by the Parliamentary Affairs Minister, the latest one was piloted by the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs. The motive, as viewed here, was not the management of the House proceedings on an issue that had evoked strong sentiments, but to add a new thrust to the foreign policy in matters relating to Kashmir.

Pakistani sources, however, describe the resolution as a summing up of the national consensus which otherwise would have led to interminable debates.

Whether intended or not, the resolution comes at a time when an all-party delegation of MPs [members of Parliament] from New Delhi has gone to Srinagar for discussions on steps needed to counter the challenge of militancy.

To say that Pakistan's intention is to internationalise the Kashmir issue in a big way is to stress the obvious. It will seek to build upon the national consensus and the parliamentary backing in a renewed bid to raise the problem at the international fora. Pakistan may step up the pressure now that it is to become a member of the U.N. Security Council after 10 weeks or so.

High Commissioner Summoned

93AS0168B Madras THE HINDU in English 29 Oct 92 p 1

[Article by K.K. Katyal]

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 28—India today lodged a strong protest with the Pakistan Government for its action in getting the National Assembly [to] approve a resolution on Kashmir. Mr. L.L. Mehrotra, Secretary (East), called the new Pakistan High Commissioner, Mr. Riaz Khokhar, and gave him a demarche, conveying India's deep resentment over Islamabad's latest action.

The National Assembly resolution, it was pointed out, amounted to a blatant interference in India's internal affairs, and the proposition contained in it was totally unacceptable.

Today's protest followed a statement on these lines issued last night, and reflected New Delhi's feelings against Pakistan's postures.

As if the resolution was not a sufficiently negative development in the bilateral field, the wrangle between

the two countries over the recent killings of two Pakistanis in India pushed their ties down to a new low. On the basis of evidence with them, the Indian authorities were categorical that the two Pakistanis were on a terrorist mission, as part of an assignment entrusted to them by the Inter Service Intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan, and lost their lives in an encounter (along with other terrorists) with the police in Punjab. India, therefore, rejected the demand for the handing over of their bodies which had been buried according to Muslim rites.

A press release by the Pakistan High Commission here described it as a case of disinformation and rejected the "crude and transparent attempt made by the Indian authorities to project Pakistani nationals, Intikhab Ahmed Zia and Habibullah who were murdered in coldblood by Indian security forces on October 15 as agents of the Pakistan Inter Services Intelligence (ISI)."

Pak repeats claim: Repeating the earlier stand that the two persons were bone fide visitors, the press release said: "These facts clearly expose the crude Indian ploy of trying to implicate Pakistan in the activities of Sikh militants. The fact that Indian security agencies are responsible for custodial deaths and fake encounters is even recognised by objective Indians. It is, therefore, more than likely that the two Pakistani nationals either died in custody under intense torture or were killed in a fake encounter."

"Refusal of the Indian side to hand over the bodies of the deceased as well as their identification documents to the Pakistan High Commission apart from the hasty and furtive manner in which the dead were buried indicates that the bodies bear telltale marks of torture and their subsequent murder."

Delhi Accused of Murdering Pakistan Nationals

93AS0229 *Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English*
29 Oct 92 p 13

[Article by Sunil Narula]

[Text] Islamabad, October 28—Pakistan today charged India with murdering its two nationals in "cold blood" and failing to provide any "credible evidence" of their involvement in "any undesirable activity" in India. It once again demanded that the bodies be returned.

Briefing newsmen, a foreign office spokesman, said Pakistan was "left with no alternative but to express indignation" and convey to various international organisations friendly countries and human rights organisations the facts exposing the "hollowness of Indian allegations of Pakistan's involvement in terrorism."

He stated that the manner in which the two men were killed "is part of the familiar pattern in which Indian security agencies have been explaining away numerous deaths of alleged terrorists in Punjab and Kashmir" and

asserted that the "manner of summary execution have been noted by the Amnesty International in its recent reports."

However, the spokesman failed to even refer to the discrepancies pointed out by the Indian high commission here between Pakistan's case on the issue and the visa applications of the two men available with the high commission.

In fact, the spokesman added a little more to the confusion by claiming today that the two Pakistanis had left Pakistan on May 24. This contradicts the statement made by the minister of state for external affairs, Mr Mohammad Siddique Khan Kanju, in parliament and the foreign office spokesman last week that the two men left the country on May 21.

As reported earlier, the two Pakistan nationals, Intekhab Ahmed Zia and Habibullah, were killed on October 15 in Jalandhar district along with four others, described by the police as terrorists. India had said the involvement showed Pakistan's hand in supporting terrorism in India.

This charge was rejected by the Pakistan government, saying that both were traveling on valid documents. It added that it had been trying to find out the whereabouts of Zia from the India foreign office since June but to no avail.

The Pakistan government has been giving details on Zia, but has been rather quiet about Habibullah. According to them Zia was an administrative officer in a hospital in Lahore and was en route to Kathmandu when he was picked up. Even today, the Pakistan foreign office failed to give many details on Habibullah. When asked, the spokesman replied, "We have a message from his uncle. He has requested that the body be returned."

The Indian high commission, while expressing surprise that the statement made no mention of Habibullah, had pointed out that the two men had applied for and taken the visas on the same days. The handwriting in the visa application was the same and both had mentioned their profession as "business, building contribution, Lahore."

It had also pointed out that the government of Pakistan said that Zia was going to Nepal, while his brother-in-law, in a letter to the mission here mentioned Sri Lanka as his destination.

Besides, the two men were given transit visas for three days. But by Pakistan own case, Zia spoke to his family on telephone from Delhi on May 28. Today, the spokesman claimed that they left their country on May 24.

Expressing "deep resentment and concern" at India's refusal to return the bodies of the two men, the spokesman observed, "India's refusal lends credence to fears that the two individuals were in fact picked up and incarcerated by the Indian security agencies."

With no reply forthcoming from the Indian foreign office despite seven reminders, the "next we heard of him (Zia) was being found in the company of "terrorists" and killed in an encounter. It clearly points to a cold-blooded murder."

He said it has been a week since they formally asked for the return of the bodies and it was unlikely that there will be a positive response. "This also leads to the presumption of foul play. Clearly if the body was to be returned, there might be tell-tale marks which would reveal the real reason and real timing of his death," he said.

He reiterated the Pakistan government's concern for the 120 of its nationals in Indian prisons and demanded access to them. He also said the government was also concerned about the 20,000 to 30,000 Pakistanis visiting India at any given time. The spokesman said they had asked for the return of the bodies as it was a "humanitarian issue and the families of the deceased are deeply anguished."

A spokesman of the Indian mission here expressed surprise that "so much was being made over the body of a terrorist." He again pointed out that none of the discrepancies pointed out last week had been answered today, while the date of departure of the two men had been changed to May 24 to justify the three-day visa given to them. He once again expressed surprise about the lack of details on Habibullah.

Another TOINS report adds that a Pakistani foreign office spokesman today said the Indo-Pak talks on Siachen and Sir Creek will go ahead on schedule early next month and will not be affected by the recent killing of two Pakistanis.

Answering questions at the weekly briefing, he said, naturally the atmosphere between the two countries had been "vitiated" by this incident. But the talks were aimed at resolving long-standing disputes and these should not be allowed to be derailed by such incidents.

Possibilities for Progress With Pakistan on Kashmir Viewed

*BK0911031092 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English
30 Oct 92 p 8*

[Article by Ashok Kapur: "Pakistan Under Pressure"]

[Text] In June 1988, a few weeks before he died in a plane accident, the late President Zia-ul Haq outlined his approach to Indo-Pakistan normalisation in an interview with me. The progress towards normalisation was unsatisfactory said the late President. It was the result of mistrust and apprehension on both sides about each other. But just as France and Germany were now standing together after years of divergence, India and Pakistan could build on their common background. True, said the late President, India and Pakistan were

two different nations and expressed two different philosophies, "still, we are the worst victims of apprehension. Let us start at the highest level and then it will filter down".

President Zia died without realising his dreams. In the summer of 1988, he told a senior Indian official that he expected to say his prayers in Kabul soon. He told me that the US-Pakistan alliance was a strategic alliance, not a time-serving measure. He also told me that Pakistan's nuclear option "cannot be put aside". In all these areas, Pakistan's policies have come under pressure.

Surprisingly, the chances of Indo-Pakistan normalisation today are better for a variety of reasons. President Zia hoped to make a deal at the top with Rajiv Gandhi but this was not a realistic idea because the real problem with Pakistan has been its inability to be honest with itself and its own people rather than to make a deal with India. President Zia was right about "let us start at the highest level" if it meant organising the highest level in Pakistan. Today, the process of Indo-Pakistan normalisation is promising because Pakistan's top is beginning to come together for many reasons. The main external prop of Pakistan, the United States, is now problematic for Pakistan. India's military strength and political will to challenge Pakistani misbehaviour is clear. Pakistan's internal problems are intense. And India has not fallen apart as was the expectation in the late 1980's among Western and Pakistani observers.

What is going on inside Pakistan so as to bring about the change? The answer lies in recent changes in Pakistani elite thinking. When Aslam Beg was the Army Chief, he followed the Zia-Inter Services Intelligence line; the goal was jihad in Afghanistan and in Kashmir. By 1988, the realisation emerged in a limited way that Khalistan could not be created. Pakistan's leaders gave up hope of creating a Khalistan but they saw the advantage in using Khalistanis to create pinpricks. But still, the ISI [Inter-services Intelligence] and General Hamid Gul were totally committed to jihad in Kashmir. Gul believed that Kashmir could be taken by force.

Since 1990, the Pakistan Army has gained a more realistic view. It realised that there was no need to waste time, energy, resources and manpower for a jihad in Afghanistan. It wanted a change in Pakistan's Afghan policy but the ISI continued the old line. Here a major divergence emerged between the Army and ISI. Before that, the differences were between Benazir Bhutto and the Army. Benazir lost that fight because she had no say in foreign and security affairs. The United States allegedly found her unreliable in the nuclear area and weak in internal affairs. Today, the Pakistan Army Chief says he will not go for military confrontation with India. President Ishaq Khan is still the hawk in Kashmir and Afghan affairs and he follows the old Zia-ISI line. Here the Army Chief is diverging from the President-ISI line. But if the Pakistan Army will not fight, the hawks can't engage India militarily other than to continue the pinpricks.

Today, Hekmatyar is out of Pakistan's control but the United States gave him arms in plenty and he can carry on fighting for a while. Ma'sud, a powerful figure in Kabul today, has never been under Pakistani control since Hekmatyar was the United States's and ISI's favourite. Ma'sud is close to Iranians and the French Sind is a political and security mess like Kashmir but there is a difference. Indians are able to tell themselves that they have a problem. Pakistan's historical failure is the persistent inability of its leaders to be honest with themselves.

In this context, the good news is that a new thinking and a new political process is emerging in Pakistan of the early 1990's. It is not yet institutionalised but it may filter down from the top. Not in the way the late President Zia thought but as a result of the abandoning of the war option by the Pakistan Army. If this trend continues, the armies can emerge as the pillars of confidence-building in Indo-Pakistan affairs. If the Pakistan Army controls its Muslims and the Indian Army manages the Kashmir's Muslims, both sides may gain time to let the politicians get on with nation building.

In Pakistan, the Pathans and Baluch are fighting openly. This is a new development in Pakistan affairs. The Punjab-Sind fight is an old affair but it continues. The Shia-Sunni fight is an old fight but it remains a very serious one. The Iranians are in the picture because they seek protection for the Shias. How interesting it is that Pakistan, the self-proclaimed guardian of Indian Muslims may be facing Iranians, the guardian of the Shias worldwide. So there is an emergent conflict of interest between Iran and Pakistan in Afghan and Pakistan affairs. Isn't it time that the Delhi Gymkhana Club offered a honorary membership to the Pakistan Army Chief so that the Army brass on both sides can meet socially and find ways to avoid war while the politicians learn and practice the art of being honest with domestic populations?

These changes in the inner circles of Pakistani strategic policy making are fundamental and subtle. They are reinforced by subtle changes in Western thinking about Pakistan's destructive behavior in the region. In particular British views merit recognition. First, India is seen as a responsible country in Kashmir and nuclear affairs, and the British recognise the need to win India over in the nuclear issue by persuasion, not by pressure. While the United States continues to focus on the Pakistani proposals, UK does not focus on the Nawaz Sharif initiative.

Secondly, terrorism must be put down to have a rule of law and the people must be free to express themselves, the British experts say. Only the Indian Government can secure this. Third, India must be sensitive to world opinion on human rights, to be seen as flexible in its diplomatic tactics and to go for an open ended discussion process with Pakistan. Fourth, Kashmir is an internal problem for India and it may take 2 years to sort it out. There is no need or a desire for British or other Western intervention in this. These inputs from a

country with a global outlook enable the decision makers' in Islamabad to move away from the past and to provide constructive inputs into Indo-Pakistan and internal Pakistani affairs, even as the internal power struggle in Pakistan continues.

Relations With Pakistan Taking Fresh Knocks

93AS0230A Madras THE HINDU in English 13 Nov 92 p 9

[Article by K.K. Katyal]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 12—Indo-Pakistan relations, not particularly cordial at any stage, are currently receiving fresh knocks, further raising the level of distrust and misunderstanding. All this adds up to a formidable agenda for the informal meeting of the two Prime Ministers, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao and Mr. Nawaz Sharif, in Dhaka next month at the time of the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] summit.

Even as the hopes pinned on last week's Defence Secretary-level talks for resolving the Siachen imbroglio were belied, the two countries differed sharply over the recent killing of two Pakistani nationals in India. According to New Delhi, they were on a terrorist mission, there being firm evidence of their involvement with a top militant of Punjab, and were killed in encounters with the security forces. Islamabad describes them as genuine visitors to India and sees foul play in their killing.

The Pakistan Government proposes to raise the issue at the U.N., with international human rights organisations, other multilateral fora and foreign governments. As its Minister of State for Foreign Affairs told his country's Senate, Pakistani missions abroad had been instructed to take up the issue with the local governments and human rights bodies in the host countries.

Apart from the two cases that figured in the exchanges between the two governments, Pakistan has alleged the killing of three others in two separate incidents in Bombay and Kutch.

Travesty of norms: Strongly disputing the Pakistani version, India says it is a travesty of international norms to introduce a consular element in the cases of infiltrators and terrorists. The issue involved, it is stated, is not of consular access but of the activities of the nationals of one country prejudicial to the security and integrity of the other. It would be preposterous, it is said, to mix the cases of terrorists with genuine visitors from Pakistan, now in India, who had nothing to fear.

Pak. protests remark: The Pakistan High Commission has protested against the recent remark by the Minister of State for Home, Mr. M.M. Jacob, accusing Islamabad of extending aid to the secessionist elements in Punjab. An official release by the High Commission described

Mr. Jacob's remark as "grossly incorrect." The Minister's remark that the borders with Pakistan had been effectively sealed contradicted the charge of Pakistan's involvement, the press release said.

As regards Siachen, the differences in the way of a settlement are, undoubtedly, regrettable. The latest discussions, however, have served to identify clearly the issue that divides the two sides and this should help them concentrate on the obstacle in the next round.

While the two delegations agreed on the re-deployment of their forces as also on the arrangements for the demilitarised zone, Pakistan did not accept India's plea in regard to the existing reality. India wanted the positions now held by the two sides to be recorded—to serve as a reference point for re-deployment of the troops of the two sides to new positions. Pakistan was not agreeable to this, saying this could be used by India for delineating the line of actual control. It offered to have the existing positions mentioned in an annexure to the main document, while insisting on a specific reference that this would not confer any moral, legal or political right (on India). India saw in it a political motive—an implied adverse judgment on its action in the past in the area.

Hindi Paper Supports Bhutto's Anti-Sharif Campaign

BK2611090192 Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi 20 Nov 92 p 4

[Editorial: "Protests in Pakistan"]

[Text] The Pakistan Government has claimed that it has foiled attempts by opposition parties led by former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto to organize a massive rally in Islamabad on 18 November; while the Opposition camp claims that the rally was a success. The very fact that Benazir Bhutto was able to reach Rawalpindi in spite of massive police arrangements and even managed a small gathering there is a proof that Bhutto has been successful to a large extent in her campaign. It is true that the Opposition could not claim victory in Islamabad, largely due to the fact that she and many other opposition leaders were taken into custody while proceeding toward Islamabad and thousands of opposition workers and supporters were arrested nationwide, but a careful look into events suggests that Bhutto has been able to draw attention of people both from within and outside Pakistan.

The corrupt government of Nawaz Sharif, which has cleaned out many cooperative banks like a termite and which prospers by exploiting people, is not tolerating any dissent. It appears that Nawaz Sharif is the new incarnation of Ziaul Haq. Nawaz Sharif is engaged in silencing his political opponents like Ziaul Haq used to do. As Ziaul Haq had entrapped Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in a murder case, so has Nawaz Sharif tried to implicate Benazir Bhutto and her husband Asif Ali Zardari in an assassination incident. What happened with political

dissenters and their family members in Sindh is very well-known to everyone. Nawaz Sharif has failed to understand that it is not seventies, but nineties and Benazir Bhutto cannot be eliminated like her father was. Despite slogans of Islamization, aspirations in Pakistan today are leaning more toward democracy. That is why the Pakistan Government had been compelled to declare that Benazir Bhutto was merely taken into custody and it had no intention to arrest her. Islamabad is also aware that the United States no more attaches significance to Pakistan and a democratic rather than Islamic Pakistan will be more to its liking. Even a temporary ban on Bhutto's entry into Islamabad will work against Nawaz Sharif government because the Opposition voice is now taking the shape of a movement. Pakistan had gone through periodic transitions between military dictatorships and democratic rules, but following Benazir Bhutto's assumption of power, it looked as though Pakistan had finally come to terms with democracy. Benazir Bhutto herself accepted the people's mandate in the last elections and without raising any eyebrows transferred the power to Nawaz Sharif. Now, she has full right to demand the resignation of the corrupt and incapable Nawaz Sharif government and fresh elections. Organizing a rally is her democratic right. Nawaz Sharif was so frightened of the rally that he alleged foreign hands behind it and said he would not allow it. He tried to weaken the rally by stationing police and paramilitary forces.

Whether the rally was successful or not, Benazir Bhutto has been able to highlight issues which concern not only her but the entire people of her country. It is also clear that the Pakistan armed forces for the time being are maintaining neutrality. In this background, mounting anger against Nawaz Sharif government could burst like a volcano in the future.

Infiltration, Repatriation of Bangladeshis Viewed

Influx Unchecked

93AS0144A Madras FRONTLINE in English 6 Nov 92 pp 24-26

[Article by Kalyan Chaudhuri: "Influx Unbound: Problems on the Indo-Bangladesh Border"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] An almost dry and narrow river bed which can be crossed on foot easily, is all that separates the two countries in some stretches. On this side is Chowgram, a village 50 km from Cooch Behar in north Bengal; on the other is Shahpur in Rangpur district of Bangladesh.

It is hard to tell the demarcation line. In fact, farmers on opposite sides of the border even work their land together—and during the cultivation season, the jute plants camouflage the infiltrators into India.

On September 20, around 5 p.m., a group of 12 Bangladeshis from Chowgram—four elderly men, three women and five children—were trying to enter India this

way. But they did not realise that five gun-toting jawans of the Border Security Force (BSF) were puffing bidis under a tree only 100 metres away. Alerted by the rustle of the jute plants, the jawans quickly closed in and took them into custody. They were among the estimated 500 to 1,000 Bangladeshis who cross over into India every day through different areas.

The infiltration of both Hindus and Muslims into Assam, Tripura, West Bengal and Bihar is now a well-established fact. But they have not come in waves or in sudden spurts, as they did earlier in the wake of Partition or during the riots in the former East Pakistan. They are coming in a slow, steady trickle, in groups of 10, 15 or 20, across the 2,145-km-long open border, since the creation of Bangladesh in 1971.

The total number of illegal immigrants is unknown. While in December 1991, in reply to a question in Parliament, Union Minister of State for Home M.M. Jacob said there were 100,000 Bangladeshi nationals in Delhi and 587,000 in west Bengal, Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) president Murli Manohar Joshi claimed the figure would be more than 20 million scattered over Delhi, Bombay and Ahmedabad, and the towns and villages of West Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Tripura. According to the Bangladeshi Mohajir Sangstha (BMS), formed in July 1990 by Bangladeshi Muslims residing in West Bengal, about 100,000 Bangladeshi nationals had arrived in the State till February 1991 and their total number in India would exceed 500,000. There are many unrecorded cases also.

But why do they come? Though poverty is acute on both sides of the border, the situation in Bangladesh, with increasing joblessness and the ever-present threat of famine, is particularly grim. Two Bangladesh newspapers, DAINIK SAMBAD and COURIER, have recently reported that the country's population would soon cross the 200-million mark, and there would not be enough food resources or space left in Bangladesh. Said 62-year-old Sheikh Jalim, one of the group nabbed by the BSF, "ke ar niger desh chaira aste chay? Ki korbam, dui din peyte dana pani pare nai babu." (Who wants to leave his own country? But what else can be done, for two days I have gone without food).

The crossing is easy, with a porous border and a well-established network of touts on both sides specialising in the illegal trafficking of people. The touts' rates vary from Rs [Rupees] 500 to Rs. 1,000, depending on how difficult the crossing is and also on the clients' means.

The economic stagnation has compelled poor Muslims, besides minority groups, to come to India for employment. Some of them go back with their earnings. People on the Indian side of the border accommodate the infiltrators as they fulfil the need for cheap labour in construction, farm and household work.

It is interesting to note that a group of intellectuals in Dhaka is seeking to legitimise the migration of Muslims into the adjoining North-East of India by invoking a

theory of 'lebensraum' or living space. Dhaka dailies carried articles on these lines written by university professors. They are not only not apologetic about infiltration but seek to inspire people to cross over with the hope that one day India's northeastern region will be added to Bangladesh giving it a natural boundary in place of the present one which "throttles" it. Encouraged, the illegal immigrants have put forth a demand for an independent 'Banga Bhoomi' comprising the contiguous border areas of Assam, West Bengal and Bihar with the headquarters somewhere in West Bengal's Nadia district.

All along the Indian border—Krishnanagar in Nadia, Lalgola in Murshidabad, Rahanpur in Malda, Sitai in Jalpaiguri and Gitaldah in Cooch Behar district of West Bengal and Kishangunj-Purnea in Bihar—secret group meetings are being organised to formulate the strategy to realise the goal of Banga Bhoomi. According to intelligence sources, those behind the movement are not always Muslims from Bangladesh. Hindu minorities who have crossed over to India are equally in favour of the idea of an independent land. Leaflets without a printline are being circulated on behalf of the Swadhin Banga Bhoomi Sangram Samity, exhorting Bangladeshi migrants to unite for this cause.

A report on Bangladeshi influx prepared by B.B. Dutta, general secretary of the North Eastern Congress(I) Coordination Committee, says; "The demand of the Bangladeshi migrants for an independent Banga Bhoomi is the result of India's tolerance of foreign migrants and failure to curb the infiltration along its borders." The report charges major political parties, including the Congress(I) and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) [CPI-M], with deliberately registering the illegal entrants as voters to create a vote-bank for themselves.

The open border makes crossing easy. In Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri, Murshidabad, Malda and Nadia districts, several houses on the Indian side have entrances from Bangladesh territory. Bangladeshi labourers freely cross over during the day to work in fields in India, and even to bathe in Indian ponds. This makes it hard to detect "overstayers." There are touts everywhere to help the people cross over. Says Amina, a 50-year-old woman living in the Sadiqnagar refugee colony in Delhi, "You just have to contact the tout in your village and tell him when you intend to leave. He takes care of everything." On entering West Bengal, another group of middlemen takes over. "In fact, if you give them the name of your relatives living in one of the Delhi or Ahmedabad colonies, they even escort you up to their doorsteps. The railway tickets are arranged by them," says Amina. The touts also fake medical reports, birth certificates and ration cards.

Intelligence officials in Nadia said a large number of Bangladeshi Muslims have assumed Hindu names, to avoid detection and to find jobs. Many of them work as maidservants and construction labourers at Salt Lake City in Calcutta. According to the Calcutta police, the

red light area of Sonagachi is a major shelter for girls coming from Bangladesh. In fact, one-third of the total women population in the area is Bangladeshi, Muslims as well as Hindus.

The magnitude of the racket can be understood from the number of fake passport applications from districts such as Nadia, Murshidabad, Malda, Cooch Behar and South 25-Parganas—12,000 in 1990-91 detected by the Public Relations Officer of the Regional Passport Office in Calcutta. Many of them were accompanied by fake birth certificates and ration cards.

Political interference makes the task of the law-enforcing authorities even more difficult. "Almost all political parties take advantage of this to create their vote banks," says V.V. Thambi, Superintendent of Police of Nadia. In this district alone, the police intercept at least 1,000 Bangladeshis every year—both Hindus and Muslims. "And this is only the tip of the iceberg," he says. Once the illegal settlers get ration cards and other documents with the help of their political patrons, it is difficult to send them back. Thus, 60 to 70 percent of the rickshaw-pullers in Krishnanagar, Malda and Siliguri are Bangladeshi citizens. Many of them are enlisted as voters.

The phenomenal population increase in the border districts of West Bengal also shows the magnitude of the influx. The last Census report reveals that the population increase in Nadia, Murshidabad, West Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar and North and South 24-Parganas is 25 percent to 30 percent as against the all-India average of 23.17 percent.

Till recently, the socio-economic problems arising out of the influx were ignored by the State as well as Central Governments. Though the Government of India has now woken up to the fact of illegal immigrants enjoying all except citizenship rights, it has not moved beyond some token gestures. The deportation of 132 Bangladeshis from New Seemapuri in East Delhi through the Haridashpur checkpoint in West Bengal, and the fact that the Chief Ministers' conference was convened only once on the issue, do not suggest a well-thought-out policy. Rather, they reflect a lack of appreciation of the problem, looking at it as part of the larger infiltration taking place in the northeastern region involving not just India and Bangladesh, but also Burma, Bhutan and Nepal—Muslims from the Rohingya region of Burma into Bangladesh, the Chakmas of Bangladesh's Chittagong Hill Tracts into Tripura and Mizoram, and people of Nepalese origin from southern Bhutan who have taken refuge in eastern Nepal and the tea garden areas of West Bengal and Dooars in Assam.

The problem of infiltration from Bangladesh is a massive one, which has to be understood from different angles. It should not be treated as just a law and order problem. But Union Home Minister S.B. Chavan's strategy seems similar to the one adopted by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and originally chalked out by the All Assam

Students' Union (AASU). This strategy is full of loopholes. For example, the Illegal Migrants Detection Tribunal Act, 1984, has not helped in detecting and deporting even one Bangladeshi so far. The basic flaw is that under the Act, a tribunal can sit only on the basis of a complaint by a citizen of India who has to take the onus of proving that a person is a Bangladeshi. No one would like to be a complainant, fearing it would lead to communal tension.

The BJP's claim that only Muslims are illegally entering and staying on in India is not true. A large number of Hindus, too, have infiltrated into the country from Bangladesh and are, in fact, staying along with Muslims in the refugee colonies in Delhi and elsewhere. But probably they assimilate better into the local population and hence draw little flak. The BJP describes the Muslims as "infiltrators" and Hindus as "refugees" fleeing religious discrimination in an Islamic state. The Government of India insists that it is even-handed in dealing with the issue and that anyone who overstays in this country is violating the law and is liable to be deported. But the facts are otherwise. While hundreds of Muslim Bangladeshis have been sent back under "Operation Push Back," Hindus have not been touched.

According to Balkar Singh, Inspector-General of the Border Security Force (BSF), South, of the 17,000 infiltrators intercepted along West Bengal's border with Bangladesh 12,000 were Muslims. Last year witnessed a phenomenal increase in the influx—64,000 illegal entrants, of whom 41,000 were Muslims. It is only expected to increase further.

The deportation of 132 infiltrators in mid-September has raised a controversy. They were brought from Delhi and sent out through a border check-post in West Bengal. But before being deported the heads of some of them were shaven and their belongings burnt so that, according to the local commandant of the BSF, they would never dare to return to India in future. This was condemned by the CPI(M) and other Left parties in West Bengal. Chief Minister Jyoti Basu said the infiltrators would have to be deported, but this should be done in a humane manner. "We should not forget that these people have come to India leaving their motherland because of hunger and economic deprivation."

Dhaka seems to be preparing for a diplomatic bout with India on this issue. Prime Minister Khaleda Zia and the political establishment in Bangladesh insist that there has been no infiltration from their country and that those who have been deported from Delhi are in fact Indian Muslims from West Bengal and Bihar. This attitude will further complicate the situation. Khaleda Zia, during her visit to India early this year, had flatly denied the existence of Bangladeshis in India and later followed it up by leading a protest against the deportation of "alleged Bangladeshis." As there are no Bangladeshis in India, none is welcome back. This is the official position in Dhaka.

The issue is not confined to the diplomatic level. Tension gripped the border at the Petrapole-Benapole checkpoint following an abortive bid by Bangladesh Rifles (BDR) to hand over 92 Bangladesh nationals to the BSF on October 8 claiming that they were Indians. All of them, according to official sources in Calcutta, had been sent back by the BSF to Bangladesh. The BSF refused to accept them saying they were not Indians. The BDR commandant persisted with his demand that they be taken back but the BSF refused to oblige. According to the BSF, this is the first time Bangladesh has made such an attempt to send back officially those deported by India.

The issue of infiltration, though a cause for concern, is not easy to solve. There are socio-economic as well as geographical factors which militate against the cut-and-dried approach of nabbing aliens and sending them across the border. The task has to be accomplished, but in a manner which does not make the remedy worse than the disease. A conducive atmosphere is to be created through talks. Will the visit of Bangladesh Foreign Minister A.F.M. Mustafizur Rahman to India this month-end take the problem closer to a solution?

Problems Leftover From Partition

93AS0144B Madras FRONTLINE in English
6 Nov 92 p 27

[Article by Manoj Joshi: "The Porous Border: A Russian Dimension to the Problem"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] In 1971, the arrival of one crore refugees from the then East Pakistan touched off a war between India and Pakistan leading to the creation of Bangladesh. Most of the refugees returned to their land and under the Indira Gandhi-Mujibur Rahman Accord of February 1972, the Bangladesh Prime Minister resolved "to ensure by every means the return of refugees who had taken shelter in India since March 25, 1971." Remarkably, according to officials, most of the refugees did in fact go back. As of now, in a sense, this declaration forms the cut-off point for defining who can claim to be an Indian and who is a Bangladeshi.

India's problem with persons from the former East Pakistan goes back to the Partition when East Bengal became East Pakistan. The 2,160-km border was artificial in that it was not drawn on the basis of any reason other than the religious preferences in a culturally homogenous region. The result was a slow drift across the border to India into the States of Assam, Tripura and West Bengal. Since there was no exchange of populations as occurred on the western side, the refugees from East Pakistan were additions to the burdens faced by these backward States. The Centre did nothing to assist in their rehabilitation, and Calcutta almost collapsed under the pressure.

The problem has an acute human dimension because of this artificial border which does not follow any specific

natural features. The semi-literate and illiterate people who drift across in search of better living conditions are not particularly aware of the fine-points of citizenship and international laws of immigration. Ideologically too there is a problem. Partition was deemed by Jawaharlal Nehru and Vallabhbhai Patel a necessary evil foisted by the British, and Mahatma Gandhi never wanted it. India too has never accepted the idea that religion can be the basis on which a nation can be created. There may be three States on the subcontinent, but not three nations.

In these circumstances, can it deny succour to those who come seeking refuge? If Nepalese citizens have the free run of India, cannot Bangladeshis, who were part of India just 45 years ago and may again be 100 years from now?

But this cannot detract from the real problem faced by India in hosting large numbers of people. Till now 'vote bank' politicians prevented tough action against the refugees and many were provided with ration cards and enrolled in the voters' lists. Now, remarkably, even these politicians are worried since the balance has altered to the point where their own leadership will be threatened. The dimensions of the problem can be gauged from estimates which say that by the year 2000 there may be another five crore Bangladeshis desperate for land and trying to get into India. These are figures that even generous India which has provided succour to refugees from Sri Lanka, Nepal, Burma and Pakistan cannot sustain. Only a fraction of this number in the United Kingdom, Germany and France has given rise to levels of xenophobia and race-hatred that are not seen in India.

Following the rapid and relatively orderly return of millions who had sought refuge because of the war, migration only stepped up in 1974 when a famine hit Bangladesh in which some two lakh people died. There were reports of thousands of people being pushed back on the border between August and December 1974. Thousands did manage to get into India. Remarkably, many of them were provided exit certificates by Bangladesh authorities—which drew strong protests from India. The following year the Government of Mujibur Rahman fell and the succeeding governments found it convenient to be anti-Indian. And one of the fallouts was the inability to get to grips with the "slow migration" or infiltration.

In the 1980s, the population of Bangladesh continued to grow at an alarming rate, and of course the land area remained what it was; in fact, some areas were inundated. The pressure to get out and go to India became intense. According to official estimates, anything up to 80 lakh refugees may now be illegal migrants in India.

Officials are also concerned over some security implications. The concentrations of illegal migrants in border areas threaten to alter the demographic profile to the point where it whips up communal tension. Already the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) is fishing in troubled

waters. Also worrisome are the comments in the "fringe" press in Dhaka articulating the Bangladeshis' "right" to migrate to India.

A decision was taken earlier this year to begin deporting some of the illegal migrants in West Bengal and Delhi. The operation was carried out last month, but it was so badly handled that it has led to misgivings and tensions between the two countries. The push-back was undertaken on Id-e-Millat, the Prophet's Birthday, and many of those "deported" had their heads tonsured.

Before the August 1992 summit of the Non-Aligned Movement [NAM], Foreign Secretary J. N. Dixit visited Bangladesh, called on that country's Home Secretary and invited him to India to discuss the issue. Bangladeshi officials were bluntly told that if they were not willing to act, India would have to move unilaterally. The Home Secretary however told Indian officials recently he would not be able to come since the Bangladesh Parliament was exercised over the recent tension.

Given the historical, geographical and cultural contexts, the resolution of the matter will be tricky. This is not just an Indian problem. Indian "economic refugees" are making their way to Germany, Canada, Australia and the U.S. in no less daunting and difficult conditions. The U.S. is unable to prevent the influx of Mexican migrants. Only something akin to the Berlin Wall can stop people from crossing frontiers, but are nations ready to recreate such monstrosities?

Uniform economic development and political stability appear to be the only solution. It also means a steady rise in the quality of life in all parts of South Asia. The members of the South Asian family are tied to each other by kinship bonds and there can be no islands of peace and development. They swim or sink together.

Bangladesh's Angry Reaction

93AS0144C Madras FRONTLINE in English 6 Nov 92 p 28

[Article by Haroon Habib, in Dhaka: "Angry in Dhaka: Indignation Over 'Operation Push Back'"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] India's decision to push back thousands of "alleged" Bangladeshis has alarmed Dhaka, which has come out with a statement denying the presence of such illegal migrants in India.

Well before September 11, the day "operation push back" started, Bangladeshi print media, including some influential pro-Opposition dailies, had begun highlighting India's "undiplomatic attitude." And when the Border Security Force (BSF) pushed back the first batch of 132 in the third week of September, Bangladeshi politicians, irrespective of their affiliations, condemned the "forcible deportation." The press, which has reservations about the Government on political issues, came out in support of the official stand. The elaborate and often emotional coverage of the "inhuman treatment

and the most undiplomatic eviction of the alleged Bangladeshis" made it a national issue. It was also raided in Parliament on the very first day of the current session.

Initially, the Khaleda Zia Government remained silent, watching the developments as the issue had come up at a sensitive time when hopes were being expressed by New Delhi and Dhaka of solving long-standing bilateral issues. The first official reaction came on September 19, when a Foreign Affairs Ministry spokesman denied there were any illegal Bangladeshis in India. "The position of the Government of Bangladesh on the issue of illegal immigrants was categorically made clear in a rejoinder on May 30, 1992 in response to a news item circulated by Press Trust of India (PTI) on the issue... As was pointed out in that rejoinder, there are two-way flows of people of temporary nature across Indo-Bangladesh borders owing to religious, cultural and other reasons. It was, therefore, totally wrong and absolutely unfair to single out Bangladesh and state that illegal influx from Bangladesh into India was taking place."

Two days earlier the Indian High Commissioner to Bangladesh, Krishna Raghunath, had been called to the Foreign Office for lodging a "strong protest." The protest note made three points. First, no consultation had taken place between the two Governments despite the steps taken to strengthen relations and cooperation after the Bangladesh Prime Minister's visit to New Delhi. Second, no advance notification or list of deportees was sent; the Indian action was unilateral. Third, the treatment meted out to the deportees was brutal and inhuman.

Dhaka also expressed "deep concern" over the "sudden and abrupt developments" and the "manner and motivation" governing them. Making its position clear on the movement of people across the 4,144-km India-Bangladesh border, the Foreign Office said it had never encouraged any illegal migration.

Since September 11, the BSF has been trying to deport those whom it calls illegal immigrants but whom Dhaka terms people from the slums of Delhi and other places resembling Bangladeshis as they speak Bangla. The paramilitary Bangladesh Rifles (BDR), which has intensified patrolling, refused to take these people without proper documents and proof of citizenship.

This tug-of-war has made the lives of thousands of alleged Bangladeshis put in camps near the border miserable. There are reports that many were beaten and some tonsured. There have also been reports of deaths, including of children.

Prime Minister Khaleda Zia broke her silence on the issue on October 7, when at a meeting of newspaper editors she said the people whom India was trying to push into Bangladesh were "in no way Bangladeshi nationals..."

The issue was taken up by the major parties, and leaders, including those of the Bangladesh National Party [BNP], expressed concern over the "Indian scheme." Leader of the Opposition in Parliament Sheikh Hasina Wajed of the Awami League said "operation push back" had begun shortly after the Prime Minister's visit to India and "the people want to know what secret deal she made with India."

Jatiya Party leader Moudud Ahmed, Vice-President in Gen. H. M. Ershad's regime, said India had tried to give the impression that it was implementing a plan following "an understanding between the two Governments... But we don't know when, where and with whom such an understanding was reached."

In the joint communique issued simultaneously from Dhaka and New Delhi on May 28, 1992 following Khaleda Zia's visit, a paragraph was inserted on the illegal immigration issue: "Taking into account problems being caused due to large-scale illegal immigration of people across the borders, they (the two Prime Ministers) expressed their determination to stop illegal movement of people across the border by all possible means, including the strengthening of existing arrangements and mutual cooperation in this regard."

The reaction of the fundamentalist organisations was vociferous. In Jamaat-e-Islami and the Freedom Party and their covert militant organisation, the Juba Command, wanted the issue raised in the United Nations.

The Left-leaning parties, including the Patriotic Democratic Front (PDF), and the five-party alliance protested against the "inhuman treatment" of the "unfortunate people" who have been staying in India for decades and most of whom have even cast votes in several Indian elections. Jagga, a small but militant organisation, staged a rally in Dhaka and handed over a note to the Speaker of Parliament. The Government called an all-party meeting to apprise Opposition leaders of the sensitive issue.

According to analysts, before making the move India should have complied with all internationally-accepted diplomat norms and procedures. The latest move, they fear, could affect relations and the first casualty could well be the meeting of the Home Secretaries scheduled to be held in New Delhi in October to discuss trans-border terrorism and law and order problems. Doubts are also being expressed if the two sides will now sit down to solve longstanding irritants such as sharing of the Ganga waters and the insurgency problems in the Chittagong Hill Tracts including the repatriation of thousands of Chakma refugees from Tripura.

Flooding North-East

93AS0144D Madras FRONTLINE in English
6 Nov 92 pp 29-30

[Article by M. S. Prabhakara, in Guwahati: "Age-Old Movement: The Concerns in the North-East"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The issue of illegal migrants from Bangladesh in Assam and other areas of the North-East is extremely complicated, with historical, cultural, linguistic and communal ramifications. The movement of people from what was then East Bengal into Assam (then the whole of the North-East barring Manipur and Tripura) dates back to the decades before Independence. Since the late 1920s such movement and the settlement of the people in hospitable riverine areas traditionally presumed to have been shunned by the indigenous peasantry became organised; and the revenue settlements were part of state policy.

Though such movement and settlements were then perfectly legal, and were encouraged by a section of the Assamese gentry, there was also resentment over what was even in those days perceived as a phenomenon which could eventually pose problems and threaten the indigenous people of the State in their own homeland.

Independence and the influx of a large number of refugees (who, unlike the peasant migrants of the previous two decades, were overwhelmingly Hindu) only sharpened these anxieties. The compulsions of electoral politics, as well as the necessity of augmenting the numerical strength of speakers of the Assamese language (whose complex relations with Bengalis, particularly the Bengalis of Assam, go back to the beginnings of colonial administration), also had an impact on formal perceptions.

The issue, however, has always been a live one. The anxieties about the influx, both of 'refugees' and 'infiltrators' (read Hindu Bengalis and Muslim Bengalis from East Pakistan and, later, from Bangladesh), have never been far below the surface. However, as long as the dominance of the Congress in the politics of the State remained unchallenged, the issue was played up or played down according to the calculated requirements of the party in the State. Thus came various legislations to 'expel' the illegal migrants, as well as other legislations which provide foolproof safeguards against such 'expulsion,' both under the initiative of the Congress in power in the State and at the Centre.

The consensus also worked well since over three censuses, the vast mass of peasantry of East Bengal ancestry took a deliberate decision to return Assamese as their mother-tongue—a decision which substantially contributed to the emergence of Assamese-speakers as the largest single linguistic group in post-Independence Assam.

However, the enfeebling of the Congress and the ongoing emergence of social, economic and other stratifications in a community still popularly perceived in unidimensional terms ("solid vote bank for the Congress," and all that) have brought about important changes. The breakdown of the consensus that once sustained the Congress dominance in the State, and the emergence of regional forces (once contained within the Congress itself) in

independent political formations has been both the cause and the consequence of this enfeeblement of the party.

The most telling symbol of this breakdown of consensus was the emergence of an anti-Congress coalition as the ruling party in the State in 1978 and, almost coterminously, the six-year-long anti-foreigner agitation (1979-85) under the leadership of the All Assam Students' Union (AASU), with the specific objective of curtailing the strength of numbers that the Congress had taken for granted. The agitation leaders recognised that this very section of illegal migrants also contributed to the strength of numbers of the Assamese-speaking people.

Hence, the Assam accord of August 1985, which conceded that post-1971 (that is, post-creation of Bangladesh) illegal migrants would be "expelled;" and a section of pre-1971 illegal migrants would not have voting rights for a period of ten years.

However, the passage of the Illegal Migrants (Determination by Tribunals) Act, 1983, provided virtually cast-iron guarantees against anyone being even identified as an illegal migrant, let alone expelled. The failure of the Asom Gana Parishad (AGP) Government, comprising the entire leadership of the All Assam Students' Union (AASU) agitation, to make any headway in this regard has made the Assam accord more or less a dead document.

The fatal flaw in all these calculations is that Bangladesh has never acknowledged that any of its citizens is illegally in India. How formidable this barrier is to any 'expulsion' of illegal aliens can be seen in the fact that none of the official measures (feeble and half-hearted as these are) ever speaks of the 'deportation' of illegal aliens; the word always used is 'expulsion,' since any deportation has to be with the concurrence of Bangladesh. The fallout of the 'expulsion' of 132 illegal migrants from in and around Delhi only underscores this flaw.

Filling Delhi Slums

93AS0144E Madras FRONTLINE in English
6 Nov 92 pp 30-31

[Article by Madhusudan Srinivas, in New Delhi: "Capital Blues"]

[Text] How many Bangladeshis are illegally resident in India? Not one politician or bureaucrat in the capital is willing to name a figure. Indeed, there has been no official exercise to work out the number. And everyone seems to have learnt a lesson from the experience of Assam Chief Minister Hiteswar Saikia, who found himself at the centre of a controversy when he recently estimated the number of such illegal residents in his State at around 30 lakhs.

However, top Delhi Police officials informally put the number of the migrants in the capital at around two lakhs, adding that they would not be "surprised" if a survey revealed a much higher number. This is because

following last month's publicity to a round of deportation and the consequent furore, a large number of the migrants were reported to have moved across the Delhi-Uttar Pradesh border into neighbouring Ghaziabad and the adjoining rural belt.

Meanwhile, the publicity has set off a chain of interesting consequences in the middle-class residential colonies around East Delhi's Seelampur area, which, police and migrants both agree, has the largest concentration of Bangladeshis out of the 13 known areas where such migrants are known to have settled in the capital.

For around 10 years now, migrant Bangladeshi women have been the mainstay of the domestic help workforce in the large number of East Delhi colonies which came up during this time. They acquired a virtual monopoly over such employment, charging lower wages. To overcome possible prejudice against their antecedents, they even acquired universal local names such as Shanti and Bai.

But following the deportation, panic spread, and they disappeared en masse for some days. A month after that first deportation, one of these numerous Shantis, who had bravely rejoined work, told FRONTLINE she and the others had been moving around in small groups, never staying at one place for too long, to avoid deportation. Their main problem was that while the women-folk had adapted themselves to local conditions and become fluent in Hindi, the men—most of them rickshaw-pullers or rag-pickers—had neglected to do so. Hence, they were easily caught during spot police checks or raids.

The women had to keep the home fires burning, so they adopted a new strategy. First they collected their dues till the last day of work, and then found fresh employment on a day-to-day payment basis. This has now become the norm. They also sold off most of their belongings, in some cases even their jhuggis (huts), and now sleep on the roadside.

Police officials, for their part, say the deportations had been going on quietly since last September, and the fuss now being made has made their task harder. Formal deportation orders have to be passed by the Delhi Police's Foreigners Regional Registration Office (FRRO), while they are actually executed by the policemen of the area concerned. Funding for such action is meagre, and this results in the kind of herding procedure which has fetched the police adverse publicity.

At the receiving end, Iqbal, a Seelampur Bangladeshi, claims he had been deported to the border and sent into Bangladesh but he came back. "Because the other side would not accept me, and my wife and children were here," he says in what could pass off for Hindi.

Certain 'socio-political' organisations have sprung up, ostensibly to "fight for the rights" of the "refugees." The

Delhi High Court is hearing a petition by the 'Grameen Seva Samiti' which alleges that the Delhi Police were indulging in looting and harassment in the name of deporting migrants. More than 50 people were missing following the police action in Seelampur, the Samiti alleges.

Police sources concede that considering the number of those moved from Delhi to the border in the year-long exercise since September last year—at the most, around 2,000—deportation was not really the solution. The example set by forcible eviction, with most of the individuals allowed to take just the bare essential belongings, was expected to impel large numbers of the rest to move back voluntarily. This has hardly been the case.

But this entire action seems to have been practised at the psychological level of the Station House Officer. There is no practical evidence of the administration as a whole coming to grips with the problem, of handling a couple of lakhs of people.

At the level of the Central Government, the meeting of Chief Ministers of the eastern and northeastern States concerned convened in late September by Home Minister S.B. Chavan served as a forum for sending out a political message. The intention to pass a law making identity cards compulsory for residents of the affected border areas was announced. But there the matter seems to rest. Things might start moving during the next session of Parliament, and then it will be followed up in practice. On paper, at least, there is an all-round complacency that a solution has been found.

Even when the law comes into force, the method of implementation will have to be worked out. Also, while any refinement of visa granting procedures for Bangladeshis may work for bona fide visitors who intend to go back, it does not hold any relevance for the hordes of poor migrants who react to specific local economic conditions and move across the border, one way or the other. In Delhi, for instance, the police will still be faced with the tough prospect, as it is right now, of separating the genuine residents from the illegal migrants, without setting off large-scale panic or creating a riot-like situation.

Population Pressures Great

93AS0144F Madras FRONTLINE in English 6 Nov 92 p 46

[Article by Prakash Nanda: "Why Bangladeshis Pour Into India?"]

[Text] Recent talks between the center and the chief ministers of the states affected by the influx of the Bangladeshi refugees might have had the intended effect in that they drove home the gravity of the problem. But the talks failed miserably in finding a real remedy. It is easy to say that Indian citizens will be provided identity cards in specified areas to check illegal immigration or to think of constructing barbed wire fencing across the Indo-Bangladesh border. But, in reality, these measures fail to address the crux of the matter.

Even if one accepts them at their face value, the problem still remains. For one, issuing identity cards and constructing fences will be long drawn processes. What happens in the meantime to current flow of immigration? For another, what are we going to do with the 15 million Bangladeshis who have already spread in virtually all parts of the country, with Tripura, West Bengal, Bihar and Delhi bearing the brunt of this influx. You simply cannot deport them, given the magnitude of the task. This apart, there are the humanitarian considerations.

Worse, communal dimensions have been added to the problem by the so-called secularists and the Urdu press. Unfortunately, in this country, this brand of secularists have always managed to have their say. One has only to recall their reactions to the Assam agitation in the early 1980s, which originated because of these Bangladeshi foreigners. The problem with these secularists, whose mentors are said to be the likes of Jawaharlal Nehru, is that they deliberately fail to recognize the problem till it is very late and by then, they cannot do anything about it. That is how the country was partitioned in 1947.

One should not, therefore be surprised, if the talk of carving out of India an independent state called Swadhin Muslim Bangla Bhoomi for the Bangladeshi refugees materializes. This is at the heart of the refugee crisis. And this is precisely what our policymakers have failed to address. In fact, the Swadhin Muslim Bangla Bhoomi will only be a transitory phenomenon. If the strategists in Bangladesh have their way, the new state, which will be somewhere in north eastern India, will eventually merge with Bangladesh in line with their variety of the lebensraum theory.

An article entitled: 'The question of lebensraum' by Dhaka University professor Sadiq Khan in the HOLIDAY magazine (October 18, 1991) is pertinent in this context. The main thrust of Professor Khan's argument, which has undoubtedly been patterned on Hitlerian thesis—Hitler was in fact the original propounder of lebensraum—is that, along with new international order, there should be a world demographic order, a part of which is a globalized manpower market. He says: There is no reason why regional and international cooperation could not be worked out to plan and execute population movements and settlements to avoid critical demographic pressures in pockets of high concentration.

A national outflow of population pressure is very much on the cards and will not be restrainable by barbed wires or border patrol measures. The natural trend of population overflow from Bangladesh is toward the sparsely populated lands of the south-east in the Arakan side and of the north-east in the Seven Sisters side of the Indian subcontinent. Of course, it will be erroneous to say that there is a systematic plan by the Bangladeshi authorities

to push its citizens into India in line with the lebensraum theory. But there is no denying that they have accepted the theory as a fait accompli. After all, with a density of 785 persons per sq km, Bangladesh is the world's most densely populated nation. Having the additional distinction of being the poorest nation of the world, the country has nothing to lose and everything to gain if the lebensraum theory gains momentum.

Under no circumstances, India must first point out the absurdity of this theory which has managed to put a pseudointellectual seal on a harsh reality. In fact, more important than issuing identity cards and intensifying border security is fighting an ideological battle or propaganda war against this theory. Bangladeshi intellectuals talking of lebensraum amounts to their vindicating India's consistent stand that dividing the subcontinent on religious basis in 1947 was absurd in every sense of the term. If the essentially non-Islamic north eastern India is Islamic Bangladesh's natural living space, then there is something basically wrong with the partition itself.

No Progress in Talks With Bangladesh

93AS0231 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
16 Nov 92 p 1

[Article by Pranay Sharma]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 15—After a series of parleys for two days, Bangladesh and India, were unable to agree on the contentious issue of illegal migration.

The Bangladeshi foreign minister, Mr Mustafizur Rahman, who was here till yesterday along with senior officials of his government, held separate meetings with the Union home minister, Mr S.B. Chavan, and the minister of state for external affairs, Mr R.L. Bhatia. However, apart from stating the known positions on the two sides, nothing could be agreed on which would help solve the problem.

Sources said at yesterday's meeting Mr Chavan accused Bangladesh of not checking illegal migration into India. He also expressed serious concern over Bangladesh's failure to act against insurgent groups like the ULFA [United Liberation Front of Assam], who are operating from there and stopping arms supplied to them by Pakistan.

Mr Chavan was reported to have said while India had been more than sympathetic in giving refuge to Bangladeshis when the country was formed, the continuous influx of illegal migrants into the country had adversely affected the Indian economy. In many areas in the northeast, this migration had also threatened to change the ethnic composition of the region.

Sources said it was not Mr Mustafizur Rahman but the Bangladeshi foreign secretary, Mr Riaz Rahman, who clarified his government's position on the accusations made by Mr Chavan. Reiterating Bangladesh's stand, he

pointed out that the illegal migration was a "two-way traffic" and was taking place since 1947. He wanted to know why India attached so much importance to the issue now.

The Bangladesh side also raised questions about the manner in which alleged Bangladeshi infiltrators were deported by India. They said the legality of the procedure had been questioned by some newspapers and a section of Indian intelligentsia. The Bangladeshi delegation said if illegal migration was taking place, the government should be informed and the infiltrators could only be taken back if it was established beyond doubt that they were Bangladeshi nationals.

Mr Mustafizur Rahman intervened and reminded the Indian side that bilateral relations between the two countries had improved considerably since the Khaleda Zia government came to power. He urged Mr Chavan that nothing should be done which might affect it adversely. He said the areas of dispute between the two countries should be solved amicably.

Mr Chavan also responded to the suggestion favourably and it was agreed that more stress should be given on manning the border to check illegal entry from either side.

Regarding the existence of the insurgent camps in Bangladesh and Pakistan's arms supply to them, Mr Rahman said his government would take stern action the moment it received specific information about such activities and the whereabouts of the camps.

Paper Reports, Assesses Rao's Nepal Visit

19 Oct Arrival, Activities

93AS0159A Madras THE HINDU in English 20 Oct 92 p 1

[Article by Anand K. Sahay]

[Text] Kathmandu, Oct. 19—Every indication available here showed that the three-day goodwill visit of the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, which commenced today, would be a substantive affair rather than a merely routine exercise that friendly nations undertake to keep normality well tended.

Mr. Rao and the Nepal Prime Minister, Mr. G.P. Koirala, spoke today not in tones of empty effusiveness, but went into issues of mutual expectations in some detail. This was evident in their speeches at the banquet hosted by Mr. Koirala in Mr. Rao's honour.

But the resolve to raise ties to a qualitatively higher level was made clear by Mr. Rao shortly after he landed at the Tribhuvan international airport to a ceremonial welcome. He told waiting newsmen, "I have come with hopes, expectations and a fund of goodwill of the people of India. I have come to renew old acquaintances and see if we can do better in our relations. We will."

The 40-minute one-to-one meeting between the two leaders and the delegation level talks that followed, addressed the heart of the matter straightaway, that is, the question of cooperation between the two countries in developing hydel power from Nepal's enormous water resources, and of Nepal's exports being allowed improved access to the Indian market. Both are critical to Nepal's economy, and the issue of power generation would go a long way in meeting India's power needs.

Mr. Rao told Mr. Koirala that it would be possible for India to respond positively to a discussion on Nepal's economic development an Indian spokesman said.

Some decisions have been announced. These include the building by India of the Kohlapur-Mahakali highway, the setting up by India of a 150-line telephone exchange at Rangeli, Mr. Koirala's home town in Biratnagar, and support to the Greater Janakpur Area Development Plan.

Other decisions, in principle, include purchase of Indian goods by Nepal in convertible currency, the plying of private transport vehicles between the two countries, and reducing the current requirement of at least 55 percent material Nepali content for Nepali goods seeking access to the Indian market to a new limit of just above 50 percent. It has also been agreed to consider whether the Nepali labour value to manufacture seeking export to India could count as material content, an issue on which Mr. Koirala feels strongly and has spoken publicly.

Certificate of Origin

An important decision in the area of trade is Nepali export would now require certificate of origin rather than the old pro forma clearance. This would address India's apprehension that third country goods should not flood the Indian market via Nepal.

But of far-reaching significance is the decision to commence work within a given time-frame on a hydel power project that would have a demonstration effect. It has also been decided in principle that the Indian private sector take up hydel power generation in Nepal. This too is an area Mr. Koirala had talked about in an exclusive interview to this newspaper yesterday.

The wide range of issues agreed to would be given shape in talks in the coming two days, the spokesman indicated.

The delegation of the two sides were led by the respective Prime Ministers. The Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. R.L. Bhatia, and the Foreign Secretary, Mr. J.N. Dixit, were also in the delegation, besides the Secretaries of Commerce, Power, Water Resources, and the Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister, Mr. A.N. Verma. The Nepali delegation included the Minister for Law and General Administration, Mr. M.P. Singh, and the Foreign policy adviser to the Prime Minister, Prof. Y.N. Khanal.

Mr. Rao emphasised during the talks the need for "hundred percent cooperation" between the two countries to put down terrorism and stop terrorists from using Nepal as a transit base. In the coming days officials are expected to work out arrangements for intelligence sharing and other areas of ground support. India has also agreed to help modernise the Nepal army.

In his banquet speech, Mr. Rao observed, "What we seek is a comprehensive framework of cooperation within which each country can help meet the major concerns of the other. Only then can we really move forward." The Prime Minister also noted that decisions taken in respect of commerce constituted a "breakthrough" in trade ties that should be fully exploited by entrepreneurs of both countries.

In the context of the age-old deep and extensive ties between India and Nepal, Mr. Rao noted, "It is for us, the leaders of both countries, to ensure that we do not squander this heritage, but build upon it and give new and positive content to our ties." New possibility had opened in this regard, he added, as he urged the widening of the windows of opportunity that had opened with the establishment of democratic rule in Nepal two years ago.

He referred to Nepal's "undamaged proud legacy of freedom," and quoted an ancient Sanskrit dictum before adding "we will not covet anything that belongs to Nepal. Our cooperation will invariably be for the mutual benefit of both peoples."

He also appealed, "It is necessary to shed the feeling that lingers in some quarters that economic relations between Nepal and India are those of dependence, and work to Nepal's disadvantage. In actual fact, economic relations between Nepal and India are based not on dependence but on interdependence."

The Nepal Prime Minister said that Mr. Rao's visit "is significantly advanced goodwill and friendship between the peoples of India and Nepal and will contribute to further consolidating and strengthening the close and extensive relationship that has characterised our two nations."

Talks With Koirala

93AS0159B Madras THE HINDU in English 21 Oct 92 p 1

[Article by Anand K. Sahay]

[Text] Kathmandu, Oct 20—Reflecting on possibilities of a positive and concrete outcome on Nepal's major concerns on trade access to India and development of hydel resources, including the Tanakpur barrage which has generated so much heat in this country, a spokesman today told presspersons that a joint document would be released before the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, concludes his three-day goodwill visit tomorrow.

The spokesman, a senior member of the Indian delegation, characterised Mr. Rao's talks in Nepal as "cordial,

frank, friendly and substantive" in which practical details were gone into with a view to strengthening ties.

A well-placed official Nepali source said India had agreed to provide more power from its own Tanakpur barrage whose construction has raised protest here on the ground that Nepali sovereignty had been transgressed in building the barrage. The matter now lies before the Nepal Supreme Court. It is expected that political tempers among the principal opposition parties, especially the Left, would cool down considerably if India agreed to part with more power from the Tanakpur project.

Trade Factor

Nepali sources also hinted that India would agree to let all Nepali goods enter the Indian market, barring those on the negative list. (According to PTI, it was agreed that the standby credit of Rs. [Rupees] 35 crores to Nepal would be extended to three years with the same nominal 7 percent interest rate.) The Tanakpur issue and the trade question are expected to considerably ease dialogue between the two countries.

The basis of optimism on the Nepali side was the content of Mr. Rao's breakfast talks with the Nepal Prime Minister, Mr. G.P. Koirala which lasted two hours today.

The officials of the two Governments were busy tonight finalising the joint document containing the specifics of the final agreements to be announced tomorrow.

The Indian spokesman said Mr. Rao's talks with the King tonight would reflect details of the common understanding being worked out.

At a civic reception given to him by the Mayor of Kathmandu, Mr. Rao said, "We are ready to cooperate with you to the best of our ability. We will cooperate closely for our common good. If this one sentence of mine is appreciated, I will regard my visit as amply rewarded." He said India's ties with Nepal were older than recorded history, and went beyond politics, borders, governments and documents of state.

"Now we have to think big and implement these (power) projects," Mr. Rao said. He referred to the "welcome" change in the attitude of the two sides.

The spokesman said officials of both sides had worked all day today in an informal atmosphere to tackle questions of common concern effectively.

On the Tanakpur irritant, the Indian spokesman said, "India and Nepal shall be accommodating for mutual and equal benefit, and whatever is necessary will be done." This was true not only of Tanakpur but all power projects.

The two Prime Ministers dealt with questions of anti-India terrorist activity from Nepal—as terrorists cross over to Nepal using privileged access facilities between

citizens of the two countries—and of Nepalese-speaking people migrating to this country from Bhutan.

The spokesman said India recognised the latter as a human problem with political bearing. But he said the matter would be best resolved between the two sovereign countries, both of which are close friends of India.

PTI reports:

Mr. Rao took time off from his hectic schedule to visit the famous shrine of Lord Pashupatinath located about five km north-east of Kathmandu.

The Prime Minister offered prayers after a "parikrama" of the Shiva temple situated on the banks of river Bagmati. He went round the courtyard which has the imposing statue of King Mahendra and other rulers of Nepal.

Report on Communiqué

93AS0159C Madras THE HINDU in English 22 Oct 92 p 1

[Text] Kathmandu, Oct. 21—A joint communiqué, issued at the end of the three-day visit of the Prime Minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao said the existing pro forma clearance system would be abolished and replaced by a system of certificate of origin to be issued by the Nepalese Government.

In determining the eligibility of a Nepalese product for access to the Indian market free of Customs duties and quantitative restrictions, Nepalese labour content would also be included.

The communiqué said if the total percentage of the three components—the labour content, the Nepalese material content, and the Indian material content—exceeded 50 percent, the product would have duty free and quota free access to the Indian market.

The communiqué, issued at a joint press conference by Mr. Rao and his Nepalese counterpart, Dr. G.P. Koirala, said these provisions would cover all Nepalese exports to India, except for a small negative list of items.

Both sides agreed on procedures to ensure that the certificate of origin system was efficiently and properly implemented.

A number of other issues have also been resolved. They include movement of Nepalese private commercial vehicles from the Nepalese border to Calcutta/Haldia and back, such vehicles being duly authorised by the Nepal Transit and Warehousing Company Ltd. or Nepal Transport Corporation or the Government of Nepal and the necessary undertaking being given by them to the Indian Customs authorities.

Nepal may import goods from India by payment in freely convertible currency, in addition to the existing system of payment in Indian rupees, for the import of such goods as the Government may choose. The Indian

exporter will be entitled to all the benefits made available by India for such exports in freely convertible currency.

On the stand-by credit, the joint communique said that the Government of India had agreed to enhance the amount from Rs. [Rupees] 35 crores in Indian currency to Rs. 50 crores.

Regarding joint ventures, the communique said the liberalised guidelines of the Government of India for investment in joint ventures abroad by Indian entrepreneurs would greatly simplify the procedures for setting up such ventures in Nepal.

Together with the certificate of origin system, this would promote Nepalese exports to India as also industrialisation of Nepal and local employment opportunities.

Both sides have agreed on the installation of flood forecasting and warning systems, the construction of the flood protection embankments and power exchange on a time frame."

The implementation of this detailed programme, the communique said, would prepare the ground for taking up some or all of these projects and to enter into required agreements.

Both agreed to give priority to undertake Pancheswar and Buri-Gandaki projects. It was agreed to investigate and study the aspects of navigation through the river Kosi.

Clarifications on Tanakpur: Regarding the Tanakpur barrage, the communique referred to the decision taken at the second meeting of the Indo-Nepal Joint Commission in New Delhi on December 4 and 25 last year regarding the barrage and issued agreed clarifications.

According to the clarifications, the communique said, the site at Mahendranagar municipal area in the Jimuwa village, which was made available for tying up of the left afflux bund about 577 metres length (within an area of about 2.9 hectares) to the high ground in the Nepalese side at el 250 and the Nepalese land lying on the west of the said site/bund up to the border, including the natural resources/endowment lying within that area remained under the continued sovereignty and control of Nepal and Nepal was free to exercise all attendant right thereto.

Regarding the Tanakpur barrage, the communique said, since it did not make any consumptive use of water, no arrangement concerning the tying up of the afflux bund to the left of the barrage to the high ground on the Nepalese side should be construed as depriving either country of its share in the storage projects, envisaged at Panchewar or similar other places on the Mahakali river upstream of the Tanakpur barrage.—PTI

More on Communique

93AS0159D Madras THE HINDU in English 22 Oct 92 p 9

[Article by Anand K. Sahay]

[Text] Kathmandu, Oct. 21—The visit of the Prime Minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao, concluded here today with a joint communique issued before he left for home. It spoke of Nepali concerns over its sovereignty and spelt out bold moves to facilitate Nepal's exports to India, besides giving concrete direction, to cooperation in developing the country's hydel resources to mutual good.

At a joint press conference, the Nepalese Prime Minister, Mr. G.P. Koirala, said Mr. Rao's visit had been the most fruitful by an Indian Prime Minister in 32 years, that is, since the collapse of the last democratically elected Government in this country. Mr. Rao told presspersons that he was "immensely satisfied" with the outcome of his three-day stay here. He repeatedly spoke of the change in atmosphere he perceived in the relations between the two neighbours.

Asked by a Nepalese correspondent if he thought he had allayed local fears about India's alleged "big brother" attitude in its dealings with Nepal, Mr. Rao said, "I have tried to do just that, but I can't change my size."

Perhaps the most significant element of the communique is the manner in which the contentious Tanakpur barrage issue has been tackled. The issue involves Nepal's claims of erosion of its sovereignty because of the construction of an Indian barrage at Tanakpur, even though the structure is on the Indian side.

The fierce debate has been caused by the fact that the head of the barrage lies on the Nepali side. On the sovereignty argument, the Nepal Government's grant of permission to India to build the barrage has been challenged in the Supreme Court here. Serious political consequences can ensue if the apex court rules against the Government. These include the resignation of the Prime Minister, or possibly a mid-term poll.

The joint communique states explicitly that the Nepalese land under discussion "remains under the continued sovereignty and control of Nepal and Nepal is free to exercise all attendant rights thereto."

Besides addressing the issue of sovereignty, India has also agreed to give Nepal twice the quantity of Tanakpur power now given. India has also undertaken to construct a canal up to the border to facilitate Nepali irrigation. In sum, the entire range of Nepali expectations from Tanakpur have been met. These expectations have been articulated here by the key Opposition parties.

The joint communique was signed in the morning by the Foreign Secretaries of the two countries, Mr. J.N. Dixit, and Mr. Narendra Bikram Shah. Joint communiques are usually not signed. It is understood that formal endorsement by the seniormost officials was done to provide

technical and legal status to the sentiments expressed in the document on the question of sovereignty.

If it desires, the Nepal Government can now submit the joint communique to the Supreme Court to strengthen its case. It is to be seen how the Opposition responds to the formulations in the communique on Tanakpur.

On the issue of trade access for Nepali exports to India, India has virtually agreed to let all manufactures originating in Nepal to enter India, barring those on a short negative list. Mr. Koirala had laid emphasis on this.

The joint communique said discussions between the two countries were held in an atmosphere of "warmth, friendship and sincerity, which mark the extremely close relationship between Nepal and India."

On developing water resources, both sides agreed on a time-bound frame for investigations, preparation of reports, etc., on the Karnali, Pancheswar, Saptakoshi, Burhi Gandaki, Kamla and Bhagwati projects. It was also agreed to explore the prospect of private sector participation in setting up hydel projects.

An important decision that respects Nepalese sentiment is to study and investigate aspects of navigation through the Kosi. Both Governments agreed to give priority to the Pancheswar and Burhi Gandaki projects. Another important decision was on maintaining supply of water to Nepal under the Sharda Barrage agreement.

Mr. Rao told presspersons in his opening statement at the press conference, "We also agreed to cooperate more closely in checking the rising menace of terrorism which has lately started using Nepal as a base and transit route."

The two Prime Ministers met again in the morning for an hour. Mr. Rao conveyed an invitation to King Birendra to visit India and the invitation has been accepted. Among the leaders of the Opposition the Prime Minister held talks with were Mr. Manmohan Adhikari, Leader of the Opposition and president of the CPN(UML) [Communist Party of Nepal-United Marxists and Lenins], and Mr. Surya Bahadur Thapa, a former Prime Minister and leader of the Rashtriya Prajatantra Party.

Interview With Koirala

93AS0159E Madras THE HINDU in English 19 Oct 92 p 9

[Interview with Prime Minister, Mr. Girja Prasad Koirala, by Anand K. Sahay, place and date given]

[Text] The Nepal Prime Minister, Mr. Girja Prasad Koirala, was relaxed and confident when Anand K. Sahay called at his official residence for a pre-arranged exclusive interview yesterday morning, a day before the scheduled arrival in Kathmandu of the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, for an official goodwill visit.

Mr. Koirala was optimistic about an upturn in Nepal-India ties, and frank about what he proposed to do in his domestic politics, should the Nepalese Opposition prove recalcitrant on the critical and contentious issue of developing the country's hydel potential with India's help. The edited text of the interview, open and daring by any reckoning follows:

[Sahay] Some agreements were signed between India and Nepal when you paid a visit to Delhi last December. How do you see the progress in the implementation of the agreement on trade and transit, and cooperation in the field of hydel power generation?

[Koirala] I am happy with the present state of bilateral relations between Nepal and India. Our trade is tied up with India's. So, we have also liberalised our economic policies. I want the liberalisation process to go farther in Nepal. Otherwise, we will be left far behind. We are committed to liberalising our policies.

[Sahay] There was also an agreement on developing water resources and hydel power. How smoothly has that gone?

[Koirala] You are aware that we have abundant hydro-power resources. If this is harnessed it will give benefit to both India and Nepal. I am very much interested in this, for without power industrial development is not possible in Nepal. In a couple of years Nepal will face a very severe power crisis. So I am interested that power projects should be taken up as a priority.

Thus, when Mr. Rao arrives here tomorrow on his visit, I will speak to him about power projects. And the implementation of whatever we decide to take up should be time-bound, i.e., feasibility studies in such and such time, and designing in a certain stipulated time, and the work to be completed in a set time-frame. Only then will it be helpful to both India and Nepal.

[Sahay] In this context, do you have specific projects in mind when you hold discussions with Mr. Rao, as a whole range of power projects are possible, large, medium and small, given Nepal's water resource.

[Koirala] I want two types of power development, one for home consumption, and the large ones for commercial use. Small power projects that can be erected by power companies or joint ventures. I will suggest that let Indian industrialists or any Indian company and Nepal company float a new Nepal and India company in Nepal. They can take up smaller projects. For the bigger ones, bilateral talks between the two governments should be held. The generation from the latter can be for commercial sale to India as India is also facing a severe power crisis. Then both can benefit. The small projects can be completed in two to three years. The bigger ones can take eight to 10 years.

[Sahay] Are you hopeful, on the basis of talks between experts which have preceded the Indian Prime Minister's visit, that something is in the offing in the next three or four days, and we may expect some announcements?

[Koirala] Yes, I am very optimistic about that. The recent secretary-level talks went off very smoothly. I am very optimistic.

[Sahay] Announcements are in the pipeline in that case?

[Koirala] Yes. After the visit everything will be announced, of course. I am happy that the talks were successful. Minor gaps can be filled at the political level.

[Sahay] I remember reading a few days ago here that neither the Ganga nor the Bagmati will be set on fire during the forthcoming visit of the Indian Prime Minister. As I see it, the hydel power question has been an important and delicate political issue between the two countries for some years now. Would you say that since the ushering in of the first democratically elected government a definite change has taken place in the overall atmosphere, and that this constitutes a breakthrough or a turning point?

[Koirala] Yes, India-Nepal relations are very, very old. We share the same ideals, the same values. We also follow the principles of the U.N. charter, and believe in human rights. Thus, these form the foundation of our friendship. On that we have to develop economic cooperation in different spheres. The visit of Mr. Rao will further strengthen the relationship between India and Nepal.

[Sahay] Do you think a breakthrough has taken place in the hydro-power politics between the two countries which in the past has been a source of so much suspicion?

[Koirala] Yes, I think substantial improvement or substantial understanding will be made during Mr. Rao's visit that will give Nepal a very clear picture of the nature of our cooperation.

[Sahay] And, this is the first time that the two countries will be reaching a firm understanding on such critical issues?

[Koirala] First time. Whether you term it as a turning point or not, it is for the first time such agreements are being made.

[Sahay] Prime Minister, do you expect that Nepal or India-Nepal goods originating in Nepal will have a much freer access to the Indian market, given the level of your understanding with Mr. Narasimha Rao?

[Koirala] Yes, I expect that free market economy will establish itself in due time and goods between the two countries will flow smoothly.

[Sahay] You don't think there is any fear that third country goods in Nepal—say from China, Japan, Thailand or Hong Kong—will find their way into the Indian market, thus upsetting the Indian import-export regimes, if there are no restrictions on access?

[Koirala] No. We can have negative lists of goods which will not go to India from Nepal. That will act as a restriction. But other goods originating here, whether Nepal or Nepal-India made, should flow to India without hindrance. I am for removing the present stipulation that only goods with a certain material content of Nepal or India manufacture should be allowed free access to the Indian market. Don't forget when goods are made in Nepal, labour value is added. In that case why insist on material content also. Once you have a defined negative list anyway, then restrictions such as these should be removed. This time that will be settled at the political level. In that event trade between India and Nepal will grow faster.

[Sahay] Do you expect any Indian economic, financial, commercial institutions to come to Nepal in the foreseeable future?

[Koirala] We have welcomed Indian industrialists to invest in private industries or joint ventures. We have welcomed others too. Indian industrialists are willing to establish industries here. But since industrialisation needs power, I am interested in power projects first. Indian industrialists are willing to come. We have given all sorts of facilities, removed all restrictions. Any one who wants to invest in Nepal is welcome.

[Sahay] What has been the response from firms in Japan or Europe or China?

[Koirala] We have approached them. They are willing to come but not as willing as Indian industrialists are.

[Sahay] Prime Minister, Nepal has perhaps the largest hydel potential in the world that can absolutely revolutionise the economic situation here if tapped to its optimum capacity. But when you propose to do this in collaboration with a neighbouring country, even if it is India with which ties of culture and friendship go back thousands of years, wouldn't you say that the level of consensus required within Nepal for such agreements is more than just at the Government level. Unless you are able to convince the principal political parties and the bulk of the Nepalese society that such agreements and collaborations are good, won't you run into difficulty politically?

[Koirala] You see, there are some elements here that are anti-Indian. They oppose anything that India might do. Take this Tanakpur case, for example. It is nothing. It is just a storm in a tea-cup, but they (the Opposition, particularly the left) have tried to create a big storm. Such things happen, of course. But for me Tanakpur is the test case. I have told all the Opposition leaders and all our party workers, independent people, journalists and intellectuals.

If the understanding with India on Tanakpur is disturbed, Nepal's economy will be jeopardized. India will hesitate in future. Other countries will also hesitate to come to help Nepal in harnessing water resources. I have told the Opposition, "Our rivers flow to India, and you see only water flowing while I see money flowing down and running aground. If we harness all the big rivers, Nepal's economy will improve. Why don't you see this? Why do you see it only as water? It is really money flowing towards India, every minute, every second."

[Sahay] You don't subscribe to the view that Nepal's sovereignty has been transgressed in the case of Tanakpur?

[Koirala] (Slowly and emphatically) Not at all. We have not compromised our sovereignty with India. It is absolutely wrong to say that, and the height of stupidity.

[Sahay] However, I understand the matter is before the Supreme Court of Nepal. If the court verdict goes against the Government, you will be obliged to take the matter to the House for a ratification by two thirds majority, as per your Constitution. You think your Government can succeed in getting this done, considering you enjoy only a little over a simple majority in Parliament?

[Koirala] This is a hypothetical question. Yes, the Tanakpur matter has gone before the Supreme Court which is the highest body to interpret the Constitution. I don't want to influence it as the case is subjudice. But I tell you the Chief Justice is competent enough to see (the matter in perspective). He should use his conscience also. Once the case is being misinterpreted, or the whole thing is being sought to be disturbed, he too can see that the economy of our country will be jeopardised. So, I believe in his wisdom.

But if the Supreme Court gives an adverse judgment, I will take the matter to Parliament and I will try to have consensus with the Opposition.

[Sahay] You think that is possible, given the internal political climate in Nepal?

[Koirala] First of all, I have already told you that all this is hypothetical. But any sane man can see we have not compromised our sovereignty in Tanakpur.

[Sahay] I understand that, but you seem to have a very determined leftist Opposition inside Parliament. Just in case the Supreme Court judgment is adverse, do you think there is chance of your Government being disturbed in case you are unable to muster the required two thirds majority in the House?

[Koirala] It is not as simple as you say. Our democracy is in a very fragile state, it is like a glass house. One stone can break it. The Opposition has to see whether it will be disturbing the Government, or the institution of democracy itself. If they have any sense, they will realise that.

[Sahay] Prime Minister, I believe that for the bigger projects like Karnali or Pancheswar, if you reach an agreement with another country, like India, you will

have to have the agreement ratified by a two thirds majority in Parliament, as per a stipulation in your Constitution. If a future relationship between Nepal and India is to blossom on harnessing the hydro potential, do you think that such a stipulation would require to be dropped from the Constitution through an amendment, for as long as it exists any section of the Opposition can use it to create obstacles in mutual cooperation on matters as important as hydel power and water resource management.

[Koirala] In order to change the Constitution, we need two thirds majority. Right now that is not possible for us. In the next election, that can be possible. Or if they disturb, and we fail to bring a two thirds majority, I will ask His Majesty to have a mid-term poll. And the issue on which I will seek fresh popular mandate is that the two thirds stipulation should be deleted from the Constitution. If my party wins, then we will go to Parliament and change the Constitution. That is my opinion. I have not given this thought to any of my comrades, nor to any of the leaders in my party. It is only to you that I am saying this for the first time.

[Sahay] Thank you Prime Minister, I am grateful. May I ask something else now? I find it being said by many kinds of people, including your supporters, that the civil service continues to belong to the past (Panchayat) era, and this factor produces inefficiency in the system and lack of commitment on the part of the bureaucracy, that it has become a drag on your administration, and therefore results are not coming as fast as they should. Would you like to comment on this?

[Koirala] I was also of the same view before I became Prime Minister. Now I have changed my opinion. The civil service and the political people are creatures apart. Political people should make the civil service behave properly. It is up to the Ministers to do that. If a Minister is weak, he will find it difficult to tame the civil service. So, I feel if there is political will, the civil service can't do anything against the Government.

[Sahay] Which means thought is no longer being given to changing about one third of the civil service as you were considering earlier this year?

[Koirala] No, I do want new and younger faces to come into the civil service.

[Sahay] Do you want to change the one third that were political appointees in the bureaucracy, or retire people in general with golden handshakes?

[Koirala] The Administrative Reforms Commission has made some recommendations. Those will be introduced. In that case many people will be removed from the administration. The temporary ones will be removed, and very effective persons will take their place.

[Sahay] Is there a role for India in agricultural development in Nepal?

[Koirala] There is a memorandum of understanding between India and Nepal, and India is taking keen interest in it. Being an agricultural country, Nepal still imports foodgrains from India. We want Nepal to be self-sufficient in food. In that context India is giving us all sorts of help in agriculture. Agriculture is one of our priorities.

(Interviewer) Thank you Prime Minister.

Internal Affairs

MPs View Kashmir Situation Not 'Conducive' for Elections

BK0911025492 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English
1 Nov 92 p X

[Excerpt] New Delhi—Despite differing perceptions, MPs [members of Parliament] belonging to major political parties on Saturday expressed unanimous opinion on Saturday that the situation was not yet conducive for holding elections in Jammu and Kashmir.

In a significant development, the, MPs belonging to these parties conveyed their common view to the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, at a 90-minute-long meeting. The MPs were members of an all-party team that spent three days in the Kashmir valley for an on-the-spot study of the situation.

The Prime Minister, on his part, told the MPs to visit the other two regions of the State—Jammu and Ladakh—as well. Mr. Narasimha Rao said he would convene an all-party meeting on Kashmir after receiving their comprehensive report. [passage omitted]

By and large the MPs—each of whom briefly expressed his views—spoke on similar lines. However, BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] members struck a discordant note when Mr. Ghulam Nabi Azad stated that the people were appreciative of the appointment of Sheikh Ghulam Rasool as the new Chief Secretary of the State. Mr. Madan Lal Khurana told the meeting that he did not agree with this assessment about the Sheikh.

He said many officers were actually against the Sheikh's appointment. He alleged that security forces were apprehensive about the bonafides of the new chief Secretary and were concerned whether their information would go to the right quarters if routed through him. He recalled that the Sheikh was one of the signatories to a resolution sent by State Government officials to the United Nations, seeking its intervention in the affairs of the State.

The MPs were unanimous in their assertion that the people's grievances about shortage of foodgrains and liquified petroleum gas should be immediately tackled. Mr. Rasheed Masood said a complaint of local people was that their share in the higher echelons of the Government was limited.

Some of the MPs said though the elections were not immediately possible, the possibility of initiating some sort of political process should be explored either through the appointment of political leaders as advisers or through some other method.

Given the details of the meeting with the Prime Minister, close observers of the Kashmir scene feel that by undertaking such visits all parties may be able to evolve a unanimous opinion about how to achieve restoration of popular government in the State. The Government's prime concern is to hold elections before July.

Paper Decries Government Failure To Prune Bureaucracy

BK0611032392 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English
28 Oct 92 p 8

[Editorial: "A Promise Breached"]

[Text] Long on promises, short on implementation. That could well be the epitaph for all Central administrations since Independence. The one now in the saddle has characteristically failed to break the mould; and, it appears, that it too would fail to make good the plethora of promises it made while assuming office last year. Since the political leadership must necessarily rely on the permanent civil services to enforce its variegated agenda for the nation, a measure of reform aimed at making the bureaucracy lean and fit would certainly be most welcome. Prime Minister Narasimha Rao promised that very reform in the initial flush of his ascent to office and reiterated it subsequently in the face of the growing economic crisis. Unfortunately, he seems to have forgotten all about it. His well-meaning fiat to prune the flabby bureaucracy remains unimplemented.

Indeed, instead of 2,000-odd government posts being abolished as promised, the bureaucracy seems to grow relentlessly. As a report in INDIAN EXPRESS reveals, far from abolishing existing posts there have been instances of new slots being created to accommodate senior civil servants. Even after specific posts were identified and earmarked for abolition, these continue to be in existence, and senior officers on promotion continue to be absorbed in them. Doubtless, any bureaucracy will always find ways and means to look after its own interests and frustrate the plans of the political leadership to prune its excessive flabbiness. Yet, it is for the political leadership to assert its authority and enforce its will so that it can achieve the promised objective of cutting down wasteful expenditure. What is, however, most surprising is that the Finance Ministry, which is supposed to manage the national economy, has not given the lead in enforcing the Prime Minister's directive. For, any reduction in the wasteful expenditure on the behemoth-like bureaucracy would make Dr Manmohan Singh's task of re-railing the economy that much easier. But Dr Singh in his own ministry has not implemented the Prime Minister's directive. How then can he expect

other ministries to shed a few redundant posts? Similarly, other measures to bring about a modicum of austerity in the running of the governmental machine too have been observed only in their defiance. Ministers continue to fly around the world on the flimsiest of excuses. And they insist on flying first and not economy class. Government vehicles continue to be misused for private ends. In spite of a partial assault on the restrictive licence and quota regime, the Industry Ministry continues to be as bloated as before. In myriad other ways the wastefulness of the Government remains as before. The self-serving bureaucracy has found a way to get around the Prime Minister's well-meaning directive. It is for Mr. Rao now to assert his authority if his credibility is not to be further undermined. Besides, there can be no improvement in the administration without toning up the bureaucracy and making it accountable for every penny it spends of the taxpayers' money.

Janata Dal Splits Again in Rajasthan

*BK0511161092 Delhi All India Radio Network
in English 1530 GMT 5 Nov 92*

[Text] In Rajasthan, the Janata Dal has suffered yet another split. Seven MLA's [members of Legislative Assembly] of the party today formed a new party called Janata Dal Rajasthan. The leader of group, Mr. Sumitra Singh, said that the breakaway group has demanded separate seats in the state assembly. This the third split in the Janata Dal.

Paper Rules Out Possibility of Midterm Poll

*BK2811143192 Madras DINAMALAR in Tamil
12 Nov 92 p 1*

[Text] New Delhi, 12 Nov.—The Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] feels that in the event of a sudden midterm poll to the Lok Sabha, Congress-I will lose 50 to 60 seats from its present strength. But, there are indications that Prime Minister Narasima Rao will not allow the emergence of any situation leading to a midterm poll.

The Congress-I-BJP honeymoon has come to an end. Of late, the BJP is professing the politics of confrontation. At Parliament, the BJP is not able to do anything against the Narasimha Rao government. Therefore, it has been launching nationwide agitations against it. The BJP has decided to undertake a three-month old campaign against the government over the Ayodhya temple issue and widespread corruption among high-level officials. At their recent conference in Bhubaneswar, BJP leaders expressed their desire to intensify the agitation against the Narasimha Rao government. However, some BJP leaders like Vajpai do not favor the toppling of Rao government. The BJP and its ally the Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] are determined to build the temple in Ayodhya in violation of court orders. This has created a stir among the leftist parties and the Janata Dal.

Under the pretext of the country's economic problems, all the opposition parties are agitating against the Rao government. At the same time, the communist parties [CPI and CPI-M—Communist Party of India-Marxist] do not want the BJP to gain strength over the issue. They have also started thinking whether they can shift their stance and support the government. During their meeting with Narasimha Rao, the general secretaries of the two communist parties have urged him to make his government's stand on the Ayodhya issue clear. The Janata Dal is also thinking about supporting Rao on the Ayodhya issue. But, amidst all these problems, in the event of a sudden midterm poll, the BJP has planned to use the Ayodhya issue as their trump card.

There might be a midterm poll in the beginning of next year. In such a case, the Congress-I will get 50 to 60 seats less than what it has now. Besides, the BJP says that the Congress-I has lost its influence even in the Hindi-speaking states. The Congress-I parliamentarians themselves do not want a midterm poll now. The Janata Dal, CPI-M, and the CPI, which are vehemently criticizing the economic policies of Narasimha Rao government, are not in favor of a midterm poll. The BJP has decided to let Murli Manohar Joshi continue as the party chief. This shows that the party is keen to step up its politics based on religious propaganda. The VHP and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh have supported Joshi's views on the Ayodhya issue. The United News of India has made this analysis with reference to the decisions taken at the BJP's national executive in Bhubaneswar.

Politics Based on Religion Criticized

*93AS0197A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi
13 Nov 92 p 4*

[Article by Shambhunath Singh: "Muslim-Worship Is Not an Answer to Hindu Dogmatism"]

[Text] In our history, using religion for politics and politics for religion is not an unfamiliar occurrence. Ever since society and state were organized in the world, every period and government has used these for their vested interests. Religion has also played a decisive role in uprooting governments. Therefore, the governments and change agents have never undermined the power of religion in society. The fact that religion was used differently in different periods and situations is another story. Religion was used by Asoka, Akbar, and Gandhi in the present era for political purposes without any hesitation. Similarly, Buddhist, Jain, Hindu, and Islam religions have used politics liberally for their advantage. The only difference is that when the religion is stronger and better organized, it uses politics for its purposes, and when politics is stronger, it uses religions to achieve its goals. What is important here is that politics gradually became stronger with time, and religion because of its weaker situation was forced to be used as a political means.

Most of the time, the relationship between religion and politics in India has been collaborative unlike the European society where it was confrontational. Here in India, religion and politics instead of trying to defeat each other have been strengthening and validating each other by mutual cooperation. However, dirty politics in independent India has started to use religion shamelessly in order to cover its own embarrassment. This is unprecedented even during the worst period of our history. Perhaps one reason for it could be that religion was never so weak before. We know well that weak things are not used; they are abused. Therefore, we should not be surprised if religion is being misused now. No Shankaracharya or Imam has the courage to stop a political party or a leader from abusing their religion. Perhaps they are satisfied thinking that it is better that a useless thing is at least being abused. The fact that religion can be abused proves that it still has some clout! The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the Congress Party both know the destructive power of religion and make their moves very carefully. The throne of Delhi is at stake and the loser will have to give up his claim. In this game, the Congress Party, following its old political strategy, has been playing its cards close to its chest. However, the BJP has shown its cards to the nation and is challenging the Congress Party to show its cards, also. The Congress Party, however is delaying and there is the suspicion that all it is hiding is the Joker. It appears that the Congress Party is becoming more dumbfounded as the BJP is becoming more and more aggressive. The BJP is benefiting from its open politics. In other words, it openly says that it wants the temple built right where the Babri Masjid is located now. Supporting the satisfaction of their staunch supporters and expanding this satisfaction into the greater Hindu mind is their short- as well as long-term goal. This should not make one believe that its goal is definite. These two goals are different, however, both are being aimed at with a single arrow. The first- and short-term goal is to assure the fundamentalist Hindus, who are also minorities in the Hindu society. The second goal is to transform the liberal and tolerant Hindus into fundamentalists. It is obvious that the second goal is also the main goal for the BJP. It cannot establish its supremacy in Delhi without achieving it. The liberal Hindus believe even now that the best option is to be able to build Rama's temple without destroying the Muslim's masjid. The BJP could be hurt mostly by these liberal Hindus. These Hindus are the majority and can negate the rigid BJP policies. These Hindus consider Rama as their deity and believe that Rama does not live in a temple; He lives in their minds. After all, Rama had been worshipped in his various incarnations without any temples!

These people want to give uniformity to Hinduism under the guise of oneness. The fact is that Hindu religion was never uniform. Various current of Hindu beliefs have flown together and these prove tolerance and liberal nature of Hindu religion. This tolerance has been the source of inner strength of Hinduism. Because of this practice of tolerance, the currents of other religions have

flown side by side with Hindu religion without any obstruction. Actually, in the initial period of Hinduism, it was controlled by various religious ceremonies. However, later when Hindu philosophy expanded, a lot was developed through the philosophy itself. The idea that all religions in the world have different ways to find that supreme truth was discovered by Hindu philosophy. Once a person accepts this doctrine, he becomes naturally tolerant towards other religions. That is why great scholars like Prabhakar Guru and Kumaril Bhat who tried to tie Hinduism to various religious mandates and practices were unsuccessful. However, Shankaracharya was successful.

The Hindu lifestyle has been very liberal in one sense. It has never forced the people to follow a specific path for spiritual deliverance. The question of forcing people of other religions to do that does not even come up. Therefore, Hindu philosophy is considered individualistic because it does not have any room for spiritual deliverance of masses. Everyone has to bear the results of his own Karmas and everyone has to make his own arrangements for his spiritual salvation. One other bright side of this individual effort for spiritual deliverance is that it allows freedom of thought. Therefore, Hindus do not have one or two but 33 million deities. One can worship any deity that one likes. No one will disturb anyone. This variety and greatness of the Hindu religious structure is what makes the Hindu religion tolerant. History indicates that whenever Hinduism becomes strict and narrowminded, Hindu society declined. In its glorious period, Hindu society was never rigid. If it appears to becoming rigid now, then it should be considered pre-evidence of its fall. Perhaps a fundamentalist Hindu might celebrate this unfortunate development in his stupidity, a wise Hindu would only be worried by it. Thus this conflict is not as much between Hindus and Muslims as much as it is between the liberal and rigid Hindus. If the liberal Hindus lose this war, then not only the Hindu society, but the whole Indian social structure would be destroyed.

The BJP and the VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad] are both representing orthodox Hindus. However, they are trying to imply that they are representing all Hindus. This appears also because no political party has ever represented the liberal and the majority of Hindu society. Everyone is afraid that they may be called factional. This hesitancy, felt by other political parties, leaves the field open for the BJP and this might prove fatal in the long run. At present, secularism has become analogous to being pro-Muslim and factionalism has the meaning of pro-Hindu. This way, meanings of both secularism and factionalism have been grossly distorted. This is hurting both the Hindus and the Muslims. The truth is not divided into black and white squares; it is very complex. Keeping this complexity in mind, political parties other than the BJP have to review their factionalism and secularism. The future leaders of the Hindu society will have to wonder if anything they say in support of Hindus might label them as factional. This would not only be a

major mistake, but also would be proving the well known accusations that the BJP levies often.

Unfortunately, however, until now, non-BJP leaders and other parties have only used the cowardly and populist recipes in order to receive the certificate of secularism. Otherwise, there was no reason for V.P. Singh to first meet the Imam of Jama Masjid right after taking the oath of the office of prime minister. Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav tried to prove himself as a greater Muslim and called himself "Mullah Mulayam" overnight. Chandra Shekhar's love for the Muslims is also well-known. The late Rajiv Gandhi had shown some eagerness to resolve some issues and one of them was the Shahbano incident. He had forced the Supreme Court to change its decision under pressure from fundamentalist mullas. Indira Gandhi was always considered a half-Muslim. This is the condition of our top leaders, which the BJP leaders call the policy of Muslim pacification in their propaganda. If we test the BJP accusation on some concrete facts, it becomes meaningless, just like the Muslim love of non-BJP leaders. Any BJP member can check the statistics and if they do not believe them, then they can conduct their own surveys to find out that the Muslims in this country have not progressed much

since the independence. Their living standards are way below the average. In spite all kinds of government support, the Muslims are very backwards in the area of education and government employment. They do not need government help in other areas such as small-scale industries, weaving, and knitting. The Muslims are comparably progressive in these areas. It proves that those who accuse the government of pacifying Muslims are merely blabbing. Those who are "accused" of following this policy and those who consider themselves benefactors of minorities are hypocrites.

It is not a coincidence that no political party has the courage to pit their hopes on a candidate who does not belong to the majority religion or caste of a specific region. This has become a widely accepted fact. There is no exceptions to it even among the leftists. It is useless to expect the corrupt politicians to make politics moral and religion liberal. Politics cannot be given the liberty of involving the nation in unrealistic goals for a long period. They have to confront the real issues and describe their policies to eradicate poverty, hunger, illiteracy, and high prices.

Further Efforts To Bring Foreign Tourists Encouraged

93AS0195A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi
14 Nov 92 p 6

[Article by Chandi Prasad: "Hospitality To Draw Foreign Tourists"]

[Text] The hopes of tourism development bringing additional money to our country's dilapidated economy proved to be a mirage. In the 1987-88 fiscal year, we earned 18.9 billion rupees in foreign exchange from tourist industry and the goal for 1990 was 40 billion rupees. Actually this income reached only 33 billion rupees in 1991-92 fiscal year. Instead of feeling disappointed, our Department of Tourism is full of hopes. A glimpse of this cheerfulness can be viewed in the optimism expressed by Madhavrao Scindia, central minister of Aviation and Tourism.

Recently, Madhavrao Scindia announced that India expected 3 million foreign tourists this year and his ministry has made ample arrangements for them. According to him, during the first nine months of 1991-92, 1.5 million foreign tourists have already visited India. This number is 17 percent higher than last year's figures. The important fact is that they expect 300,000 [sic] foreign tourists during the 1992-93 year. Therefore, all departments of the Civil Aviation and the Tourist Bureau are getting ready. Air India, Indian Airlines, and hotel managers are being called on to help. New publicity materials are being prepared to increase tourism.

According to the minister, foreign tourists; especially from Europe, the United States of America, and other Western nations, have demonstrated a great interest in India. If we look at this foreign interest as "income," there has been a significant increase in it during the first nine months of 1991-92. This increase in dollars is 11 percent and in rupees is 44 percent. India earned \$900 million during this period. According to Mr. Scindia, tourism will earn \$600 million more next year. Thus, total income from tourism can be \$1.5 billion. While discussing his trip to the United States, Great Britain, and Germany, he said that the people there have showed a great interest in India. The tourism industry is expected to benefit from the merger of International Airport Authority and the National Airport Authority, permission to import air conditioned coaches and cars, and expansion of the hotel industry.

While bragging about the so-called success of the first nine months of 1991-92, the minister of tourism did not tell us how this success measures up when compared to the set goals. Beating the drum about the convenient figures and sweeping the inconvenient truths under the carpet has been the common tendency of our leaders. Our country is in this present condition because of this tendency. We will never be able to reach the goals for a realistic development if we continue to close eyes to bitter experiences.

The government presented a "national tourism plan" in the Lok Sabha in May this year to increase truism, foreign

exchange earning, and employment. According to it, during the next three years the number of hotel rooms will be doubled to 90,000 and the number of tourists will be increased from the present 1.7 million to 5 million during the next five years. The plan also called for increase in foreign exchange income from the present 33 billion to 100 billion in eight years. In addition to these sweeping support programs and facilities are to be provided for building and running hotels, tourist transportation, and other tourist amenities. Announcements were also made for expanding visitor amenities to holy places and places of cultural interest, expansion of tourist interest places, having fairs and festivals year around, holding a world tourism fair in three years, and expansion of 15 special tourist circuits and centers.

Under this new tourist plan, they included the following accommodations and special treatments: Remission of tax on hotels built in villages, mountain resorts, pilgrimage places, and other specially identified areas; excluding their 50-percent income from income taxes for the first 10 years (50 percent of foreign exchange earned in tourism was already tax free); replacing the 3-percent reduction in interest rates on the hotel built in large cities that is effective now with special interest rates determined by the government; developing one-, two-, and three-star hotels into five-star hotels; providing a [\$]5-million loan from the tourism department to develop old mansions, palaces, and forts into hotels; up to [\$]500,000 in aid for building hotels; and reduction of interest rates up to 5 percent.

Keeping in view all the great aspirations of the tourist department, we still have doubts about the success of this "National Tourism Plan." The reason for this skepticism is that India lacks the basic philosophy about tourism because of the special situation here. The main attraction for the foreigners are the special culture, history, traditions, and geographical location of India. The foreign tourists come here for travel, recreation, and the reputation of India's culture and old civilization. However, India has lost its image as a place for recreation and travel. Increasing terrorism, activities of antisocial elements, and looting have removed many tourist attractions from the map. As long as basic elements such as safety and comfort are neglected, expecting increase in foreign tourist is deluding ourselves.

We can give a good idea about where India stands in world tourism by mentioning the fact that only one percent of total world tourists visit India. If we make India a safe and satisfactory tourist place, there is not reason that we cannot be successful in attracting more tourists to India.

Use of Foreign Assistance Loans Criticized

93AS0195B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 6 Nov 92 p 6

[Article by Asrar Khan: "What Is Resulting From Foreign Assistance?"]

[Text] We have many sources of money coming into India. Here, we will discuss the sources that are legal and

are not related to the Indian Government's borrowing from other nations. The Home Ministry has registered 13,934 institutions since 1991. Among these, 15 percent are voluntary organizations that have been accused for abusing funds from abroad. The accusations went so far that the Kudal Commission was appointed to investigate the organizations called the Gandhi Peace Foundation and "Award" in 1975. This commission presented its report 10 years later in 1985 and this report was presented to the parliament in 1988. How hard the Kudal Commission worked for 10 years is evident from the fact that its report was three pages long and this report did not prove whether these two organizations used huge amounts of grant monies from other countries for espionage for foreign countries or not.

In addition, the Home Ministry also established an "estimate committee" to monitor activities various volunteer organizations. When this committee asked the Home Ministry for the names of organizations that had been misusing grant monies, they received names of only two organizations. The ministry said in its report there is only one organization that has been suspected of wrongdoings during the last three years, and this organization is located in Hyderabad. Later when this organization in Hyderabad was investigated, it was found guilty.

Many other debates about voluntary organizations were also started, however, all of those were buried after superficial discussions. About a decade earlier, Prakash Karat, leader of the Communist Party of India (M), had written a long article in the MARXIST. In sum this article explained that all voluntary organizations that depend on foreign grants are part of the imperialist's strategy. He could not explain any further. Perhaps one major reason could have been that the communists had their own voluntary organizations that were supported by similar means. There is no doubt that some voluntary organizations are in large cities are very prosperous and function like government offices instead of like voluntary organizations. The reason for this is that they are doubledipping, getting support both from the government and from abroad to support various projects. Thus, the people employed in these organizations are getting much more attractive wages than those working in government and private organizations and still were called social workers. Anyhow, these voluntary organizations also do some good work, especially when compared to the government. For example, let us discuss education in villages or developing self-esteem and social awareness in women or informing the nation and the world of the results of environment pollution. This rule is not any less important. Still, we cannot leave them without questioning.

The most important question about foreign grants is that even when we eliminate the 15-percent voluntary organizations from the 13,934 organizations registered with the FCRA [expansion not given], then we still have about 10,000 organizations left. What are these organizations and what role do they play? Actually, these are well-known public schools, or private hospitals or religious

organizations about which the public is unaware that they receive foreign donations. Such a belief is natural because the private schools charge such high tuitions and fees that people believe that they run with fees only. In addition to these high fees, the schools also charge as much as 10,000 rupees for admission and nobody dares to call it a bribe. No one dares to demand reservations of seats, either.

It is not a secret as to what is taught in these private schools. Even the name of these schools clearly indicate that they have Marks, Dollars, and Pounds stamped on them [sentence as published]. These English medium schools have projected the national mentality in such a low way that our most popular language, Hindi, the national language has been labeled a low-class language. As for the question of five-star private hospitals built with billions of rupees, a father has to pay 5,000 to 10,000 rupees just for getting a baby delivered there.

In this world of extremely high prices, the only people who can benefit from these schools and hospitals are those who have unlimited income, a financier and corrupt person who is working for the government or private organization. Some people get services through recommendations or have special sources. Therefore, we are forced to conclude that if discussing foreign assistance has any meaning, then we must publish the names of organizations that run schools and hospitals with foreign assistance. Christian missions and voluntary organizations are already being questioned. Statistics tell us that in 1980, various voluntary organizations received a total of 2.09 billion rupees in assistance. This amount skyrocketed to 7.6 billion rupees in 1989. Food for thought: Why is so much money donated to India from abroad if they do not have any serious goals?

It is important to mention here that according to the figures of 1989, most money or 1.9 billion rupees came from Germany. The United States of America donated 1.8 billion rupees and the United Kingdom donated 688 million rupees during the same year. It should be known that a total of 123 countries have donated money to these organizations.

Economic Reforms Seen Potentially Increasing Unemployment

93AS0195C New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 4 Nov 92 p 1

[News Story: "Economic Reforms Might Increase Unemployment"]

[Text] New Delhi 3 November (JANSATTA)—It is feared that between 1992 and 1994, 12 million persons will lose jobs because of the economic reforms.

This estimate was provided by the National Conference of Applied Economic research as part of its six-month report. The specialists said referring to a research study that 4 million people will lose jobs each year until 1994 because of the economic reforms, in spite of positive developments.

The study indicated that unemployment will mostly increase in nonunion nonagricultural labor. Poverty will increase wherever unemployment increases. The Council has not confirmed these disappointing results, however. It said that it is not clear how the liberal economic policies will effect employment, poverty, and social welfare areas.

Referring to the National Rehabilitation Fund, the Council said that it is easier to protect laborers when they are organized. However, it is important in non-union areas to make cheap rationed food available to the laborers through a public distribution system, and other social welfare facilities are also accessible to them. Many studies have been conducted about various social security programs. Until special programs are not planned for the nonunionized laborers, real estimate of expenses for any program cannot be made easily.

While discussing the new layoff policy, the Council said that the workers will be given the opportunity to get training and employment in new areas. It believes that this policy should be implemented at the same time as economic reforms and other plans are implemented.

The Council today announced that inflation might be 11 percent until the end of the current fiscal year. This is a little higher than the finance minister claimed. Total domestic production is expected increase by 3 ½ to 4 percent. The main base of economic reform is good agricultural production this year which, in turn, will help reforms in the industrial area. It appears that there will be only a 4-percent increase in the industrial area. During 1992-92, the government can achieve its goal to reduce the budget deficit compared to the gross domestic product. However, it has controlled present ongoing expenditures, therefore, the government will be pressured to limit investment expenses.

According to the Council, the increase in imports might cause additional 100 to 120 million rupees trade deficit. Exports are expected to increase 7 percent (in dollars), and it is less than the goal set for this year.

The Council criticized the Reserve Bank of India for not playing its multidimensional role effectively. It said that the Reserve Bank was not playing its role appropriately as a "central bank" appointed as the banker for the government. This is important information in itself, that the main reason for all the problems is the government's inability to control the fast-increasing budget deficit.