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INDIA

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CONTENTS

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POLITICAL

International Affairs

HINDU Analyst Comments on Clinton Election	1
Katyal: Democrats Not Softer [THE HINDU 16 Nov]	1
Prem Shankar Jha: Guarded Enthusiasm [THE HINDU 11 Nov]	2
Papers Report Charges Against Union Carbide	4
Arguments in Court [THE STATESMAN 12 Nov]	4
People's Tribunal Session [THE SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA 25 Oct]	4
Russian Paper on Relations Noted [THE TIMES OF INDIA 5 Nov]	5
HINDU Interviews Japanese Prime Minister [THE HINDU 9 Nov]	6
Indo-Iranian Panel Meets, Results Told	9
Memorandum of Understanding [THE HINDU 12 Nov]	9
Ambassador's Remarks [THE HINDU 13 Nov]	10
Rao Plans Visit to Italy in Early 1993 [DECCAN CHRONICLE 29 Oct]	10
Joint Panel With Malaysia Holds First Meeting [THE HINDU 3 Nov]	10

Internal Affairs

Papers Document Prelude to Ayodhya Crisis	12
Rao Addresses NIC [THE TELEGRAPH 24 Nov]	12
NIC Passes Resolution [THE TELEGRAPH 24 Nov]	12
Jayalalitha Letters [THE HINDU 26 Nov]	13
Rao to Parliament Party [THE HINDU 26 Nov]	14
Former Kashmir Officials Meet in Delhi [THE SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA 8 Nov]	15
Attorney General Resigns, Missteps Told [THE HINDU 11 Nov]	15
Rao Addresses Chief Ministers' Conference [DECCAN CHRONICLE 14 Nov]	16
Congress-I Leaders Vote Support to Rao [THE TELEGRAPH 24 Oct]	17
Effects of Terrorist Activities on Jammu Viewed [AJ 24 Nov]	18
Papers Report BJP National Executive Meets	19
Vajpayee 7 Nov Briefing [DECCAN CHRONICLE 8 Nov]	19
8 Nov Briefing [DECCAN CHRONICLE 9 Nov]	19
More on Advani Remarks [THE TIMES OF INDIA 9 Nov]	20
Joshi President, Other Details [THE TIMES OF INDIA 9 Nov]	21
Policy on Northeast [THE TIMES OF INDIA 10 Nov]	22
Press Briefed on RSS Working Committee Meet [THE TIMES OF INDIA 6 Nov]	23
Samajwadi Janata Holds National Conference [DECCAN CHRONICLE 1 Nov]	24
Samajwadi Party Launched at National Meet	24
Yadav Elected President [THE STATESMAN 6 Nov]	24
Party Posts Announced [THE STATESMAN 16 Nov]	25
CPI Makes, Plans Changes in Party Rules [THE TELEGRAPH 27 Oct]	25
Top CPI Leader Questions Marxist Tenets [THE TELEGRAPH 6 Nov]	26
Paper Reports CPI-M Central Committee Meet	26
Statement Summarized [THE TELEGRAPH 2 Nov]	26
Surjeet Press Conference [THE TELEGRAPH 2 Nov]	27
CPI-M Document Outlines New Strategy [THE STATESMAN 19 Nov]	28
CPM Rule Seen Incompetent, Dictatorial	28
Habitually Violate Human Rights [ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA 19 Nov]	28
Economic Policies Ineffective [ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA 17 Nov]	30
Leftists Rally Against Internationals	30
Report on Rally [THE TIMES OF INDIA 26 Nov]	30
Gap in Perceptions [THE TIMES OF INDIA 26 Nov]	31
Other Options Need Study [DECCAN CHRONICLE 26 Nov]	32
Supreme Court Rules on Job Reservations [THE STATESMAN 17 Nov]	32

ECONOMIC

Agreements for Joint Ventures With CIS Reached [Patriot 30 Oct]	35
Finance Officials Hold Talks With IMF [THE TIMES OF INDIA 2 Nov]	35
Details of New Japanese Assistance Loan Given [THE TELEGRAPH 28 Oct]	36
Memorandum on Agriculture Signed With Vietnam [THE STATESMAN 2 Nov]	37
Delhi Plans Entry Into Space Market [THE TELEGRAPH 25 Oct]	37
Government's Economic Policy, Performance Examined	37
Keeping Promises Difficult [ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA 7 Nov]	37
Following BJP's Lead [ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA 7 Nov]	38
Textile Policy for 1993 Announced [THE TELEGRAPH 23 Oct]	40
Ministry Releases Draft Agricultural Policy [DECCAN CHRONICLE 13 Nov]	40
Russia To Cooperate in Aircraft Building [Patriot 25 Oct]	41
Steel Authority Enters PRC, EC Markets [THE TELEGRAPH 27 Oct]	41

MILITARY

Air Force, Navy Strengthen Bombay High Defense [THE SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA 15 Nov]	43
---	----

SOCIAL ISSUES

Human Rights Group Reports Bengal Torture [THE STATESMAN 16 Nov]	44
Publication Industry Overly Foreign Dependent [ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA 18 Oct]	44
MP Gives New Details on Securities Scam [THE TIMES OF INDIA 31 Oct]	46

International Affairs

HINDU Analyst Comments on Clinton Election

Katyal: Democrats Not Softer

93AS0225A Madras THE HINDU in English 16 Nov 92
p 8

[Article by K.K. Katyal]

[Text] The change in Washington, by itself, will not push up India or, for that matter, South Asia, in the list of U.S. priorities. Several other issues, ranging from domestic economy to the problems of Europe, will claim the prior attention of the new administration. This point needs to be continuously kept in mind in any assessment of the impact on India of the Democratic victory in the Presidential election. Any assumption of an exaggerated importance by India in Washington's eyes would be unrealistic. How much did India or the region figure in the campaign rhetoric from the two camps, Democratic and Republican?

Equally important, the foreign policy, normally a product of bipartisan consensus, should not be expected to undergo a major change, either in content or in direction. What Mr. Bill Clinton said less than 24 hours after he was elected to lead the nation proves the point. He reaffirmed the essential continuity of American foreign policy and his "desire to seek bipartisan support" for the U.S. role in the world and emphasised: "Even as America's administrations change, America's fundamental interests do not." This may have been meant to be a reminder to America's "friends and foes alike" not to misconstrue the transition as a gap or a break in the conduct of external relations, but it did spell out an essential truth.

Within these parameters, it is in order to speculate on the variations in nuances or emphasis in the attitude of Mr. Clinton's America towards India. Broadly speaking, the new administration could be tougher with India on issues on which Mr. George Bush took a hard line, and extend greater sympathy and support on matters on which the outgoing President showed understanding of New Delhi's concerns. There is no ambiguity about the issues that fall in the two categories. On nuclear nonproliferation, dual-use technology, human rights and trade matters, especially the intellectual property rights, there was a big gap in the positions taken by the Bush administration and India. The propositions suggested by Washington were not acceptable to India, with the result that the latter was subjected to punitive measures (the action under Super 301 was one instance, the sanctions against the Indian Space Research Organisation, ISRO, another). At the same time, there was better appreciation of India's concern over Pakistan's aid and abetment of terrorist violence in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir—and in part also of New Delhi's stand on Kashmir—India's geo-political and strategic role in South Asia and its needs for development. The contacts in the defence

field which became conspicuous during the latter part of Mr. Bush's tenure should increase.

What the conventional wisdom suggests may not always be true in reality. We have seen this in the case of the U.K. There, the Labour got projected as sympathetic to India's interests while the Tories were regarded difficult in their dealings. This may be due to historical reasons—after all, it was a Labour Government that expedited the transfer of power in India as against the Tories whose Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, even during a difficult war period, was not prepared to preside over the "liquidation of the British empire." In practice, however, New Delhi at times found it easier to deal with the Conservatives. A Conservative Government, for instance, was blunt in telling Pakistan what it felt of its role in destabilising the Indian polity, while prominent Labour leaders, turning a blind eye to Islamabad's action, took India to task for the violation of human rights. In the case of the United States, there was no such historical background but the Democrats were perceived more sympathetic than the Republicans. In practice, the generalisation had not held good. It was Mr. Jimmy Carter, a Democratic President, who first sought to pressure India to comply with the U.S. ideas on nonproliferation. It was given to a Republican President, Mr. Ronald Reagan along with the then Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, to impart a warmth to Indo-U.S. relations. And Mr. Bush carried forward this process. The Kennedy era in the Sixties was undoubtedly marked by an understanding of India's role but that sympathy was more symbolic.

Mr. Clinton's telephone call to the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, the other day, could be a formal affair—a response to the letter of congratulations. It could also be a good augury for personal rapport. Mr. Clinton made similar phone calls to the heads of Government in Europe; he also spoke to the South Korean President for 20 minutes, presumably to convey the reassurance that there would be no abruptness in the pull-out of American troops from the peninsula. These countries had a special relationship, covering security, with the United States and a personal gesture was understandable. Did the phone call to Mr. Rao hold a promise of greater warmth in the bilateral field?

It is a pity that during the current crucial phase of transition in the United States, India has an Ambassador, a politician, not a career diplomat, who has yet to settle down in office, having arrived there only recently. Will he be able to do justice to the immediate task of establishing contacts with the leading Democrats, including those expected to occupy important positions? Why was the previous Ambassador, Mr. Abid Hussain, pulled out earlier this year, especially when the choice of his successor took several months has been a mystery, unlikely to serve the country well. The officials from New Delhi, now in Washington, for bilateral talks on nuclear nonproliferation, have been entrusted with the job of making personal calls on those likely to count in the new set-up.

In New Delhi, the visiting Democratic members of the U.S. Congress are bound to get extra attention. They include Representative Jim McDermott (Washington), now leading a U.S. delegation to the international AIDS conference, Senators Howard Metzenbaum (Ohio) and Paul Simon (Illinois), due this week, Senator Daniel P. Moynihan (New York), also due to come this week for a ten-day private visit, Senators David L. Boren (Oklahoma), John F. Kerry (Massachusetts), Claiborne Pell (Rhode Island) and Carl Levin (Michigan), expected next month, along with their Republican colleague, John Warner.

Mr. Clinton's concern over the spread of weapons of mass destruction was reflected during the campaign as also in his listing of priorities at the first press conference after the election. On nonproliferation—currently the subject of bilateral discussions between the officials—India should be prepared for increased pressure. After all, the Bush administration's stand was largely shaped by the pressure by the Democrat-dominated Congress. What the Democrats would do now that they will be controlling the White House is not hard to imagine. Washington's first preference has been to get India [to] accede to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT). Sensing New Delhi's opposition, the United States sought to achieve its objective through other routes, as evident both from the proposals for (1) a five-nation conference to work for a nuclear-free South Asia—during the meeting with Mr. Rao in January in New York, Mr. Bush commended it twice in a matter of minutes; (2) an agreement between India and Pakistan on the non-first use of nuclear weapons; (3) subjecting the future development of weapon technology to the safe-guards of the International Atomic Energy Agency, or other arrangements aimed at capping such programmes. India, as is known, is opposed to the NPT because of its discriminatory character and objects to other proposals on identical grounds. The United States is certain to pursue these ideas with great vigour as the bilateral discussions spill over into Mr. Clinton's tenure.

As regards human rights, it was China that was subjected to severe criticism by Mr. Clinton and his associates. They made it abundantly clear that their administration's policy towards Beijing would be influenced by China's record, if not in the past, from now onward, on human rights.

As against this, New Delhi will get better attention in the geo-strategic context, than it used to do in the past—when Pakistan, a frontline State in the fight against Communism in Afghanistan, was a major beneficiary of the U.S. largesse. In the post-cold war period, India's relevance to the U.S. interests in this part of the world is not to be minimised. This will impart some balance to the bilateral relationship which otherwise could be lopsided. The contacts in the defence area, as reflected by the joint naval exercise and the interaction between the top brass of the armed forces, should intensify, but the rigidity in regard to the transfer of dual-use technology, is unlikely to change. Similarly India could hope for

better understanding on the threats posed to it by Muslim fundamentalism, terrorist violence, instigated from abroad, and narco-terrorism. The task for Indian diplomacy is cut out. It will need to work aggressively to get the full benefit on issues on which Washington appreciates India's concerns and to reduce the impact of negative factors.

Prem Shankar Jha: Guarded Enthusiasm

93AS0225B Madras *THE HINDU* in English 11 Nov 92
p 8

[Article by Prem Shankar Jha]

[Text] Indian commentators have reacted with guarded enthusiasm to the victory of Governor Bill Clinton in the U.S. elections. The headline given to an article published in a respected daily newspaper last week, "Little for India in Democratic Win," sums up the defensive mindset with which many of them, and a large section of the Indian intelligentsia have greeted its outcome.

This defensiveness is understandable. During five decades of the Cold War, Indo-U.S. relations, and by implication therefore India's relations with the industrialised democracies, were a byproduct of U.S. attempts to contain the growth of Soviet power and influence. This policy of containment found a place within it for Pakistan, but left out India. Indian foreign policy was therefore very largely a reaction to the vigour with which Washington pursued its grand design.

The end of the cold war put an end to this sorry phase of Indo-American relations. The rise of new concerns, the maintenance of peace in a suddenly unstable world, and the need to guard against new forms of irrationality, have opened a fresh dialogue between the two countries, based on a growing awareness that these are shared concerns. But at the popular level, the old defensiveness persists, and remains one of the more important hurdles to improved relations with the United States.

The defensiveness has been fed by the fact that the end of the cold war did not diminish the U.S.'s penchant for interventionism. Its overriding concerns under President Bush were the defence of the newly won peace, containment and then reversal of nuclear proliferation, and the promotion of democracy in the rest of the world, all within a framework of U.S. primacy in global politics. The desire to promote democracy revealed itself in a concern for human rights, and a willingness to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries, in their defence.

India has already felt the rough edge of these concerns. New Delhi has come under sustained pressure to sign the NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty], and the consistency with which organisations such as Amnesty and Asia-watch, and foreign correspondents in New Delhi, have been highlighting real and fancied human rights abuses is disconcerting.

The United States has shown its determination to keep a wide range of sophisticated, supposedly dual-use technologies from India under the Missile Technology Control Regime [MTCR], and not hesitated to apply trade sanctions against exports like pharmaceuticals from this country.

Although Mr. Clinton has made it clear that his primary concerns will be domestic, and emphasised continuity in American foreign policy statements made by him, and other leading democrats suggest that within this continuity a Democratic administration will take a more, and not less interventionist line, whether it is on trade retaliation, peace-keeping, Human Rights, or Nuclear nonproliferation.

Does this mean that relations with the United States will necessarily get more strained, at least in the immediate future, and that the trend towards closer understanding witnessed in the last few years will be reversed? This is by no means inevitable, but if it is not to happen, India will have to shed its defensive mindset, and take the initiative in reshaping its relations with the United States and the western alliance.

The first step in this direction would be to appreciate the full magnitude of the change that has taken place in American politics. As nearly all commentators have remarked, Mr. Clinton's victory marks a generation change in American politics comparable in many respects to the victories of Roosevelt in 1932 and Kennedy in 1960.

But this is the least part of the change. Mr. Clinton is the first President to have been elected after the end of the cold war. Indeed he is the first President in a very long time, to have been elected when the people of the United States do not sense a threat from any quarter. To find a comparable situation, one would have to go back to the days of President Woodrow Wilson at the very least, if not back to the last century.

The impact of this change is obvious: In no previous election have the voters shown as little concern with the past, and as much with the future. The American victory in the cold war, and Mr. Bush's successful crafting of a consensus and victory in the desert, has left them cold. What they wanted to know was what a government would do in the future.

Whatever Mr. Clinton may say about continuity in foreign policy, the popular determination to break with the past and make a new beginning which had brought him to power will shape his foreign policy also.

If there is a single phrase that can describe the change, it is the rebirth of idealism. The overriding concerns that will dominate international relations in the coming years have become apparent over the past 18 months.

The overpowering urge to do away with nuclear weapons is a reaction to having had to live for two generations under the threat of a nuclear holocaust, the urge to

defend human rights and democracy reflects a revulsion from decades of crude compromises in which democracy was defended by forging opportunistic alliances with dictators.

These powerful sentiments are not confined to the United States, but are shared by all those who have grown up in the shadow of the cold war, on both sides of what was previously the iron curtain. But the revulsion is particularly strong in the United States, where the young, in particular, have had their fill of shady deals, now with Iran, and then with Iraq; with Islamic fundamentalists who turn kidnapping into a potent instrument of international bargaining, and with terrorist squads backed by white racist regimes in sub-Saharan Africa, who gained legitimacy solely from their claim to being anti-communist.

Although everyone in America knows that the depth of the current depression can be traced directly to the reduction in defence spending after the end of the cold war, not once has any candidate, whether for the White House or the Congress, suggested that defence spending should be kept up just in order to ease the recession.

Only in the bilateral arm-twisting on trade and intellectual property rights can one detect an older, more cynical set of concerns. But even these derive their legitimacy from the over-riding desire for peace. The explosive growth of international trade in the second half of this century is undoubtedly the most important global development after the rise of capitalism two centuries ago.

These are widely shared perceptions that will almost certainly grow stronger over time. The fact that they are grounded in idealism does not mean that the age of realpolitik is over, or that its practitioners will not learn to ride a new set of horses. But the idealism gives a powerful moral edge to these concerns, that makes it most unwise to oppose them.

Indian policy makers face broadly the choice of falling in line with the new internationalism or of opposing it. Paradoxically, Indian sovereignty, defined in the old sense, will be far easier to defend, if it does so than if it does not, and thereby risks international isolation. In effect this is the same choice that its economic policy makers faced last year—of joining the world or opting out of it.

India has every reason to share these concerns and work towards allaying them, for it voiced them long before the rest of the world did so.

Non-alignment, the movement spearheaded by Pandit Nehru was not neutrality. On the contrary it presupposed that countries would judge international issues on the basis of the same moral principles that governed relations between individuals in society. Non-alignment was, therefore, both an affirmation and an extension of the principles that underlay the formation of the League of Nations and the United Nations.

These bold, idealistic and essentially Indian initiatives of the Fifties were snuffed out by the mindless aggressiveness of Cold Warriors like John Foster Dulles, who defined any country that disagreed with the United States as being automatically pro-Soviet. The actions that followed from this perception reduced the base of Indian foreign policy from a vaunted idealism to a dismal realpolitik that reached its nadir when we failed to condemn Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

It is time, therefore, that India too turned its back on the cold war, and rediscovered the idealism that had fired its Nehruvian youth.

Papers Report Charges Against Union Carbide

Arguments in Court

93AS0258A Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
12 Nov 92 p 9

[Article: "CBI (Central Bureau of Investigation) Charges Union Carbide With Criminal Negligence"]

[Text] Bhopal, Nov. 11.—The CBI [Central Bureau of Investigation] today charged the multinational, Union Carbide Corporation (UCC) and its Indian subsidiary, UCIL, with "criminal negligence" in the case of leakage of methyl iso-cynate (MIC) gas from its Bhopal-based pesticide plant in December, 1984, which killed more than 3,000 people and affected several thousands, reports PTI.

Mr. C. Rai, senior council for the CBI, while presenting his arguments on the framing of charges against UCC and UCIL in the criminal case in the court of the Additional District Judge, Mr. Justice Wajahaat Ali Shah, said the company was fully aware of the hazardous nature of MIC manufactured as an intermediate product.

Despite this, it "failed to maintain proper control and adopt adequate safety measures" as suggested by the Industrial Development Ministry of the Indian Government at the time of granting licence for the plant.

Mr. Rai, on the basis of various documents, contended that the UCC had full control over its Indian subsidiary through its majority share-holding of 50.9 percent and was "fully aware" of technical flaws in the plant's MIC section.

He further charged that UCC and UCIL had clearly violated the agreement signed with the Indian Government leaving the people of Bhopal to suffer.

Citing findings from the report of the expert committee headed by the eminent scientist, Dr. Vardarajan, the CBI counsel said 42 tons of lethal MIC had been stored in tank no. 610—from which the gas leaked on December 2 at the plant since October 22, 1984. The quantity was more than what should have been stored, he said.

Mr. Rai stated that no high-temperature alarm had been installed at the plant to alert officials on duty in case the temperature or atmospheric pressure increased. Besides, the design of the plant was also defective with insufficient safety arrangements, he added.

People's Tribunal Session

93AS0258B Bombay *THE SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 25 Oct 92 p 5

[Article: "Carbide Caused Disaster: Forum"]

[Text] Bombay, October 24. The Permanent Peoples' Tribunal, a quasi-judicial forum, has stated that fundamental human rights of victims of Bhopal, where the world's worst industrial disaster occurred, were grossly violated and key officials of the Union Carbide Corporation [UCC] and its subsidiary were clearly guilty of causing this disaster.

The tribunal in its session on industrial and environmental hazards and human rights in Bhopal from October 19-23 heard submissions from victims and groups representing them as well as representations from eleven other countries in Asia.

Mr. Justice (ret'd) K.M. Subhan, a former judge of the Bangladesh supreme court and member of the advisory committee, and others told reporters here today that the Bhopal victims had harrowing tales to relate.

While it was not the usual practice of the tribunal to pronounce a verdict on individual cases, the wealth of factual and judicial evidence on Bhopal which were heard by the tribunal on two previous sessions, had led the ten-member panel of judges to formulate a verdict on the case, Mr. Subhan said.

These findings would be made available to the Indian government as soon as they were ready. The tribunal found that the Indian and Madhya Pradesh governments were clearly guilty of violating human rights guaranteed under the Indian constitution.

It urged for an international commission to be set up to review the categorisation of victims on the basis of their degree of disablement and demanded that a plan for economic rehabilitation of the victims be drawn up by the local authorities in consultation with the victims.

The tribunal also proposed the setting up of a centre for Research Information Exchange and Analytical Services and Analytical Services on Industrial and Environmental Hazards to be located in Bhopal.

A final and definitive session on industrial and environmental hazards would be held in 1993 in Europe where an overall report on cases from all over the world would be documented along with other suggestions, Mr. Subhan said.

Prof Andrea Giardina of Italy, also on the panel of judges, said that the tribunal was an international court

of public opinion and its decision had no legal effect. However, some of the recommendations it made had some impact on the evolution of solutions to cases.

The victims were often encouraged in their struggles and the tribunal assured the people that their cause was legally and justly founded, he said. At an international level, solutions were accepted, he added.

The first session of the tribunal was devoted to hearing people fighting for their freedom and later the question of corporate criminal liability, which was not guaranteed in all legal systems, was tackled, he said. Though notice was given to all parties concerned, with the exception of one, nobody else had responded.

Though the findings on Bhopal were presented, Mr. Ward Morehouse, an active campaigner for Bhopal in the United States said the final report of the session could not be released due to some technical reasons.

One of the significant findings was the failure of the medical and legal professions to help the Bhopal victims, Mr. Morehouse said. The tribunal also considered draft chargers of rights of victims, workers in hazardous industries and communities at risk.

Others who presented their cases were victims of a benzene fire explosion in Hong Kong, people affected by health damage due to radioactive exposure in Malaysia, environmental and social damage by open pit gold mining in the Philippines, carbon disulphide poisoning of textile workers in South Korea, accidents in small factories in the Taiwan, and occupational disease among workers in the free-trade zone.

At a public meeting later, some of the groups spoke about the violations of human rights in their countries. Other members of the tribunal for the hearings included Dr. Rosalie Bertell of Canada, Prof A.R. Desai, Dr. M.M. Thomas and Dr. Syed Ali Hussain from Malaysia.

Russian Paper on Relations Noted

93AS0259A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 5 Nov 92 p 6

[Article by Jyoti Malhotra: "Russia Buries Pro-India Policy"]

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 4. The Russian government headed by Mr. Boris Yeltsin has finally come out of the closet and stated that its relationship with India should no longer be classified as "deliberately pro-Indian."

This blunt and forthright assessment is contained in a document defining Russia's foreign policy strategic perceptions, which was released by the Russian Interfax news agency on Monday.

The document, still not public, definitely pronounces the burial of the old special relationship that characterised India and the Soviet Union, observers say.

In a two-paragraph brief called "Relations with India," the document says that Russia's policy towards India "must not provide grounds to be viewed as deliberately pro-Indian."

It goes on to add, for the first time treating relations between India and Pakistan on par: "Nevertheless, the development of ties with Delhi should not be artificially restrained for the sake of achieving equal remoteness, for instance, from India and Pakistan."

The third and last sentence in the brief directly attacks India's position on the nuclear nonproliferation treaty (NPT) as well as on the missile technology control regime, both organisations in which India is not a member.

"While maintaining military cooperation with India," the document says, "it's necessary to take into account the specificity of that country's stand on such international problems, as nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and rockets."

The latter is a scarcely-veiled reference to the supply of three cryogenic engines from the Russian space agency, Glavkosmus, to the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) for the launching of a communication satellite. America had criticised the sale and imposed sanctions against both Glavkosmus and ISRO in May.

While Russia then went along with the sale, there was open criticism from within the establishment for proceeding with the Indian agreement. The open mention of the controversy in the foreign policy document, Russia-watchers feel, is a warning to India not to expect any exceptional support in the future.

The mention of the NPT in the document shows clearly Russia's position that India should sign it, a treaty India considers clearly discriminatory. This signals Russia's intention to go along with the United States and use its influence against India in the United Nations, as it did last year.

The document, naturally, gives "top priority" to Russia's development of ties with the United States, particularly because "that country is in a position to considerably facilitate the process of economic reforms in Russia."

Interestingly though, the paragraph on the United States is not made up of only unabashed statements of admiration, but concedes that some left-over shadow of cold war rivalry might reassert itself: "...In the process of disarmament, the United States will try to ensure unilateral advantages for itself."

Relations with Pakistan are clubbed along with those with Turkey and Iran, acknowledging that the three nations might play an influential role in the Central Asian region due to their ethnic and religious links. But the document warns that if the three states support extremism against Russia's vital interest, Moscow might resort to political, economic and diplomatic leverage.

HINDU Interviews Japanese Prime Minister

93AS0235A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 9 Nov 92
p 8

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] While covering the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao's visit to Tokyo in June, K.K. Katyal sought an interview with the Japanese Prime Minister, Mr. Kiichi Miyazawa and was required to submit a list of questions. The interview did not materialise because of Mr. Miyazawa's heavy preoccupations. That, incidentally, was also the time when Tokyo served as the venue of an international conference on Cambodia. The list, however, was taken up by the Prime Minister's office in Tokyo. Two months later came a suggestion for updating the queries—which was done. The replies were received last week.

In June, as is known, Mr. Miyazawa was deeply immersed in domestic politics. The law authorising the Japanese Government to send its troops out of the country—for participation in the U.N. peace-keeping operations—had evoked sharp controversies, with the Opposition and even a section of the ruling party having reservations. There was an undercurrent of nervousness in South-East Asia because of the bitter memories of the Japanese militarism half a century ago. This and Tokyo's strenuous efforts to dispel doubts and misgivings were the main elements of the domestic political setting then. The Upper House elections, not far away, were regarded crucial, virtually looked upon as a referendum on the law on peace-keeping operations. There was even talk of a fresh general election in the case of the ruling party's failure to put up a credible performance in the Upper House contests. Luckily for the Government, that poll went in its favour.

Mr. Miyazawa, 73, was designated Japan's 78th Prime Minister, on November 5 last year. In his country, he is known for his intimate knowledge of international affairs and his experience in international negotiations. His assumption of office was considered timely—by his supporters, in particular—in view of the tough phase ahead in international dealings, the end of the cold war notwithstanding. How could Japan make an effective international contribution in the rapidly changing world became a matter of overriding importance. The Japanese people pinned high hopes on him—and his handling of the country's external relations and the quality of his leadership.

The list of questions covers various subjects—bilateral relations, regional affairs and, of course, global problems. Mr. Miyazawa says he wants to give 'further depth and breadth' to Japan's relations with India in the political, economic and cultural fields. He sees a greater scope for expansion in trade and investment, now that India has embarked upon drastic economic reforms. He hopes for "further liberalisation" under Mr. Rao's leadership.

The following are Mr. Miyazawa's replies, translated from the Japanese:

Question: Japan's decision to send its troops abroad—as part of U.N. peace-keeping operations—has caused nervousness among its neighbours. This is so despite your detailed explanations in the Diet and elsewhere. How do you propose to tackle this situation—of persisting suspicions?

Mr. Miyazawa: The Japanese Government has explained to the Governments concerned the details of the International Peace Cooperation Law soon after its enactment. Responses from the Asian countries are generally favourable. We understand that Japanese cooperation for the U.N. peace-keeping operation has been well understood by many countries including India. I feel very much encouraged to note that especially in Cambodia, where the Self Defence Force's personnel of Japan were despatched to participate in the UNTAC [United Nations Transition Authority on Cambodia], the despatch of the PKO [Peace-Keeping Operation] was received favourably not only by Prince Sihanouk but also by each faction of the SNC [Supreme National Council] of that country.

Needless to say, we have to be very cautious in the operation of the pertinent legislation and make efforts to obtain further understanding from the Asian countries.

Question: The participation in the U.N. forces will give Japan a new political profile in global affairs. Will you like to spell out the role your Government has in mind for your country?

Mr. Miyazawa: With the end of the cold war, a new international order for peace is just about to emerge. We believe that "the dividends of peace" accrued from the reduction of military expenditure should be utilised for the common cause of mankind and also for the solution of the South-North problems. Japan intends to devote itself positively towards the new era for building up peace. With the enactment and enforcement of the International Peace Cooperation Law, a domestic scheme has now been drawn up for Japan to participate in the U.N. peace-keeping activities as well as humanitarian international rescue operations. Japan has so far made considerable international contribution on the financial front, but from now onwards, we are determined to make personnel contribution to the maximum extent possible within the scheme of the said legislation.

Question: In the changed global context, how exactly does Japan propose to develop relations with the countries of Asia in general, and India, in particular?

Mr. Miyazawa: Japan's main pillar of its diplomacy has been to promote friendly and cooperative relations with the countries of Asia in order to ensure the peace and prosperity of the Asian region, to which Japan belongs. For this purpose, besides our continued implementation

of the economic cooperation programme in the Asian region, we will make extensive and active efforts in various areas such as:

- (i) Cooperation for peace and prosperity of the whole of Indo-China, after normality is restored in Cambodia.
- (ii) Cooperation for peace and stability in the Korean peninsula;
- (iii) Support to the Chinese open and reform policy;
- (iv) Further strengthening of cooperative relations through dialogue with the countries of the ASEAN [Association of South East Asian Nations], South Asia and the Pacific region. With regard to Japan-India relations, there has been tremendous development in the field of trade and economic cooperation since 1952, when the two countries established diplomatic relations by the signing of the peace treaty embodying fully the spirit of friendship and cordiality.

At present, Japan is the largest donor country to India. I think it is necessary to give further depth and breadth to our relations including political, economic and cultural aspects, as we have considerable scope to expand them besides economic cooperation. India is pursuing its drastic economic reforms under the dramatically changing international scenario. From this point of view, it is also expected that our bilateral economic ties will be stretched further through trade and investment. Though Japan and India have played their respective roles in the international community, I consider that they can build a new cooperative relationship.

Question: What is your Government's assessment of the economic reforms in India? What according to you are the prospects of increase in trade and in Japanese investment in India?

Mr. Miyazawa: We highly appreciate that India under the leadership of Prime Minister Rao, who came to power in June 1991, has been pursuing its task with top priority economic reforms by announcing a series of economic liberalisation and deregulation measures, in order to reconstruct Indian economy confronted with economic hardships such as scarcity of foreign exchange reserves caused by the influence of the Gulf war. We hope that further liberalisation will be promoted under the leadership of Prime Minister Rao. The Japanese Government despatched to India a large-size economic mission headed by Dr. R. Ishikawa, President of the Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry, last January which had talks with the high officials of the Government as well as the representatives of the business community of India. On that occasion, the mission, based upon the above stated Japanese basic stance, exchanged views on the concrete matters of mutual concern in order to consider ways and means to further promote bilateral economic relations through the expansion of trade and investment.

Japan's recent direct investment in India has increased remarkably. In 1991, the amount of authorised investment from Japan to India was 10 times higher than what it was in the preceding year; and in the first seven months of 1992, the said figure is seven times higher than the one in 1991. I hope that a new chapter will be opened in India-Japan economic relations this year, to mark the 40th anniversary of the establishment of our diplomatic relations.

Question: Japan has, from time to time, shown interest in cooperation with the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation]. Are any concrete steps contemplated? And what has been the response from the SAARC countries?

Mr. Miyazawa: Japan considers that the progress of regional cooperation through the SAARC will be conducive to the political stability and economic development in the whole region of South Asia. If the SAARC as an organisation desires cooperation with the countries outside the region, Japan is ready to consider its appropriate cooperation. The other day at the "South Asia Forum," an advisory body to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a proposal was made on how to strengthen relations with the South Asian countries including the establishment of Japan SAARC Special Fund. Prime Minister Rao during his visit to Japan expressed that India would be willing to welcome this proposal. I understand that, in general, this proposal is highly appreciated. The quarters concerned in the Japanese Government are now studying what Japan could do about this proposal, taking fully into consideration the related factors including the present fiscal situation.

Question: How do you see the political situation in the Indian sub-continent? Your ideas on India-Pakistan problems?

Mr. Miyazawa: Favourable trends are now emerging in South Asia as shown in the democratisation in Nepal and Bangladesh as well as in the economic liberalisation in India and Pakistan. Japan will extend appropriate support with the expectation that these favourable trends will be further promoted.

Indo-Pakistan relations constitute a key factor for the stability of the whole South Asia region. I presume that if the Indo-Pakistan relations are improved so as to stabilise this region, it would give a considerable impact favourable for the promotion of economic and social development of each country in the region. With these views in mind, Japan appreciates that the Foreign Secretary-level consultative talks between India and Pakistan have been continuing in spite of the ups and downs in their relations, and hopes that the bilateral issues would be settled through a tenacious dialogue, and further expects that India and Pakistan will contribute to the peace and stability of the world with concrete measures to be taken by them for nuclear non-proliferation.

Question: Japan's stand on the NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty] and related issues is known. How, in this context,

do you see the recent test by China and export of missiles by it? And what is to be the scope of the proposed dialogue with India on this subject?

Mr. Miyazawa: It is known that China's nuclear test conducted last May was as big as 1 mt. Japan has been attaching great importance to the issue of nuclear test ban. We regret very much that nuclear tests are still carried out in the international community.

I understand that China has been adhering to the guidelines of the Missile Technology Control Regime [MTCR] since March 1992 and we appreciate it. I also expect that China will maintain strict export control of missiles and related technologies in future as well.

Last June, when Prime Minister Rao visited Japan, I exchanged views for an hour or so about international issues centring on nuclear questions. I made a proposal at that time that the official level consultative meeting on nuclear issues should be held between Japan and India. Prime Minister Rao agreed to it. I am informed that the date of this meeting and the agenda of items to be discussed are now being coordinated through diplomatic channels. I expect that constructive and significant exchange of views will take place between the two countries in the direction of nuclear non-proliferation.

Question: What is your view of the proposal by the Mauritius External Affairs Minister—of a dialogue between the signatories of the NPT and the non-signatories to find a way out of the reservations of the countries like India on the treaty? Could the NPT be expanded (with the addition of a schedule), so as to be in tune with the present-day realities?

Mr. Miyazawa: The strengthening of nuclear non-proliferation regime is one of the foremost tasks which the international community should tackle at present. Japan attaches importance to the NPT as a sole and realistic international scheme under which nuclear non-proliferation and the peaceful use of nuclear power can coexist. From the viewpoint, Japan has been urging the non-signatory countries like India and Pakistan to participate in the NPT.

Your question seems to be related to the modification of the NPT, but Japan welcomes that the universalisation of the present NPT regime has progressed with the participation of South Africa, China and France. The signatories of the NPT now accounting for 150 countries have played an important role for the peace and stability of the world.

Under the changing global scenario with the termination of the cold war and the initiatives by the United States and Russia for nuclear disarmament, I hope to witness that progress will be made for finding a solution to the nuclear issues of South Asia also. It is from this viewpoint that I urged India to participate in the NPT last June when Prime Minister Rao visited Japan.

Question: How have your relations with Moscow changed, following the demise of the Soviet Union? At what stage is the problem about your northern territories?

Mr. Miyazawa: Japan appreciates the principle already elucidated by President Yeltsin that any distinction between a victorious country and a defeated country should be abandoned, and that attempts to solve the territories issue should be made on the basis of law and justice.

As for the northern territorial issue, we have now reached the stage of a political decision to be taken, following discussions on the legal aspects at the official level working group for the peace treaty.

It was regretful that the visit of President Yeltsin was postponed. Nevertheless, the Japanese Government, based on the long-term perspective of not resorting to any emotionalism, continuously proceeds with practical relations with Russia.

Question: In the domestic context, how do you see the political situation in Japan after the Upper House elections? Does the poll outcome mean endorsement of the law on the peace-keeping operations?

Mr. Miyazawa: On the occasion of the last election of the House of Councillors, the International Peace Cooperation Law was in fact the main issue, but by no means the only issue before the electorate. In this respect, we could ascertain that the PKO was endorsed by the people of Japan.

Question: How was the Asian viewpoint projected at Munich? If so, with what results?

Mr. Miyazawa: At the last Munich summit, the participating countries tended to concentrate their attention on the European issues—a move to form a new order in Europe, and the confrontation in Yugoslavia. Under such circumstances, however, I insisted that the Asian and Pacific views should be incorporated so that the discussion at the summit might become truly global, and further appealed that the peace and stability of Asia are essentially important for the peace and stability of the whole world.

Consequently considerable time was devoted for discussions on the Asia-Pacific region, the outcome of which was reflected in the declaration of the summit. More concretely, it was clearly described in the economic declaration which welcomed the economic and political developments in East Asia and South East Asia. In the political declaration, an appreciation for the role of the ASEAN [Association of South East Asian Nations], the PMC [Post Ministerial Conference] and the APEC [Asia Pacific Economic Conference] as well as serious apprehensions over the present Cambodian situation and support for UNTAC were also manifested. Further in the Chairman's statement, apprehensions about North

Korea's nuclear development programme and the expectation that China would play a constructive role in the international community were also mentioned.

The next summit will be laid in Tokyo and chaired by Japan in July 1993. I would like to find out the ways and means by which the Asian views will be further projected at the discussions of the Tokyo summit, based upon the result of the Munich summit.

Question: What is Japan's perception of the Asia-Pacific security?

Mr. Miyazawa: While the international community is passing through a period of historic changes, favourable trends are found for the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region as shown in the agreement of a comprehensive peace plan for Cambodia, normalisation of Sino-Vietnam relations and the move conducive to the mitigation of tension in the Korean peninsula.

Remarkable economic development has been achieved in this region, particularly in East Asia. This is greatly contributing to the political stability of this region by improving the standards of the people's livelihood. At the same time this region also holds many elements of instability as represented by the existence of the unsolved issues of northern territories, Korean peninsula and the Spratly Islands. Under such circumstances the conditions surrounding Asia Pacific security are still uncertain.

Indo-Iranian Panel Meets, Results Told

Memorandum of Understanding

93AS0251A Madras THE HINDU in English 12 Nov 92
p 9

[Article: "MoU May Help Boost Ties With Iran"; bold-face words as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 11. With India and Iran signing a Memorandum of Understanding [MoU] today on economic cooperation, a significant enhancement in the level of bilateral cooperation in industry, trade, transportation and communication is expected.

The MoU was signed at the culmination of the meeting of the sixth Indo-Iranian Joint Commission which began here on November 9. Observers said the latest joint commission meeting signified a serious attempt at upgrading Indo-Iranian economic ties.

To give a political thrust to the growing bilateral relationship, Iran invited the Prime Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao to visit Teheran. A spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry said the invitation had been accepted and Mr. Rao was expected to visit Iran on "mutually acceptable dates."

At the Joint Commission meeting, the Iranian delegation was led by the Foreign Minister, Mr. Ali Akbar Velayati, and the Indian side by the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. R. L. Bhatia.

Besides several areas covered under the MoU, India clinched, in principle, a deal on the construction of a 840 MW Iranian project—the Kerman thermal power project—and made progress in negotiating other programmes including the Teheran Metro Workshop project.

The MoU highlighted the Indian proposal (the \$200 millions RITES-IRCON proposal) for the electrification of the Bandar Abbas Bafque railroad and the Bandar-e-Imam signalling section. Significantly, both sections head in a northerly direction—towards the Central Asian Republic of Turkmenistan.

Sources here said India showed interest in the project for a rail link between Iran and the Central Asian Republics. An access to this route via the Iranian port of Bandar Abbas would reduce the financial costs of India's trade with the erstwhile republics of Central Asia belonging to the former Soviet Union.

Two new working groups: The two sides set up two new working groups—on transportation and agriculture. The other three committees under the aegis of the joint commission are on industry, trade and consular and cultural relations.

Kerman power project: Detailing the decisions covered under the MoU, the spokesman said the Kerman power project contract was expected to be finalised around December 15. An Indian team of experts would go to Teheran shortly for a discussion on its financial aspects among other things. The estimated cost of the project to be undertaken by the Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited was between \$600 millions and \$700 millions.

Discussions on the Teheran Metro Project Workshop (estimated to cost \$55 millions), for which Teheran had issued a letter of intent to the Hindustan Machine Tools (HMT), also made progress. The \$200 millions Khuzestan sugar project also came under close scrutiny.

Iran's Heavy Industry Minister, Mr. Nezhad Hosseini is visiting New Delhi between December 11 and 17.

In trade—an area where the two sides recorded 100 percent growth in the last four months—India and Iran decided to pay special attention to boosting trade in minerals and metals, engineering goods, agricultural commodities, crude oil and shipping.

The team of experts is leaving for Iran to work out modalities related to utilising transit facilities to the Central Asian Republics.

The two countries also decided to carry out technical studies for establishing an oil pipeline—overland or undersea. Discussions on this were still at a preliminary stage.

With focus on training of Iranian students, the two sides agreed to enhance cooperation in the field of agriculture and rural development.

Mr. Velayati called on the President, Mr. K. R. Narayanan, and the Prime Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, yesterday. The discussions included the review of the situation in Afghanistan and the results of the recent non-aligned summit in Jakarta.

Ambassador's Remarks

93AS0251B Madras THE HINDU in English 13 Nov 92
p 4

[Article: "Big Scope for Stepping Up India-Iran Trade Ties"; boldface words as published]

[Text] Hyderabad, Nov. 12. Iran sees considerable scope for expanding its trade relations with Indian following liberalisation of economic policies in both countries, according to its Ambassador, Mr. Aga Ebrahim Raheempour.

He said trade relations were earlier restricted but now the differences had been overcome and they were ready for joint ventures. The new economic policies of the Narasimha Rao Government and the Iranian Government's five-year plan to develop the private sector were bound to give an impetus to bilateral trade.

Addressing the Indo-Iranian Chamber of Commerce and Friendship here today, Mr. Raheempour referred to the trade ties Bombay and Pune had with two major cities in Iran and suggested a similar link between Hyderabad and the province of Isafahan which Mr. Narasimha Rao had visited earlier as the Foreign Minister. Trade between India and his country was negligible before the Islamic revolution but increased a hundred fold subsequently. The two countries started joint ventures in electricity, steel and cement in Iran.

Ready to lay gas pipeline: Mr. Raheempour said Iran was ready to lay a gas pipeline to India via Pakistan. His country was generally considered as an oil exporter but it was the second biggest exporter of gas in the world.

Referring to the recent meeting of the sixth Indo-Iranian Joint Commission in New Delhi, he said it reached the biggest ever agreement signed between the two countries. He invited Indian trade representatives to visit Iran to get a first-hand knowledge of the facilities available there.

The Andhra Pradesh Minister for Commerce, Mr. Md. Jani, said Iran could import tobacco, granite and machine tools from Andhra Pradesh. Some of these items, particularly tobacco and granite, were now being imported by Iran after value addition from countries such as Bulgaria, Japan and Italy.

Mr. Jani said India had 200 million Muslims, the second largest concentration after Indonesia. India's relations with its neighbours had a bearing on the lives of the

community. Therefore, Muslims looked to the Islamic Republic of Iran to support India on the issue of Kashmir.

Mr. S. M. Kazeem Naeimi, First Secretary in the Iranian Embassy, said agreements involving millions of dollars were proposed to be signed between his Government and public sector companies in India such as IRCON, BHEL and HMT.

Mr. Syed Ali Abbas Moosvi, president, Indo-Iran Chamber of Commerce and Friendship, welcomed the gathering.

Rao Plans Visit to Italy in Early 1993

93AS0255A Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 29 Oct 92 p 9

[Article: "PV To Visit Italy Early Next Year"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 28: In response to an invitation from the Italian Prime Minister, Mr. Giuliano Amato, Prime Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, is likely to pay an official visit to Italy towards the beginning of 1993.

The actual dates for the visit will be finalised through normal diplomatic channels.

The Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Giuseppe Giacobozzo, who arrived here on Sunday last is understood to have discussed the matter with Indian side. He will be here till Thursday.

According to diplomatic observers, India and Italy are 'reliable partners' in political and economic fields and their economy is 'complementary.' It was in this context the visiting Italian Minister is exchanging views with Indian leaders for further strengthening of bilateral ties for mutual benefit and advantage. Currently a delegation of Italian businessmen is also here and it is discussing issues of cooperation in various fields with its counterpart.

Mr. Giacobozzo called on the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. R. I. Bhatia and Minister of State for Science and Technology and Parliamentary Affairs, Mr. Kumaramangalam.

Joint Panel With Malaysia Holds First Meeting

93AS0253A Madras THE HINDU in English 3 Nov 92
p 6

[Article by Sridhar Krishnaswami: "Indo-Malaysian Ties Strengthened"; bold words as published]

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, Nov. 2. The setting up of a joint commission on bilateral cooperation has further strengthened relations, the Malaysian Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdullah Ahmad Badwai told the Ministerial meeting of the Commission, today.

Mr. Abdullah emphasised that bilateral relations had been characterised by the absence of any political problem and had progressed further with India's new openness in its foreign policy.

"We share with India a desire to promote economic liberalisation and the need to seek a regional forum for economic cooperation," he noted.

He said South-South cooperation had been one of the goals of Malaysia's foreign policy and his country had been consistently promoting it to complement its long-standing relations with the North. It had become much more relevant with the emergence of a new world order and the formation of trading blocs by the developed countries, Mr. Abdullah said.

Referring to India and Malaysia, the Minister said the two had given timely support and cooperation to each other on many issues—Kuala Lumpur, according to the Minister, was "grateful" for the support extended by New Delhi to Malaysia's bid to host the 1998 Commonwealth games; the offer of 150 seats in medical colleges in India for Malaysian-sponsored students; and the recent award of a contract to provide cellular mobile telephone services in Calcutta tendered by Telecom Malaysia in collaboration with Usha Martin. Malaysia for its part, had given special access to India for development projects.

Mr. Eduardo Faleiro, Minister of State for External Affairs, referred to the special relationship that existed between the two countries and pointed out that the establishment of the Joint Commission was a historic occasion in that the nature of contact had been enhanced to the political level. Further, Mr. Faleiro noted that the First Joint Commission meeting was taking place at a time when tremendous economic progress was taking place in Malaysia and when liberalisation and globalisation were being put in place in India.

"It is incumbent on both our delegations to impart greater economic content to our bilateral cooperation in all the fields. The agenda covers almost all aspects of the relationship and we must try and identify specific areas for collaboration investment as also additional items for increasing our bilateral trade," Mr. Faleiro said.

Referring to joint ventures, Mr. Faleiro said there was need for diversification. Power generation and transmission, railway locomotion and electrification, petrochemicals, information technology, and computer software, were areas in which India possessed state of the art technology, the Minister said. He called upon Malaysian business houses to invest in India. "We look forward to cooperation both in terms of trade and investment," Mr. Faleiro said.

The Joint Commission would be at the level of the Foreign Ministers. As many as 10 fields have been identified in the agreement that is intended to enhance economic, scientific and technical cooperation. The areas include trade and investment; human resource

development, health, science and technology, agriculture, tourism, culture, transportation, power generation and transmission, petroleum and petro-chemicals.

The Ministerial level meeting comes to a formal close tomorrow. Mr. Faleiro is scheduled to call on Mr. Samy Vellu, Minister for Power and Telecommunications, and Mr. Ling Liong Sik, Minister for Transportation, Mr. Faleiro is also expected to call on the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dr. Mahathir Mohammad.

G-15 meet discussed: The forthcoming meeting of the G-15 was one of the subjects of discussion between Mr. Abdullah and Mr. Faleiro. This was disclosed by the Malaysian Foreign Minister in a chat with Indian and Malaysian correspondents after the formal opening of the First Joint Commission meeting.

Mr. Abdullah said it was important that as many countries as possible participate in the meeting in Senegal, although there is the awareness of the special difficulties faced by some, especially from South America, owing to the political situation.

According to Mr. Abdullah, the Indian Minister was also briefed on the recent meeting that took place between the ASEAN [Association of South East Asian Nations] and the European Community in Manila. He was also told that Malaysia supported the holding of a world conference on human rights. "I am happy to note that India and Malaysia hold the same view (on human rights). That when we talk on the subject of human rights we are not talking purely from the political angle. We are talking about human rights from the point of view of the importance of providing quality opportunities to the poor people to help them improve their living standards... helping them to come out from the clutches of poverty... They (the poor) have a right to access to quality opportunities. That is the most important point as far as we are concerned," the Minister said.

To a question whether Kuala Lumpur had any guarantee on the Japanese plutonium vessel not using the Malacca Straits. Mr. Abdullah responded by saying that the Japanese Government had given the assurance that it would take all precautions to ensure the safety of the ship and the cargo it carried.

He called the stalling of the peace process in Cambodia, as a result of the unwillingness of the Khmer Rouge to participate, as a most unfortunate development. He, however, said a solution consistent with the spirit of the Paris accords could be found. He did not support elections in Cambodia without the Khmer Rouge as that would not only lead to the fragmentation of the country but also endanger peace.

Internal Affairs

Papers Document Prelude to Ayodhya Crisis

Rao Addresses NIC

93AS0292A Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
24 Nov 92 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 23—The Prime Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, today said the Centre will not tolerate any violation of the law or court orders on the Ayodhya dispute.

Putting the Centre's stamp of finality on this aspect of the lingering controversy, Mr. Rao, in his opening speech at the meeting of the National Integration Council (NIC) said, "There can be no compromise on this." At the same time, he appealed to those organising the kar seva on the acquired land from December 6 to desist from violating the law and court orders.

"We have still not given up our attempts to find some workable solution. We would consider any possible option that respects the basic democratic values," he said.

The Prime Minister devoted a substantial part of his speech to narrating the sequence of events which followed the agreement between the Hindu religious leaders and the Centre last July. He said there was no difference on the basic proposition that a grand Ram temple should be constructed in Ayodhya. The issues on which differences of opinion had persisted related to the plan of construction, safety of the existing structure and compliance with the court orders on the subject.

Mr. Rao noted that his efforts to persuade the organisers of the proposed kar seva to withdraw their plan had not yielded any result so far. There had been reports that the build-up to the kar seva in terms of recruitment of volunteers and movement of material had started, he said.

He said the proceedings of the Allahabad High Court in the land acquisition case were in the final stage and only the judgment remained to be pronounced. Forcing the issue at this stage would be an open contravention of the directions of the High Court and the Supreme Court, he felt.

Mr. Rao began his speech by recalling the circumstances in which the NIC met last July. The Uttar Pradesh chief minister, Mr. Kalyan Singh's failure to stop construction at the 2.77 acre plot and his inability to deal with the situation had made it incumbent upon him to talk to the saints.

The saints and the mahants had agreed to stop the kar seva after he had promised to resume the process of negotiations initiated by the Chandra Shekhar government. He had also indicated that, if necessary, the litigation pending in various courts could be referred to

a single judicial authority and the exercise would be finished in about four months.

The first step in the resumption of negotiations, undertaken by the cell created in his office, involved study, classification, analysis and authentication of the evidence presented by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and the All-India Babri Masjid Action Committee (AIB-MAC). An area which required a lot of painstaking effort related to court cases since the Central government was not a party to either the civil suits or the contempt petitions and had only been impleaded as a party in some of the petitions against the land acquisition.

The Prime Minister said while this was going on, he had been consulting a large number of delegations and individuals.

NIC Passes Resolution

93AS0292B Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
24 Nov 92 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 23—The National Integration Council (NIC) unanimously empowered the Prime Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, tonight to take "whatever steps" he considers necessary to safeguard the rule of law in Ayodhya.

The single-sentence resolution adopted after a five-hour meeting of the NIC, which was boycotted by the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and the VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad], said, "After considering all aspects of the Ramjanambhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute and the report of the government, the NIC extends its wholehearted support and cooperation to whatever steps the Prime Minister considers essential in upholding the Constitution and the rule of law and in implementing the court orders."

The resolution was moved by the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] general secretary, Mr. Harkishen Singh Surjeet, and adopted unanimously amid the thumping of desks. All four BJP chief ministers stayed out of the NIC, attaching more loyalty to the party than to their constitutional commitments.

Summing up the day's proceedings, Mr. Rao, said, "We are all for the same objective and I am bound by the resolution (adopted by the NIC)." He indicated the Centre's hardening position on the intransigence of the BJP-VHP-RSS [Bharatiya Janata Party-Vishwa Hindu Parishad-Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh] combine and said, "No stone will be left unturned in doing what the NIC has asked me to do. We will succeed in upholding the Constitution and in seeing that the court orders are implemented."

Significantly, the NIC did not feel it would serve any purpose to issue an appeal to the BJP-VHP-RSS forces to call off the kar seva. It appears that the Centre felt progressively emboldened by the tone of speeches at the meeting, an index of which was the difference between the Prime Minister's opening and closing remarks. While

at the outset Mr. Rao spoke of the possibility of being able to avoid a confrontation, by the end of the session, he sounded firmly committed to action. Earlier, most Opposition leaders unequivocally demanded stern action against the Uttar Pradesh government and assured the Centre of the fullest support.

Even though the resolution nowhere mentions dismissal of the Kalyan Singh government, it is implicit in the carte blanche given to the Centre by the NIC tonight. The Tamil Nadu chief minister, Ms. Jayalalitha, and the former Punjab chief minister, Mr. Surjit Singh Barnala, were the only ones who specifically recorded their opposition to the dismissal of an elected government. Several Opposition parties, including the CPI(M) and the Janata Dal, were opposed, in principle, to Article 356, which empowers the Centre to dismiss a state government, but felt the article should be invoked if the Uttar Pradesh government failed to discharge its constitutional obligations.

The broad tenor of the speeches at the NIC meeting was that it was no longer a question of a mosque or a temple but that of the survival of the rule of law and the Constitution of the country.

Late tonight the leader of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha, Mr. L. K. Advani, welcomed the Tamil Nadu chief ministers "powerful plea" to delink the two ingredients of the Ayodhya issue, namely, the proposed kar seva on the 2.77 acres of land acquired by the Uttar Pradesh government and the dispute regarding the structure.

He said it was significant that even Ms. Jayalalitha felt that the people's aspirations with regard to the construction of the temple should not be thwarted and steps should be taken to enable the resumption of kar seva.

Jayalalitha Letters

93AS0292C Madras THE HINDU in English 26 Nov 92
p 4

[Text] Madras, Nov. 25—The following is the text of the letter addressed to the Prime Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, by the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Ms. Jayalalitha, today:

"Dear Prime Minister, The resolution passed by the National Integration Council at its meeting held on the 23rd November, 1992, on the Ayodhya issue, extending its whole-hearted support and cooperation to whatever steps the Prime Minister considers essential for upholding the Constitution and the Rule of Law and in implementing the court's order is an ample measure of the trust placed in your experience and sagacity by the whole nation to resolve this difficult issue and has cast a heavy responsibility upon you.

"I have no doubt that you would still be able to find a way to the solution of this complex problem. As I said at the meeting of the Council, while the courts may play an important role in settling the legal aspect of the case, the

Ayodhya dispute goes beyond legal issues and has now come to be seen as a national issue, involving the freedom of worship of the majority of the people in this country. Step-by-step efforts are therefore needed to remove the various hurdles that have defied permanent solution.

"The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad] and other organisations interested in putting up a Sri Rama Temple on the disputed site are voicing the feeling of the majority. In my opinion, it is necessary to see their point of view with sincerity and narrow the gap in the approaches of the various interested parties. In my honest view, it will not be difficult for you to convince the BJP and VHP about your own ultimate aim, which is the aim of the Congress Party, to allow the construction of the Sri Rama Temple on the site of 2.77 acres without damaging the Babri Masjid.

"I would earnestly request you to consider creating conditions favourable for the dedicated workers to put up a temple on the site of 2.77 acres, without causing any damage to the Mosque.

"To a national leader of your experience, it is needless to point out that a rigid legal or administrative approach to the question may not deliver the desired result. I, therefore, thought it appropriate to appeal to you once again to look at the matter afresh, in the light of the opinion generally expressed at the meeting of the National Integration Council [NIC], to the effect that the Sri Rama Temple should be allowed to be constructed at the 2.77 acres site without affecting the Babri Masjid, an opinion which has, unfortunately, not been reflected in the resolution passed by the NIC.

"With kind regards, Yours sincerely, J. Jayalalitha"

Letter to Advani

The following is the text of the Chief Minister's letter addressed to Mr. Advani:

"Dear Shri Advani, The stand taken by the BJP in the Ayodhya issue is well known and is now recognised as representing the aspirations of a large majority of the people in our country. At the same time, we have to give the utmost regard to certain principles, which our country has always stood for. One is respect for the rule of law and the other, resolution of all disputes through negotiations, keeping in view the over-riding objective of maintaining communal peace and amity. That there should be a Sri Rama Temple at Ayodhya is now accepted by all right thinking persons of our country. That it should be built on the 2.77 acre site is also recognised.

"At the same time, there is an overwhelming opinion in our country, that whatever be the historical circumstances, monuments like the Babri Masjid should be preserved and protected for posterity. Religious fervour

is one thing. Understanding man's deep religious longings and providing for suitable opportunities for worship, giving the highest regard to the sentiments of the people, is another. It is necessary to balance both.

"I am sure that for a national leader of your stature, it should not be too difficult to work out a solution in a spirit of give-and-take and carry the message to the people of this country, to the effect that the majority of the people, namely, the Hindus would continue to live with their brethren belonging to other faiths in peace and amity. In the light of the resolution passed at the meeting of the National Integration Council on the 23rd November, 1992, I would be grateful if you can extend your fullest cooperation to the Prime Minister and show to the world that the Hindus, nay, the Indians can work for and achieve the highest unity of minds in an hour of crisis.

"With kind regards, Yours sincerely, J. Jayalalitha"

Rao to Parliament Party

93AS0292D Madras *THE HINDU in English*
26 Nov 92 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 25—The Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, has said that the Government would make efforts "till the last minute to avert a crisis and confrontation" in Ayodhya, but it would have to be "ready to face any eventuality."

Addressing the Congress(I) Parliamentary Party [CPP] today to mark the start of the winter session of Parliament, Mr. Rao sought to take his colleagues into confidence about the negotiating process on Ayodhya to defuse the situation, and regretted "the deliberate intention to sabotage" (on the part of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad) through the announcement of beginning of kar seva on December 6, even while talks were progressing satisfactorily.

Using forthright language, indicated in a verbatim recording of his speech by the CPP distributed to the media, the Prime Minister said an "arbitrary date was unilaterally announced" to resume kar seva. The tenor of Mr. Rao's speech throughout appeared to be aimed at preparing public opinion through dissemination of persuasive detail for any political turn of events.

"What is the sanctity about the date? What is the relevance of sixth December? What was the urgency to make this announcement before the third meeting (between the contending parties) was to take place? I have been asking about this. And to this crucial question, no answer is forthcoming," Mr. Rao said.

Talks Were Sabotaged

"We have to conclude," the Prime Minister said, "that this was done in order to sabotage the meeting of the eighth of November." "This is exactly what happened," he added.

The Prime Minister spoke for about an hour and a quarter, devoting almost his entire speech to the Ayodhya developments.

All that had been done in the last four months seemed to have been "set at naught by the very arbitrary and highly inexplicable" announcement of kar seva. "One cannot succeed in this attempt," he said. The kar seva date had "once again vitiated the atmosphere."

Court Orders Will Be Upheld

Significantly, the Prime Minister also said that apart from implementing the Supreme Court orders, the Government also had a "responsibility under the constitution."

He observed, without mincing words, "If suppose the Supreme Court had not called us, would we be keeping quiet? No. So on both counts, we will act like a responsible Government." The Government would implement the Supreme Court's order.

Speaking in the context of stay orders pronounced by the apex court as well as the Allahabad High Court, the Prime Minister said, "I do not know what else you can imagine from the legal authority to stop this illegal work (construction at the disputed site) being done. Now, we are in a crucial situation where the next few days will determine how the court's order is going to be obeyed."

Mobilising Public Opinion

Backing the Government's readiness to prepare for any eventuality, the AICC [All India Congress Committee] headquarters released a note intended to "expose" the BJP-RSS-VHP [Bharatiya Janata Party-Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh Vishwa Hindu Parishad] "parivar" (family) and "fully mobilise public opinion in support of our party's stand" as it appeared now that the "parivar" was "bent on taking a confrontationist position" on the temple-mosque dispute. All PCCs [Pradesh Congress Committees] and DCCs [District Congress Committees] had been instructed to hold public meetings and rallies to explain the issue to the people.

Reiterating the Congress(I) stand of "mandir banao-masjid bachao" (build the temple-save the mosque), the 13-point note is a collation of positions to take to the public. It states that the BJP received less than 20 percent of the vote in the last election and had, therefore, no right to speak on behalf of the Hindu community.

If the BJP-VHP were so sure that a temple existed where the mosque now stands, the Congress(I) note asked why they were fighting shy of agreeing to a single point reference to the Supreme Court to determine this issue? The Congress(I) talking points also state that the BJP had never raised the Ayodhya issue for 40 years, especially when it was in power at the Centre in the Janata period. "The battle is not for Ayodhya. The battle is for capture of power of Delhi," it asserts.

The Prime Minister said that while the world had come to believe that India had a viable, stable Government which provided the appropriate setting for pursuing the programme of economic liberalisation, (now) "at least some of them are not feeling as self-confident as before." "This is a very sad state of affairs," he added.

"Why should this country be subjected to this kind of harassment on the basis of non-issues, on the basis of things which have nothing to do with the lives of the people?" the Prime Minister wondered.

He also noted that there was "a little setback" in the general economic programme in the country even though the programme was going ahead.

Mr. Rao regretted that the spirit of the reforms package had not percolated to the ground level in many of the States. "We are in that phase of making the State Governments ready to take over this task," he added.

The general economic situation in the country had stabilised and the "Congress Party has to attend to economic side more."

Mr. Rao described the recent Supreme Court pronouncement on the Mandal issue as "far-reaching." He said each of the nine judges on the Bench gave different arguments and reasons on many points. "The whole judgment would have to be studied and analysed and the Government has to be very clear on what the Supreme Court has said," he added.

Former Kashmir Officials Meet in Delhi

93AS0248A Bombay THE SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA in English 8 Nov 92 p 1

[Article: "Conference on Kashmir: Call To Declare Pak Terrorist State"]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 7. In the meeting of the former parliamentarians and legislators of Jammu and Kashmir, specially convened here today by the home minister, Mr. S. B. Chavan, to discuss the situation in the sensitive border state, the international community was urged to declare Pakistan a state "abetting international terrorism."

In a lengthy resolution adopted at the end of the meeting, the former MPs [Members of Parliament] and legislators expressed grave concern at Pakistan's aiding and abetting of terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir.

The participants hoped that the Centre would make concerted efforts to expose Pakistan's role in subverting peace in Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab.

The resolution appealed to those who had taken to the path of violence, to lay down arms and return to the national mainstream. It underlined that all the outstanding grievances and problems could be resolved amicably and in a peaceful manner within the framework of the constitution.

It hoped all those who had migrated from the Valley would be able to return to their homes very soon.

The resolution stressed the need for correcting the alienation between the people and the administration in the Valley by taking concrete and time-bound measures. The participants felt efforts should be made for early commencement of the political process in the state and extended their support in such endeavours, the resolution added.

The meeting was attended by 37 former MPs and legislators from the state belonging to the Congress, the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and the Janata Dal. The governor of Jammu and Kashmir, Mr. Girish Chandra Saxena, and the Bihar governor, Mr. Mohammad Shafi Qureshi, were also present in the conference.

All the speakers said that the Centre should take necessary steps in fighting the "proxy war" waged by Pakistan.

They also expressed the view that the time was not ripe for reviving the democratic process in the state.

Some speakers regretted the absence of the National Conference (NC) members at the meeting. Mr. Chavan interjected at this stage and hoped that the NC would participate in the next round of discussions.

The participants made several suggestions to instil confidence in the people of Jammu and Kashmir. They desired that steps be taken immediately to remove the sense of alienation among the people in the Valley.

The former MPs and legislators said that the electronic media should be used effectively to counter the Pakistani propaganda in the Valley. They commended the armed and the security forces in Jammu and Kashmir for doing a good job under trying circumstances and hoped the allegations of excesses shall be looked into firmly and duly publicised.

Earlier, in his opening remarks, Mr. Chavan reiterated the government's determination to move towards the restoration of the democratic process in the state.

Attorney General Resigns, Missteps Told

93AS0238A Madras THE HINDU in English 11 Nov 92 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 10—The Attorney-General, Mr. G. Ramaswamy, has submitted his resignation to the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao in the wake of his controversial remarks relating to an "anti-South" bias at the Centre. He reportedly sent in his papers yesterday citing health grounds.

Mr. Ramaswamy had hit the headlines after it was revealed before the Joint Parliamentary Committee [JPC] in late September that he had been advanced an unsecured loan of Rs [Rupees] 15 lakhs by Standard Chartered Bank.

Apparently, the Prime Minister sought the resignation of the Attorney-General after his controversial remarks that there was a bias against South Indians at the Centre.

He had specifically named the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] as being involved in the attack. Mr. Ramaswamy named key South Indians like the RBI [Reserve Bank of India] Governor, Mr. S. Venkitaramanan, and Finance Secretary, Mr. Geethakrishnan, and himself as being targets of the anti-South conspiracy.

After being silent for some time, Mr. Ramaswamy said he was a person with an annual income of Rs. one crore and there was nothing unusual about an "overdraft" of Rs. 15 lakhs. The Attorney-General said there was no skeleton in his cupboard.

On his "tendering advice to Stanchart" about the scam, the Attorney-General said in a written statement on October 4 he had not discussed the scandal with any bank officer.

He had, however, admitted to a meeting with Mr. D. Northrop, a Stanchart official, who had taken over as its chief in India recently. Mr. Ramaswamy had described the meeting as a courtesy call.

In the meeting, the official asked Mr. Ramaswamy how long it would take to recover the money lost by the bank. "I replied that I do not know. I told him that in our country the legal system is very good and there is nothing to worry [about]. Beyond this there was no other conversation between us about this or any other matter. There is one Executive Director of the Bank called Mr. Kannan, who comes from my native place in Thanjavur and is known to me. He too had at no time consulted me or taken my advice on the scam."

About the Bofors case, Mr. Ramaswamy was quoted as saying that he had never argued the matter. He was replying to a question whether he had "gone slow" on the kickbacks affair.

Denying the charge that he was "Dhirubhai Ambani's man," Mr. Ramaswamy said Mr. Ambani was once his client. Mr. Ramaswamy claimed that he had never met Mr. Ambani earlier.

Following the revelation before the JPC, the Janata Dal leader, Mr. George Fernandes, had called for Mr. Ramaswamy's resignation. Subsequently, the BJP demanded that the Attorney-General quit for his remarks against the "anti-South" bias of the party. There was a general clamour for his resignation.

Appointed Attorney-General by the Chandra Shekhar Government, Mr. Ramaswamy continued in the job even after the Congress(1) led by Mr. Narasimha Rao came to power.

As a lawyer, Mr. Ramaswamy has been representing several prominent clients.

PTI reports from Bombay:

Mr. George Fernandes today said Mr. Ramaswamy was the "new casualty" the multi-crore financial scandal had claimed and demanded his prosecution for his alleged role in the scam.

In a statement, Mr. Fernandes accused Mr. Ramaswamy of having done "a great disservice to the country by raising the North-South controversy" to hide his own, what he called, "criminal activities."

He also urged the Prime Minister not to waste any more time in sacking those Ministers who had been identified in connection with the scandal.

Rao Addresses Chief Ministers' Conference

93AS0236A Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 14 Nov 92 pp 1, 6

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 13 (UNI)—Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao today came down heavily on the "obnoxious criminalisation of public life" and suggested drastic measures to wipe out the evil that was becoming more and more prevalent.

"I think something very drastic needs to be considered on a non-party level or at the all-party level, because it has nothing to do with either political parties or with politics. If public life itself gets criminalised, there is hardly any area of activity in the country which can remain outside the pale of this, he said addressing the conference of Chief Ministers on administration of criminal justice here.

Mr. Narasimha Rao said some serious thinking had to be done on the subject, its effect on the election process, the way votes were cast, the kind of booth-capturing and even crimes with electoral motivations and other illegalities committed for electoral gain. "This may shake the entire democratic system," he added.

Dwelling upon the existing criminal justice system Mr. Rao stressed the need for a continuous review of the laws and procedures constituting the fabric of the system.

The State and Central governments had taken significant steps, including amendment of the Code of Criminal Procedure (CrPC).

However, a whole gamut of recommendations made by various commissions were yet to be examined and acted upon. These recommendations cover such vital areas as toning up of the investigative machinery and process, strengthening of the prosecution, mechanism, streamlining and expediting of procedures including those of trial courts and the problems of undertrials.

Expressing concern over the rise in crime rates and delay in disposal of cases, the Prime Minister said adequate attention had to be given to the training of personnel belonging to the police, jails and the judiciary.

He regretted that available training facilities in various institutions were grossly under-utilised. There were hardly any training facilities for officers and staff on the prosecution side, he said.

"There must be a very thorough scheme by which the prosecuting staff is properly trained and they are given all the necessary background and instruction for doing their job well. Since prosecution has to act as the legal arm of the police, it is necessary to have an efficient and trained prosecuting staff at various levels," he said.

The Prime Minister also called for upgradation of investigation techniques through constant research and development. Greater use of scientific aids in investigation and computerisation of crime records were of utmost importance in this regard, Mr. Rao said.

Addressing the conference, Home Minister S.B. Chavan called for overhauling of the existing criminal justice administration in the country to render speedier justice to the commonman. The present system had come under considerable stress due to the changing aspirations of people and rapid social, economic and political changes, he said.

Expressing concern at the emerging trends, such as custodial crimes, atrocities against some vulnerable sections of society and the unsatisfactory condition of jails he said there was an urgent need for substantial changes and overhaul of the present system.

Congress-I Leaders Vote Support to Rao

93AS0244A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
24 Oct 92 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 23—Pradesh Congress(I) chiefs have handed the party president and Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, a big personal victory, recommending the disbanding of Rajiv Gandhi and Indira Gandhi fora countrywide, hitting out at Mr. Rao's rivals within the party and unanimously resolving to "unitedly strengthen the nation and the party" under Mr. Rao's "mature and sagacious leadership."

A resolution adopted at the end of an eight-hour meeting of PCC(I) [Pradesh Congress Committee] chiefs chaired by Mr. Rao expressed "deep appreciation" of Mr. Rao's all-round record in the last 15 months, "wholeheartedly" endorsed the economic reforms and expressed support for the Prime Minister's chosen method of resolving the Ayodhya tangle. The resolution was moved by the Kerala PCC(I) chief, Mr. Vyalar Ravi, and seconded by Mr. Digvijay Singh, the Madhya Pradesh Congress(I) president.

Arjun targeted: Briefing newsmen after the marathon meeting, the AICC(I) spokesman, Mr. V.N. Gadgil, said among the complaints state party leaders had made was that some Union ministers did not care to inform them of their tour programmes.

Though Mr. Gadgil declined to take any names, this is believed to be aimed mainly at the human resources development minister, Mr. Arjun Singh.

Known to be a rival in the ranks, Mr. Arjun Singh's recent forays in Uttar Pradesh have rankled both the party high command and the Uttar Pradesh party chief, Mr. Mahabir Prasad, alike. The apprehension is that by moving into Uttar Pradesh, Mr. Arjun Singh, in league with Mr. N.D. Tiwari, is trying to lead a "northern revival" in the Congress(I).

Several PCC(I) chiefs, according to Mr. Gadgil, also spoke against the tendency of some partymen of Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi and the general consensus at the meeting was that they should be disbanded.

PCC(I) chiefs from 26 states and party heads of six territorial Congress(I) committees and the Bombay regional committee attended today's meeting. In addition, all AICC(I) [All India Congress Committee] office-bearers were also present.

Some PCC(I) chief also complained about factional activities and felt discipline should be more sternly enforced to prevent faction leaders from going public on internal matters. In this context, again, Mr. Gadgil refused to give any details.

Predictably, all leaders from non-Congress(I) states were critical of existing governments. The attack seems to come mainly on BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]-ruled states for state Congress(I) leaders complained of "ill-treatment of minorities, efforts to rewrite history and infiltrate educational institutions." In a further reflection of the antagonism towards the BJP, PCC(I) leaders reported that the BJP-RSS-VHP [Bharatiya Janata Party-Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh-Vishwa Hindu Parishad] combine's "Rampaduka puja" campaign had been a "total failure."

Addressing members, Mr. Narasimha Rao lauded organisational activities in different states and said that reports presented by the PCC(I) chiefs showed that the Congress(I) "is on the move and taking strides." He, however, wanted party leaders and workers to more actively disseminate the message of the party through "simple, effective and inexpensive" means. In this context, he said, each PCC(I) should have a spokesman and suggested that small papers, preferably in the local language, should be produced. He also asked PCC(I) leaders to tabulate organisational activities and achievements so they would be "more visible."

Mr. Narasimha Rao also saw criticism of the party in a positive sense and said, "The best thing about the Congress(I) is that it is always on the frontpages. It is everybody's party, including the critics. The critics criticise us because they also feel the Congress(I) should not go wrong."

The meeting was also addressed in the afternoon by the finance minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, and the agriculture minister, Mr. Balram Jakhar. While Dr. Singh briefed members on the economic reforms, the agriculture minister spoke to them on the issue of fertiliser prices.

Effects of Terrorist Activities on Jammu Viewed

93AS0302B Varanasi AJ in Hindi 24 Nov 92 p 6

[Article by Balraj Puri: "Jammu Is Encircled by Questions Regarding Identity, Security, and Peace"]

[Text] One of the sad episodes of the Kashmir problem is that any impact of the Jammu situation has not been considered in evaluating the problem, not even before 1947 when Jammu was the most populous area of the state, nor currently, though it continues to house 45 percent of the state's population. The unresolved problems of Jammu immensely impact Kashmiri politics. The demand for an individual identity for Jammu is summarily ignored, similarly the demand for the right of self-determination of Kashmir is opposed. Jammu has always been dissatisfied with the way Kashmir has been administered. Using this as an excuse the Centre has expedited the process of constitutional unification and has imposed an administration of its choice on the state. This has given rise to a psychological feeling of separation and remorse in the valley.

Today the peace, security, and identity of Jammu is being challenged by three elements. These challenges come from radicalism, communalism, and criminality. They are intertwined and complementary to each other. Suddenly the radical elements have also become active in the region. But the folks who have soiled the atmosphere by spreading fear, terror, and communal fervor have forgotten that the misuse of the power of the people and their intellect weakens internal security and makes it easy for the enemy from across the border to strengthen its position.

Unfortunately, the steps taken by the government either in anger or error lead the people to believe that the government is either inactive or is acting under pressure. After Kashmir, now the Jammu administration shows signs of weakness. Constantly increasing indecisiveness, crime, and corruption confirm this frailty. The current state of affairs in Jammu indicates that law and order and dispersal of justice in the region have become personal property. The people have lost faith in the official institutions to resolve their mutual disputes.

It is a dreadful question to consider where the control of politics by criminality and transformation of criminality into politics, combined with other similar social evils, will lead us. The Muslim-dominated areas of Jammu are showing signs of radical activities. At the same time, in Hindu-predominant areas criminal and communal tendencies are increasing. In short, therefore, it can be said that by our actions we are proving valid the theory of Mr. Harrison, the American expert on India, "to divide the

state into India and Pakistan." According to him: "The first step in solving the Kashmir problem should be for India to divide this state into two. The areas covered by Jammu and the heavily populated Muslim areas of Laddak together should form a new state, and this should become a part of the Union of India with a special status."

How strange it is that the views of the Hindu and Muslim radicals match with those of the American specialist. But it does not mean that they agree with each other. It is true that the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] does not knowingly want to become a puppet in the hands of any foreign power. At the same time it is also true that the youths they use to disturb the peaceful atmosphere of Jammu is unaware of the influence of their doings and are always ready to sacrifice their lives for patriotic causes.

The indecisiveness of Ghulam Rasul Kar, Chairman of the State Indira Congress Party, is revealed by his statement that the complaints of partiality in Jammu will be investigated by retired justices. First of all, the subject matter of these complaints is political and not legal; second, the discussions and debate between various regional and community representatives should be staged face to face; and third, the efforts of national and state leaders should be kept in mind.

Mr. Kar has said that, if the Jansangh had not boycotted at the time the state constitution was formed, the expectations of the people of Jammu would be different. In saying this he accepts Jansangh's representation of the expectations of the people of Jammu. So far all those Kashmiri leaders who have ruled the state have done it with the help of either BJP or Jansangh by sharing the benefits or by recognizing their power. There are reasons for such action. First, the BJP has always opposed the demand for regional autonomy while the Kashmiri leaders were always eager to discuss this issue. This caused a sense of dissatisfaction amongst the Hindus. Taking advantage of this situation the BJP won two or three seats out of 32 electoral districts. Second, as opposition, it provided an opportunity to Kashmiri BJP leaders to rule Jammu where 40 percent of the population is non-Hindu, 18 percent is other, and the remaining is Hindu. Third, there is some uncertainty at the national level in regard to the population distribution in Jammu. Hence, the regional problems of the area are called Hindu problems. Similarly, the regional problems of Kashmir are defined as fundamental Muslim issues.

Therefore, all well-wishers of Jammu should consider strengthening the regional identity of Jammu as a fair solution to its problems. Likewise, the group seeking autonomy for the region should understand that such [an undertaking] is impossible without mutual communal harmony. The widespread dissatisfaction, disturbances, and communal limitations in Jammu will inhibit any solution to the Kashmir issue.

Papers Report BJP National Executive Meets

Vajpayee 7 Nov Briefing

93AS0247A Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 8 Nov 92 pp 1, 9

[Article: "BJP Blasts Government for Economic Bumbling"]

[Text] Bhubaneswar, Nov. 7: The Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] today blasted the Narasimha Rao Government for devastating the economy and asserted that the party would continue to fight the blunders committed by the Centre. The economy had been damaged to such an extent that the more the government tries to repair it, the worse it becomes.

Briefing newsmen on the economic resolution discussed at the party's national executive here, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee said the government's credibility had fallen so low that it could not be trusted to put right the economy without further assaults on the people's living standards. Perhaps, because of this reason, the government was fighting shy of publishing a mid-year economic survey and sharing its economic performance with the people.

Clarifying that his party was not against liberalisation itself, Mr. Vajpayee said the BJP's protest was against the manner in which the government was going about it. While some vested interests were reluctant to relinquish their stranglehold on the economy, the government had equated globalisation with maximisation of profits for some multinational and pauperisation of millions of people. External liberalisation should be undertaken gradually after ensuring domestic liberalisation within the resources and technology available internally.

Mr. Vajpayee recalled his recent visits to the U.K. and the United States, saying a large number of Non-Resident Indians (NRI) had complained to him that nothing had changed in New Delhi. He alleged that vested interests were reluctant to relinquish their hold on the economy which had slackened the process of liberalisation.

He cautioned that while going in for full liberalisation, care should be taken to see that there was no retrenchment. If in the process of handing over the sick public sector unites to private parties, some labour force was retrenched, they should be given appropriate training on a war-footing so that they could sustain on other avenues, he added.

The resolution was critical about the manner in which shares of public sector undertakings (PSUs) were disinvested, and demanded that the government should state the names and the number of PSUs shares held by foreign banks. If the present system was allowed to continue, foreign banks would soon control the PSUs, Mr. Vajpayee opined.

Hitting out at the government's economic policies, he said that the policy of disinvestment in public sector

undertakings was not done to balance the budget and demanded that the Reserve Bank of India's [RBI] recommendations pertaining to ceiling on borrowing be implemented.

He warned the government against full convertibility of the rupee as this would lead to further devaluation and only worsen matters for the common man.

The resolution condemned the rise in foreign debt, which had soared from Rs [Rupees] 125,000 crore in June 1991 to more than Rs. 220,000 crore as of date.

Owing to the faulty implementation of the economic policy by the Centre, around 12 million people were expected to lose their job by the end of the next financial year (1993-94) it said.

Referring to the recent hike in petroleum products prices, the resolution pointed out that the whole sale price index had already jumped by two percentage points within a month of this hike. It also referred to the government's claim that the deficit in the oil pool account was the major reason for hike in prices of petroleum products, saying the cumulative deficit at the end of 1991-92 was Rs. 5400 crore, which was likely to go up by another Rs. 3,000 crore during this year.

The BJP executive wanted to know from the government how such a deficit could occur when the CAG [Comptroller and Auditor General] report pointed out surplus in the account up to 1988-89.

Similarly, it was critical about the non-withdrawal of 25 percent less on petroleum products, imposed by the government during the Gulf war. Union Finance Minister Manmohan Singh had promised to withdraw it once the Gulf war was over.

Mr. Vajpayee said the country would like to know why the import burden on account of crude oil had gone up, when international prices had declined. If the devaluation of the rupee was responsible for it, the Union government was to be blamed for its major policy failure.

8 Nov Briefing

93AS0247B Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 9 Nov 92 pp 1, 6

[Article by Radha Vishwanath: "Rift in BJP Over Political Strategy"]

[Text] Bhubaneswar, Nov. 8: The three-day meeting of the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] national executive committee concluded here on Sunday without the party adopting a political resolution. The significant omission on the part of the party aspiring to replace the Congress-I at the Centre, in addition to raising many an eyebrow, led to speculation of extreme divergence of views among the top leadership of the party.

The differing perceptions on the stand to be taken towards the Narasimha Rao regime had made themselves evident even earlier during the convention. Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee diluted criticism of the Prime Minister made a day before by the party vice-president, Mr. S.S. Bhandari. The latter's call for a speedy overthrow of the government was brushed aside by both Mr. Vajpayee and Mr. L.K. Advani who advocated elections at definite time intervals rather than necessitate mid-term elections. The two leaders, however, took pains to explain that the party was not shy of facing the electorate in the event the ruling party ordering them.

Answering questions on the subject at a press conference he addressed Mr. Advani referred to a front-page report in a Calcutta-based newspaper on the Prime Minister's inclination to going to the people on the Ayodhya issue. If the Congress-I wanted to equate the election to a referendum on the Ayodhya issue, his party would work to enlarge it to the concept of national unity and genuine secularism.

The BJP would ask the people if the Congress-I with its divisive policies in State after State and on issue after issue, can hold the country together. At the same time, Mr. Advani discounted the report as being based on facts. There had been recurrent talk of snap polls and the government officially denied the reports very recently. Mr. Advani felt that the talk emanating from the Prime Minister's side had less to do with Ayodhya and more with the internal differences in a party stuck in a blind alley on the political and economic fronts, in addition to being immersed neck-deep in a quagmire of corruption.

The failure to adopt a political resolution, according to another school of thought, is the imminence of elections of a new president. With much speculation on the continuation of Dr. M.M. Joshi for a second term, the 60-member working committee felt that the task of posturing against the government was best left to the next incumbent, proponents of this view put forth.

Yet another school of thought has it that the BJP is being cautious in its dealings with the government in view of the continuing talks to resolve the Ayodhya tangle. Any stridency on its part might queer the pitch for Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao taking some initiative on the temple-mosque controversy before the restart of kar seva on December 6. For its own reasons, the BJP would not do or say anything that might jeopardise this prospect of a resolution of some aspect of the problem. It is for this very reason that the party has avoided even a mention of Mr. Narasimha Rao by name in any of the resolutions adopted by the national executive, even while striking a strident note of criticism on the various policies being followed by the government.

With Ayodhya issue becoming pivotal to any posturing on various issues, the BJP national executive spent considerable time discussing the subject. At one point, a senior member suggested that a core group be set up within the party much on the lines of the special cell

functioning in the Prime Minister's office. The core group should be charged with the function of coordinating action among the various party wings and front organisations involved in the matter.

Replying to numerous questions on the subject, Mr. Advani reiterated that Ayodhya was not a dispute between a temple and masjid but a question of national identity and national unity. "We believe that India's culture is the basis of national unity," he said adding that his party would face any confrontation to preserve the national unity. He admitted that the possible consequences of a confrontation were discussed in detail and stated "we are prepared to face any political fallout." The BJP was leading a campaign against pseudo-secularism. His rath yatra was a part of this campaign and only this aspect of the controversy was political. People's faith about Lord Rama's birth place was beyond politics and the judiciary, he said.

Elaborating his charge that Mr. Narasimha Rao was not sincere in resolving the problem, Mr. Advani said a proposal was brought to him and he had conveyed his conditional acceptance to it. A couple of days later, he was informed that the person who brought the proposal, though a minister, was not authorised to forward it and therefore the proposal was to be ignored. It was a baffling situation, he said.

More on Advani Remarks

93AS0247C Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 9 Nov 92 pp 1, 15

[Article by Prasun Sonwalkar: "We Are Ready for Snap Polls: Advani: BJP Not To Mediate in Shrine Talks"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Bhubaneswar, Nov. 8: The senior BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] leader, Mr. L.K. Advani, today ruled out any further mediation by him between the government and the proponents of the Ram temple at Ayodhya, even as the meeting of the party's national executive decided to face any political fall-out of the kar seva scheduled to resume on December 6.

Mr. Advani's mediation between the government and the sants' (religious leaders) during 'kar seva' in July had resulted in the government gaining three months' time to resolve the issue, said BJP sources.

According to Mr. Advani, since the government was now not sincere in its approach, there was no question of involving himself or any BJP leader as a mediator. Now let the government speak directly to the sants, if it wants to, he said.

Addressing a crowded press conference here on the last day of the three-day meeting of the national executive, he answered questions on a wide range of issues, including the possibility of the Congress government going for mid-term elections.

The leader of the opposition in the Lok Sabha appeared irked by the recent move by a minister in the Narasimha Rao government to offer a modified version of the ordinance drawn up during V.P. Singh's rule on the disputed 2.77 acres in the temple complex.

Mr. Advani said he sought some changes in the draft, only to be told later officially that the Prime Minister had not authorised the minister to undertake such an exercise. "If this is the manner in which you deal with people, I do not want to have anything to do with the issue of future. Let the government talk directly to the sants."

"The attitude of the government baffles me. When the proposal was brought to me, I said yes, subject to certain changes. Then they told me there is no such proposal. A minister could have brought the proposal, they said, but he was not authorised to do so. In the present situation, the government does not deserve to be given any extension of the period," said Mr. Advani.

Wondering if the government was at all keen on resolving the Ayodhya issue, he said the BJP national executive discussed all possible consequences of a confrontation on December 6 and decided that it would face any political fall-out. The government, he said, had been given more time than it had sought but its approach on various national issues, including Ayodhya, was divisive and dismal.

Asserting that the BJP was committed to participating in all movements for construction of the temple, Mr. Advani demanded an explanation from Mr. Narasimha Rao for his contention that the disputed structure was a mosque. Pointing out that worship was going on there for over four decades, he wondered if Mr. Rao wanted the place to be reconverted into a mosque by removing the idols of Ram Lalla. He challenged the Prime Minister to initiate any move to remove the idols.

Referring to reports emanating from the Prime Minister's camp about a mid-term election being held on the Ayodhya issue, Mr. Advani said such talk had little to do with Ayodhya than with two different reasons: Both on the political front as well as on the economic front, the government had got stuck in a blind alley. The government was immersed neck-deep in a quagmire of corruption, he alleged.

According to him, such talk reflected the mood of a frustrated person going for a desperate gamble. In the party's assessment, if the Congress leadership opted for mid-term elections, it would be committing political harakiri, said Mr. Advani. The BJP would then be in a position to retrieve the opportunity (of coming to power) it had lost due to the assassination of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi before the second round of elections last year.

Had it not been for the tragedy, the Congress would not be governing the country today. The second round of last year's elections yielded immense gains to the Congress which were missing in the first round. If mid-term

elections are held now, the BJP will seek to convert the electoral battle into a national referendum not just on Ayodhya but also on the nature of Indian nationalism and on the genuine meaning of secularism.

The key question the BJP will pose to the people would be: Can the Congress government with its dismal and divisive record in Kashmir, Punjab, Assam and, last but not the least, in Ayodhya, hold the country together?

The BJP would regard such an election as a challenge as well as an opportunity. "For us, the two principal planks of the election would be: National unity and integrity in public life. For us, national unity includes Ayodhya," stated Mr. Advani.

Claiming that the country had got only scams, scams and scams instead of the promised new economic policies, he said the BJP would shortly prepare a charge-sheet on corruption in high places in the Rao government as well as in the Congress-ruled states.

He, however, added that he himself was in favour of a system that ensured a general election only after five years. The BJP was not eager for a mid-term election but, according to him, people were unhappy with the present government.

Joshi President, Other Details

93AS0247D Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 9 Nov 92 p 9

[Article: "Joshi To Continue as BJP Chief"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Bhubaneswar, Nov. 8 (UNI): Dr. Murali Manohar Joshi will continue as president of the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] for a second term.

According to party sources, three factors favoured his candidature, which was uncertain till last week.

The first is that he should not be denied a second term since the two previous incumbants to the post—Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee and Mr. Lal Krishna Advani—had enjoyed two consecutive terms of two years each.

Secondly, the high command did not find a suitable replacement excepting Mr. Vajpayee. But because of his indifferent health he was not willing to take up the responsibility.

The party high command and the Sangh parivar felt that though Mr. Vajpayee continues to be the most sought after leader among the masses, it would be difficult for him to shoulder the burden in case there was a snap poll. The other name that cropped up was that of Mr. Sunder Singh Bhandari, who is a senior vice-president. But his case was also rejected on the plea that his services in the field cannot be dispensed with and tie him down to party headquarters affairs.

The third point was that some lapses that cropped up during Dr. Joshi's tenure were not that serious and he was not directly responsible for them.

They are the failure of the Ekta Yatra, the Uma Bharati-Govindacharya episode and anti-BJP tirade in the press. It was decided that responsible persons should be put in charge to effectively counter anti-BJP propaganda in the print media.

Senior BJP leaders, most of whom are also RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh] activists, had informal discussions on the next presidential candidate during the last three days during the national executive sessions. The executive was to finalise the poll dates for the elections. It felt, after these discussions, not to announce any schedule to the press since Dr. Joshi is going to be unanimously elected as the president for the second term.

Foreign Policy

In its resolution of foreign policy, the BJP reiterated its demand for manufacture of nuclear weapons by India and accelerate its programme of development of missiles and rockets for military and civilian purposes.

Asserting that the BJP believes firmly in the principle of sovereign equality of nations, the resolution made it clear that as long as nuclear weapons are not "outlawed" for every country in the world, India must not only retain its nuclear options, but must immediately manufacture and deploy such weapons. "India must make it clear to the international community that in matters relating to India's security there can be no compromise."

In this connection, the resolution referred to pressures being mounted on India to sign the N.P.T. [Nonproliferation Treaty]. There are indications that the government cannot resist the pressure to come to some "regional arrangement which would amount to giving up the nuclear option. Similarly the programme of development of 'Agni' missile and rockets for launching satellites is stalled under international pressure," it said.

Supports Separate Telangana

BJP president, L.K. Advani on Sunday declared that his party would support the demand for a separate Telangana State on merits.

Mr. Advani recalled his party's commitment to smaller States as set out in the party manifesto and said the BJP was considering proposals in this regard on the basis of requests received from the party cadres in different States.

Policy on Northeast

93AS0247E Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 10 Nov 92 p 7

[Article: "Elections in North-East: BJP for Genuine Voter-List"]

[Text] Bhubaneswar, Nov. 9. The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] has demanded that the assembly elections in Meghalaya, Nagaland and Tripura, be held only after deleting the names of Bangladeshi migrants from the voter-lists as per the recent directives of the election commission.

The situation in the north-eastern states was analysed closely at the three-day meeting of the party's national executive which ended here yesterday. The party has also sought the dismissal of the Dorendra Singh government in Manipur in view of the growing insurgency in the sensitive border state. A report on the law and order situation in Manipur was submitted by the state BJP leaders.

According to the BJP leader in-charge of the north-east, Mr. Padmanabhacharya, elections should be held in Meghalaya, Nagaland and Tripura only after the atmosphere to hold free and fair elections there, was created.

It is relevant to note here that the terms of the Meghalaya and Tripura assemblies end in February 1993, while Nagaland is currently under an extended period of the President's rule.

"The BJP is not against joining hands with like-minded political parties, in order to defeat the Congress which has been at the root of economic downfall and insecurity in the region. We have no hesitation in joining hands with regional parties in the north-east," Mr. Padmanabhacharya told TOINS.

He said the BJP had bright chances of winning four assembly seats under the Shillong parliamentary constituency and 11 under the Tura parliamentary constituency in Meghalaya. Due to the rumblings in the CPM [Communist Party of India] in Tripura, he claimed that his party would make substantial gains there. The party's objective was to make an entry into the Nagaland assembly, he added. (The party scored major gains during the last parliamentary and assembly elections in Assam).

Mr. Padmanabhacharya said the BJP recently had organised dharnas all over the north-east, demanding the expulsion of migrants from Bangladesh. He claimed the local people, including tribals, participated in sizeable numbers in the dharnas. They were told about the "silent aggression" on their land and culture by the influx from across the border.

Mr. Padmanabhacharya said the recent violence in Shillong reflected the failure of the Centre as well as that of the Meghalaya government. The attacks on non-tribals, he claimed, were pre-planned and intended to create panic among them. It was made out to be an issue concerning trade licences, but actually it was intended to be a tribal/non-tribal clash, he alleged. He did not rule out the possibility of such violence recurring during the assembly elections.

The BJP leader said he appealed to the church leaders of Shillong to help curb such violence. He alleged the violence, in which several non-tribals were killed, had been engineered by some politicians on the pretext of trade licences enjoyed by non-tribal traders and businessmen.

Mr. Padmanabhacharya said the Congress general secretary in-charge of the north-east, Mr. Sushilkumar Shinde, who recently flew into Dimapur, stayed there barely for 150 minutes and later claimed in Delhi that he had understood the problems of the insurgency in the state.

"It takes years for anybody to understand the complex realities of the north-east," he added. He alleged that the Congress was not sincere in its approach to resolve the problems of the north-east.

The report presented during the meeting alleged that it was beyond doubt that the Congress-led coalition ministry in Manipur was supporting insurgents and successionists there. The government was reportedly, indifferent to the insurgent groups' appeal not to observe October 2 as "Gandhi jayanti" on the ground that Mahatma Gandhi was an Indian whereas Manipuris were not.

"A bandh was called by the underground outfits on October 15 to express grief over the merge of Manipur with India on that day in 1949. Needless to say, it was the most successful bandh ever observed in Manipur. Even the police and para military forces remained indoors. The chief minister, Mr. Dorendra Singh, refused to condemn or comment on the bandh call. His behaviour speaks of his moral support if not active connivance with the bandh call," the report said.

Press Briefed on RSS Working Committee Meet

93AS0250A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 6 Nov 92 p 13

[Article: "Tackle Insurgency: RSS"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Ujjain, November 5. The national working committee of the Rastriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) has urged the Union government to take effective steps to tackle insurgency in Kashmir, Bangladeshi infiltration, resettlement of Bangladeshi Hindu refugees and the Ram Janambhoomi issue.

Briefing the press on the deliberations of the recent four-day session at Mahakaleshwar Temple the joint general secretary of the RSS, Mr. Sudershan, said the next session would be held at Nagpur in March next.

On the national scene, he said, the situation in Kashmir had worsened during the last few months and the insurrectionist thrust had now extended to Jammu region. "The most shocking aspect is the benumbed state of our political helmsmen in Delhi and Kashmir." In spite of

repeated warnings on the fast encircling threat to Jammu and the entreaties for taking urgent remedial steps, the government had remained a mute spectator, Mr. Sudershan charged.

"It is indeed tragic that crass partisan considerations should have overshadowed the government's priorities even on such a vital issue affecting the very security and integrity of the country," he said.

On Bangladeshi infiltration, Mr. Sudershan said the influx of refugees into the border areas of West Bengal, Assam and Bihar, North Eastern states, Orissa and in distant cities like Delhi, Bombay and several cities in U.P. [Uttar Pradesh] was stated to have crossed a staggering 17 million.

The loud trumpeting accompanying the deportation of 134 men from Delhi had been condemned by a section of the press as "inhuman." Against this scenario, the political masters in various states were silently ensuring that their 'political voters' were issued with ration cards and entered into voters' lists.

Caping all this, was the Assam chief minister's statement that there was not a single Bangladeshi infiltrator in Assam, contradicting his own statement in the state assembly that two to three million infiltrators had entered Assam.

Welcoming the recent meeting of the chief ministers of infiltration-infected states called by the Union home minister and passing of an act by the Parliament for excluding the names of foreigners from voters' list, Mr. Sudershan said what was of crucial importance was a strong and sincere determination on the part of the Central and state governments to implement the measures. "In its absence, the whole exercise will prove futile."

Referring to the fate of Bangladeshi Hindu refugees, he said about 28 lakh Hindus who were oppressed and thrown out from that country by the theocratic regime were stranded in West Bengal border areas. "It is high time that the Central Government revives the demand of Sardar Patel to get sufficient territory from Bangladesh to settle the hapless Hindu citizens of Bangladesh, as the Bangladesh Government had woefully failed to protect their life and property.

Mr. Sudershan said the same unconcerned attitude was shockingly evident in the government's policy towards the Hindus in Afghanistan who were also subjected to attacks by local fanatics, forcing thousands of them to flee the country.

On the Ram Janambhoomi issue, the RSS leader said the government appeared to have missed the opportunity of finding a peaceful and just solution to the issue.

The three months' period asked for by the Prime Minister for thrashing out an amicable way out had lapsed with no perceptible results achieved by the government. "We earnestly hope that the government will seriously

consider the fall-out of taking to a confrontationist course with the Hindu society on such a highly emotional issue," Mr. Sudershan urged.

Samajwadi Janata Holds National Conference

93AS0245A Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 1 Nov 92 p 9

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 31 (PTI)—The Samajwadi Janata Party [SJP] on Saturday, pledged to fight the growing poverty and unemployment and appealed to the Government to take "hard decisions" to resolve problems like Kashmir, Punjab and Ayodhya.

A two-day national convention of the party, which concluded here with an open session at the Ramlila grounds, attacked the Narasimha Rao Government, saying it failed to contain the rising prices, mounting unemployment and poverty and terrorism in certain parts of the country.

Addressing the open session, the newly elected party president, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, lashed out at the Congress-I Government which, he said, had compromised with the "nation's honour" by accepting the conditionalities of the IMF and World Bank to get loans.

Mr. Chandra Shekhar suggested mobilisation of resources within the country instead of depending on international funding agencies.

"Let us share whatever we have in our own country to fight against poverty," the former Prime Minister said, adding that during his tenure as the Prime Minister, he had collected Rs. 1,200 crore from big business houses by way of taxes within three weeks.

Mr. Chandra Shekhar said the new economic policy would "ruin the nation", "external debts were mounting and multinational companies had been given a free hand to loot the nation," he said.

The ideals of self-reliance and swadeshi had been "abandoned" by the Government in the interest of capitalists, according to him.

Mr. Chandra Shekhar alleged that there had been no development in rural areas and the disparities between the haves and have-nots were widening day by day.

He said although the Indian farmers were capable of producing more foodgrains and there was no shortage of commodities yet, the Government was importing three million tonnes of wheat from Canada and the United States. This would affect the interest of Indian farmers he said.

The outgoing party president, Mr. Devi Lal, called for increasing expenditure on agriculture and rural development. The expenditure had been gradually reduced over

the years from 49.6 percent in the First Five Year Plan to 27.5 percent in the Seventh Plan, he pointed out.

He said large portions of funds allocated for rural development were pocketed by leaders, officers and contractors.

"The leadership that emanates from urban elitist class has little concern for the privation of the rural masses. Though agriculture is the backbone of the Indian economy, it has not been given its due. An industrialist has the right to fix the prices of his production and can sell it throughout the country at his wish.

"But the same is not true of a farmer. An agriculturist has little say in fixing the prices of his produce. He also suffered because of the restrictions imposed on the movement of foodgrains, the system would have to be changed," he asserted.

The convention earlier in a resolution called for ending the caste system in the country and said all "oppressed communities" should be given special opportunities to overcome their backwardness.

Samajwadi Party Launched at National Meet

Yadav Elected President

93AS0246A Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
6 Nov 92 p 10

[Article: "Yadav Undisputed Leader of Samajwadi Party"]

[Text] Lucknow, Nov. 5.—The Samajwadi Party was formally launched here yesterday with delegates from 17 States giving it a new constitution committed to the Socialism of Ram Manohar Lohia and Mahatma Gandhi at the two-day national convention which began at the Begum Hazarat Mahal Park here. Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav was unanimously elected president of the new party by the delegates on the expected lines.

After breaking away from the Samajwadi Janata Party [SJP] of Mr. Chandra Shekhar, Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav formed the new Samajwadi Party in a bid to attract old Socialist to the Lohia school of thought to give his party a broad national character. However, Mr. Yadav's maiden launch received a setback at the very beginning when noted Socialist leaders such as Mr. Nagina Rai of Bihar, Mr. B.P. Paitry of Andhra Pradesh and Mr. Raghu Thakur of Madhya Pradesh refused to join hands with Mr. Yadav and did not turn up at the convention yesterday.

Prominent among those attending the convention are Mr. Kiranmoy Nanda and Mr. P.C. Sinha, both West Bengal Ministers in the Jyoti Basu Government, Mr. Kapildeo Singh, Mr. Prabhu Narain Singh and Mr. Laxmi Sahu (all from Bihar), Mr. Hukum Singh, former Chief Minister of Haryana and Mr. Janeshwar Mishra, former Railway Minister.

Mr. Kiranmoy Nanda, himself a leader of the Socialist Party of West Bengal, inaugurated the convention and his colleague, Mr. Pramod Sinha of the Democratic Socialist Party, moved the constitution later adopted without any amendments. Mr. Kapildeo Singh, a veteran follower of Dr. Lohia, placed the new party's ideology, based on the Lohia-Gandhi brand of Socialism.

Affirming its "full faith in the Constitution of India," the Samajwadi Party's constitution pledges to establish a Socialist pattern of society on the Gandhi-Lohia line and to work for secular, democratic and Socialist goals. Decentralization of power—both political and economic—will be another objective of the party, the constitution says. The party is also avowedly secular and will not admit any individual associated with any party or organization with a religious bias. This apart, the party pledges itself to the uplift of the Dalits, women, minorities and the backward classes of society.

With the life-size portrait of Dr. Lohia as a backdrop, Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav declared his party would oppose the dangerous designs of the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] which is trying to divide the nation along communal lines. He branded the Congress(I), too, as an anti-national party joining hands covertly with the BJP and mortgaging the country's interest to the World Bank and the IMF.

As the opening day of the Samajwadi Party's convention progressed under a well-decorated pandal, deliberating the party's line of action for reviving the old Socialist Party, Mr. Mulayam Singh's dominant role was evident everywhere.

Mr. Yadav's ambitions of playing his role in national politics beyond Uttar Pradesh is unlikely to be achieved unless he changes his style of functioning. It was not for reasons known that his one-time strongman, Mr. Beni Prasad Varma, who is also the leader of the Samajwadi Party group of 43 MLAs [Member of Legislative Assembly] in the Uttar Pradesh Assembly, kept himself away from the opening session of the national convention. Asked to comment on the absence of Mr. Varma, the convener of the convention, Mr. Ram Sharan Das, countered, "you'd better ask Mr. Varma the reason for his absence at the convention."

The political and economic resolutions of the party will be moved tomorrow.

Party Posts Announced

93AS0246B Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
16 Nov 92 p 3

[Article: "Samajwadi Party Post for Kiranmoy Nanda"]

[Text] Charging the Centre with soft-peddling the Ram Janambhoomi issue, Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav, chairman of the newly formed Samajwadi Party and former Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister, on Sunday called

for a speedy judicial verdict on the matter and stern steps against those who would not abide by the court verdict and the Constitution.

The political weakness of the Congress(I) may have caused the Centre to vacillate but now it is time for the Prime Minister to exercise his power, he told a Press conference in Calcutta.

With Mr. Yadav announcing the party posts, Mr. Kapil Deo Singh becomes the secretary-general, Mr. Janeshwar Mishra the vice-president and Mohammad Azam Khan a general secretary. The surprise choice for another general secretary is the West Bengal Fisheries Minister, Mr. Kiranmoy Nanda, who thus gets access to the mainstream of national politics.

Mr. Nanda, who heads the West Bengal Socialist Party, and Mr. Prabodh Sinha of the Democratic Socialist Party, however, clarified that because of "certain technical reasons," their respective parties will exist as separate organizations for some time. "But our support to the Samajwadi Party will be total and a merger with it will be determined later," they added.

Mr. Yadav wants a three-member Lucknow High Court Bench to concentrate on the Ayodhya affair and give its verdict within a deadline, a suggestion he had offered Mr. Narasimha Rao during a discussion on November 12.

CPI Makes, Plans Changes in Party Rules

93AS0242A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
27 Oct 92 p 4

[Article by Monobina Gupta]

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 26—Responding to the winds of democracy, the Communist Party of India (CPI) will henceforth hold all elections on the basis of secret ballot.

Though provided for in the party constitution, the secret ballot was used on only a few occasions when it produced results none too happy for the party leadership. Section 15 of the party constitution sanctions the right to elect the National Council and the Central Control Commission through secret ballot. In effect, though, it has remained more a theory than practice.

Mr. M. Farooqui, unanimously elected secretary of the Delhi committee for the last 25 years, avoided defeat by a narrow margin of two votes, when the delegates at the 1968 party conference decided on voting by secret ballot. The same year, the Patna party conference, resorting to secret ballot, witnessed the defeat of some party leaders.

Though the CPI has a long way to go to agreeing to have an alternate panel as against the official one, the decision regarding secret ballot is seen as the first step towards change.

According to Mr. Farooqui, who is also a member of the National Council, its outgoing panel will propose 140

names instead of 125, its total strength. The delegates will thereby have more freedom and choice in electing.

The names are to be proposed in alphabetic order. The present practice is to list the names according to seniority. The change may do away with pre-conceived notions in the voter's mind.

Some leaders, however, are sceptical about the efficacy of the system. According to a trade union leader, what can really bring about true democracy is the introduction of an alternate panel and not just wider choice. Above all, it is being pointed out, it is difficult to defeat the official panel with just the addition of a few extra names in the National Council.

However, others observe that even the use of secret ballot and widening the arena of contest mark the beginnings of a healthy practice. Elections are mostly unanimous, but delegates of both the communist parties, the CPI and the CPI(M), have also voted in case of a contest at party conferences. But in the absence of an alternate panel or a choice of leaders, the rank and file are very often forced to grudgingly accept an unwelcome leadership.

The special conference of the party scheduled to be held in January, will primarily debate issues pertaining to democratising the entire party structure, beginning with the mass organisations.

The need for having non-party people at the helm of mass organisations is being increasingly felt by the top leadership. Serious efforts, party leaders assert, will be made to elect non-party people as office bearers of student, youth and workers organisations. At present, the leadership of mass organisations is dominated by party people. In fact, CPI leaders are even willing to allow the mass organisations to deviate from the party line on specific issues.

Top CPI Leader Questions Marxist Tenets

93AS0249A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
6 Nov 92 p 5

[Italicized words as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 5: The veteran CPI [Communist Party of India] leader, Mr. Chaturanan Misra, a member of the party's national council, has questioned the fundamentals of Marxism which state that the working class could play the leadership role in the socio-economic transformation in India.

Mr. Misra has expressed these heretical views in the party organ *New Age*, in an article which gropes for a new methodological premise following the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Putting forward a new formulation, the Left leader says that rural labour will form the backbone of any struggle for change. Industrial labour will be an important ally, but not the leader of the alliance in the country.

"Despite two nationwide industrial strikes, the situation has remained as of before." It is only a massive participation of rural labour which can tilt the balance in favour of the poor, Mr. Misra said.

Mr. Misra questions the relevance of the slogans of nationalisation or collectivisation of land. "Both failed in the former Soviet Union, and China," he says. "China, Japan, Taiwan and Korea, on the other hand, entered new areas of industrial and rural development through land reforms," the CPI leader adds.

Is it not possible, he asks, for the Communists to envisage a system with private ownership of land. The Soviet system, Mr. Misra explains, suffered due to the low prices of agricultural produce, determined by the state, which put fetters on production and self-sufficiency in grain production.

Mr. Misra has warned that unless Communists shed their rigid ideological positions, they will remain a marginal force.

What is important is that the article is an indicator of the ideological debate going on in the CPI and the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist], even though not so much in the open in the latter.

Mr. Misra says, "The most important lesson of the Bolshevik Revolution is for the Indian socialists to learn to accommodate their ideological differences."

The CPI leader does not shy away from attributing reasons, normally ignored by the party leaders, to the Soviet debacle.

It is rarely that a party leader talks about or even mentions the need of greater democracy and the failure of the Soviet system to break out of the Stalinist mould, as Mr. Misra has done in his article.

He says it is the lack of democracy that helped the disintegration of the Soviet system. "Indian socialists," he says, "have been in favour of a democratic revolution from the very beginning. The CPI recognised it way back in 1958."

The point he makes is that Indians used to parliamentary system, freedom of expression, right to dissent cannot compromise on democracy. It is therefore necessary for the Communist parties to recognise the role of democracy, even when they visualise a socialist system in the future.

Paper Reports CPI-M Central Committee Meet

Statement Summarized

93AS0239A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
2 Nov 92 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 1—The CPI(M) [Communist Party of India—Marxist] central committee has come

down strongly on BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]-run state governments alleging that all were "reactionary and anti-people" in character.

Referring to the firing on farmers in Ramkola and Uttar Pradesh and the public humiliation of Dr. B.D. Sharma, a social worker and former commissioner for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes, in Jagdalpur in Madhya Pradesh, the statement said, "The BJP-run states are getting increasingly isolated from the people to their anti-people and communal policies ... these attacks reveal the intolerance of the BJP towards anyone who opposes its policies."

The statement also hit out at systematic efforts to infuse communal ideology into the education system.

The party's central committee also viewed with concern recent developments in Assam and Meghalaya and felt urgent steps are needed to stop continuing clashes involving the Bodos in Assam and the ethnic violence in Meghalaya.

Autonomy for Jharkhand: The CPI(M) also reiterated that provision should be made for regional autonomy to the Jharkland region by amending the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution.

Surjeet Press Conference

93AS0239B Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
2 Nov 92 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 1—The CPI(M) [Communist Party of India—Marxist] general secretary, Mr. Harkishen Singh Surjeet, has said his party is prepared to join hands with the Congress(I) in fighting communal forces, but added that the ruling party must first "stop compromising" with BJP-RSS-VHP [Bharatiya Janata Party-Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh-Vishwa Hindu Parishad] elements.

Addressing a press conference on the conclusion of his party's central committee meeting, Mr. Surjeet said, "Of course we are ready to go with the Congress(I) on the communal question but our complaint is that the Congress(I) has compromised with those forces. They must shun it and come clearly on the side of secular forces."

Urging the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, to take a firmer stand on the Ayodhya dispute, Mr. Surjeet said the Centre should give up the "farcical" negotiations and leave the whole matter for the court to decide.

"The VHP is saying it will not agree to anything that does not favour its position so what is the point of negotiating with them? What is being negotiated," Mr. Surjeet asked, stating, "we have been of the firm opinion from the very start that negotiations with them (the VHP and others) are not going to yield anything. The matter should be decided by the courts."

Referring to the VHP's decision to resume kar sewa at the disputed site from December 6, Mr. Surjeet said,

"The threat of a serious communal confrontation on the issue must be unitedly met by all secular and patriotic forces."

Mr. Surjeet was equally harsh on the Congress(I) government's economic policies and said the party had decided to intensify its struggle against them. "We are going to fight the BJP on the communal issue and the Congress(I) on economic issues," Mr. Surjeet said adding that the CPI(M) was asking all its units and mass organisations to build the "widest possible resistance to the IMF-World Bank dictated policies which are leading the nation to ruin."

In this context, Mr. Surjeet spoke of the trade unions' march to Parliament on November 25 and said, "the government is not only imposing further burdens on the people but also going ahead with the exit policy which will throw lakhs of workers out of jobs. This will be disastrous."

The central committee statement on the economic situation specifically noted the "savage attacks on the people in the form of the withdrawal of fertiliser subsidies and the steep increase in petroleum prices" and said, "while inflation and the steep price increase are affecting all sections of people, foreign investment in stocks and shares is going on without any restrictions.

There are further cuts in development expenditure, the public distribution system is being severely curtailed and rural employment schemes and education and health expenditure are being drastically curtailed."

The central committee of the party also flayed the disinvestment in public sector undertakings in the backdrop of the securities scam and reiterated its demand that finance minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, should quit taking responsibility for the "shocking scandal."

Urgent steps: The party demanded urgent initiatives in both Kashmir and Punjab to counter the drift. Mr. Surjeet said that in Kashmir there was a case for providing "genuine autonomy within the framework of the Constitution" and effective measures to redress public grievances.

When asked what he meant by "genuine autonomy," Mr. Surjeet hinted at measures that went a little beyond what was envisaged in Article 370 of the Constitution.

Arguing strongly against holding elections there, Mr. Surjeet said, "even the MPs' [members of Parliament] delegation has unanimously concluded that elections cannot be held in the present conditions. What use will they be if nobody comes to vote and even polling officers are not on your side. You will only be strengthening the case of Pakistan."

He said while the fight against extremist and fundamentalist elements like Hezbul-Mujahideen should continue, excesses on the civilian population should be stopped and the JKLF [Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front] be treated differently from the other extremist groups.

In Punjab, the party said, the law and order had improved but steps need to be taken to "utilise the favourable situation to tackle political issues which are essential for a solution to the Punjab tangle." Mr. Surjeet also spoke of redressal for the victims of the November 1984 riots and the settlement of the Chandigarh issue.

CPI-M Document Outlines New Strategy

*93AS0279A Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
19 Nov 92 p 3*

[Text] Now that the claptrap of workers' and peasants' movements stands exposed following the overthrow of Communism, the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India—Marxist] seems to be keen on fashioning yet another ideological weapon and couch it in an idiom that would not trigger revulsion among the people, sick of Communist cliches. And so, it is what the CPI(M) calls the "science movement" that "has to be launched with all seriousness and full vigour and linked with all the other mass movements."

A recent document, exclusively meant for party activists, has outlined the strategy and new focus on "science movement" which, in the party's perceptions, should serve as a weapon to "end exploitation, eradicate feudalistic thinking and defeat communalism, fundamentalism, religious fanaticism and separatism."

The document has made a strong case for strengthening the science movement by "eschewing all narrowness so that the cause of revolution can be advanced."

The document has chastised the various frontal organizations of the party for their "aloofness" from the progress of the science movement. "Such a movement cannot fructify unless the workers' party, which is founded on the bedrock of scientifically tested truths, properly guides it." However, the lukewarm initiatives of the party leaderships in "quite a number of districts" have been censured in the document.

The "narrow outlook" of the leaders of these districts has not only stood in the way of the science movement, but is also "helping the growth of misleading notions about it." Even though the organizers of peasants movements are making efforts to combine their programmes with those of the science movement activists, the workers organizations are till now lagging behind. The document regrets the lack among partymen of "the patience and perseverance needed for evolving such a movement."

To underscore the need for strengthening the science movement, the document has also referred to the proposals of the Dunkel draft and their implications. "A major task of science movement would be to explain to the people the danger entailed in the draft, which is an attempt to use science and technology to safeguard the interests of the neo-colonial forces."

The document points out that the "imperialist" forces wish to ensure that the fruits of science and technology

do not percolate down to the common people, while their "control over the two is perpetuated. The Dunkel draft typifies this attempt."

Political observers, however, feel that the new ideological shift of the CPI(M) is a desperate attempt to preserve its theoretical credibility, which has plummeted, especially following Mr. Jyoti Basu's open advocacy of establishing "a working relationship with the Congress (I)"—The party's arch rival.

CPM Rule Seen Incompetent, Dictatorial

Habitually Violate Human Rights

*93AS0219A Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 19 Nov 92 p 4*

[Article by Ashis Ghosh: "Bravo Jyoti Babu! If Anyone Questions Anything in Your Administration, Silence Them With Beatings"]

[Text] Honorable Chief Minister:

We the democratic people of West Bengal were more than perturbed at the news of the audacity of some undisciplined and impolite youths to ask you some questions at a seminar on human rights held at a government auditorium in Calcutta on last Monday. Your mental balance was supposed to have been lost in that incident. Are you now feeling well?

This unfortunate guy (the writer) could not be present at that meeting. But what I have so far learned, after reading some bourgeois and progressive newspapers the next day, is that some young men at that meeting sought permission from the seminar chairperson to ask a few questions. Although the chairperson agreed somewhat, you asked them to tell their "names." When the chairperson mistakenly asked for names you corrected her and asked the speakers themselves to tell their names. To bring the situation under control your very competent minister of culture Buddhadeb [Bhattacharya] stood before the microphone on the podium and said: "If anyone has anything to say, then he has to write his name and come inside for a discussion. Don't create any disorder in the proceedings of the seminar." Without yielding, those impolite (learned later that they were "Naxalites") youths countered his suggestion by saying: "Who is Buddhadeb? Let the chairperson speak." Then another group of spirited and vigilant young men pushed the questioners out of the seminar by holding their necks and handed them over to the police. There is no other way to be but agitated over this news. You have done just the right thing by not granting the right to ask questions at your seminar dealing with human rights.

Do you remember on an earlier occasion a young fellow stood up at the Woodland Nursing Home function and asked: "Will your government survive?" There too, you did the correct thing by handing him over to the police. We know that not only Delhi and the Congress Party but also enemies all over are active in harassing your popular

government. Along with constant "slander and conspiracy" from home and abroad you had to rule the state with limited power for the past 15 years. Thus, you should not grant any right to anyone to question you under any circumstances. Now the questions could also be dangerous. Behind the questions there might lie a plan for the conspirators. Therefore, you have done the right thing by clearly making them understand that in your administration questioning will not be allowed. We do believe that there cannot also be any question in the mind of anyone about the performance of your government. Thus, by beating up the questioners and handing them over to the police you and your lovable disciple Buddhadeb have done the right thing.

Later, those young men (I learned from your juniors that they were "Naxalites") again told the press that they just wanted to know why the speakers on that day at the seminar suppressed the news about the incidents of violations of human rights in West Bengal. Just imagine, what devastating talk. Could there be any violation of human rights in your administration? Those things take place in the "uncivilized" regime of the Congress government. How can there be any human rights violation in the Left administration when under Left-Front rule democracy has reached the grass-roots level? It is said that those youths presented you with a list of incidents of human rights violations. You have also done the right thing by not mentioning that list in your speech. Several incidents of the killing of prisoners by beating them up in the lock-ups at different police stations in West Bengal have taken place and you yourself have expressed concern about them. We do not believe there remains any question in anyone's mind after the expression of your concern. In this state the police do not register statements in the police stations, and people speak at random of different things and about the close affinity existing between the criminals and the police. Even when reports were published in the newspapers about the violation of voting rights during the elections and by-elections held in the state one after the other, we took them as mere malicious propaganda of the press. Your cadre forces are beating up journalists wherever they are found for the purpose of pacifying them. Although the people are speaking dirty things about the steps taken by your police with batons and guns against any agitation of the opposition party—whether it is a protest from the junior doctors or the teachers—you should not be at all discouraged about them. Beat up the questioners and pacify them. The hands of your cadre and police forces should not shake when replying to slander of the conspirators.

To tell the truth, we were a little confused after reading reports about Monday's events in Tuesday's bourgeois papers. But the strong statement issued by your "young" minister of culture the next day has removed all our doubts and confusions. Buddhadeb said: "They were 'Naxalites.'" We don't have to learn anything about "human rights" from people who raise slogans that killing continues and will continue. Bravo, like father, like son! Buddhadeb has said the 100-percent correct

thing. Why should there be any human rights for the Naxalites? We have been relieved. Now in the same tone we will be able to say—the Congress Party, which creates "disorder" and "chaos" has no right to ask questions. The "fake leftists" the SUCR [expansion not given] have also no right to raise questions. The communal party, the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] can also have that right. The Trotskyite RSP [Revolutionary Socialist Party] should not be granted that right. The Forward Block—the party of "confused politics"—cannot have the right at all to ask questions. And let us not talk about the "rightist" CPI [Communist Party of India]. Even those who only the other day belonged to your party—such as "antileft" Sumanta Heera, Badshah Alam, and Dulal Chakravarty—not only can raise any question, but also have lost their rights to stay in this state. Above all, you have already demonstrated that you will incite your cadre to reply to the arrogance of some bourgeois newspapers for asking questions. Similarly, we can now also say that we will pay no heed to the questions coming from the Federal Government, which has "sold the nation to the World Bank."

We do not know how many chief ministers and ministers of culture that have preceded you could say these things so boldly. We have regained our strength because you have announced meanwhile that you will stay in power for another five years. Why five years? Stay 50 more years because the people are behind you. But somewhere there remains only one hitch present from the very beginning. Prior to you, another chief minister in this state also wanted to remain in power by putting the opposition into jail and without holding any trials. By crushing all their rights, he also thought that he would be able to continue to reign year after year. But history will tell that he could not do it. Why only he Ceausescu could not do it. Even the most powerful Stalin and Hitler could not do it. Will you be able to do it? On your orders we will silence the questioners by beating them up. But how should we kill the questions? They will remain there and more questions will be piling up. Too many questions give birth to agitation and from many agitations start explosions, and then what?

Give us assurance and confidence. You have not only taken on the responsibility of West Bengal but also voluntarily taken in hand the task of saving Marxism after the death of socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. You and your most competent disciple Buddhadeb must state at once with firmness that you will be able to run the show in this way, and after that you do not have to worry about anything. We, your most obedient people, will take the responsibility of beating up the opposition and the impertinent questioners. If anyone calls your behavior and attitude with "comrade" police by your side as "fascist," we will jump on them and let those bastards know befittingly that in your administration there cannot be any right for anyone to ask questions. You continue your reign safely sitting in the security ring of the Black Cats [vigilante group]. We wish you long life.

Economic Policies Ineffective

93AS0219B Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 17 Nov 92 p 4

[Editorial: "The State's Present and Future"]

[Text] The planned allocation for West Bengal in the next financial year has been fixed at 15.5 billion rupees. The allocation for the current year was 15.01 billion, whereas last year, it was 14.86 billion rupees. While the money figure in the plan is increasing at a gentle and slow pace, the prices of commodities are rising much faster. As a result, the true value of the planned allocation instead of increasing is decreasing. The state's own development expenditures mainly signify planned allocation of expenses and, therefore, the provisions of development in the state are being reduced year to year. It is serious news and needs no further explanation. But this is not the only bad news. More frightening is that the amount of money allotted in the plan cannot in reality be utilized because it will not be available. Officially the planned expenditure for 1991-92 was little more than 9 billion rupees, or in other words, 40 percent less than the specified allotted figure. Eight months of the current year is now practically over and until now the state government has granted only 2.5 billion rupees for development activities. In the remaining four months a maximum of 3 billion rupees can be procured. That means a total of 5.5 billion rupees for the whole year. Moreover, half of the specified amount is not expected to be spent because part of the government sanctioned money never reaches the required place on time. The reliance on government calculations is not beyond question. But disregarding all those intricate questions, Finance Minister Dasgupta has himself admitted that he was forced to slice the size of the plan. Why he was forced or how much he was forced are matters to be considered in the future. But the fact is that the foundation of the state's economic development is fast eroding. The role of government investment in the fields of power, transportation, irrigation, urban development, and so forth is very important. The investments in all these spheres are shrinking each year and as a result the expansion in the infrastructure has been hampered, and for lack of funds no arrangement has been made even for its protection. Increased private investment might to some extent—but not fully—alleviate loss in power production, but the hope of getting that investment in other fields in the near future is very slim. The agricultural and industrial infrastructure in West Bengal is already weak, and removing that weakness will require an unusual amount of investment. But the fact is that the proportion of investment is exceptionally low there. How can the finance minister give the assurance that the amount of money that has been allocated for next year's plan will truly be available? If the current picture of West Bengal's economy is dim, then its future is pitch dark because future prosperity depends on current investments.

The state finance minister has held the Federal Government responsible for the shortage of funds. Such an

accusation is old and has been heard several times before. The problem of small reserves has only added a new dimension to the old allegation. Because of the new policy of the Federal Government the quantity of small reserves [supplied to the states] has been reduced. Because the government of West Bengal was especially depending on the small reserves, it confronted problems. The reports of inconvenience are not a lie. But the small reserves were not reduced only for West Bengal, it was done for other states, too. But none of them has plunged into such grave difficulties. The question arises: Why does the West Bengal government become so dependent on small reserves? Didn't the intelligent and wise finance minister know that this source of income may not remain equally functional all the time? Without holding consultations with the states the Federal Government unilaterally makes policies and brings changes in them, and that is certainly contrary to the principles of the union of states. This system surely needs a change. But as common sense is required to differentiate right from wrong and a struggle is needed for a just policy, it also requires a sense of reality to remain prepared for possible rainy days. Blaming "Delhi's fraudulence" and inconsideration and lamenting over what has not been received from there does not benefit development. The absence of a realistic attitude of the state government has been noticed elsewhere, too. It has increased its daily expenses much more than the capacity of its state treasury. The number of employees in the state government and autonomous bodies were largely increased and their pay raised more than that. And along with it were added the maintenance expenses for the government's white elephant-like state transportation, electricity board, and milk supplies, or in other words, the burden of subsidies. Behind all of these expenses obviously lies political reasons and also the influence of selfish interests. The ministry of finance has totally surrendered itself to that influence. It is now acquiring funds to pay for the wages by chopping off development allocations and suspending repair works for roads, irrigations, and even hospital equipment. After that finding no other alternative, it begs loans from the market. A thing to note is that the money coming from the small reserve—which is also a loan—was the biggest hope for this state government. It goes without saying that, if the government operates with the principle of "borrowing money and being extravagant," then the crisis will go beyond the limit.

Leftists Rally Against Internationals

Report on Rally

93AS0290A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 26 Nov 92 pp 1, 13

[Text] The Times of India News Service and PTI, New Delhi, November 25—A mammoth rally of Left trade unions and employees' organisations today served an ultimatum on the international financial organisations and multi-national companies to "Bharat chhodo" (Quit India) as their dictates had brought the country on the brink of an economic disaster.

The rally also gave a call for a phased programme of mass agitation, including a "Bharat bandh," to desist the Narasimha Rao government from continuing with the anti-people economic and industrial policies. The date for the proposed country-wide bandh would be declared later, the organisers said.

The serving of the ultimatum at the sprawling India Gate lawns here was followed by passing of resolution asking the working class to fight against communal and divisive forces threatening to divert people's attention from the real issues.

The resolutions on the economic policies and the worsening communal situation in the wake of the Ayodhya controversy were later submitted to the Prime Minister by a delegation of the Trade Union leaders.

Employees of Central and state governments, banks, insurance companies, railways, private and public industrial units, and farm labourers from various parts of the country marched through busy roads of the capital before converging at the lawns near Parliament House.

The rally, organised by the sponsoring committee of Central trade unions comprising CITU [Center of India Trade Unions], AITUC [All India Trade Union Congress], HMS, AIAWU, TUCC, AICCTU, UTUC, UTUC (LS) [expansions not given], and several government employees' federations, was the third major protest organised by the non-Congress, non-BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] parties against the new economic policies.

On the earlier occasions, the committee had organised general strikes on November 29, 1991 and June 16 this year to create awakening among people against the threat to India's economic sovereignty due to perusal of the new economic policies.

Left trade unions and mass organisations also held rallies at district headquarters in Kerala today to coincide with the mass protest in the capital, according to CPI's [Communist Party of India] central committee member, Mr. Chitranjan.

The government's economic policies came under sharp attack in both the houses of Parliament today, with the opposition parties barring the BJP staging a walk-out in the Rajya Sabha and the National Front and Left party members trooping to the well of the Lok Sabha raising slogans against "anti-people" measures, reports PTI.

In a surprise move, the AIADMK [All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam], an ally of the ruling Congress, joined the walk-out in the Rajya Sabha after its leader, Mr. G. Swaminathan, launched a scathing attack on the government's new reform package.

The issue came up in both the houses during zero hour as members drew attention to a massive workers rally at the Boat Club today to express disenchantment with the government's programme.

The members said slashing of the fertiliser subsidy and resorting to wheat imports would hit the country's green revolution and opening of the economy to multi-nationals and the new exit policy would spell disaster for the working class.

The Prime Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, who was present in the Lok Sabha, repudiated the charge that government's policies were "anti people" or "anti-working class."

He assured that government was prepared to look into cases of workers who had been retrenched on unfair grounds.

The Prime Minister earlier said his party was prepared for a detailed discussion on the new policies enunciated by the government.

"It is not fair, when some people have come, we have full sympathy with them, you are hurling charges after charges," Mr. Rao told the agitated opposition members.

He wanted to know if some workers have been retrenched on grounds which were not fair, and expressed willingness to meet them. At this several Left party members said there were several such cases.

Mr. Basudeb Acharya, CPM [Communist Party of India-Marxist], said more than ten lakh workers from all over the country had assembled at the Boat Club demanding reversal of the "anti-people" policies.

Gap in Perceptions

93AS0290B Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 26 Nov 92 p 12

[Editorial: "Labour Pains"]

[Text] The huge rally in Delhi of workers affiliated to the Left Front and National Front political parties and to some others, such as the Indian People's Front, revealed the significant gap between the government's perception of its new economic policies and that of the working class. It is clear that the government has not been able to allay fears among workers about retrenchment, growing unemployment and the deleterious effects of inflation following the steps taken towards the external and internal liberalisation of the economy. In fact, the fears have got deepened not only on account of ill-considered statements regarding the impending exit policy but also because of the government's lackadaisical attitude towards labour. The absence of a full-time labour minister after the resignation of Mr. K. Ramamurthy suggests that the government has not shown sufficient concern about the apprehensions of trade unions regarding the fall-out of liberalisation. Indeed, there has been little transparency about the impact of the new economic policies on labour. Instead, the details of the much-talked-about National Renewal Fund and the related safety net remain unnecessarily vague. This has only intensified workers' suspicions about the government's intentions.

Obviously, this is an untenable situation. It is clear from experience around the globe that even those countries which have unfree trade unions and have otherwise put curbs on industrial action are unable in the long run to de-link economic liberalisation from political liberty. In the case of India, which has free trade unions and a vigorous labour movement, it is even more unrealistic to think that economic liberalisation can bypass political democracy. India, with its political-economic specificities, has no set precedent that can be followed in successfully carrying out economic restructuring, but there is no doubt that the hostility of the organised and unorganised working class can easily jeopardise not only the project but even India's painfully-erected democratic structure. It is this realisation that appears to have somewhat moderated the gung-ho approach of the globalisation ideologues. While there is a general consensus on the need for economic reform, it is also evident that the working class, in general, and particularly its better-off sections, will have to pay a price for economic restructuring. However, the rally made it clear that workers are not prepared to make disproportionate sacrifices when there is little evidence that the relatively rich are being called upon to tighten their belts equally. The government will do well to heed the message and take necessary responsive action if the embryo of economic renewal is not to suffer a miscarriage.

Other Options Need Study

93AS0290C Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 26 Nov 92 p 12

[Editorial: "Safety Net? Hardly"]

[Text] The walkout by the major Opposition parties and the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam [AIADMK] in the Rajya Sabha along with the rally organised by various central trade unions in New Delhi demanding self-reliant economy, trade union rights and higher wages for the unorganised sector bring to the fore one of the most contentious issues relating to the New Economic Policy [NEP]. That prices are high is true. Also true is the fact that retrenchment of labour is a corollary of the NEP. The document captioned "Monograph on the Performance Status of Central Public Sector Enterprises" compiled by the Department of Public Enterprises points to 58 public sector enterprises that are deemed sick. The document, apart from highlighting the over-staffing aspect, also argues that closing down these sick enterprises will involve heavy costs. Closure of these will take away the jobs of over four lakh employees. At Rs. 1.5 lakh per worker compensation, the sum involved is over Rs. 6,000 crore. Even if a part of this amount is raised by the sale of assets of the units concerned and disinvestment in other PSUs [public sector undertakings], the net cash outgo will be very large. In many of these enterprises the cash outgo on closure, according to information available, will be as much as six to ten times their annual losses. Closing down such enterprises at such heavy cost and the displacement of such large numbers of employees may

make little economic sense since the annual interest on the present cash outgo will more or less equal the annual cash losses of these enterprises. An argument often proffered, that the additional investment needed for turning around these sick units if put into new industries would create many more jobs than the existing jobs in the sick units has to be researched thoroughly before arriving at conclusions. Prima facie, the argument does not look convincing. The outgo of cash as compensation will directly cut into possible investments elsewhere.

Instead of talking of closure and retrenchment, it would be useful to work on other options as well. For example, closure of the Indian Iron and Steel Company will mean significant reduction in domestic steel output and corresponding increase in steel imports at high cost in scarce foreign exchange. Similarly, units like the India Drugs and Pharmaceuticals Limited produce the products which are the feedstock for many industries. Ironically, while the units producing basic products in the public sector are sick, the user industries of these products which are mostly in the private sector are prospering. The Government will do well to study the incremental capital-output ratios as well as focus on the pricing policies of the PSUs to understand this phenomena. There are some enterprises in the sick list which were located in the North-Eastern parts of the country with the objective of promoting regional development. It will be impossible to close down such units without incurring the wrath of those under-developed regions. There are certain major anomalies in the functioning of the PSUs like the one associated with the Orissa Drugs and Chemicals. This unit was having no market field force with the consequent result of its products not being sold in the market. The issue here is neither closure nor retrenchment. Instead of making retrenchment of labour the be-all of policy focus, the Government would do well to see why some units, in spite of operating at 75 percent capacity, show losses. Why does the Delhi Transport Corporation (DTC), in spite of using its capacity to the extent of 89 percent, continue to show cash losses year after year? The question here is one of under-pricing and not over-employment. The thrust should be on salvaging and turning around the sick units rather than closing them down or retrenching labour indiscriminately. The sop of the National Renewal Fund [NRF] does not provide a satisfactory answer either. The "safety net" that the NRF contemplates is so small that it will hardly be a safety net. At the contemplated rate of Rs [Rupees] 1.5 lakh per retrenched worker, it will cover the compensation claims of perhaps 3 or 4 percent of the total number of employees in the 58 sick enterprises. But in every one of these enterprises significant reduction in the labour complement is shown as one of the requirements for achieving the turn around.

Supreme Court Rules on Job Reservations

93AS0233A Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
17 Nov 92 pp 1, 9

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 16—The Supreme Court today upheld the validity of reservations for backward classes

in Government jobs but ruled that the "cream layer" among the backward classes could be and must be excluded from reservations. The majority judgment was delivered by Mr. Justice B.P. Jeevan Reddy on behalf of himself, the Chief Justice, Mr. M.H. Kania, Mr. Justice M.N. Venkatachallaiah and Mr. Justice A.M. Ahmadi.

The ruling said, "In view of the answers given by us it is not necessary to express any opinion on the correctness and adequacy of the observations made by the Mandal Commission."

Mr. Justice P.B. Savant, in a separate judgment, agreed with the majority view.

The court, by a majority of 8:1, held that reservations in posts would be confined to initial appointment only and could not extend to providing reservation in the matter of promotion.

The court, while giving this ruling, directed that it shall operate only prospectively and shall not affect promotions already made, whether on a temporary, officiating or permanent basis.

The court further directed that "whether reservations are already provided in the matter of promotion—be it in Central services or State services, or for that matter services under any corporation, authority or body failing, under the definition of 'State' in Article 12, such reservations may continue in operation for a period of five years from this day."

Within this period it would have to be ensured that the objective of Article 16(4) was achieved.

The majority judgment also ruled: "The reservations contemplated ... should not exceed 50 percent. While 50 percent shall be the rule, it is necessary not to put out of consideration certain extraordinary situations inherent in the great diversity of this country and the people."

A nine-judge Bench presided over by the Chief Justice had heard a group of petitions challenging the validity of the August 13, 1990 notification reserving 27 percent jobs for backward classes in Central services and the notification of September 25, 1991 modifying the earlier notification. The modified notification retained 27 percent reservations but on the basis of economic criteria, preference was given to more backward classes. It had also raised the total reservation to over 50 percent.

[Boxed item]

Delhi Police on Alert

New Delhi, Nov. 16—The Delhi Police was put on a state of alert today hours after the Supreme Court upheld reservations in government, says UNI.

The Police Commissioner, Mr. M.B. Kaushal, told reporters that the alert was "a precautionary measure" to tackle any eventuality arising out of the apex court's verdict.]

The earlier notification was challenged before a five-judge Bench presided over by the then Chief Justice R.N. Mishra. When the reservation was raised to over 50 percent, it was referred to a nine-judge Bench in view of an earlier ruling of a seven-judge Bench that the total reservation could not exceed 50 percent.

The court, with these rulings, held that the office memorandum of August 13, 1990, was valid and enforceable, subject to the exclusion of the specially advanced members/sections from the notified "other backward classes."

The court directed that the Narasimha Rao Government adopts measures to exclude the socially advanced sections from among other backward classes by setting up a commission to "siphon off the creamy layer," adds PTI.

The Bench struck down the Government's notification to the extent that the 10 percent reservation, based on economic criteria for the weaker sections, not covered by any reservation, was unconstitutional and not valid.

The dissenting judgment was delivered by Mr. Justice T.K. Thommen on behalf of Mr. Justice Kuldip Singh and Mr. Justice R.M. Sahai, while Mr. Justice S.R. Pandian delivered a separate order concurring with the dissenting judges.

This is the largest Bench since 1972 constituted to decide on a constitutional issue.

The court held that the Government was empowered under the Constitution to make reservations for the backward classes through an executive order saying that it was not necessary for either Parliament or the legislatures to approve it.

This clarification was made in the context of challenges against the respective office memoranda of the V.P. Singh and Narasimha Rao Governments' reserving jobs.

The court held that caste could be used for the purpose of identifying the backward classes provided they constituted a social class which was socially backward as a whole. It also held that non-Hindus such as Christians and Sikhs who were socially backward were also entitled for reservations under Article 16(4).

The court held that since neither the Constitution nor law described the procedures for identification of backward classes and since the court also could not take on this responsibility, it was left to the authorities concerned to adopt such procedures that it thought fit. But any such procedure should involve a survey of the total population and not mere sections.

The court made it clear that caste alone cannot be taken into consideration for the purpose of identification.

"Caste will have to be considered among and along with other criteria as the test of backwardness," the judges said and added that a similar process could be adopted for occupational groups, communities and classes.

The court said the adequacy or otherwise of the representation of a class in Government service depended on the satisfaction of the Government.

The court also found that there was no constitutional bar to classify backward as more or less backward.

The court made it clear that the Narasimha Rao Government's order would not be invalid if the court's findings today were incorporated.

The court directed the Union of India, the State Governments and the Union Territories to constitute within

four months from today commissions to act on representations for either inclusion in the list of backward classes or exclusion of some classes on the ground that they were socially advanced.

The decisions of these commissions to be manned by impartial persons would be binding on the respective Governments, the court said.

The court also directed the Union of India to spell out in four months' time the measure it would adopt for excluding the socially advantaged sections from among the backward classes. It said the order of the V.P. Singh Government on job quotas and modified by the Narasimha Rao Government was valid to only that extent.

Agreements for Joint Ventures With CIS Reached
93AS0260A New Delhi PATRIOT in English 30 Oct 92
p 8

[Article: "53 Agreements for Starting Joint Ventures With CIS"; boldface words as published]

[Text] A total of 53 Indian businessmen have reached preliminary agreements for setting up joint ventures worth about Rs [Rupees] 100 crore and exports of more than Rs 60 crore during their recent exhibition in the Sverdlovsk region, the richest area of the Russian federation, reports UNI.

The joint venture investment is for nine projects. The exhibition was held from October 17 to 23. In the Sverdlovsk Capital of Ekaterinoburg.

Addressing a press conference here, president of the India-Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) Chamber of Commerce Manubhai Shah said sale at the exhibition was of about Rs 60 crore and could reach about Rs 100 crore in case deals about which negotiations were started at the exhibition are taken into account.

Exports are mainly in the area of drugs and pharmaceuticals, leather footwear and leather garments, readymade garments, cosmetics, soaps and detergents and consumer goods.

Agreements signed: Indian joint ventures and technology cooperation agreements were signed in the areas of earth moving equipment, drugs and pharmaceuticals, thermo plastics, tannery and leather footwear, detergents and soaps, cutlery and other household goods, readymade garments and hotel and restaurants.

The delegation had detailed discussions with Mr. A. Roussel, Governor of the Sverdlovsk region, and his officials on trade and joint production aspects. The exhibition was earlier inaugurated by Mr. Roussel.

The Chamber had prepared, in Russian language, documents outlining 150 joint venture possibilities and also how to establish and manage joint ventures. The documents information was useful for specific project discussions, Mr. Shah said.

The Sverdlovsk administration is earnest about the establishment of Indian joint ventures and Indian technologies in Sverdlovsk region and has agreed to provide local facilities including special incentives to Indian companies, he said.

Mr. Shah said the Sverdlovsk side has offered a number of commodities including non-ferrous metals, cement, urea, electrical equipment and transport equipment for supply to India.

Business centre: It has further agreed to set up an Indo-Sverdlovsk business centre, sponsored by the India-CIS Chamber of Commerce and Industry on the

one hand and Sverdlovsk regional authority on the other, with offices both in Ekaterinburg and New Delhi.

The idea is to promote joint activities in trade, technology transfer, joint ventures, exhibitions, business visits, business intelligence, publications, providing exhibition space, business complexes, hotels, restaurants and cultural programmes.

Mr. Shah said the centre will be established as a registered joint venture society with a capital base of roughly \$90,000 dollars. The amount will be contributed equally by Indian and Sverdlovsk sides. Fifteen Indian companies will contribute equally the share of the amount.

The proposed centre will not invest in any industrial joint ventures itself but will be a trading, promotional and service agency. There would be 15 Indian and 15 Sverdlovsk directors on the board. The Indian directors will be drawn from the chamber as well as leading Indian companies who have business in the Russian federation.

The day-to-day management of the Centre will be handled by three-executive directors and three Sverdlovsk executive directors. One of the Indian executive directors and one of the Sverdlovsk executive directors will be permanently stationed in Ekaterinburg and New Delhi respectively.

A protocol on this would be signed soon with the Sverdlovsk regional authority so as to make the centre operational from January 1993.

Mr. Shah said the Sverdlovsk Governor had offered premises to the India-CIS chamber as well as 10 Indian companies to establish right away their branch offices in Ekaterinburg. He has offered the chamber a building of 10,000 sqm area to open an Indian shopping complex, conference centre showrooms and warehouse. He was also offered space to open a few hotels and restaurants in and around Ekaterinburg.

Finance Officials Hold Talks With IMF

93AS0240A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 2 Nov 92 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, November 1—India has assured the International Monetary Fund (IMF) that it will meet the agreed target of restricting the fiscal deficit in the current year to five percent of the gross domestic product (GDP), reports PTI.

The finance ministry told IMF officials, during a week-long review of the monetary and fiscal policy measures, that in future the country will attempt to reduce it further through more reforms and austerity.

Sources in the finance ministry described the current round of talks with top IMF officials, which ended last night, as "very satisfactory."

The IMF team, which included Mr. Hubert Neiss, director of Central Asia department, was in the capital reviewing the success of the adjustment programmes.

The sources said the present round of talks centered on the pace of reforms as stipulated in Article 4 of the IMF constitution, for release of further tranches of the 2.2 billion dollar standby loan which India had contracted.

The team is expected to submit its assessment to the IMF board, which will meet in November in Washington.

While the sources said that the discussions with IMF on the terms for the proposed nine billion dollar loan, under the IMF's extended fund facility (EFF), would be taken up later, it is learnt that hard bargaining on EFF has already begun.

The current 2.2 billion dollar standby arrangement with IMF expires in April 1993. The line the finance ministry is taking is to link the existing standby arrangement with the EFF assistance, which would ensure free flow of funds and act as a safety net for further structural reforms.

A substantial part of the EFF loan is expected to be under EASF [as published], which will enable India to borrow for a longer period at very low interest rates.

According to indications here, India will get about 30 percent of the total EFF loan under ESAF [Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility]. The finance minister, Dr Manmohan Singh, had in his memorandum to the IMF in August expressed India's desire to seek a loan under the extended fund facility.

During the current talks, the IMF team reportedly felt that enough headway has not been made in implementing the reforms in the public enterprises as also in respect of the exit policy. The IMF officials also considered the reforms in the financial sector as inadequate.

During the negotiations, the IMF team is stated to have impressed on the need to go in for full convertibility of the rupee on the trade account at the earliest and bring about a steep reduction in tariff rates in next year's budget.

India's memorandum to the IMF had mentioned that it would strive to bring down the inflation rate to nine percent by March 31, 1992. The IMF wants it to be lowered further through appropriate policy frameworks.

India has so far drawn 455 million dollars in three instalments out of the 2.2 billion dollar standby loan.

Details of New Japanese Assistance Loan Given

93AS0256A Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
28 Oct 92 p 8

[Article: "India To Get Rs 2,250-Cr Japanese Aid"]

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 27 (PTI): Japan will provide about Rs [Rupees] 2,250 crores as Official Development

Assistance (ODA) loan to India in 1992-93 for aiding the country's economic development efforts.

The loan worth 111.908 billion yen represents an increase of five percent over the last year's pledge of 106.594 billion yen, an official release said.

The aid package assistance will be earmarked for three ongoing and two new projects in the power sector and a fast disbursing hydrocarbon sector programme loan.

The Yamuna action plan project, being carried out in Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Delhi, will get 17.773 billion yen, the Srisailam hydro-electric project in Andhra Pradesh will receive 3.806 billion yen, while the Anpara B thermal power project (iv) in Uttar Pradesh will get 13.224 billion yen.

The assistance to the Gandhar gas-based power project (iii) of NTPC [National Thermal Power Corporation] in Gujarat will be worth 19.538 yen, while the ammonia plant replacement project at Cochin will get 24.482 billion yen. A sum of 33.085 billion yen has been earmarked for the hydrocarbon sector.

Japan's aid package, in the form of a soft loan, is administered by the Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund (OECF), an autonomous agency of the Japanese government.

The loan carries an interest of 2.6 percent per annum with a 30-year repayment period including grace period of 10 years.

The repayment period of the hydrocarbon sector programme will be 25 years, including a grace period of seven years.

Notes to this effect were exchanged here today between the secretary, economic affairs in the finance ministry, Mr. Montek Singh Ahluwalia, and the Japanese Ambassador to India, Mr. S. Kobayashi.

Japan continues to be India's largest bilateral donor, a position it has maintained consistently over the last six years.

The objective of the Yamuna action plan project is to reduce the pollution load on the river Yamuna and thereby improve the water quality.

The project, which costs 21.5 million yen, is expected to be completed by 1997-98.

The Udyogamandal ammonia plant of FACT [Fertilizers and Chemicals Travancore Limited], envisages replacement of three old energy intensive ammonia plants by putting up a new ammonia plant with 900 tonnes per day (TPD) capacity.

The total project cost, estimated at 31.7 billion yen, will be completed by 1996-97.

Memorandum on Agriculture Signed With Vietnam

93AS0254A *Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English*
2 Nov 92 p 4

[Article: "Delhi, Hanoi Sign MoU (Memorandum of Understanding) on Agriculture"]

[Text] Hanoi, Nov. 1.—The Agriculture Minister, Mr. Balram Jakhar held detailed discussions with his Vietnamese counterpart, Mr. Nguven Cong Tan, and explored the possibilities of bilateral trade, reports UNI.

Both sides felt yesterday that in spite of excellent relationship, there was not enough volume of trade between the two countries.

Mr. Jakhar and Mr. Tan signed a memorandum of understanding [MoU] in the field of agriculture.

The MoU provides for exchange of germ plasm and supply of equipment and materials from India, research programme for embryo transfer technology and dairy development, admission of Vietnamese students in Indian agricultural universities, exchange of scientific publications and other information, collaborative research programmes in areas of common interest and establishment of inter-institutional links between scientific research centre and institutes and exchange of scientists.

Delhi Plans Entry Into Space Market

93AS0243A *Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English*
25 Oct 92 p 1

[Article by Ramakrishna Upadhya]

[Text] Bangalore, Oct. 24—The stage is set for India to enter the global space market with the setting up of Antrix Corporation Limited here late last month.

Inspired by the success of the Indian Space Research Organisation's (ISRO) space programmes, the Union government has set up this company with an initial authorised capital of Rs [Rupees] 5 crores.

Apart from the ISRO chairman, Dr. U.R. Rao, noted industrialists, Mr. Ratan Tata and Mr. Jamshed Godrej, are on the company's board. The first board meeting, which was registered on September 28, is scheduled to be held in November.

"We have proven capability in various aspects of satellite manufacturing, including assembling and testing. We have also successfully developed the 150-kg class launchers ... the global space market is worth \$10 billion and our target is to corner at least one per cent of the market by 1995, which is \$100 million," Mr. N. Sampath, a senior ISRO scientist said. He has been appointed the executive director of Antrix Corporation.

The corporation's eight-member board includes Dr. Ravindra Reddy, managing director of Machine Tools

Aids and Reconditioning (MTAR), Hyderabad, which is closely associated with the space programme, the director of the Vikram Sarabhai Space Centre, director of the ISRO Satellite Centre, director of the National Remote Agency, secretary and additional secretary in the Department of Space.

Antrix's primary objective is to export and will not enter the field of manufacturing. The Tatas and Godrej will provide the commercial edge to the enterprise. Mr. Sampath said ISRO had contacted a number of space industries around the world and the response was very encouraging. The Europe-based Loral Space, which owns Ford Aerospace in the U.S., and the Matra Marconi of France are among the multinational giants which have shown interest in ISRO's venture.

As the country's requirements are small, most electronic components are exported, but if the need arises, ISRO will manufacture them indigenously. About 200 private sector industries which are collaborating with ISRO's space programmes will get a fillip with the setting up of Antrix.

"It is important that we have indigenous sources for critical components. We will be holding a seminar next month to identify those components and start manufacturing them. We have great potential in any engineering and integration testing which needs qualified manpower."

Government's Economic Policy, Performance Examined

Keeping Promises Difficult

93AS0194A *Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA in Bengali* 7 Nov 92 p 4

[Editorial: "Will the Finance Minister Keep His Word?"]

[Text] The fear exists in all countries of the world that Bill Clinton might raise the limit of taxation rates on imports and of other restrictions in order to save the national industries from the competition of foreign goods. Will the soft and gentle breeze of the liberal policy that has been blowing in the international market for the past few years stop immediately, or will the import doors be closed in the United States because of the attitude of its new leader, "first the economic policy of the country and then other things," or will united Europe and united East Asia give their own trade zones the shape of a fortress? All of these questions are today no longer fragments of the imagination of the future but are subjects for an important discussion at the present time. In this background, the importance of the statement made recently by Indian Finance Minister Manmohan Singh is very great. He told an international conference that the rate of taxation on imports in India will be further reduced because, since the nation has taken the initiative of intimately connecting itself with the international economy, it will not be useful for it to go on

imposing high taxation on imports. In other words, the open-door policy of Indian foreign trade—which the Central Government has accepted by implementing the policy with a noteworthy reduction in the rate of taxation on imports in the last budget—will continue. The old and obsolete policy of protecting the domestic industry like an infant by controlling imports will not return.

Such a clear statement by the finance minister is very important at this time. In the past few months there has been a decline in the enthusiasm and zeal with which the Congress government under Narasimha Rao's leadership has started its economic reform. The share scandal was one of the important—but not the only—reasons. Different self-interest groups were vocal and active against the reforms because their vested interests were being hurt. The labor organizations, and the political parties supporting them, opposed the introduction of the lay-off policy in industries because that hinders stability among laborers and workers. Because they enjoy the benefit of priority in the distribution of bank loans under the existing rules, wealthy farmers and directors of small industries will be angry if the government relaxes its control over granting loans from the nationalized banks. Similarly, those managing directors of local industrialists, who have so long reigned over the domestic commodity market under the umbrella of the government and did not contest competition coming from foreign goods, become angry and panic whenever the government is liberal with imports. It goes without saying that the domestic industry did not feel any pressure to improve its standard under such a sure, safe, and protected empire, and it also did not always remain active in reducing production expenses. Indian buyers bought inferior quality goods at higher prices because they had no other choice. On the other side, due to this wholesale protection, Indian goods could not manage well in the export market. Inferior quality goods failed to find buyers in the international market, and local industrialists with a ready market at home under their control also did not feel a special need to expand exports. The Indian industry was banished from the international market to a distant and isolated island. If the government today wants to end that distance, then the isolated and complacent Indian industry should encounter strong competition. This might frighten a section of the industry, and that fear could be echoed from different political platforms. The occasion could even unite the voices of the two main opposition parties who have daggers drawn at each other. But without adopting a difficult path of competition, there is no second option left for the domestic industry to attain maturity. It is for this reason that the finance minister's proposal to reduce taxation on imports is important and hopeful. This proposal needs to materialize in the next budget. Will the finance minister keep his word?

The question might arise: Who will provide the necessary dollars if imports increase enormously with the relaxation of controls? The question is not irrelevant.

The policy to import from the Middle East was liberalized to some extent in the 1980's, and as a result the foreign trade deficit climbed to an astronomical figure. The foreign exchange crisis that followed is partially the outcome of that policy. Will there be a repetition of the same thing this time? A way to prevent that repetition is to leave to the open market the exchange rate of Indian rupees. Meanwhile, the government has already moved ahead on that path, and the finance minister has assured us that the remaining task will be completed as soon as possible. In that case, the exchange rate will maintain parity between the demand and supply of foreign currencies. It goes without saying that because of this liberal policy there will be some ups and downs and even some temporary problems at the initial stages, but that is unavoidable. There is no way one can escape storms and gales if one undertakes a voyage in an international ocean leaving a safe shelter in the port.

Following BJP's Lead

*93AS0194B Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 7 Nov 92 p 4*

[Article by Sunit Ghosh: "The Government Is Following BJP As If BJP Were the Economic Spokesman"]

[Text] My neighbor's son was a staunch supporter of the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] only two weeks ago. He believed that the BJP had an unmistakable policy; no leader was better than Lal Krishan Advani and Atal Behari Vajpayee and only this party could be an alternative to the Congress Party [in running the country's affairs]. Since he became eligible to vote two years ago, he has always voted for the BJP. But all of a sudden he has become anti-BJP. Recently the boy got a government job and he is sincerely working 1000 to 1700 every day. He has not yet mastered the trick of goofing off. He was not aware that the BJP gave a call for a "Bharat Bandh" [closed strike all over India] on 3 November. Reading about it in the newspaper on Tuesday, that is 3 November, his blood pressure went up. His job was not yet acceptable and there was a possibility of losing it for not being present at the office. But his guardians at home objected greatly to his going to work on a strike day because of the possible danger on the streets.

The young man could not imagine why his most favorite political party had suddenly started the politics of strikes by imitating the leftist parties in West Bengal. On several earlier occasions the BJP leaders opposed strikes and tried to make their supporters understand that they should not march on that hackneyed political path and create obstacles in the production of national wealth by calling strikes with flimsy excuses, and so on and so forth. Being encouraged with these types of utterances, the boy started considering the BJP his own party. But one "Bharat Bandh" has changed his attitude toward the BJP. That young man passionately told the people around him that he will no longer work for the BJP and never cast a vote for that party. In his view the BJP was not different from others.

Disregarding the objection of his guardians, the boy was present as usual at the office and returned home in the evening. Not only that boy, but several thousand other office goers—young men and women—defying the threats of the BJP workers also attended their workplaces on that day. The reaction of the majority was the same—they never expected such a cheap type of politics from the BJP. They were already unhappy with the BJP's excesses on the Ram Mandir issue and now they are more indignant over its left-leaning politics of calling for strikes.

On the day of the strike the life in the capital was more or less normal. Because Tuesday was a weekly holiday for South Delhi, all the shops and banks remained closed. An average of 90 percent of the workers went to the government offices. The air-conditioned underground market—the "Palika Bazaar"—in the Connaught Circus remained busy as usual, although the shops on the surface did not open. Many shopkeepers were forced to close their business establishments in the central and northern parts of Delhi from the pressure of the BJP workers. Despite the pelting of stones, the employees of the Delhi Transport Corp. operated more buses on that day and kept the transportation system normal.

Outside the capital, the strike had no effect in Haryana. The markets in the prosperous Rohtak city were booming. Punjab also remained outside the influence of the strike. However, the strike was successful in the four BJP-ruled states—Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Madhya Pradesh—with the active support of the ruling party as is being done in the Left Front-ruled West Bengal. In eastern India, in addition to Borak valley in Assam, normal life was not affected in any other place due to the strike. People from southern and western India also did not respond to the strike call. However, in some states, by blocking the railway lines, the BJP workers hindered the operations of the train service and inconvenienced the passengers. Many trains could not reach their destinations on time. Although no people from any state had spontaneously responded to the call given for the strike, the BJP leaders claimed it a grand success, saying that they were delighted at the "unprecedented support from the people." The Left-Front leaders were also similarly delighted at the so-called success of the "Bharat Bandh" sponsored by them in 1990.

This strike was apparently called to register protests against the rise in prices and the Narasimha Rao government's economic policy. Similarly under the same pretext, calling a strike in the mills and factories all over the country a few months back, the Left-Front wanted to test its own strength.

Perhaps it cannot be said that they were unsuccessful in the test. But after that strike there was neither change in the government's economic policy nor were the prices of commodities reduced. On the contrary, just a few months after that strike, the government hiked the prices of gasoline and petroleum products without paying any

heed to the protest coming from any party. With the rise in transportation costs immediately following the hike in the prices of gasoline-diesel, the people with limited incomes had to spend much more money to buy essential goods for daily use. There was no reason to believe that as a result of the BJP-called strike the market price would be reduced or the government would change its policy. Recession is now going on all over the world. Even the rich nations of the world have been crushed by inflation and in that situation it is not possible for India to escape it. To some extent inflation is unavoidable because of the budget deficit emanating from the intensified developmental activities in any country. Compared to that, India's rate of inflation is much less.

It is an undeniable fact that the new "liberal" economic policy could not yet create the expected momentum in the economic system of the country. Even though the production of food stuff has increased by 5 percent due to a good monsoon and the stocks in the food stores remained full, it cannot be said that the ailing industries have started moving faster after making their "recoveries." Despite the relaxation of rigidity in the rules and regulations of imports and making easily available more foreign exchange than before, the sluggishness in production has not yet been removed. Because of the rise in expenses, in many cases it is also not possible to take full advantage of the production system in the industrial field. According to recent statistics the growth in the industries this year will not be more than 4 percent. Although there was no foreign exchange deficit, due to help from the World Bank and the IMF, exports did not increase considerably. On the contrary, the deficit in foreign trade is rising again with the growth in imports. It is presumed that the size of this deficit will finally touch the \$6 billion mark.

But the Federal Government is only the maker of the policy. If the states do not act wholeheartedly to implement the policy into reality and fall shy of taking advantage of this liberal policy for narrow political interests, then no momentum can be expected for this economic system. Our leftist followers still refuse to learn a lesson from the consequences of the East European socialist countries, including the former Soviet Union. When the intelligent Chinese leaders started capitalism under the cover of the "socialist market economy," the leftists in our country, on one side, opposed this policy and on the other, failing to take advantage of that opportunity, started screaming and shouting loudly allegations of discrimination. When the rulers of Haryana, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, and Karnataka were successful in creating a climate of investment in their respective states by taking advantage of this unfettered liberal policy of permit-license, all the non-Congress Party-ruled states—for instance, West Bengal, Bihar, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, and Madhya Pradesh—failed to do anything. In the majority of cases, foreign investors do not want to go near the shadow of the states ruled by the Left-Front and the BJP because in those states people

indulge in more misdeeds than work. Whereas the biggest industry for the Left-Front-ruled West Bengal is the movement on theoretical wrangling and holding of strikes, the rulers in the BJP-ruled states keep themselves busy with history, Hinduism, and the Ram Mandir.

Whenever the leftists call for a strike, their reasons are known. It is perhaps the only way they somehow maintain their existence in their "bankrupt" politics. But the BJP had supported the new economic policy and in the opinion of its leader Lal Krishan Advani, Narasimha Rao was the best prime minister of the country after Lal Bahadur Shastri.

But what are the reasons for this sudden change in their attitudes? Even when the Narasimha Rao government is virtually pursuing the economic policy of which BJP is the spokesman, then why has the BJP called for a "Bharat Bandh" against it? Many people think that, for the purpose of diverting the attention of its workers from the sphere of limited politics with the Ram Mandir, the BJP is now trying to become "progressive" by making the economic policy an issue. But to accomplish it, the BJP has selected, like the leftist parties, the blind alley of rotten conflict. The BJP will have to pay compensation for this "immorality" and political "bankruptcy."

Textile Policy for 1993 Announced

93AS0232A Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
23 Oct 92 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 22 (PTI)—The long-awaited textiles and garment policy for 1993 has been announced with powerloom and handloom sectors being the major beneficiaries of the modified policy.

An official release said the powerloom exporter entitlement (PEE) has been increased from the present level of three to five percent. Of the non-quota export entitlement (NQE), which has been increased from eight percent to 13 percent, five percent has been reserved for non-quota handloom exports against the present level of three percent.

As per the modified quota policy for 1993, the percentage of the annual allotment will be 40 for past performance entitlement (PEE), 18 for contract reservation entitlement (CRE), 10 for first-cum-first service (FCFS) ready goods entitlement, 12 for manufacturers exporters entitlement (MEE), 13 for non-quota exporter entitlement (of which five percent is reserved for non-quota handloom exporters), five for powerloom exporters entitlement (PEE) and two for public sector entitlement.

In the case of manufacturer exporter entitlement (MEE), the maximum number of country-category for which an exporter might opt has been reduced to 10 from the present level of 15 so that the exporters might get viable quantities in the country/categories they opt for.

In case of garments, there was no change in the existing systems or percentage allotment to various categories. Thus, past performance entitlement (PPE) to account for 60 percent, manufacturer exporter entitlement (MEEs) 20 percent, non-quota entitlement (NQE), 18 percent (of which two percent is reserved for non-quota handloom garment exporters) and public sector entitlement (PSE) two percent.

As in the case of this year's policy, there is no separate allocation for the first-cum-first-serve (FCFS) system in the garment quota policy and only flexibilities and surrenders would be operated under FCFS system.

In a bid to ensure that the interests of new entrants were taken care of in respect of categories in which a limited number of exporters hold a large share of PPE, a net rider has been introduced in the garment quota policy.

Under this, the top 10 garment exporters account for more than 60 percent of PPE entitlements.

Ministry Releases Draft Agricultural Policy

93AS0237A Hyderabad *DECCAN CHRONICLE*
in English 13 Nov 92 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 12 (PTI)—Agriculture would be given benefits similar to those available to the industry, but farmers would not be subjected to the regulatory and tax collection machinery of the government, the draft agricultural policy resolution cleared by the Cabinet says.

Releasing the draft resolution, the Agriculture Minister, Mr. Balram Jakhar, said the objective of the government policy would be to develop effective systems and bestow similar benefits on agriculture as exist in industry.

Stating that the new policy aimed at tackling the major challenges in front of Indian agriculture like the need for increasing farm production, Mr. Jakhar said land reforms would be so pursued so as to release their energies for greater production.

Highlights of the draft resolution include a greater thrust to farm exports as also agro-based industries, measures aimed at democratisation of the cooperative sector, remunerative agricultural prices, redesigned crop insurance scheme, new initiatives like use of plastics in agriculture.

Mr. Jakhar said since agriculture is a State subject, he was convening a meeting of the chief ministers by the first week of next month for finalising the draft by incorporating their suggestions.

Another major feature of the policy is that it would attempt to address itself to the problems of underemployment, unemployment, malnutrition and generate activity through diversification of agriculture.

Mr. Jakhar said the government's aim was to raise the rate of capital formation in the agriculture sector which was declining continuously over the years and was now at 12 percent.

"The new policy will aim at infusing new dynamism in the agricultural field through public investments in infra-structural development and a much greater impetus for private investments," Mr. Jakhar said.

The Agriculture Minister claimed that the new agriculture policy would provide farmers the necessary support, encouragement and thrust so that "the rural people look to this noble occupation for a future of all round development, well being and hope."

Mr. Jakhar said the resolution would be discussed at a conference of Chief Ministers in early December.

The policy aimed at removing regional imbalances by accelerating all round development and economic viability, covering all sectors of agriculture like horticulture, livestock, fisheries and sericulture.

It was designed to tackle the major challenges facing agriculture such as the need for increasing production and productivity to ensure food security for the rising population and developing areas of untapped potential, specially in the eastern region.

Other challenges include meeting the degradation of land and water resources and correcting ecological imbalances, developing location-specific and economically viable technologies and working out a format for making agriculture economically viable inspite of fragmentation of holdings.

Russia To Cooperate in Aircraft Building

93AS0261A New Delhi PATRIOT in English 25 Oct 92 p 6

[Article: "NAL-Russia Tie Up for Light Aircraft"]

[Text] Madras, Oct 24 (PTI)—The National Aeronautical Laboratory (NAL), Bangalore, a premier research institution, is all set to launch a light transport aircraft (LTA) project in technical and financial collaboration with the Russian Design Bureau, Myasisehev.

The design and configuration, prepared by NAL, were ready with Myasisehev ready to share half of cost, a prototype could fly by 1993-94 if the Rs [Rupees] 40 crore finance needed at the Indian end was tied up, NAL director, Prof Roddam Narasimha, said.

What is proposed is a pressurised civilian aircraft to seat 14 passengers, with a twin turbo-prop engine and two pilots. The configuration has been done in such a way that with minor changes different versions could be built for use as an air-taxi service, cargo plane, executive aircraft, an ambulance for rural services and disaster rescue.

Prof Narasimha who spoke to reporters at nearby Kov-alam, where he delivered a talk on aerospace at an Indo-French seminar, said a team from the Russian bureau was presently in Bangalore for discussions with his laboratory. This was their third visit. NAL team had been to Russia earlier on a similar mission.

NAL had been working on the design for three years, Prof Narasimha said, adding, the Russians, who had taken up a similar project, abandoned it after seeing India's version. The present configuration was the fifth prepared. The plan to share work between India and Russia would compress time schedules.

Steel Authority Enters PRC, EC Markets

93AS0257A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 27 Oct 92 p 8

[Article: "SAIL Enters Chinese, EC Markets"; figures as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 26 (PTI): The Steel Authority of Indian (SAIL), in a vigorous bid to diversify its export market, has made inroads into the European Economic Community (EC) countries and China. The company has bagged orders for 2.7 lakh tonnes of steel products in the current year.

Compared to last year's export of a mere 1.4 lakh tonnes, valued at Rs [Rupees] 120 crores, SAIL has already exported 80,000 tonnes of steel products, while another 40,000 tonnes are ready for shipping, a SAIL source said.

Besides, SAIL has in hand export inquiries for about 150,000 tonnes despite a sluggish international market, he said.

The company, which was exporting mainly to Japan and the United States, has now roped in various EC countries, like Italy, Germany, and the U.K., and China in addition to Malaysia, Dubai and neighbouring countries of Sri Lanka and Bangladesh, thereby achieving the export target of three lakh tonnes for this year.

SAIL has lately booked a shipment for China and a repeat order is likely to materialise soon. Besides, efforts are also on to explore the possibilities of exporting plate and wire rods to European countries, the source added.

Pointing out that exports would not be made at the expense of profitability, he said domestic requirements would also be kept in mind before offering the material to international buyers.

However, SAIL does not have any plans to lower the prices to reduce its stocks, which presently are at a level of around 6,84,000 tonnes.

Allaying fears of a stock buildup, the source clarified that the inventory being held at the stockyards was not abnormal and a further reduction is on the anvil by the end of this year as the market had started showing signs of a pick-up during the last few days.

Analysing the market, the source said the demand for steel items in the country was more than supply.

The present scenario was merely an upshot of a drop in money availability. However, offtake was less only in some areas and SAIL had taken steps to rearrange its product mix, he clarified.

Referring to the one-million-tonne demand-supply gap, the sources said SAIL was not unduly concerned with the government's import liberalisation policy.

In fact, SAIL was keenly working towards avoiding a shortage situation since a slender difference could tilt the situation in the steel sector could create a glut or scarcity.

Describing the imports as complementary and not a threat, SAIL would continue to be the leader in steel despite new capacities being added in the steel sector, the source added.

Air Force, Navy Strengthen Bombay High Defense

93AS0275A Bombay THE SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA
in English 15 Nov 92 p 5

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] ON BOARD AN ONGC PLATFORM:
November 14—The Indian Air Force (IAF) and the Indian Navy have jointly strengthened the defence network in the Bombay High region in the recent past following an evaluation of the threat perception after the Gulf war.

This was clearly evident to media persons during a visit to a platform designated 'SA, SLQ and WIS,' located 69 miles from Bombay.

The operations room of the platform was full of radar scopes, telephones and charts displaying the location of various platforms and rigs. It is silent and dark.

As soon as the sensors in the platform pick up an aircraft the IAF's Madh unit is alerted. The officer at this unit by a touch of a button can detect whether it was a friendly aircraft or it belonged to an enemy.

If it was an enemy aircraft the missile control is placed at once in what is known as "Readiness one." Thereafter immediately the entire weapons system is placed on an alert.

Should the enemy aircraft encroach into the "kill zone", the shoulder-launched Iгла missiles having a range of three kilometres immediately go into action. They have an accuracy of 99 percent.

There was a simulated air exercise in the presence of the chief of air staff, Air Chief Marshal N.C. Suri, top IAF and Indian navy officials and media personnel on Friday. Two Jaguars playing the role of F-16s were detected 12 minutes before they made for their target. The powerful Iгла missiles then homed in on them.

It is from this room that Indian Air Force and the Indian Navy monitor the air space and the sea around for the defence of Bombay High.

An IAF radar has been placed on platform P-19 and platform W2 to W10 are equipped with the Soviet-made heat-seeking Iгла missiles which are shoulder-launched.

Addressing newsmen in the operations room, Flat Officer S.S. Khanna, observed that 35,000 barrels of oil were produced daily. He stated that the target for this year's production was 18 to 20 million tonnes of oil and the Oil and Natural Gas Commission was keen on increasing it to 40 million tonnes. It is for this reason, he remarked, that platform R-12 was being built.

He made it clear that the reason such a tightened defence network was to ensure that oil production would remain unaffected in the event of a hostility.

The high-tech operations room has a sophisticated network which enable officials to be constantly and instantly in touch with the world, the IAF Madh unit and other sections.

The area covered by the defence network was 1,50,000 square kilometres. He emphasised that for any war to be successful the communication network had to be fully effective.

Human Rights Group Reports Bengal Torture

93AS0234A Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
16 Nov 92 p 1

[Text] Is the Left Front Government serious about bringing the human rights violators in West Bengal to book? It appears to be otherwise, if the findings of the Association for the Protection of Democratic Rights [APDR], regarding the human rights violations in the State, are anything to go by.

The results of only four judicial inquiries out of a total of 16 held during the 15 years of Left Front rule has been published though not a single person has been indicted, barring the suspension of a few police officers following Idris Mian's death in the Lalbazar police lock-up in 1984. The APDR will place the results of its findings before a seminar on human rights scheduled to be held at Sisir Manch on Monday. The seminar, to be inaugurated by Mr. Jyoti Basu has Mr. Somnath Chatterjee, M.P., Naranarayan Gooptu, Advocate General and Mr. Ashok Mitra, economist among its speakers.

The State Government appears to have adopted an ostrich-like attitude regarding various judgments on human rights violations. In a judgment on June 2, 1992, Mr. Justice Dilip Basu laid down certain guidelines to prevent violence in custody. These included furnishing a "custody memo" either to the arrested person or to his relatives. A compensation of Rs [Rupees] 1 lakh was recommended to be paid in case of a lock-up death. The amount would be payable within a period of four weeks since the occurrence of the incident. There have been eight lock-up deaths after this judgment was delivered, according to the "human rights violation chargesheet" prepared by the APDR.

Justice Basu had recommended that this compensation should either be paid by the Government exchequer or could be deducted from the salaries of the police personnel involved in the incident. None of the next of kin of those killed in custody after the judgments have, however, received any compensation.

Other than the Deb Commission's findings regarding Idris Mian's death the other three reports of the judicial inquiries published till date include a report on the killing of two SFI [Students' Federation of India] activists in police firing in Chowk Bazar in Darjeeling on September 8, 1981, the lathicharge on agitating junior doctors in SSKM [expansion not given] hospital in 1987 and the death of two persons in police firing in the Regional Engineering College in Durgapur in 1985. Commenting on the Chowk Bazar firing Mr. Justice Ambika Prasad Bhattacharya had said that the firing was unprovoked.

Though the Left Front rode to power on the crest of a popularity wave by promising punishment for guilty policemen involved in unleashing a "reign of terror" from 1970 to 1977, it has done little in this regard. Making a mockery of the CPI(M)'s [Communist Party of

India-Marxist] election manifesto in 1977, to bring the guilty to book, the "infamous police officer" Mr. Runu Guha Niyogi, retired recently as the Deputy Commissioner Traffic (II). A criminal case for torturing Miss Archana Guha is going on against him for the past 15 years. Citing Mr. Guha Niyogi's continuous promotion in the city police during the period of litigation, the APDR wondered whose side the Government was on, the oppressor or the oppressed? Lending further credence to this allegation, the seven-page report questions the shelving of the Haratosh Chakraborty Commission report. The persons indicted by the Sharma Sarkar Commission report have also, reportedly, gone free.

The vast questionnaire seeks to catch the State Government on the wrong foot. Retreat, a "torture house" opposite the Indrapuri studio in Tollygunge where arrested Naxalites were tortured by the police in the '70s to wring out a confession, is still in existence. The tortures, according to the report, continued in the '80s. Despite promises of compensation, the relatives of Tapan Dhar, killed in the police firing at Baguihati in 1990 are yet to receive compensation.

Referring to Mr. Jyoti Basu's statement that incidents such as the Phulbagan rape case happen once in 10 years, the report pointed out that Amina Khatun, a housewife was raped by policemen inside Nimta thana in July 1980. The report has asked for the details of the punishment meted out to the policemen involved in the 43 cases of rape and molestation during the past 10 years.

Publication Industry Overly Foreign Dependent

93AS0173B Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 18 Oct 92 p 10

[Article by Sujata Sen: "Domestic Publishing Is Still Foreign Dependent"]

[Text] The first requirement is an established or, at least, a known writer. If the writer is not known, then introduce him to the readers with his special writings and include his photograph in a daily, a weekly, or a periodical. Thereafter collect the manuscript, send it straight to a printing house for publishing, wrap it in a bright attractive cover, fix the price of the book mostly on the basis of an attractive commission for the sellers, and then put advertisements in different newspapers and magazines. This is roughly the process for a novel or an essay. However, the publishers of textbooks keep several other related people—besides the sellers—happy in different ways and many among them are not the students. Moreover, the selling of foreign books by big publishers, printing them in this country under the blessing of reprinting rights, has undoubtedly become a commercially profitable alternative.

This is what is called publishing in our country, at least that is what the operations connected with the recently published statistics and publication of books say.

But is publication only this? No healthy publishing drive can avoid the full manifestation of a writer's possibilities, correct editing, keeping aesthetic decorations in conformity with the subject matter and culture, and at the end being responsible for dispatching the books to readers. A publication lies at a focal point for the proper development of the culture and education of a nation. When, after 200 years of colonial rule, we are doing afresh the valuation of the conflict and concord of cultural tradition and its modernization, the decision of the publishers on the selection and presentation of subject matter in that backdrop is not only institutional but also social.

It is necessary to analyze just how much relevance, especially to the fundamentals of education, the material and subject matter of the foreign books have under the current socio-economic situation. It is absolutely necessary for any nation, however small it might be, to have overall growth in the national and self-reliant publishing industry for the development of education, culture, and also a normal and healthy state of mind. The picture of our national publication [process] is not at all hopeful in the 1990's. In the view of publisher Tejeshwar Singh: "Because of an expansion in literacy, an increase in per capita income, and a presence of sufficient demands for essential books, the lack of enthusiasm among the Indian publishers particularly draws the attention of the people. The publishers have dropped the publication of serious books from 1,100 to 500 and are increasing their prices, keeping the no-profit and no-loss concept in mind. Many of them have also selected the path of joint ventures with foreign publishers. It is noticed that many writers have recently knocked on the doors of the foreign publishers for the publication of their first books because this makes it also easier for them to get recognition inside the country.

The question is why the publishing industry is in such a state in a big country like ours. If the fortitude and self-confidence of a publisher is not firm, then its reflection falls on the whole venture. A full manuscript in all its senses is not available under any circumstances. The role of the publisher is very great in the evaluation and development of a young talent. When going through the history of publishing, innumerable instances are available where during a lifetime an exceptionally talented writer could not gain fame, for instance, Kafka. The first writing of Kafka was printed in 800 copies. Publisher Kurt Wolfe was successful in selling only 400 copies during his five-year effort. But this failure did not create any kind of alarm in the mind of Wolfe regarding Kafka's talent, and he continued publishing Kafka's writings one after the other. The work of a publisher largely becomes creative in the case of an essay because in a variety of subject matters, starting from school books to recent events, the essay has unlimited scope. Discarding the customary process of selecting the writers, a publisher gives the responsibility for writing to such a person, even though his writings probably were never published earlier, because he knows the subject

matter in and out. Holding discussions and giving regular encouragement and all kinds of cooperation from the publisher's side rarely is in vain. In this part of the publication process the role of an editor is very important. On many occasions, besides a professional relationship between writers and editors, some other kind of personal and psychological relationship also develops between them. It is said that T.S. Eliot had so much confidence in his editor that he never thought of any other publisher his whole life. There is doubt that without the editing of Max Perkin three boxes of Thomas Wolfe's manuscripts would never have come out in a book form entitled: *Of Time and the Reader*.

To publish a correct textbook is a different kind of endeavor because a large part of it depends on research. The exact collection of the property represented subject matter, the writing style and its smoothness, relevant pictures and drawings and so forth, are very much time- and patience-consuming matters and can be done fruitfully only through the mutual discussions and understandings between the writer and the editor. It is also a big responsibility for the editor to make the artist understand clearly what type of pictures and drawings will help the subject matter to be better understood. It would also be necessary for him to make sure that the discussion would not in anyway curb the artist's own freedom of expression. Undoubtedly, the whole process is very complex and probably due to this many publishing enterprises in our country believe that the editor's office is only a nuisance.

The shortage of efficient and trained editors is the biggest problem today for the national publishing industry. Many publishers have been tempted with the commercial possibility of publishing foreign textbooks in the country under the reprint law. But one question to remember is: how much relevance will the type of textbooks, which are relevant to socio-economic conditions in foreign countries, have in our country? The subject matter of these books in the case of history, economics, social science, and so forth largely lean toward the West. If this trend continues, then the national publishing industry cannot stand on its own feet. It is not possible to give the same rate of commission to the sellers of local books as is given to foreign reprinted books. If that is done, then book prices will rise, sales will drop, and at the end the disappointed established writer will have to go to the doors of foreign publishers. This atmosphere is not encouraging for the national publishing industry.

No benefit can be derived from only accusing the publishers, because many of us—guardians and teachers—sincerely believe that an English textbook written by a Britisher is far superior in merit than one by an Indian writer. If that is not the case, then textbooks [written by the British writer] would not be used even today in many schools of this country year after year. But how practical is the basis of this belief? Even after 45 years of independence, we cannot get rid of the colonial mentality. It is a fact that for natural reasons, in practically all Third

World countries that were once British colonies, English is the principal language for official work, trade, and business, and law and higher education. There is also no exception in our own country. The proof remains in the publication of the list of scholarly and scientific matters. In addition, only Bengali, Gujrati, Marathi, and Malayalam publications and their influence on the people in other languages are very little. This could also be a main reason for our depending too much on foreign books.

MP Gives New Details on Securities Scam

93AS0241A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 31 Oct 92 pp 1, 15

[Text] New Delhi, October 30—The magnitude of fake banker's receipts (BRs) may be greater in reconciled accounts than in unreconciled ones.

Putting the securities scam in a new perspective, the chairman of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, (JPC), Mr. Ram Niwas Mirdha, today said that "the extent of the scam cannot be gauged from the figures of unreconciled accounts alone."

Two startling examples the JPC came across today of how various parties had reconciled their accounts in the securities market showed that the scam amount was much bigger than the Rs [Rupees] 3,000-odd crore figure calculated from unreconciled accounts.

These transactions came to light during the deposition of the former chairman of UCO [United Commercial Bank] bank, Mr. K. Margabandhu.

One instance was a cheque of Rs 40 crores given in April by National Housing Bank (NHB) to UCO bank. Another was an amount of Rs 100 crores deposited in UCO in November 1990 by a public sector undertaking (PSU) Power Finance Corporation (PFC).

In neither of these instances has the depositor till now made a claim on the large sum of money. This means that the broker involved in both transactions, Harshad Mehta, has "Somehow squared up" the accounts of NHB and PFC, said Mr. Mirdha to press persons.

Another sensational disclosure made by him was of evidence suggesting that the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) was guilty in the scam of not only negligence but also "complicity."

The evidence against the RBI in the context of UCO is two-fold. One is that in November 1991, RBI conducted an elaborate inspection of UCO. The consequent RBI report spelt out "certain deficiencies" in UCO's transactions in securities and portfolio management. But RBI also recorded that the "transactions have been reportedly stopped and outstanding BRs have been redeemed." Thus, RBI neither pulled up the bank nor did it make any attempt to ensure that such transactions had actually stopped.

An internal noting of UCO talked of a discussion RBI had with it on November 26, 1991, subsequent to the inspection. The noting said that "RBI, after having had detailed discussion with our bank officers, did not ask us to discontinue these transactions."

Another damaging evidence is related to the famous July 1991 circular of the RBI giving elaborate guidelines to all banks, which were directed to submit promptly their compliance report. Mr. Margabandhu today confessed before the JPC that UCO had so far not bothered to send any such report to the RBI. Worse, he said the RBI has also not till now sent any reminder.

Asked if all this did not show RBI's complicity in the irregularities, Mr. Mirdha said with a straight face: "that is exactly what I am hinting at."

Reconstructing the story of the RS 40-crore cheque received by the UCO from the NHB, Mr. Mirdha said the dealing officer in a Bombay branch of UCO was puzzled at the fact that the covering letter had not clarified the purpose of the cheque. He contacted the assistant general manager of the NHB, Mr. Ravi Kumar, who explained that the cheque was meant to be credited to the account of Harshad Mehta in another Bombay branch of UCO.

The cheque of Rs 40 crores was accordingly credited to Harshad's account and the NHB has till now not made any claim on it. It did write once to UCO about it but that was only to make some "inquiry" about it, said Mr. Mirdha. The implication is that Harshad had through some circuitous route reconciled the NHB's account.

As for the PFC's deposit of Rs 100 crores with the UCO, Mr. Mirdha quoted an internal vigilance note of UCO which said that the PSU "was made to part with Rs 100 crores on the strength of fraudulently issued letter of offer for portfolio management by an ordinary scale I officer of the UCO bank.

And since Rs 100 crores had not come into the coffers of UCO bank and was passed on to a private broker firm for their use, the matter should be investigated in depth."

This transaction was not mentioned in the UCO's records of portfolio management. Neither did the PFC at any stage reclaim the money. This was evidently because Harshad had reconciled PFC's account by taking money from some other source.

On the basis of the internal vigilance report, the UCO lodged a complaint with the CBI [Central Bureau of Investigation] against one Mr. Devasthale, the officer who had issued the fraudulent letter to PFC. But subsequently after Mr. Margabandhu took over as the chief of UCO, he withdrew the complaint from the CBI.

A file noting made by Mr. Margabandhu on December 24, 1991 explains the rationale behind the withdrawal of the case. The noting reveals that when Mr. Margabandhu met leading brokers in Bombay, they "expressed their annoyance in our giving the matter to CBI." It further says that he withdrew the case from CBI because otherwise "we will only lose the goodwill of all leading brokers."