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# ***JPRS Report***

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## **Near East & South Asia**

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# Near East & South Asia

## INDIA

JPRS-NEA-92-088

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15 July 1992

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## International Affairs

### U.S. 'Interdiction' in Technology Transfer Attacked

92AS1005B Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA  
in Bengali 13 May 92 p 4

[Editorial: "Rocket Technology: American Interdiction"]

[Text] Finally, America has declared a two-year sanction against the Indian Space Research Organization [ISRO] and Russian space research center "Glavkosmos." According to this sanction, America will not either sell to or buy anything from these two organizations. Their guilt is that they signed a pact to transfer technology defying the interdiction of America. As a result of the American sanction, apparently, there will be no effect on ISRO if Glavkosmos transfers cryogenic missile technology to India on the basis of the pact [sentence as published]. But it is not known for sure if Russia will be able to honor this pact because she is badly in need of Western loans and aid to revitalize her economy. Second, ISRO will not get any other technological help from America for two years, which is also a great loss for India. There is no doubt America and her allies have almost monopolized all modern technological development and know-how. If America becomes displeased with India, it is an accepted fact that her allies will follow the American path. In that respect, there is apprehension that India may not get additional, essential modern and developed technologies apart from missile and space research technology. What Glavkosmos will do or whether Russia will shift from her present stance in the future under American pressure or not—are matters concerning Russia. But one thing is clear, India will not remain in good standing with America. Previously, when India refused to obey the international regulation regarding patents, America blacklisted India. Now, that black color has darkened. The whole matter is really unfortunate.

It is true that India needs the technology to manufacture a cryogenic engine. This engine is necessary for a rocket to put a satellite into space. India is, no doubt, eager to be self-sufficient in the field of space research. India is interested in using any modern and developed technology only for peaceful purposes, and she has proved this by not manufacturing nuclear weapons in spite of mastering nuclear technology. All other nuclear powers including America are still not convinced of India's stand on the matter, and, therefore, they are putting pressure on India to sign the nuclear nonproliferation treaty. The same kind of suspicion is evident in the case of space research. But India was not involved with any secret pact with Russia for the transfer of technology. In fact, in the beginning India requested the transfer of this technology from America and France. But since the Russian conditions were more liberal, India decided to get this technology from Russia. The Indian Government informed the American administration of these developments. Still, America's suspicious mind is not

concerned. Actually, since the Gulf war against Iraq, America has become more concerned about the missile technology of other countries. The penetration of the Iraqi Scud missile, in spite of a very modern American defense system, made America highly sensitive about the spread of missile technology like that of nuclear technology. And, in fact, citing the reasons for peaceful purposes, the modern technology of manufacturing weapons has been transferred to one country from the other. It is true that India does not fall into the category of those countries and there is no valid reason to disbelieve or suspect the intention of India in spite of her repeated declarations and her proven activities. But as the real sufferer is always apprehensive, the American administration is not willing to take any risks after the bitter experience in the Gulf war.

Under these circumstances, the stand taken by the Indian Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao is a correct one. First, discarding all old ideas and dreams about the nostalgic past, he stressed the importance of adjusting to the changed world situation. Second, with patience he emphasized the importance of explaining India's stand and motive to others. By attacking America or by organizing people's opinion against America, he could have received major credit or immediate political benefits, but that would not serve India's national interest. Rather, if he can explain India's necessities and priorities calmly and quietly to apprehensive Western countries including America and can carry on ceaseless negotiations, one day or the other, the suspicions of the Western world can be reassured of India's real intention. In the meantime, the attitude of the Western countries and America has changed regarding some very important and outstanding issues of this continent. The attitude of the Western countries about Kashmir and Pakistan's nuclear policy is not at all anti-India. Their apprehension about India's real intention on the issues of space and nuclear technologies could also be cleared up in due course. To achieve that, it needs diplomacy, restraint, and patience. Moreover, what is needed most is the patience to listen to the view of others and mastering the technique to explain our views carefully and convincingly to others.

### Idea of Indian Ocean Peace Zone Termed 'Dead'

92AS1122A Madras THE HINDU in English  
1 Jun 92 p 9

[Article by C. Raja Mohan: "Indian Ocean As Peace Zone Needs Quiet Burial"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The idea of making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace has been dead for quite some time. The Indo-U.S. joint naval exercises ("Malabar 92") held last week in the Arabian Sea have driven the last nail into the coffin. Now New Delhi must prepare itself to give it a decent burial.

Over the last decade, one of the best kept political secrets in India has been that the peace zone concept had been turned into an anti-Indian platform by some of India's neighbours. India's support for the peace zone and the demand that the great powers be thrown out of the Indian Ocean were widely interpreted as a transparent attempt by New Delhi to establish its own hegemony in the Indian Ocean.

India's call to end the superpower rivalry in the Indian Ocean led to counter demands that focussed on regional disarmament and concerns over the military capabilities of India. The United States was totally opposed to the zone of peace concept. Countries like Sri Lanka and Pakistan helped the United States to stall any worthwhile discussion of the concept. After nearly two decades of desultory discussion, the United Nations Ad hoc Committee on Indian Ocean is nowhere near holding the proposed international conference on making Indian Ocean a zone of peace. Sri Lanka, the host, was the least interested.

Yet the charade went on. In India, across the political spectrum, the zone of peace concept was considered sacrosanct, we being unmindful of the regional suspicions: The concept was widely considered as an indispensable element of the Indian foreign policy baggage. Although pushed on to the defensive, India was never prepared to call a spade a spade and was happy to let others bleed the concept to death.

Two developments in the recent past made the concept of zone of peace irrelevant. The end of the Cold War undermined one of the central assumptions of the concept: The need to avoid the negative consequences in the Indian Ocean littoral of the Soviet-American rivalry. The collapse of the Soviet power fundamentally transformed the political scenario in the Indian Ocean.

The Gulf war shattered all the illusions on regional security. In the 1980s, Kuwait was arguing that security in the Gulf was the responsibility of the countries within the region. But when it was occupied by Iraq in August 1990, Kuwait discovered how few of the regional actors were willing to stand up and be counted in defence of Kuwaiti sovereignty. Now Kuwait and Saudi Arabia shun all proposals of the United States for a regional security mechanism and insist that they have faith only in Uncle Sam. Both of them have entered into bilateral security arrangements with Washington.

In the changed international context, India's new readiness to conduct joint exercises with military powers like Britain, France, Australia and the United States marks the dawn of a new strategic realism, and unstated change of policy in relation to the Indian Ocean. This change may not have come a day too soon.

The wary support to the idea of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace and the impression of seeking to oust external military presence had not only isolated India but accentuated the regional suspicions of this nation's

intentions and inspired a campaign about our naval buildup and the threat it posed to the countries of the littoral.

Military interaction with the United States and other actors has already helped to allay some of these suspicions, most notably in Southeast Asia, where there is a greater interest now in strategic exchanges, if not cooperation, with India.

At the same time, India must recognize it has generated new apprehensions about Indo-U.S. relations in our neighbourhood. This is understandable, given the time-tested policy of these neighbours to call in great powers to counter the alleged hegemonic ambitions of India. India's new military cooperation with the United States has naturally confounded the ruling circles in Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. It is necessary for New Delhi to explain the rather limited nature of Indo-U.S. military cooperation and dispel the misperceptions that India is about to enter into a military alliance with the United States.

Part of the problem has been New Delhi's reluctance to define clearly the aims and objectives of Indo-U.S. strategic cooperation, and the inability to breathe a clear political content into it. It is imperative for New Delhi and Washington to clearly declare that their cooperation is not directed against any particular country and is only aimed at creating effective cooperative security mechanisms in the Indian Ocean region.

New Delhi has done well to start naval exercises with Australia, Britain and France before undertaking similar manoeuvres with the United States. India must now consciously open itself up for naval interaction with regional States like Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam in the East. The possibility of having naval cooperation with Japan also must be considered. In the West, India must begin a similar interaction with Iran and the Gulf States. This is central to the concept of a more stable and secure Indian Ocean.

To continue with the old arguments on Indian Ocean makes little political sense today. The U.S. Navy is here to stay, although on a lesser scale than before. Many countries in the Middle East and Southeast Asia want the American naval presence in the region. Many of them are not ready to trust their own neighbours or the regional powers to maintain peace in the Indian Ocean littoral. Cooperation between the great powers and the regional actors is inevitable now for greater security.

India must also take the lead in initiating cooperation among the littoral States in understanding and combating the menace of maritime pollution, countering piracy and terrorism in the seas, and mapping and exploiting Indian Ocean resources. India could offer to share its maritime capabilities with Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Maldives to build bridges of friendship in the Indian Ocean.

All these can happen only when we discard the conventional wisdom on Indian Ocean and think anew. After all, substance is more important than the slogan.

### **Bhopal Judge Freezes Union Carbide Funds**

92AS1126A *New Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English*  
23 May 92 p 3

[Text] Bhopal—Bhopal chief judicial magistrate Gulab Sharma on Friday ordered attachment of the dividend totalling about Rupees 609 lakh payable by the Union Carbide (India) Limited [UCIL] to the multinational Union Carbide Corporation [UCC] for the 50.9 per cent shares held by UCC in UCIL.

The dividend related to the period from 1983 to 1991.

The judge also ordered that only that part of the dividend be attached after excluding the amount payable as taxes to the Government of India.

The court was informed that the Reserve Bank of India had not yet given its approval for the transfer of dividend to UCC. The judge ordered that the dividend should not be transferred to UCC (U.S.A.) without the permission of the Bhopal court.

Mr. U.S. Prasad, counsel for the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) had submitted an application for attachment of the dividend also as the court had earlier attached the shares held by UCC in UCIL.

The court ordered that the case be committed to trial after separating three of the 12 accused—former Union Carbide Corporation (UCC) chairman Warren Anderson, the Union Carbide Corporation (UCC), U.S.A. and Union Carbide (Eastern) Hong Kong—who have been proclaimed as absconders for having failed to appear before the court so far. The miscellaneous judicial case against the three absconding accused would simultaneously be continued, he said.

The judge said since the case related to the gas leak disaster of 1984 and the relevant charge-sheet was filed on 1 December 1987, it was not proper to further prolong the case relating to those accused who are appearing before the court.

Once the case was committed for trial, the sessions court would begin the process of recording the statements of the accused.

The judge rejected the plea of counsel for the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI), Mr. U.S. Prasad, that the committal of the case be deferred till the proclamation against the absconding accused, Union Carbide (Eastern), Hong Kong, was published in Hong Kong newspapers.

He pointed out that since separate proceedings for ensuring the presence of the three absconders had already been initiated, separate charge-sheets would be filed against them when they appeared before the court.

Mr. Sharma directed that copies of all orders issued in the main case be attached with the miscellaneous judicial case for proper action against the absconding accused.

Former UCC chairman Warren Anderson is accused number one in the case, while UCC (U.S.A.) and Union Carbide (Eastern), Hong Kong were listed as accused number 10 and 11, respectively, in the charge-sheet filed by the CBI in December 1987.

Earlier, Mr. Rajendra Singh, counsel for Union Carbide (India) Limited (UCIL), pleaded for early committal of the case for trial saying eight years had elapsed in the case.

### **Leaders, Paper Deplore PRC Nuclear Test**

#### **Act of Intimidation**

92AS1135A *Madras INDIAN EXPRESS in English*  
23 May 92 p 9

[Text] New Delhi—Former diplomats were among five leaders of the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] who criticised China on Saturday for having carried out a powerful underground nuclear test when the President, Mr. R. Venkataraman, was on a State visit to that country.

Mr. A.P. Venkateswaran, former Foreign Secretary, Mr. Brajesh Mishra, ex-Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations, Mr. T.N. Chaturvedi, former Home Secretary, Prof. M.L. Sondhi and Prof. S.D. Muni (both Jawaharlal Nehru University) expressed this view in a joint statement.

They noted that the President was on a visit to China with the avowed purpose of restoring friendly relations between two great Asian neighbours.

The BJP leaders said that the expression of friendly sentiments by China and the "most powerful" nuclear test carried out by it were "self-contradictory."

Describing it as a calculated act, they wondered whether the Chinese leadership wanted to intimidate India by demonstrating its military prowess. "This also makes nonsense of China's support to the proposal of the Prime Minister of Pakistan regarding a five-power conference on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in South Asia. Such a conference can hardly be contemplated when on the one hand Pakistan openly admits its nuclear-weapon status and on the other China conducts a nuclear test of 1,000 kilotons when the President of India is its guest," they remarked.

They recalled that in 1979, too, China had violated diplomatic norms and courtesies. At that time, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee was on a visit to China when it invaded Vietnam with whom India "had and has the friendliest of relations." Mr. Vajpayee was obliged to cut short his visit to China.

The BJP leaders pointed out that as a consequence of China's action at that time the process of normalisation of relations between two countries was delayed for a few years.

"It is regrettable," they said, "that China has once again demonstrated a lack of sensitivity to India's feelings and concern."

#### Setback to Disarmament

92AS1135B New Delhi *INDIAN EXPRESS* in English  
23 May 92 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text] China has given a serious setback to the hopes of accelerated nuclear disarmament by exploding one of the world's most powerful underground bombs. The end of the Cold War may not have made total abolition of nuclear weapons in the near future a realistic proposition. But it certainly seemed to have put at least a de-escalation in nuclear armament on the international agenda. Has it really, many will wonder all over the world after the Chinese test. The exploded Chinese bomb, according to experts, was 70 times more powerful than the one dropped by the Americans on Hiroshima in 1945. It is also to be noted that the bomb was six times more powerful than the limit for underground tests which the United States and the Soviet Union had, at one stage, nearly accepted. The U.S. administration has sometimes justified underground tests, in response to critics of its enormous nuclear-weapons programme in the past, by trying to make out that these were meant mainly to gauge the reliability or safety of existing warheads. The Chinese cannot trot out such an excuse. This should be clear from both the power of the device now exploded and the much shorter duration of the warheads in Chinese possession—China entered the nuclear club 20 years after the American devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The Chinese test makes sense only as an index of Beijing's determination to forge ahead with the development of the most sophisticated nuclear weaponry. Its adherence to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty cannot prevent it from embarking on such a course just as it did not oblige the United States and the Soviet Union, either, to curb their own weapons programmes. The only obligation the treaty involves is non-transfer of nuclear weapons technology to others. As for the hopeful international situation following the collapse of Soviet power, this obviously has had no impact on the Chinese nuclear perspective. For about two decades, China tried to make out that the nuclear-armed Soviet Union posed the main threat to its security. This source of worry for the Chinese has disappeared and Russia cannot be said to give cause for such worry to the Chinese that they genuinely find it risky to rest content with the nuclear stockpile already in their possession.

It will be reasonable, therefore, to deduce that what has impelled the Chinese to try and update its nuclear

weaponry could be the prospect of replacing the Soviet Union as the second major world power. The frenetic pace of China's economic modernisation, necessitating, as it has, a substantial retreat from ideology, serves the same end admirably. The hawkish critics of President Bush's China policy are likely to demand a thorough review of it. The immediate cause for concern to him will be the inevitable disquiet in New Delhi. He will find it more difficult to lure India into a regional non-proliferation arrangement.

#### PRC Said To Exploit Venkataraman Visit

92AS1129A Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English  
26 May 92 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text] The President's visit to China has succeeded in demonstrating to the whole world a most disconcerting facet of this country: that it takes very little to charm India into overlooking its national interests. It is absolutely horrifying that a goodwill visit that should, ideally, have been confined to sumptuous banquets in Beijing and photo opportunities at the Great Wall, was craftily transformed by the Chinese into a visit of great political significance. From the Chinese point of view, this is understandable since Tiananmen Square has ensured that few Western leaders of significance are anxious to be seen on television supping with the dragon. But it makes absolutely no sense for President Venkataraman to meekly endorse Beijing's disingenuous assertion that the border dispute is "an old legacy coming down from the British days and no solution can be found overnight." If the border dispute is indeed an imperial legacy, so is China's claim of sovereignty over Tibet, and Beijing should not be allowed to get away with such brazen double standards. Nor should the outstanding differences be obscured by saying "Hindi-Chini bhai bhai," a chant that immediately brings to mind the communist regime's shameful record of aggression and betrayal.

This is not to suggest that President Venkataraman should have created a diplomatic incident by entering into a slanging match with the Chinese. This was hardly the occasion for exchanging anything but the most banal of niceties. If the Chinese leadership thought it necessary to repeat Mr. Li Peng's concern over the so-called political activities of the exiled Dalai Lama and the Tibetan refugees in India, the President should have been absolutely non-committal. Such a show of reticence would have served as a necessary corrective to the overzealousness that was in evidence last December when Mr. Li Peng visited India. Whatever may be the shared concern over "emerging oligarchies," it is not pressing enough to betray the Tibetan cause and without securing anything in return.

The impression that Beijing may have formed of India after President Venkataraman's visit is not at all flattering. First, it has concluded India does not have the requisite political will to force a permanent solution to

the border dispute. This is to Beijing's advantage as it leaves open an instrument of political blackmail. Second, China will have gauged that India is anxious to wash its hands off the Tibetan issue, and will ungrudgingly buy all the preposterous conditions set by Beijing. Finally, it will be evident to the communist regime that Indians are too forgiving. If a pat on the back to Rajiv Gandhi by Mr. Deng Xiaoping, a visit by Mr. Li Peng to New Delhi and President Venkataraman's walkabout on the Great Wall can result in India forgetting the humiliation of 1962, then such a nation does not deserve to be taken seriously. Behind the disarming smiles of the Chinese leadership lurks a contempt for those who have no sense of national honour.

### Trade With Czechoslovakia To Be in Hard Currency

92AS1120A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 2 Jun 92 p 15

[Text] New Delhi, 1 Jun (PTI)—The Czech and Slovak Federal Republic will switch over from January next to free currency arrangement for its trade with India.

This was indicated by the visiting deputy minister of foreign trade of Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, the erstwhile Czechoslovakia, Mr. Lubomir Martak, at a meeting with the members of ASSOCHAM [Associated Chamber of Commerce] here.

He said he had informed the Union minister of state for commerce, Mr. Chidambaram, about the Czechoslovak decision to terminate rupee payment arrangement for trading transactions with India by the end of this year.

"In view of transformation of Czechoslovak economy from a command to market-oriented model, its foreign trade is now conducted in hard currencies," he said.

However, Mr. Martak was optimistic that Indo-Czechoslovak bilateral trade which went up by 14 per cent in 1991-92, compared to the previous year would further increase by 10 per cent in 1992-93 as the proposed change would further diversify mutual the trade.

Mr. Martak said both Czechoslovakia and India had decided to set up a joint economic commission to promote commercial ties between the two countries.

Referring to the growing interest by Indian businessmen in his country, he said the Tata group had bagged the \$25 million contract for reconstruction and renovation of luxury hotel "Pup" in Karlovy Vary bordering Germany.

### Indo-Cyprus Joint Committee Meets

92AS1131A New Delhi *INDIAN EXPRESS* in English  
26 May 92 p 13

[Text] New Delhi (ENS Economic Bureau)—The first session of the Indo-Cyprus joint committee has underlined scope for increasing trade and economic cooperation between the two countries.

The two sides noted that there were opportunities to be tapped in using Cyprus as a base for third country exports, especially to the EEC.

The need for finalising certain framework agreements in the field of air and sea transport.

The potential for industrial cooperation was also discussed and certain sectors such as computer hardware and software, information technology, biotechnology, electric motors, internal combustion engines, plant engineering, fabrication of leather goods and shoe making, cotton and silk fabrics and agro processing were identified.

### Paper Reports Faleiro Visit to Oman

#### Results of Talks

92AS1123A Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
2 Jun 92 p 9

[Text] Bahrain, 1 Jun (PTI)—India and Oman today decided to set up a joint commission to strengthen their economic and trade cooperation, official sources in Muscat said.

This decision was taken at official level talks between the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. Eduardo Faleiro, and his Omani counterpart, Mr. Yusuf Bin Alawi Bin Abdallah, in the Omani capital, the sources said.

The commissions would be headed by the respective external affairs ministers of the two countries. The two sides also agreed to set up a joint working group to exchange views between the foreign ministries of both the countries on bilateral, regional and international issues of mutual interests.

Mr. Faleiro, who arrived in Muscat yesterday from Bahrain on the second leg of his three-nation tour of Gulf countries, also discussed the changes in global political configuration, prospects of the West Asia peace process, developments in the Central Asian republics and the situation in the Gulf after the end of the war.

The sources said Mr. Faleiro briefed Mr. Yusuf on the current stage of India's relations with its neighbours including Pakistan.

The Omanis felt that all differences between India and Pakistan should be sorted out through bilateral negotiations and peaceful means, the sources said.

Mr. Faleiro also met the Omani Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Qais Bin Abdul Munim Al Zawawi, the Minister of Labour and Social Affairs, Shaikh Ahmed Bin Mohammed Al Isa'ee, and the Minister of Commerce and Industry, Mr. Maqbool Bin Ali Sultan.

The possibility of opening of more branches of Omani banks in India, Life Insurance Corporations' operations



in Oman to cater to Indian expatriate community as well as means of boosting bilateral trade were discussed at these meetings.

### **Faleiro Muscat Press Conference**

92AS1123B Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
3 Jun 92 p 9

[Article by F.J. Khargamvala: "India, Oman Plan Naval Exercises"]

[Text] Manama (Bahrain), 2 Jun—India and the Gulf Sultanate of Oman have decided to hold joint naval exercises in the Arabian Sea. The idea has been in the works since October last year when the Chief of the Royal Omani Navy visited India but the political green signal was given on Monday during the visit to Muscat of the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. Eduardo Faleiro. No date has been fixed yet and it will be some time before details are worked out.

At the conclusion of a three-day trip to Oman, Mr. Faleiro told a press conference in Muscat on Tuesday that the meeting in Rio de Janeiro between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan might lead to the resumption of the bilateral dialogue at the Foreign Secretaries' level. Scheduled for last Monday the dialogue was suspended following the roughing up of the Indian diplomat in Islamabad.

The decision to have joint exercises with Oman will be interpreted as a significant breakthrough in India's ties with a premier maritime power in the Gulf. It dwarfs the decision between Mr. Faleiro and his counterpart to establish a joint commission.

### **Indo-British Exercises?**

Oman and Pakistan have carried out joint exercises, both in the Gulf of Oman and off Pakistan's shores. This might be the pattern for the Indo-Oman manoeuvres too. Incidentally, sources from Western navies say there was a quiet Indo-British naval exercise off Goa three weeks ago.

After Iran, Oman is considered by Western nations as possessing the best trained navy in the region, perhaps an index of the personal interest taken in this arm by the ruler, Sultan Qaboos bin Said. Unlike others who merely don epaulettes of high rank, the 51-year-old Sultan, is an officer trained at the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst, who then did operational duty with a British infantry battalion and a staff job in West Germany.

In the Gulf, Oman has the longest coastline washed by the Arabian Sea and two months ago placed an order for two type 83 Corvette warships that will add significantly to its navy's limited ocean going capacity. Until now the Royal Omani Navy has not been able to patrol its Exclusive Economic Zone beyond its southern shores during the monsoon. In four to five years when it

acquires the two 83 metre Corvettes from the prime contractor, Vosper Thornycroft of Britain, this shortcoming will be removed.

The exercises will take Indo-Oman naval exchanges a notch higher. Both countries have frequently received goodwill naval visits. In October last year when Rear Admiral Liwaa Rukh Bahry Sayyid Shihab bin Taimur al Said, Commander of the Royal Omani Navy visited India initial discussions at the service level took place. Until then apart from exchange of goodwill naval ships, India had trained in Cochin a few personnel from the Omani Coast Guard. The Omani Deputy Prime Minister for Security and Defence, who shared a close relationship with a former Indian Minister visited India in March 1989.

There might be a tendency in the Indian Navy to exploit a growing relationship to make a fast buck. A very senior service officer from a Gulf country recently complained that though Oman wanted to give the Indian Navy the strategically important job of undertaking a hydrographic survey of Omani shores to the South, New Delhi had quoted prices about 30 percent above the British offer.

### **Natural Partners**

Indo-Omani ties have fluctuated between very close to good. India was to accord the ultimate accolade to Oman by inviting Sultan Qaboos to be the chief guest for the 1990 Republic Day. The Rajiv Gandhi Government fell in late 1989 and the next Government had other ideas. This time when South Block informed Oman of Mr. Faleiro's desire to visit Muscat, the Omani regime gave the go ahead in 20 minutes.

The two countries are natural partners, with Oman being extraordinarily independent in the conduct of its foreign policy. Besides Kuwait, which had ties with the Soviet Union since the 1960s, Oman was the first to set up shop in Moscow in 1985. The UAE and others followed. Surprisingly the most recent entry into its diplomatic register, as of last week is North Korea. Oman did not sever ties with Egypt after the 1978 Camp David Egypt-Israel agreement.

Though Oman has a military access agreement with the United States it has sought and obtained Washington's signature on its own terms. When it renewed the agreement in 1991, it insisted that future use will involve identifying a common enemy. Furthermore, though obviously no proof is available, the word among its Gulf partners is that the United States in an unprecedented move even agreed not to introduce nuclear or chemical weapons on Omani soil.

The move to step up naval cooperation has some political connotations. The Omanis have been the quiet trendsetters in the Gulf. It remains to be seen if this form of exchange can spread to other countries, notably the UAE.

PTI reports: In reply to a question at the Muscat press conference on the change of power in Afghanistan, Mr. Faleiro said India wanted the new government in Kabul to forget about the past and plan for the future. He denied that any request for giving asylum to the ousted Afghan President, Dr. Najibullah, was made to India. Dr. Najibullah, who was prevented by the Mujahideen fighters to leave the country, is currently in the UN office in Kabul.

### Writer Reviews Faleiro's Visit to Gulf States

92AS1119A Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
5 Jun 92 p 7

[Article by F.J. Khergamvala: "Faleiro Winds Up Fruitful Tour"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Manana (Bahrain), 4 Jun—On Wednesday the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. Eduardo Faleiro, wound up a languid five-day swing through two Gulf sheikhdoms and a sultanate which lie outside the beaten path trod by his colleagues.

The mission was planned and billed as one of "goodwill" with not much of substance expected. The visit itself was the message and a badly needed one at that because ministerial trips to Bahrain, Qatar and Oman are rare indeed. In the event, as it turned out, his hosts prodded him into decisions of substance.

In Oman, the high point of the visit, the green light given for the naval exercises may turn out to be a significant projection of Indian interest in the sub-region if the event becomes a regular feature. Oman also suggested to Mr. Faleiro that both foreign offices establish a cell to monitor the relationship. Obviously no additional jobs will be created: but it was a constructive way of reminding a guest that India's ties with the Gulf could do with some greater attention. More pointedly it was a suggestion for frequent official level talks, outside the framework of the just agreed joint commission.

### Qatar's Suggestion

Similarly Qatar suggested that a dormant joint commission be immediately revived by a meeting next September in New Delhi and an Indian business delegation visit Qatar. It is unfortunate that a high level figure should suggest something that India should have done on its own given the huge oil cum gas exploitation and power generation schemes the very rich Qatar has put into action. Doubtless Mr. Faleiro accepted the Muscat and Doha proposals but the proof of the pudding is in the eating.

In these societies, decisions are taken and kept at a level to which only few privileged resident ambassadors have access. Hence the only way of obtaining top level assessments is by sending more ministers. For instance, it was probably for the first time that India learnt that some Gulf countries are not too happy with just one global power calling the shots and are very likely to agree to

Russian attempts to become more assertive. Furthermore, gradually, as is being achieved in the U.A.E., such visits will dispel the impression that for India the Gulf means Dubai and convey the message that India is much more than a supplier of labour. A visit to India of the Secretary General of the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] should provide an overview of the whole spectrum of the Gulf's world view.

In this well-intentioned but hastily finalised trip by Mr. Faleiro's team, it was refreshing to see for the first time an official from the active Economic Coordination Unit of the Ministry of External Affairs. This is so even if the purpose is only to get the 'feel' of the prospects for direct investment which is what the unit is mandated to seek. Perhaps for the first time ever an Indian Minister resisted the temptation to make an "official" visit to Dubai.

### Limited Agenda

Within the limited agenda that he had set for himself, Mr. Faleiro conveyed to his hosts that the new Indian focus on this region did share the concern about the stability and security of this area. He was the first to admit that in Bahrain he was told "the security and stability of this area should be a matter of concern not merely to these countries but also for neighbouring countries such as India." This was a gentle and thinly veiled reminder that New Delhi could have done better after the August 1990 invasion by Iraq. Big countries do not apologise, they make a fresh start and substantial interaction with some countries in the Gulf over the past seven months shows they have gradually lived down the recent past, perhaps because of a stable government in India and the importance they attach to the interdependency owing to the Indians working in this region.

Mr. Faleiro handled the media with aplomb, save for one retraction. He displayed a degree of professional integrity that no other Indian Minister visiting the Gulf since the Kashmir turmoil began in January 1990 has shown. This is the first Indian Minister not to come out of a meeting with Arab leaders to claim that his hosts mentioned the Shimla Agreement and hence were supportive of India's position. The implication being, for consumption in India no doubt, that they had managed to convert an Arab government. "They said the problem should be resolved bilaterally," Mr. Faleiro remarked, continuing "I find they are neutral but they stressed that it should be done peacefully."

### Problems With Neighbours

Such replies and other neat deflections such as the ones on the Agni missile, rocket engine deal and the U.S. attitude not only added to his credibility but showed him to be well briefed. He spoke more about Indo-Gulf matters, about terrorism and less about India-Pakistan wrangles. "All of us have our problems with our neighbours but our relations with them are becoming better. Who doesn't have problems with neighbours," he asked

with great finesse drawing attention delicately not only to disputes in the Gulf but to two events involving India. One, the cordiality and favourable substance-ridden visit of the Bangladesh Prime Minister and the other the row with Pakistan over diplomats' expulsions. Mr. Faleiro left it to his audience to understand the point he was trying to make.

It is now time to hold him and India to his word: "I can only act as a catalyst for greater economic content between the business elements on the Indian side."

### Regional Affairs

#### Diplomacy: Indo-Pakistan Incidents

##### Pak Attitude Condemned

92AS1114A Secunderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE  
in English 2 Jun 92 p 8

[Article by M.J. Akbar: "Towards the Unmentionable"; first paragraph DECCAN CHRONICLE comment; italicized words as published]

[Text] One could be accused of overstating the case by talking of war. And yet there was a moment of national anger over the Rajesh Mittal episode which reflected not only immediate outrage but also long years of hidden frustration at Pakistan's unrelenting mischief. The mood on the subcontinent has been vitiated.

Ominous is yet another of those words which have been degraded by misuse or overuse, but it fits in the present context—for, the omens were scattered through the first weeks of 1992. Exploiting the opportunity provided by Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi's ill-conceived and badly timed yatra to Srinagar, Pakistan used January and February to place the ceasefire line running through Kashmir onto the agenda of international concerns. The Amanullah Khan card came out, was put into play and then withdrawn as "proof" of Islamabad's reasonableness. But, as the world's Press gathered on either side of the ceasefire line to report turmoil on the line of authority and as the statements from Delhi took on a tone of determination, a massive campaign was launched by Pakistan and its carefully nurtured interest groups in Western capitals to get some kind of international political intervention in Kashmir. Kashmir was even made part of the British election campaign, with the Labour deputy leader, Mr. Roy Hattersley, formally stating that if Labour came to power—as seemed likely—the new government would lobby for an intervention in Kashmir. Human rights groups targeted India for a range of sins, including lock-up violence against Naxalites. March was a difficult month and April would have been even more difficult had not Mr. John Major upset the prematurely—and immaturely—celebratory Labour party. The difference between Labour and Conservatives was only too evident in their handling of the Kashmir issue. Mr. Major reasserted that Kashmir was a dispute of the subcontinent in which Britain had no *locus*

*standi* unless specifically invited; and he said so before the polls, not after. Pakistan, like the Labour party, was in a more belligerent mood, with even its very diplomatic, soft-spoken High Commissioner in Delhi speaking out, presumably after a nudge from home.

Then came budget time for the subcontinent. Delhi, entangled in all sorts of normal Delhi problems like deficits and subsidies and scandals and Bofors and raging bulls, almost missed the fact that Pakistan had lifted its defence budget by more than eight per cent this year. This was a particularly remarkable escalation given the fact that this is the first year in more than a decade that Pakistan should have been calculating a peace dividend. With the Afghanistan situation resolving itself largely along what might be called pro-Pakistan lines, a good case could have been made by the country's Finance Minister for holding the defence budget and shifting resources into social and welfare spending. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the displacement of Dr. Najibullah, Pakistan has once again become what might be called a one-frontier country. It is on good terms with China, at peace with Iran, and there is now partnership rather than confrontation across the Durand line. In fact, there is no real need for its troops to even face the Afghan border anymore. All of them can do what they have been doing for four decades and actually prefer doing—turn east, along Kashmir and Punjab and Rajasthan and Gujarat. With the number of potential war zones halved to one, Pakistan decided to up its defence budget by a hefty eight per cent. It had to mean something.

The Defence Minister of India, Mr. Sharad Pawar, felt he knew what that meant, and tried what his colleagues in external affairs specialise in, diplomacy. He invited the Army Chief of Pakistan to come over and see the situation in India, the better to learn whether he needed such a jump in resources. The invitation was declined by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Nawaz Sharif, himself deciding on behalf of his Army Chief. There could be no useful purpose in such a visit, he said, as long as the Kashmir problem had not been sorted out. Ah! So that is what it was all about.

Sometimes, one feels that there is very little difference between leaders of governments and keepers of light-houses, they spend all their time sending signals. Anyway, the signals coming from Islamabad were now acquiring an intensity not seen on the Indo-Pak horizon for some time. The last Sunday, a counsellor in the High Commission of India in Islamabad, Mr. Rajesh Mittal, was picked up by some particularly brutal operatives of the Inter Services Intelligence [ISI] (which is an armed forces institution) as he left his house, detained, tortured to extract a "confession" and finally released in the afternoon. And rather than apologise for this quite astonishing violation of diplomatic protocol, Pakistan completed the insult by expelling Mr. Mittal.

This is not a story of spying on each other. Let us be very clear about that. That sort of thing is par for the course,

and envoys maintain a beady ignorance of a truth which everyone accepts without any formal acknowledgement. Occasionally, people are caught in the act, as it were, as was the case with an official of the Pakistan embassy in Delhi picking up papers from a contact in Nizamuddin not too many weeks ago. But to arbitrarily pick up a counsellor level officer from his own home, take him away and torture him to get a "confession" means two very clear things: First that the sanction for this bit of barbarity has come from the very highest quarters, since no one else would dare take such an explosive decision, and second that those highest quarters are itching for something far more dangerous than a diplomatic incident.

What does that translate into? A war? Is the unmentionable actually going to happen?

We can, of course, only analyse the hypothesis, since the definitive answer can only be with Mr. Sharif and company and it is highly unlikely that they will break the news through this column. However, contrary to popular notions, a war is not an easy thing to start, and before anything else, the objective conditions must seem favourable to the aggressor. There are at least two factors which could be tempting policy-makers in Islamabad to try and force a military solution some time this year.

The first, of course, is the fact that the pressure from the West is over. But like all conditions in politics, this can only be a temporary reality. Even if Russia never becomes as powerful as the Soviet Union, or India-Russia relationships as warm as the Indo-Soviet equation, there is no guarantee that Kabul will not repair its relations with Delhi no matter who is in power in Afghanistan. Similarly, there can be no guarantee that relations with Islamabad will remain as cosy as they are now: The mentor-beneficiary equation is always a difficult one to sustain.

But more worrisome to Pakistan must be the obvious fact that very imperceptibly Kashmir is disappearing from the agenda of the world, after having peaked around February-March. And for more than one reason. The foremost is a subtle change in the mood of the valley itself, where a sense of *deja vu* is asserting itself, a feeling that you can do anything you like and nothing will really change, that independence is virtually impossible. The excesses of militant killing in any case never appealed to the Kashmiri spirit, and there is a reaction visible enough to be reported. If Delhi is sensible enough to maintain a reasonable policy without slipping into hysterics, this drift could even acquire momentum.

In a parallel development, the world situation is changing. If the collapse of the communist blocs and the liberation of East Europe and Central Asia spurred the Kashmiri into believing that this could be repeated in India, then the disasters that are overtaking the breakway nations have become a sobering reminder that small is not necessarily beautiful in politics. The experience of Yugoslavia in particular, and of Georgia and Armenia and Azerbaijan prove that it takes more than

secession to solve problems. Awful thought. But, if the splintering of Yugoslavia has taken such a toll, just imagine what the break-up of India would mean in sheer human misery and collective economic collapse. Moreover, countries of the region are discovering that the game of secession can be played with virtually everyone, there is some minority which can always be provoked. The Kurdish problem has unsettled, for instance, not one but three countries: Iraq, Turkey and Iran. If self-determination is valid for Kashmiris, then why is it not valid for Kurds? Difficult questions to answer. Slowly, therefore, some kind of collective vested interest is growing in stability after the great urge towards dismantling. This, too, is a mood which cannot suit Pakistan.

It is also possible that the deteriorating situation in Sind is provoking Mr. Sharif towards rash postures. This is a state of mind aspect, and therefore even more fragile than theory, but to hear Islamabad talk of a foreign hand in Sindh must at least seem like a welcome echo in Delhi.

One could be accused of overstating the case by talking of war. And yet there was a moment of national anger over the Rajesh Mittal episode which reflected not only immediate outrage but also long years of hidden frustration at Pakistan's unrelenting mischief. The mood on the subcontinent has been vitiated, of that there is no doubt. (Cricket in Sharjah is one of the victims of this mood.) And the omens are getting even more, well, ominous. Perhaps the Pentagon knows something we do not; it has after all considered the serious possibility of an India-Pakistan war in July this year in one of its projections. Heaven forbid that anything as catastrophic as that happens. But the real message that Mr. Mittal will bring back on his return home is to pray for the best but be prepared for the worst.

#### Conduct Code Proposed

92AS1114B Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English  
5 Jun 92 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, June 4 (PTI)—India today said it was ready to discuss a code of conduct proposed by Pakistan to end harassment to diplomats though "in an ideal situation such a code would not have been necessary."

An External Affairs Ministry spokesman said India had just received from the Islamabad Government the code of conduct which it had been expecting for the last two years and was "examining it closely."

"In an ideal situation such a code would not have been necessary because the Vienna Convention has adequate safeguards to permit diplomats to conduct the business of diplomacy," the spokesman said.

Pakistan had mooted the code some two years back but submitted it to the Indian High Commissioner, Mr. S.K. Lambah, in Islamabad yesterday apparently in the face of a strong Indian reaction to the abduction and torture of an Indian diplomat on May 24.

The spokesman emphasised that the crux of the matter lay in the implementation of any code of conduct. "We hope that this will bring to an end the years of harassment and intimidation to which the Indian diplomats working in Pakistan had been subjected to."

**PAK PROPOSAL:** Earlier in Islamabad, Pakistan Foreign Secretary Shahryar Khan, giving details about the code, said diplomats should be allowed to carry out their diplomatic functions and there would be provisions in the code to correct any alleged breach.

He said the code would also cover journalists and staff of the airlines of the two countries.

Mr. Khan said he had conveyed to Mr. Lambah that India was free to give its suggestion and hoped that the code would come into force without delay.

Mr. Lambah said he welcomed such a code that had been suggested by Pakistan but felt that what was important was the "spirit in which it was to be implemented."

The Indian High Commissioner said that he had conveyed the code to New Delhi after receiving it from Mr. Khan and had made some suggestions to the Pakistan Foreign Secretary in this regard. Mr. Lambah said the code should uniformly be applicable to diplomats and other officials based in India and Pakistan.

**REGRETTED:** Mr. Khan regretted the recent incidents involving diplomats of India and Pakistan. "We want to put such incidents behind us," he said. "I do not think these will serve any purpose."

#### **Paper on Prospects for Improved Indo-Pakistan Relations**

*BK2806121292 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English  
16 Jun 92 p 8*

[Text] Each of the first three meetings held between Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao and Mr Nawaz Sharif in the past year signalled a lowering of tension in India-Pakistan ties. Their fourth encounter in Rio on Sunday was inevitably concerned with reversing the setback this hopeful trend suffered following the shocking seizure and torture of the Indian diplomat, Mr Rajesh Mittal, in Islamabad last month. As a first step in this direction, the two Prime Ministers have agreed on the resumption of the Foreign Secretary-level exchange which was postponed after that incident. It is after this meeting, for which the dates are yet to be fixed, that it will be possible to assess the prospects of a gradual thaw in bilateral relations. Such issues as meaningful cooperation in checking drug traffic, the implementation of the Wullar barrage project in Kashmir and increase in trade need not await substantial headway in resolving the Kashmir and nuclear problems. But the fact that both sides have accepted this proposition only in theory and have nothing to show by way of actual achievement even in these fields is more eloquent of their frosty-relationship

Mr Nawaz Sharif has talked of the need for both countries to spend less on defence so that they could divert scarce resources to solve their acute economic problems. In this connection, a proposal for reduction in the size of the rival armies has cropped up of late in unofficial discussions and media comments. The suggestion is certainly worth pursuing. One of the difficulties in doing so seriously arises from the apparently conflicting pulls in the Pakistani establishment. In fact, the suspicion still persists in New Delhi that the assault on Rajesh Mittal could have been the handiwork of the traditionally anti-India hawks in the powerful Inter-Services Intelligence interested in scuttling every move towards India-Pakistan detente. There is now a new factor which has the potential of constantly disturbing the equations between President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and Army Chief, General Asif Nawaz. That is the widening rift between the Pakistani sponsors of terrorism in the Kashmir valley and the advocates of Kashmiri independence. This has inevitably had the effect of triggering clashes between the pro-Pakistani Hizbul activists in the valley and the supporters of Mr Amanullah Khan's J&K [Jammu and Kashmir] Liberation Front favouring an independent Kashmir. To make matters worse from Islamabad's point of view, there is unmistakable evidence of a growing number of disenchanted Pakistani-trained youths in the valley being inclined now to renounce the path of confrontation and hold a dialogue with the authorities to restore the normal political process within the valley. New Delhi is apt to watch warily the impact of all these developments on the Pakistan Prime Minister's overall stance towards India. It must be said in fairness to him that he has so far seemed to be serious about opening a new chapter in Indo-Pakistan relations. His ability to counter the pressures of those who are fanatically committed to perpetual confrontation with India will now be put to a severe test.

#### **Commentary on Attacks on Indian Diplomats in Pakistan**

*BK1906134392 Delhi All India Radio General Overseas Service in English 1010 GMT 19 Jun 92*

[Commentary by Professor S.D. Muni: "Pakistan's Diplomatic Distortions"]

[Text] The shameful second attack on the Indian Consul General in Karachi, Mr. Shrivastava, has come as a matter of deep shock and dismay. It is an affront to all known norms of diplomatic behavior and obligations among nations. The incident is particularly disturbing as it appears to be a part of a systematic pattern of behavior on the part of Pakistan. This is the third such major incident in the past few weeks aimed at stalling the process of communication and normal interaction between India and Pakistan.

A few weeks earlier, another Indian diplomat in Islamabad was assaulted and injured on the eve of a scheduled

foreign secretary- level meeting between the two countries. That meeting had to be put off as a consequence. Now the second attack on Mr. Shrivastava in Karachi took place around the time when Indian and Pakistani prime ministers held a meeting in Rio to restart official-level communication between the two countries.

The prime minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao, was courteous enough to walk to Mr. Nawaz Sharif's hotel in Rio for a one-to-one breakfast meeting. There, Mr. Rao expressed India's willingness to discuss any matter of mutual interest, including Kashmir, at any level with Pakistan if it could help improve the atmosphere between the two countries. And look at the way Pakistan has sought to improve the political and diplomatic atmosphere with India.

The timing of the Karachi incident to coincide with the Rio meeting is perhaps designed to convey a significant message that Islamabad's policy toward India is not being run by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. Or, perhaps, that Mr. Nawaz Sharif will not be allowed to run his Indian policy. Given Pakistan's triangular and internally incompatible power structure, this is not surprising. Such dichotomies in Pakistan's behavior could be seen not only during Benazir Bhutto's regime, but also on occasions when the late President Zia wanted to put up a soft face toward India for whatever tactical reasons he found expedient.

The Karachi incident may also be seen as a signal to the United States that there was a powerful section in the Pakistani establishment which may not like to see the American efforts succeed in bringing India and Pakistan closer. At the local level, the Karachi incident is a clear manifestation of Pakistan's deepening dilemma in Sindh. The introduction of the army in the volatile political situation in Sindh has not brought any relief. This was very clear when the vice chief of general staff, Major General Jamshed Malik, told the Nawaz Sharif cabinet that the army operations can only play a secondary role, the primary task being political in resolving Sindh problem of social turmoil and political unrest. In a rather unprecedented manner, the army has admitted the lapses on the part of its officers in the incident of innocent killings of nine farmers in Tando Bahawal area of Sindh.

While political elements in Nawaz Sharif's government and also those around President Ishaq Khan continue to blame India for disturbances in Sindh, Major General Malik has sought to terminate this as a very minor aspect of the problem, if at all. It is possible, therefore, that someone in political circles, police establishment, or even within the army like the ISI [Interservices Intelligence] is trying to dispute General Malik's contention to cover mistakes and bunglings elsewhere by creating incidents around Indian diplomats. Mr. Shrivastava has fallen a victim to such machinations.

The signals emanating from Islamabad and Karachi are indicative enough of contradictions and confusion within

Pakistan's power structure. India must impress upon Pakistan that it can no longer tolerate such aberrations, which are meant for political consumption within Pakistan. Indian policymakers must also carefully assess if this is the right time to expect any meaningful response from Pakistan toward improving bilateral relations.

### **Pakistan Seen Attempting To Internationalize Kashmir**

*BK2606142792 Delhi All India Radio General Overseas Service in English 1010 GMT 26 Jun 92*

[Professor Kalim Bahadur commentary]

[Text] Pakistan appears to have launched a very pre-planned propaganda offensive against India on the so-called Kashmir issue. Pakistani objective has been to internationalize a purely bilateral dispute. It is, therefore, easy to surmise that Turkey would not have gone out of the way without prompting from Pakistan to raise the Kashmir issue at the inaugural session of the foreign ministers of the Islamic Conference Organization—ICO—at its meeting which concluded last week in Istanbul. Kashmir finds mention in the final communique of the ICO session.

The organization has often been manipulated by some politically active members [words indistinct]. Thus the organization has on several occasions taken stance against India, particularly on the Kashmir issue, mostly at the behest of Pakistan. In this anti-India campaign of the Islamic Conference Organization, Pakistan has managed to get support of particular countries. The ICO has hardly ever cared to find the actual situation in the state of Jammu and Kashmir and the stand of the Government of India. Its communiques and decisions have been mostly influenced by the (?rude) Pakistani propaganda. Sadly enough, the ICO members have not expressed sorrow on the murder of such devout Muslims like Mir Owais Mowlvi Farooq and the vice chancellor of the Kashmir University, Professor Mushirul Haq, and many others like them. Hundreds of other citizens of the state both Muslims and Hindus have been driven out of their hearth and home for no fault of theirs. They have been victims of terrorist campaign trained, armed, and sponsored from across the border. It is well known and many organizers of these terrorist groups on Pakistani territory have even publicly disclosed their responsibility in this movement.

The Indian External Affairs Ministry spokesman was right when he declared the ICO Istanbul communique as one-sided, prejudiced, and irrelevant. The ICO communique in the similar vein has demanded the right of self-determination of the Kashmiri people. Does the ICO know that the Kashmiri people have exercised their choice almost four decades ago and further that the United Nation's resolutions have been violated by Pakistan and not by India. The well-known 1949 resolution of the United Nations which led to the cease-fire in

Kashmir had asked Pakistan to withdraw its Armed Forces from Pakistani-occupied Kashmir and this has not been (?accomplished) by Islamabad so far.

Actually, if ICO was interested in the welfare of the Muslims of Kashmir, it should have asked Pakistan to stop training and organizing terrorists from its territory which is causing untold misery to the people of the beautiful valley. That Pakistan is deeply involved in the terrorist activities in Kashmir is well-known and both the United States Government and British Prime Minister John Major have expressed their concern to Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif during his recent visit to these countries. [sentence as heard] By launching a propaganda campaign against India at this juncture, the Pakistani leaders want to cover up the social and political violence in many areas of Pakistan, especially in Sindh.

The Indian Government has generally tried to ignore the various anti-India resolutions of the ICO so far. India has long-standing social, cultural, and political ties with most of the Muslim countries, which comprise the ICO. India has helped many of these countries in their struggle for economic and political independence. Ironically, Pakistan has sided with the Western bloc to suppress the rising Arab nationalism to such issues as the Suez canal, the rights of the Palestinians, the nationalization of oil by Iran et cetera. It is, therefore, very sad that some of these Muslim countries allow the ICO to take anti-India postures. India has to tell them that Kashmir is an integral part of India and will remain so. It is not a religious issue for more than 120 million Muslims living in India which is more than the population of Pakistan, and that India is a secular democratic state where all religious communities enjoy equal rights, lastly, that India will not tolerate outside interference in its internal affairs under whatever pretext.

The Islamic Conference Organization could have done service in the interest of Muslims of this region, had it asked Islamabad to stop helping terrorists, murder (?campaigns) in the state of Jammu and Kashmir and also used its influence for persuading the terrorists to give up violence and murder. Pakistani interference and support of the terrorists is only increasing the misery of the already poor people of Kashmir. It is regrettable that the ICO has become the mouthpiece of the ruling group of Pakistan which is out to cause tension and conflict with its neighbor.

### Results of Dhaka Prime Minister's Visit

#### Spokesman on Talks

92AS1134A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
28 May 92 p 1

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 27 May—India and Bangladesh have decided to form a joint task force to tackle the entire gamut of problems emerging from illegal crossings along the Indo-Bangla border.

The joint task force, headed by the two home secretaries and comprising senior officials, will also look into the issue of insurgency in the northeast. Briefing newsmen this afternoon, the foreign office spokesman said the joint task force was agreed upon at a meeting between the minister of state for external affairs, Mr. Eduardo Faleiro, and the Bangladesh foreign minister, Mr. Mustafizur Rehman.

The two ministers had detailed discussions on the refugee influx and the activities of insurgents, and felt that a joint mechanism would be the most effective way of handling the problems. The spokesman gave no specific details on the talks and only said that both sides were satisfied with the scope and level of the exchanges.

Asked whether there was basic agreement on the magnitude and nature of the refugee influx, the spokesman said, "There was no indication of any disagreement." The spokesman declined to provide details and parried questions on whether Bangladesh had disowned the Bihari Muslim refugees who have crossed over into India from Bangladesh.

"All I can say is that all aspects of concern to the two countries were discussed and both sides are satisfied at the exchange of views. We hope the issues will be resolved in the context of the new direction bilateral relations have taken with the visit of Begum Khaleda Zia."

The spokesman also sidestepped questions on whether Bangladesh recognised that its soil was being used as an operational base by insurgent groups in the northeast.

India and Bangladesh also signed three agreements today—on trade and transit arrangements, cultural exchanges and a memorandum of understanding on the exchange of plots in the two capitals for building missions and residences for diplomatic staff.

The trade and transit agreement signed today makes for non-taxation of each other's commercial profits, full exemption on aircraft profits and a partial reduction of taxes on shipping profits. "These will promote investments and exports and encourage exchange of new technology," the spokesman said.

The Indo-Bangla agreement on cultural and academic exchanges has been renewed for another three years and provides for more comprehensive give-and-take in the area than in the past.

#### Festival of Bangladesh

The two sides also agreed that a Festival of Bangladesh in India would be held some time in 1994. Stressing that the orientation of the old agreement had been slightly changed, the spokesman said, "Special efforts have been



made in the current agreement to sharpen the focus of programmes and make them more people-oriented."

The two Prime Ministers, who were present during the signing ceremony, expressed satisfaction at the "friendly and constructive" atmosphere in which the talks had been held and hoped that Indo-Bangla relations would now take a more positive turn.

#### **Report on Communique**

92AS1134B Madras THE HINDU in English  
29 May 92 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 28 May—India and Bangladesh have arrived at broad areas of agreement on several ticklish issues, including Tin Bigha, the flow of river waters and illegal immigrants.

A joint communique released at the end of the three-day visit to India of the Bangladesh Prime Minister, Begum Khaleda Zia, stated that the waters of Ganga and Teesta fell short of the requirements. In this light the two countries agreed on "an equitable, long term and comprehensive arrangement for the sharing of waters of these and other rivers through mutual discussions."

Simultaneously, New Delhi and Dhaka have decided to explore an interim arrangement for the sharing of dry season waters and accepted reviving joint monitoring of releases at the Farraka and Teesta barrages.

On Tin Bigha, both sides expressed satisfaction at the recent 'exchange of letters' on terms providing Bangladesh citizens the right of passage through the area and which would be effective from 26 June 1992.

Regarding illegal immigration, both parties agreed to set up a joint task force to the level of Home Secretaries which would 'encourage' the return of the Chakma refugees and work out modalities to check illegal immigration. While no direct reference was made to trans-border insurgency involving the ULFA [United Liberation Front of Assam], there was unanimity of opinion on the need to adopt effective measures to maintain peace and tranquility all along the border and to refrain from what have been described as 'unfriendly activity.'

The visit of Begum Zia has also yielded fresh momentum to bilateral economic ties and this will be marked by high-level economic exchanges. Delegations of both countries are slated to hold Trade Review Talks which are expected to start in August/September 1992 and these will be followed by a meeting of the Joint Economic Commission in October 1992.

On regional cooperation, the two countries have laid special emphasis on South Asian regional cooperation anchored in the activities of the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation]. They called for providing further momentum to SAARC activities in "the core areas of economic cooperation."

Regarding non-alignment both sides, reflecting the spirit of the recent NAM [Nonaligned Movement] ministerial conference in Bali, emphasised promoting an equitable international economic development as the movement's key task. They also urged the democratisation of international relations with a call for increasing the representative character of the United Nations.

#### **Commentary Defends Leasing of Corridor to Bangladesh**

BK2506121992 Delhi All India Radio General Overseas Service in English 1010 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Commentary by Suresh Avasthi, AIR news commentator: "Tin Bigha—a Goodwill Gesture to Bangladesh"]

[Text] The Indo-Bangladesh land boundary agreement signed in 1974 had provided for leasing by India to Bangladesh an area of 178 meters by 85 meters near Tin Bigha in order to enable Bangladesh to have access to Dahagram and Angorpota. This was part of the package which allowed India to retain the southern half of south Berubari Union Number 12 and adjacent enclaves and which allowed Bangladesh to retain the Dahagram and Angorpota enclaves. The agreement of 1982 clearly stipulated that sovereignty over the leased area would continue to vest in India. The recent understanding between the two governments has been worked out within this and other parameters of the 1982 agreements.

Before finalizing the modalities relating to the Tin Bigha area, the union government consulted the state government of West Bengal on several occasions and has kept in constant touch with them. Leaders of other political parties have also been consulted. The concerns and apprehensions expressed in certain quarters regarding leasing out the Tin Bigha corridor have also been taken into account. As has been said by the [then] minister of external affairs, Shri [Mr.] Madhavsingh Solanki, in Lok Sabha, India remains fully committed to the implementation of the 1974 agreement.

In putting into effect this agreement, India is fulfilling an international commitment. The lease is being implemented after all due processes of law have been completed in India. The government of India is confident that the steps and safe course taken for the implementation of the lease will dispel all doubts and misgivings and that it will receive full and unstinted cooperation of all concerned. Their doubts are mysteries and based upon (?incomplete) facts. The government is committed to take all necessary steps for the protection of India's interests.

On the question of sovereignty, it has been clarified by all the courts to whom this matter was referred that there is no dilution of sovereignty. The Supreme Court has very emphatically stated that the lease's perpetuity has to be understood in the context of the (?rich) reference to the objects of the agreement concerned. The Supreme Court has said that no right to administer Tin Bigha has been given to Bangladesh nor has it been given the right



to occupy permanently the area, or to construct buildings and fortifications therein. Bangladesh has also no right to lay railway lines into the area. The agreements give Bangladesh only specific and limited rights. The government of India has also clarified on many occasions that it will ensure that the historic and legal right to movement by Indians remains unaffected. The question of Kuchlibari turning into an enclave thus does not arise. Given time to goodwill, the Tin Bigha corridor, which is being leased out to Bangladesh on Friday [26 June], will turn into a corridor of friendship and harmony between India and Bangladesh.

### Editorial Condemns Genocide in Sindh

92AS1115A Secunderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE  
in English 3 Jun 92 p 8

[Editorial: "Genocide in Sindh"]

[Text] The deployment of the army in the Sind province in a big way by the Pakistan government indicates the explosive situation obtaining in that part of the country, with the local Sindhi population getting increasingly restive over their virtual eclipse in every field of activity. The military has been vested with enormous powers and the result has been the unleashing of terror. There has been a heightened sentiment of nationalism among the Sindhi-speaking population ever since the partition of the sub-continent. Instead of responding to the aspirations of the Sindhis, every effort has been made to reduce them to non-entities through various devices. The province was flooded with refugees from across the border, mostly from Uttar Pradesh, during Partition in 1947 to such an extent that today the Mohajirs outnumber the indigenous population in Karachi and several other provincial towns. Indeed, Sindh was converted to a dumping ground for immigrants on the one side and the domineering Pathans from the north on the other, not to speak of the influx of Bengali Muslims from the pre-1971 eastern wing of Pakistan. The authorities there had been patently partisan and had no qualms over repeatedly putting behind bars even a universally respected leader like Mr. G.M. Sayeed, who was in the forefront for the cause of the Sindhis.

Over the last few weeks, the army crackdown has been progressing on an unprecedented scale. The dwindling Hindu minority is being persecuted; this minority in any case is being squeezed out systematically since the Partition. The cordiality that obtains among the native Sindhis, Muslims and Hindus is not to the liking of the Pakistan government and the indiscriminate arrests taking place now have to be viewed against this background. No wonder then that the Sindhis have been reminding themselves and the Pakistan's powers-that-be that they had been Sindhis for the past five thousand years, Muslims for the past 500 years and Pakistanis for not even 50 years. As if to justify its actions, the Pakistan President, Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, now invents the myth of Indian involvement in Sindh and accuses Delhi of promoting terrorist activities.

From the Indian point of view, even more disquieting is the insidious effort to push out from Pakistan the Bengali-speaking Muslims left behind after the creation of Bangladesh through the Rann of Kutch and into Gujarat. The Border Security Force [BSF] recently found 40 bodies in the area. They had apparently died of starvation while fleeing through the difficult terrain of the Rann of Kutch. The BSF could establish the broad identity of the dead from the footmarks and other bits of evidence. The Gujarat government is therefore understandably alarmed at the increased infiltration from across the Sindh border, either due to insecure conditions prevailing or due to the repression by the army, coupled with the organised pushing out of Bengali Muslims. That such an inflow is taking place via the Rann of Kutch in spite of the fact that it is a notified area under the direct control of the BSF only goes to show that vigilance should be further strengthened to bar the illegal entry of people from across the border. Delhi must impress on Islamabad that it will no longer be a silent spectator to its devious methods and the genocidal conditions which are against all norms of civilised behaviour towards Sindhis agitating for autonomy.

### Internal Affairs

#### Rao Effects Major Reshuffle in Diplomatic Staff

92AS1139A New Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English  
18 May 92 pp 1, 11

[Article by Ashwini Sarin: "Rao Effects Major Diplomatic Reshuffle"]

[Text] New Delhi—Prime Minister Narasimha Rao, who also holds charge of the External Affairs Ministry, has approved a large number of new diplomatic appointments and a massive reshuffle of heads of Indian missions, involving over 50 Indian Foreign Service officials.

In addition, he has given short-term extensions to Dr. Abid Hussain, ambassador to the United States, and to A.G. Asrani, ambassador to Japan.

Both of them were to retire this month. While the former has apparently been retained for the time-being because of the recent bilateral developments, Mr. Asrani's term has been extended due to Mr. Rao's scheduled visit to Japan early next month.

The reshuffle involves important European and Asian nations.

The new diplomatic appointments include that of Virendra Gupta as charge d'affaire in Tel Aviv, Israel, where the new Indian mission started functioning this Friday.

Ambassadorial appointments have also been made to three newly-created Central Asian republics of the erstwhile Soviet Union. Kamlesh Sharma goes as ambassador to Alma Ata (Kazakhstan). Sudhir Devare of the

1964 batch of IFS [Indian Foreign Service] will be India's ambassador in Kiev, capital of Ukraine.

Mr. Devare, currently consul general in Frankfurt, will be succeeded by Alok Sharma (1974 batch), presently director in the Prime Minister's Office.

S.N. Puri (1961 batch) goes to Minsk as the new Indian ambassador to Belarus.

L.T. Pudaite has been moved from South Korea to Hungary, retaining his ambassadorial post. Bupat Oza, presently ambassador to Czechoslovakia, will replace Mr. Pudaite in Seoul. D.C. Mennerff, additional secretary (headquarters) in the Foreign Office, will fill the vacancy in Prague created by Mr. Oza's shifting.

G.R. Wakankar will take over from R.K. Rai (of St. Kitts fame) as consul general in New York. Mr. Rai has been posted as ambassador to Sudan.

Pushkar Johari will be new Indian ambassador in Bhutan. He is currently ambassador in Stockholm, Sweden.

K.K.S. Rana, presently ambassador to Mauritius, has been shifted to Bonn in the same capacity.

S.L. Malik, currently ambassador in Hungary, has been shifted to Vietnam to make way for Mr. Pudaite.

Meanwhile, lobbying has begun for the post of ambassador to the United States, which will fall vacant after Mr. Hussain's extension period expires.

The Prime Minister is exercising utmost caution in the matter considering Indo-U.S. ties are passing through a crucial phase following the latter's stand on trade sanctions and transfer of rocket technology to India from Russia.

The Government is also understood to have decided to replace Dr. L.M. Singhvi, Indian High Commissioner in the United Kingdom.

Mr. Singhvi, an appointee of the Chandra Shekhar government, had reportedly had the "blessings" of the Congress leaders before he accepted the top diplomatic assignment.

However, the Congress Government, which earlier favoured his continuing in London, now feels he should be replaced in view of reports about his "links" with the controversial NRI [Nonresident Indian] business house of Hindujas.

Mr. Rao is being pressurised by his party colleagues to post politicians to both of these countries. Among those who are lobbying are former UP [Uttar Pradesh] chief minister N.D. Tewari and former union ministers K.C. Pant and Dr. Karan Singh.

The latter, incidentally, was earlier Indian ambassador to the United States and was replaced by Mr. Hussain after the defeat of the Rajiv Gandhi government.

However, while one section within the ruling party is opposed to giving such important assignments to "rejected" partymen, the other lobby argues top diplomatic assignments would placate senior party leaders from the North who have been feeling "left out."

Mr. Rao, who has listened to all points of view, including that of the Foreign Office, has not given any inkling of his thinking in this regard. However, he has not rejected the idea of handing these posts to politicians.

In all likelihood, a final decision would be taken after the appointment of a regular external affairs minister. Mr. Rao took the portfolio under his charge after the resignation of Madhavsingh Solanki after the controversy about his handing over a note to the Swiss Government on the Bofors investigation.

#### **Rao Said Following Singh Reservation Policy** *92AS0961A Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA* *in Bengali 25 Apr 92 p 4*

[Article by Sunit Ghosh: "On the Reservation Question, Narasimha Rao Is Walking the V.P. Singh Path"]

[Text] In spite of many inconsistencies between speech and action, nothing has been found as inconsistent in the thinking of Biju Patnaik, the chief minister of Orissa, as his stand on the issue of the reservation policy. Three years ago, when, by declaring the policy of reservation for the backward classes of people, Viswanath Pratap Singh, the then-prime minister from the Janata Party, pushed the nation to violent rioting between the races. Biju Patnaik, then the leader of the Janata Party of Orissa, clearly informed the prime minister in a letter dated 29 August 1989, that this particular policy would not be implemented in that state, because it would not solve the problems of the poorer people.

Biju Patnaik explained the reasons why he was against implementing this policy. He wrote, "There is no backward community in Orissa that can be included in the list of reservation. In the report of the Mandal Commission, which is full of mistakes and a product incorrectly conceived, 224 races of Orissa were included as backward classes. On that list, twenty scheduled castes and tribes were included. In addition, a particular class of people with the last name 'Shahu' was included on the list. But actually, they belong to a higher caste of people. Some economically advanced races were also included in this list."

That declaration of V.P. Singh created tremendous unrest throughout the country, including Orissa. In an effort to pacify the unrest, Biju Patnaik put forward two proposals: 1) The maximum level of family income should be fixed for the students from the backward classes and scheduled classes and tribes to take advantage of this reservation policy in the schools and colleges and in jobs; 2) In regard to employment, this reservation should be there at the time of hiring, but it would not be there as a criterion for promotion.

After almost three years, Biju Patnaik repeated his old stance in clearer language. On last 18 April in a news conference in the capital, he decried the "hateful" caste system and said that there were only two castes in India—one is rich and the other is poor. According to Patnaik, "I am in favor of social justice, but that justice must be made in the interest of the poor." Habitually making straightforward comments, Patnaik attacked the main supporters of reservation. He said, "The leaders like Sharad, Ram Bilas, and Laloo who are shouting in the name of caste, their main objective is to keep all the benefits under the control of the rich section of the people of the so-called backward class. If the state does assume the responsibility of educating the people of the backward class in general, the advantages of reservation will remain fully under the control of the rich section of it. For this reason, I am in favor of using the yardstick of financial ability in the issue of reservation even in the cases of the scheduled castes and tribes." Tearing apart the mask of the hypocrisy of V.P. Singh, the main propagator of social justice, Patnaik said, "V.P. Singh also supports my view, but he does not have the courage to speak out."

This is the real condition of the Janata Party on the issue of reservation. In the behavior and personal lifestyle of leaders like Ram Bilas Paswan, Sharad Yadav, and Laloo Yadav, there is no mark of backwardness. If you open your eyes and ears in the circles of New Delhi or Patna, you will know what kind of luxurious lifestyle they are used to leading. When they were central ministers in the cabinet of V.P. Singh, both Ram Bilas and Sharad Yadav took foreign tours to establish their aristocratic status. The officials of the respective departments tried to comply with their demands. It is heard that one of them brought a fountain pen from a foreign country, the price of which was more than one lakh rupee in Indian currency. He enjoyed great satisfaction by showing that pen to his friends. Sharad Yadav got angry if his face was not shown on television every day and his publicity aide had to hear charges for his "failure." When Laloo Yadav, the chief minister of Bihar, returns to Patna from New Delhi, he almost buys the whole market of Connot Place. The demand for reservation of this kind of leader of the backward class is not made to the conditions of the fellow people of their class, but to improve their own condition.

Recently a research work was published by the name *In the Mirror of Mandal* authored by the respected journalist Hiranmoy Karlekar. The author provided evidence showing how unscientific the process was to identify the backward class today on the basis of a census report, which was taken 60 years ago. Karlekar showed that the Kurmis of Bihar, who were identified as a backward class in the Mandal Commission report, have been, in fact, large landholders in the districts of Goya, Nalanda, Rotas, Aurangabad, Patna, Bhojpur, and Palamou for the last few decades. There are many allegations of violent activities and torture against them. The Yadavs and Koeries of the Munger district of Bihar

are identified as a backward class, but, actually, they are the real owners of land in that area. Some communities in Uttar Pradesh, who are listed in the Mandal Commission report, are, in fact, fairly rich. These people really benefited by the abolition of the zamindari [landlord] system. In the pre-independence period, the backward Yadav, Kurmi Lodha, and Gurjars owned 6 percent of the land in Uttar Pradesh. Although they consisted of 15 percent of the population of the state, yet they owned 20 percent of the land in the state after independence. And if you are to consider the other small groups that are listed in the Mandal Commission Report, 38 percent of the total land of the state is owned by these so-called backward classes. The so-called backward classes, the Kurmis and Powers, are the owners of the major portion of land in the districts of Betul, Chhindwara, Saoni, Balaghat, etc., in the state of Madhya Pradesh. The upper caste people like Rajput, Brahmin, Kayastha, and Baniya are not the real landowners in those districts. The same picture can be seen in the other states also. The rich and influential communities like the Kamas and Reddys of Andhra Pradesh are listed as backward classes in the Mandal Commission Report. The Koli-Bariyas of Gujrat, the Marathas of Maharashtra, the Vokkaligas of Karnataka, the Ejvas of Kerala, the Padaichis, Mudaliars, Kallas, Goundas, and Vellalas of Tamil Nadu are rich and influential in every sense, but they are also on the list of backward classes in the report of Mandal Commission. Among them many have no need to have reservation in case of employment. If reservation is implemented, the lions's share of it would be taken by these rich and influential classes. The same thing has taken place in regard to the rich and influential among the scheduled class and tribe people. According to Karlekar, knowing all of these facts, V.P. Singh promised to implement 27 percent reservation only to get support from the developed, rich, and powerful people from this so-called backward class. It means that the real objective of his cry for social justice was political. V.P. Singh did not show any interest in the other recommendations made in the Mandal Commission Report for the economic improvement of the people of the backward class, such as, the report spread of education, land reform, vocational training, etc. In fact, what Karlekar wrote in his book with facts and figures, Biju Patnaik said in his statement.

But on the question of reservation, the power of the vote is the deciding factor. V.P. Singh wanted to have a gimmick by raising the issue of social justice, but his eyes were fixed on the ballot box. Narasimha Rao followed the same footsteps of V.P. Singh by arranging a few reservations for the poorer section of the higher caste people. Jawharlal Nehru, who was dead set against any kind of reservation on the basis of caste or race, in a letter to the chief ministers 40 years ago, wrote that if reservation system was introduced on the basis of caste or race, India would become a second-class nation. No doubt, the present Prime Minister Narasimha Rao, who is a follower of Nehru, forgot about the warning given by

the first prime minister of India, Pandit Nehru. Moreover, the leftists and the Marxists also forgot about the warning of Nehru and they are trying to color the narrow fights of castes and races as the "class struggle," and they are doing that only to get votes in the election.

#### **Home Minister Chavan Denies Involvement in Sindh**

92AS1115B Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English  
5 Jun 92 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, June 4 (PTI)—Home Minister S.B. Chavan today described as "absolutely false" the Pakistan allegation that India was sending infiltrators to create problems in the Sind Province.

Mr. Chavan told reporters here that the allegation of Pakistan was an excuse to send more terrorists into Punjab and Kashmir.

He said Pakistan was bent upon creating problems in India, and "my political understanding is that Pakistan can use Afghan Mujahideens to intensify terrorism in the two border States."

The security forces deployed along the Indo-Pak border were alert and capable of foiling any attempt to push infiltrators into India, Mr. Chavan said.

**AYODHYA ROW:** Asked about former Prime Minister V.P. Singh's demand for convening an urgent meeting of the National Integration Council [NIC] to discuss the Ayodhya issue, the Minister said the Government was considering it.

When his attention was drawn to the UP [Uttar Pradesh] Government's denial that it was violating the status quo with regard to the temple dispute, Mr. Chavan said mere denial would not do. The State Government had to ensure that the court order was not violated, he added.

**J & K ISSUE:** Mr. Chavan admitted that the situation in Jammu and Kashmir was "very bad," but said there had been a "distinct change" of late.

He said 75 to 80 percent of ULFA [United Liberation Front of Assam] activists had surrendered and expressed confidence that Assam would soon return to normal.

Earlier, in an interview given to BLITZ, in Bombay, Mr. Chavan said that the possibility of the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] having received support from "any other foreign force" in carrying out the assassination of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi would be inquired into by a commission.

"At least I have no doubt in my mind that this cannot be just the handiwork of the LTTE, unless they have support," Mr. Chavan said when asked if Pakistan was involved in it.

#### **Tibetan Refugees Said Becoming More Politically Active**

92AS1095A Varnasi AJ in Hindi 18, 19 May 92

[Article by Shashi Shekhar: "Tibet, Tibetans and Us"]

[19 May 92 pp 1, 7]

[Text] Dharamshala, 17 May—She had come to pay her respects with flowers at the Temple of the Dalai Lama, situated on a high hill in McLeod Ganj. As usual, she stopped at the first step of the temple along with her girlfriends and before proceeding, she touched the stone step with her soft fingers and then touched her half-closed eyes. After paying full respects to the statue of Buddha in the temple, her face showed deep religious beliefs. Before she could return, I stopped her. Who was she? Her name was Tashi. She is an eleventh grade student at the McLeod Ganj Higher Secondary School, and is one of the thousands of Tibetan children who were born in India, grew up here, and have a dream in their eyes—an independent Tibet.

The Tibetan girls looked hesitant, because they were stopped by a stranger. However, Tashi was unafraid. She was ahead of everyone and was separate from them. I asked what she thought of the independence of Tibet. She said, "We must become independent. Our Dalai Lama has also said this. Tibet will be independent in five or six years. I believe in him. We will return to our country, come what may." The roses of dreams began to blossom on Tashi's cheeks.

I ask her, "What will be your role prior to and after Tibet's independence?" Tashi hesitates for a second. After thinking a little, she answers with full confidence, "I am a student now. I will study well and become very wise. That will be my role in Tibet's freedom until my country is free. I will study hard and learn a lot. When I return to my country, I will work according to my educational qualifications. That is what the Dalai Lama tells us. I want to be a teacher so that I can play a role in making children good citizens." It was so nice to hear a young girl say such intelligent and serious things. A question arises in my mind, whether every Tibetan youth living here has similar beliefs. Does every Tibetan consider the purpose of his life to be Tibet's independence and the reconstruction of a new Tibet? Is India also the great guru of Tibet in their minds, as the Dalai Lama always says? In order to get an answer to these and other questions, my talks with Tibetan youths continued for a long time.

For example, when this correspondent tried to ask some questions of Repang, who was cleaning his motorcycle outside his handicrafts store in the main market of McLeod Ganj, he was surprised. The three other Tibetan youths playing cards in his store also looked alert and suspicious. However, after I introduced myself and explained my purpose, they looked assured. Repang himself took the initiative. He was born 32 years ago in a refugee camp in Mussoorie. His parents escaped from

Lhasa along with the Dalai Lama. He was still in his mother's womb when his country was in a very bad situation. His parents, who had to leave their roots and were greatly upset, were happy to see the new baby. They now wondered how to raise their new child.

Repang grew up in abject poverty. He could not get any education. When he grew up, he learned to drive and drove rented vehicles. He learned to work hard and to fight all kinds of adversities ever since he was born. After working around the clock, he saved some money and opened a small store, of which he is the sole owner. His life has become much better. His problems have become history. The only thing that has not changed is his desire for Tibet's freedom. His parents are still alive. They want to take their last breaths in the same place where they first breathed. With this hope in their hearts, they tell stories of the beautiful valleys of Lhasa and the ugly atrocities of the Chinese to Repang's son, their three-year-old grandson. Thus, the desire for freedom is running through the heart and blood of three generations of this family. Repang's family is not unique. Almost every Tibetan family has a similar story.

I stopped Repang, who was busily telling me his life story and his hopes for the future. I asked him, "What do you people think about India?" It does not even take a second for the illiterate Repang to answer, "We consider it our second home. The Government of India has given us a place to live and permission to work and earn a living. Nobody stops us. We are allowed to talk about freedom, too. What more can we wish for?" Before Repang can say any more in his special accented Hindi, I address one of his friends. "You appear to be educated. The newspaper in your hand proves this fact; you are trying to understand this country and the world. Don't you think that in this changing situation, India's attitude towards Tibet is also changing?"

He hesitates for a second, then answers, "Yes. It appears this way to me. India, which used to raise the issue of Tibet's independence on every national and international stage, has become quiet now. The Chinese prime minister went to New Delhi a few days ago. Our people live on Majnu's Teela. The police surrounded that whole area. It did not matter how important a task was; no one was allowed to leave that area, and no one was allowed to enter. We wanted to hold a demonstration to attract the world's attention to Chinese atrocities. But we were not given permission to do so. Those of us who tried were very badly beaten. After that, we did not know what happened. The police suddenly attacked Majnu's Teela. They entered homes and left no one—including women, old people, and children—alone. I was also physically hurt. Later, none of the leaders or officers thought it necessary to listen to our complaints. Tell me, did this all happen right here in India? This is a democracy. Here they think that independence is the greatest thing!"

"Are you people disappointed with India?" I asked. Before the young man could answer, a young woman who was very intently listening to us replied, "No, we are

not disappointed. We cannot be. India has given us refuge. The office of Tibet's government-in-exile is here. The Dalai Lama is also settled here, telling the whole world about our problems. We just cannot think badly of India." The young girl's way of talking showed self-confidence and higher upbringing, and showed that she was different from the others. After I inquired, I learned that her name was Chhering. She was educated in Delhi and was associated with the Tibetan secretariat. That Secretariat is also the headquarters of Tibet's government-in-exile, situated in McLeod Ganj. I was glad that I was able to meet this official on her day off.

I tried to incite Chhering: "You are answering diplomatically and have some other hidden meanings. I have talked with several people during the last few hours, and I have learned that Tibetan youths have begun to get angry at India, too. Will not they follow the path of terrorism tomorrow?"

"No. This will not happen," Chhering answered with determination. "It will not happen, because our leader hates violence. Our Dalai Lama says that none of humanity's problems can be solved without sympathy and love. Also, we are so few in number that if we took the path of violence, we would all be killed. Our religion (Buddhism) also preaches this. It is totally against violence. We Tibetans are peace loving in our daily lives, too. Violence is not our way of life."

I tried to counter Chhering's reasoning in order to make her open up: "Your reasoning that you are a minority does not carry much weight. In the whole world, the path of terrorism was always taken by minority groups. As for the Buddhist religion, the Chinese, who are committing atrocities against you, also follow it. The elements that are inciting the Tibetans are also present in India. Punjab and Kashmir are not very far from your refuge in Dharamshala. There were some news stories that said that the terrorists there had contacted Tibetan youths. Do you think that all this is meaningless?"

Chhering answers, "You could prove yourself right on this reasoning; however, I do not believe that Tibetan youths would ever take the dirty path of terrorism. If violence was in our character, then we would have taken the path of violence in Tibet also. We tolerated all kinds of atrocities there. Yet we remained nonviolent. How can you compare us with Punjab, Kashmir, and Afghanistan? The situations there are very different from Tibet. We have always been different from the people in those places. Pick up a history book; you will never find violence in Tibet."

Later, the deputy commissioner of Dharamshala also said that such fears were baseless. He told this correspondent during his long talks that the government does not get any indication suggesting that Tibetan youths would take the path of violence. However, that official admitted that the Tibetan people were very shocked by Li Peng's visit and the decrease in Chinese-Indian enmity.

That shock was not unnatural. The Tibetans, who had seen their tree being uprooted, are even seeing the tree's branches falling there. Perhaps, as a result, the Tibetans will start to change their strategy now.

[19 May 92 pp 1, 7]

[Text] Dharamshala, 18 May—The Tibetans, who are suffering the bane of exile, were given refuge and support by India after being uprooted. However, with the changing equations in the world, and in order to improve its own situation, New Delhi has begun to rethink the Tibetan situation. India's changing attitude has pushed the Tibetans to the cold peaks of worry. That is why the messiahs of Tibet's freedom campaign are trying to change the old strategy into a new attitude. The officials here in the Secretariat of Tibet believe that they not only failed to tell the whole world, but also the Indian people, about China's destructive plans.

A Tibetan young man was having a picnic with his family under a devdar tree 5 km from McLeod Ganj, on the high hills beside a beautiful lake. He expressed this situation in these painful words: "Look at the beautiful mountains of Dhauladhar. If the snow on these peaks melts, then it will be so hot here that life would become unbearable. Similarly, if the ice and snow of China-India relations melts, then we will worry. If, however, India will not talk about the interest of the Tibetans with the Chinese, then what will happen to our independence? Will we die homeless, the way we were born?"

An educated Tibetan businessman said, "Rajiv Gandhi went to Beijing without any invitation, and we did not take notice of it. We know that the very sharp Chinese leadership will not open their fists so easily. That is what happened. Rajiv's trip did not improve the relationship between New Delhi and Beijing. Later, however, when Li Peng made plans to visit New Delhi, we were surprised. India announced that Tibet was part of China even before Li Peng arrived in New Delhi. We did not expect this from our friend. Let us forget the peasant campaign. If India becomes a friend of China, the friendship would not last long. China is dishonest. If it was honest, then we would not see Chinese rifles in the hands of terrorists in Punjab and Kashmir. Who gives these weapons to India's enemies? The Tibetans are also hurt by the fact that China blackmails India on the Kashmir issue. In the joint statement issued by the two countries after Li Peng's visit to India, there was no mention of Kashmir or Tibet. This means that the Chinese diplomacy pundits had pressured the Indian government even before their prime minister's visit to India to make sure that if India did not mention Tibet, China would not mention Kashmir."

The Tibetans do not think that the Indian foreign ministry's decision was appropriate. They say that Kashmir is an integral part of India, and that there is historical and cultural proof of this. Opposed to this, China's rule on Tibet is totally illegal and against any policy. India, they feel, should not be such a coward if it

is correct. This is neither its tradition, nor is it the voice of present times. It is evident that the Tibetans are using such reasoning to attack the Indian people's opinion about their situation. They want to attract Indian people by any means. They also say that if Tibet is freed, many of India's present headaches will also disappear. For example, the backbreaking expenses that India is incurring on its border with China would automatically end. Tibet is India's natural friend. Therefore, India will not have to station a military at its border. It would then be able to cut military expenses and focus on developmental projects, which are more important and necessary.

In addition, they also want to induce Chinese fear in the minds of the Indian people. The Tibetans also say that if Tibet is not freed, India will always have the fear of Chinese attack. This fear would disappear after Tibet's independence. If this does not happen, then what guarantee is there that China will not illegally enter India because of its expansionist policies?

It does not matter what the Tibetan Embassy sources and freedom campaign supporters say. The changing world politics are also changing their hopes into despair. This correspondent talked with Dhondu, who was taking a walk with his family on the beautiful Mal Road in Dhauladhar. This fact was then revealed several times. Mr. Dhondu, who is very sharp and eloquent, first tried to rhetorically discuss independence. This was repeated to me by about one and one-half dozen men and women, including Tashi.

Mr. Dhondu had his beautiful wife and cute children sit on the platform next to the beautiful fountain and, while smoking his Gold Flake cigarettes, tried to express his good will that his country would be independent within five years. He said philosophically, "Tell me, how many communist countries are left in the world? Russia is gone. All the countries of eastern Europe have adopted democratic systems. Only some countries, like China and Algeria, are trying to keep dying communism alive. All this will not last very long. China burned thousands of young men in Tiananmen Square. This destroyed China's image in the eyes of the West. Those who had started to believe China's claim that a person's pride and independence is protected there know the real facts now. The Chinese officials say that the Tibetans are happy under their government. If this is true, then why do not they allow neutral journalists, human rights organizations, and tourists to visit Tibet openly? They know well that if they do, then the secret will be out."

Mr. Dhondu stopped in his tracks for a while. He lighted another cigarette, took a long drag, and started talking again. "Because China has been unmasked in front of the West, the political leaders who hesitated to talk with the Dalai Lama because of past Chinese pressure now invite him. John Major, the British prime minister, started this. Recently, leaders of New Zealand and Australia have also met him. This is an indication that the world is leaning toward us. You will see that China will be forced



to leave Tibet within the next five or 6 years." Dhondu was in a garrulous mood, but I did not stop him. One question was emerging in my mind while he was talking, and it was time for me to ask it: "You said the world is leaning towards Tibet. In my opinion, it is leaning to the other side. Ten years ago, concern was expressed about human rights and actions against it. Everyone was united on this issue. Now the situation has changed. It is a time of economic problems; that is why India's attitude about you is also changing. We are forced to join this race. Do not you understand that in this changing situation, the efforts to free Tibet could be blocked?"

Mr. Dhondu understood my question very well and did not reply. When he answered, he was not as eager as he was before. He said, "I understand that the world is changing, but I am not disappointed. We will become independent." He looked at the cigarette in his hand, which had gone out. He had the remainder of it in his fingers, and he flipped it into the valley. He suddenly remembered his wife and children. "They must be waiting," he said, as he walked toward the fountain. His quick departure was depressing, and I felt sad for him. It appeared to me that they should become independent, and that this was in India's interests. I suddenly remembered an incident occurred at Magsunag, an old Indian holy place near McLeod Ganj. I had gone there for a walk, when I saw two or three Tibetan youths smoking cigarettes in a deserted space. I approached them, hoping to learn something important from them. When they saw me coming towards them, their faces showed hesitation. Why did this happen? When I arrived, I learned the reason. The smell of their cigarettes was very strange. What was it? A smart boy sitting in the corner understood it all and smiled. Thinking that I was also an addict, he asked, "Do you want some? We shall give it to you." I shook my head in denial and returned. Suddenly the innocent face of Tashi emerged before my eyes, and I remembered an old adage I heard as a little boy: "All fingers of a hand are not equal."

### Renewal of Violence in Darjeeling Hills Feared

92AS0961C Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA  
in Bengali 24 Apr 92 p 4

[Editorial: "Darjeeling: Which Path?"]

[Text] The general strike called by CPM [Communist Party of India-Marxist] in the Darjeeling district ended more or less peacefully. Excitement centered on this strike. There was apprehension that it might have caused unrest and clashes between different groups. It was suspected that GNLF [Gorkha National Liberation Front], the main political power of the hills, might try to break the strike, which was called to protest the GNLF assault on the CPM cadres. There were, of course, a few minor clashes. But overall, the strike was peaceful. It also does not mean that the call for a strike was a just one. In fact, the political situation in the hills of Darjeeling is such that any effort designed to challenge GNLF is bound to be considered a provocation. It is not true that

the CPM leadership does not understand this fact. In spite of that, they are taking the road of direct confrontation with the GNLF only because they are unwilling to lose their influence and strength in the area.

But will this kind of activity help reach a solution to the present problems of Darjeeling? Subash Ghising is the person behind the present problems of Darjeeling. After starting a huge movement for a separate Gorkhaland, he presented his Hill Council supporters with a self-rule proposal, which, in reality, did not make them happy. The hopes and aspirations Ghising was able to inject in the minds of his supporters during the course of the movement has faded away from the worthlessness and failure of the Hill Council. So, by declaring Darjeeling a "no-man's land," he started a movement again. This time his objective is to take Darjeeling out from the control of West Bengal and place it under the administration of the central government. With this objective out front and to create pressure on the central and state governments, all three GNLF members of the West Bengal assembly resigned. Behind the call for a new movement, there is a desperate attempt to hold back fading popular support. And there is also a political obstinacy and gamble. But is it possible to confront it with a strike? Moreover, this kind of demonstration of strength and political muscle might bring more unrest to the hills of Darjeeling. It is true that Ghising has lost some of his earlier popularity, but still a major portion of the people of the hill consider CPM a political party of the flat land and, in fact, do not trust it. Ghising realized too late that the genie of desire for enjoying self-right that he took out of the bottle, now he does not have the strength to put it back in the bottle again. In spite of showing strength, it is, therefore, essential to try to win back the minds of the people of the hills, if CPM really wants to remove them from GNLF's influence.

In this context, CPM is accusing the central government whenever they get a chance. It is true that in the first phase of the Gorkhaland movement, the then central government indulged Ghising to a certain extent. But at present, that allegation does not stand. The central home minister stated unequivocally that the government will not consider any new demands from Ghising. Ghising now understands that the central government is no longer sympathetic to his cause. At this point, the state government should work with the central government to find an acceptable solution to the problems of Darjeeling hills. Instead of doing that, CPM, the ruling party of the state, has engaged in the game of recapturing the party's old influence and organization in the hills of Darjeeling.

### Article Views Presidential Poll

92AS1115C Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English  
5 Jun 92 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, June 4—A view is gaining ground within the national parties here in favour of electing

Vice-President S.D. Sharma as the country's next President and former Indian Ambassador to the United States, Mr. K.R. Narayanan, as Vice-President.

During informal consultations with Opposition parties on the presidential polls, Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao is understood to have expressed his preference for a president by consensus. He met BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] leader L.K. Advani a few days back, and yesterday he met Communist Party of India [CPI] General Secretary Indrajit Gupta. Today, CPM [Communist Party of India-Marxist] leader Harkishen Singh Surjeet met the Prime Minister.

Left Front [LF] sources told DECCAN HERALD that their leaders came away from the meeting with the impression that the Prime Minister was in favour of Mr. S.D. Sharma, and indicated that he would make known his choice before emplaning for the Earth Summit on June 10.

Meanwhile, the left parties have been pressuring the Congress(I) to nominate a Scheduled Caste [SC]. Tribe candidate for the vice-presidency, Mr. Narayanan, according to the sources, would not only satisfy this requirement, but would also fulfill the condition of the Left Front that the candidate should be "democratic and secular."

A CPI leader said Mr. Narayanan was non-controversial and modest and an intellectual.

The CPM, the CPI and the National Front [NF] partners have had a few meetings on the issue since yesterday to arrive at a common understanding.

The left parties are actively promoting an SCST [expansion not given] candidate. The left parties' interest in an SCST vice-president comes following the talks with the National Front, which has been demanding that the next president be from the SCST category.

Sources indicate that a compromise of sorts has been worked out between the LF and the NF. Janata Dal leaders, in particular, are understood to have acquiesced to the Left request to accede to a SCST vice-president.

Numerically, the Congress(I) does not need the support of any political party for electing a vice-president. Only in the case of the president will the Congress(I) need the help of another party to get its candidate elected.

But, the Congress(I) has responded favourably to the Left Front-National Front request, as the Prime Minister is understood to be keen that the president and vice-president have the backing of all parties.

The Bharatiya Janata Party has not made its stance known besides stating it is for a consensus candidate, BJP sources told DECCAN HERALD that their party was waiting for the Prime Minister's move on the issue.

The sources said it appeared that the Left parties and the National Front were keen on striking an alliance with the Congress(I), and hence were going overboard to please the ruling party.

The LF-NF alliance is desperate to isolate the BJP even at the cost of compromising its position, the sources said. The BJP is understood to have taken a "don't care attitude" and would even put up its own candidate if it found that the candidates chosen by the Prime Minister was not to be its satisfaction.

BJP sources, however, said it had not considered anybody as yet, and indicated that as it would only put up a token fight against the Congress(I) candidate.

#### Panel Orders Revision of Electoral Rolls

92AS1128A Madras INDIAN EXPRESS in English  
23 May 92 p 7

[Text] New Delhi (PTI)—The Election Commission on Thursday ordered an intensive revision of electoral rolls of all constituencies in all states and union territories except Jammu and Kashmir within 1 January 1993, as the qualifying date.

Announcing the revision programme, the commission in a press note said preliminary work relating to house numbering, preparation of polling station-wise maps and appointments of enumerators and supervisors will begin on 31 July.

Identifying the process for printing of draft electoral rolls and related measures will be done on 23 August.

House to house enumeration will be conducted from 24 August to 7 October in all the states.

Preparation of manuscripts and printing of draft rolls will be done on 30 October in Meghalaya, Nagaland and Tripura while it will be 7 December in all other states. The draft publication will be made on 2 November in Meghalaya, Nagaland and Tripura and in the other states on 8 December.

The period for filing claims and objections in the three states will be from 2 November to 30 November while in the rest it will be from 8 December to 7 January.

Disposal of claims and objections will be on 21 December in the three states while it will be 8 February in the remaining.

The preparation and printing of supplements will begin on 3 January 1993 in the three states while it will be 8 March in the other states.

Final publication of rolls will be made on 4 January in the three states and on 9 March in the rest.



**Value of Electoral College Votes Assessed***92AS1127A Madras THE HINDU in English  
2 Jun 92 p 6*

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 1 Jun—The strength of the electoral college for the Tenth presidential election scheduled for 13 July is 4748, up by 53 members since the last presidential election in 1987. While the number of MPs [Members of Parliament] remain the same, 233 elected members of the Rajya Sabha and 543 of the Lok Sabha, the number of MLAs [Members of Legislative Assembly] has gone up to 3972 against 3919 in 1987.

And if the 76th Constitution Amendment Bill of 1992, including elected State assemblies of Pondicherry and Delhi in the electoral college, is ratified by State assemblies and given the President's assent before the election, then the number in the electoral college could go up and the value of the votes calculated for the MLAs of different States would also change somewhat.

Preliminary calculations have been made by the Election Commission to arrive at the value of the votes of each member of the electoral college on the basis of rules under Article 55 of the Constitution. Since for this purpose the population figures as in the 1971 census are to be used, the values of the votes are the same as they were in 1987. An MP vote has a weightage of 702, and the elected MPs of the two Houses of Parliament will together account for votes valued at 5,44,752 against the total weight of the MLAs' votes working out to 5,44,971.

Uttar Pradesh [UP], which has the largest population, will naturally also have the heaviest weightage of MLAs in the Presidential election, each vote valued at 208, while the 'lightest' vote will be that of the MLA from Sikkim, valued at only 7. After U.P. the 'heaviest' vote is that of the MLA from Tamil Nadu, valued at 176, with Maharashtra (175) and Bihar (174) following closely.

It has been estimated that the Congress(I) and its allies command votes of the value of about 2,70,000 of a total of 5,44,752 in Parliament, and in the states they fare worse, commanding votes valued at roughly 2,30,000, their biggest support expected from Tamil Nadu (courtesy AIADMK [All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam]), Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh.

**Opposition Coup Unlikely**

It is also clear that except in the unlikely scenario of the combined Opposition supporting a common candidate, the Congress(I) candidate for the President's office should sail home, even if not entirely comfortably. There is not a sign on the political horizon, with only 10 days left for the start of nominations, of the Opposition wanting to come together to embarrass the ruling party.

The Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, is scheduled to leave for Rio, Brazil, on 10 June to attend the Earth Summit and will be back only four to five days

later. The nominations papers of the candidate supported by the ruling party are therefore not expected to be filed till around 20 June, a few days before the close of nominations.

The left parties have already indicated their willingness to support Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, Vice-President, if he is the official candidate of the ruling party, but would like to have a say in the choice of the Vice-President. Also there are pulls and pressures within the Congress(I), different groups lobbying for their own candidates. Matters are not expected to come to a head till 10 to 15 days from now.

**Commentary Analyzes Outcome of By-Elections***BK1106071792 Delhi All India Radio Network  
in English 0245 GMT 11 Jun 92*

[Journalist K.S. Ramamurthy commentary]

[Text] It is a cause for deep concern that during the by-elections on Monday [9 June] goondaism [hooliganism] invaded areas which were so far relatively violence free. The happenings in the New Delhi constituency must have come as a rude shock to many. One reason for the spate of violence on polling day was that most of the constituencies were considered prestigious from the point of view of various political parties. The New Delhi constituency for instance had been won for the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] by a towering personality like Mr. L.K. Advani in 1989. He had just scraped through by a margin of 1,500 votes, although he was at the height of his popularity, thanks to the mandir-masjid [temple-mosque] issue. This time around, the Congress-I candidate's margin of victory was almost 29,000 votes. The Congress party will be justified in drawing a comfortable conclusion.

The result of the Giridih Lok Sabha seat [in Bihar] indicates that the Jharkhand movement [for a separate Jharkhand tribal state] has received a boost. The JMM [Jharkhand Mukti Morcha], Mr. Rajkishore Mehta, has defeated the veteran trade union leader of the BJP, Mr. Samresh Singh, by a margin of 61,000 votes. The BJP had won the seat in 1989. With the BJP's defeat, the championship of a separate Vananchal state has received a set back.

No clear pattern emerges from the results. While the BJP failed to win the New Delhi and Giridih Lok Sabha seats, there is no evidence that there is complete disillusionment with the party in the two major BJP-ruled states of Uttar Pradesh. The BJP was keen on winning the Tilhar assembly seat in Uttar Pradesh, if only to avenge the humiliation it suffered last year when its candidates lost his deposit against former chief minister, Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav. This time, the BJP candidate was trailing third behind the winning Congress candidate and the runner up who was the candidate of the Ajit Singh faction of the Janata Dal. The BJP won the Lanji assembly seat in Madhya Pradesh with an impressive

margin. But in Budhni constituency, its margin of victory was only 576 votes. The result in Allagadda should give a definite indication of the standing of parties in Andhra Pradesh. Allagadda falls in the prime minister's Nandial Lok Sabha constituency. Latest reports suggest that the Telugu Desam is leading there. In Himayatnagar, the Congress candidate was Mr. Jaggannath Rao, who was chosen by the prime minister himself. The result should be interesting. In all other assembly constituencies, local issues seem to have determined the results.

**DMK Leader Answers Newsmen's Questions**  
*92AS1124A Madras THE HINDU in English*  
3 Jun 92 p 3

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Madras, 2 Jun—The DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (Dravidian Progressive Foundation)] president, Mr. M. Karunanidhi, today accused the Central and State intelligence agencies of conspiring to split his party.

Such attempts that began in 1972 were still being continued with the help of some newspapers. They would not succeed, he told presspersons after his unopposed reelection as party president for the sixth time at the DMK's general council meeting here.

He was answering a question whether the clashes and violence reported during the recent DMK's organisational elections were due to the rivalry between factions led by his son Mr. M.K. Stalin and Mr. V. Gopalaswami, MP.

Mr. Karunanidhi declined to answer another question on his stand on the ban on the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam]. He had already made his views known on the subject. He could not be expected to reply, Mr. Karunanidhi said when a reporter referred to the TNCC(I) [Tamil Nadu (Indira) Congress Committee] president, Mr. K. Ramamurthi's criticism that he (DMK President) had neither chosen to welcome nor oppose the ban on the Tigers.

There were leaders who claimed that the LTTE did not exist on the soil of Tamil Nadu. If so, why should there be a ban on the LTTE? He had been saying since 1983, when ethnic violence exploded in Sri Lanka, that the issue of Sri Lankan Tamils was one thing and the problem of Tamil militants was quite another. He did not know how the Centre was going to sort out the problem in light of the ban on the LTTE.

He answered in the negative when asked if the DMK had any proposal to show black flags to Central Ministers during their visit to Tamil Nadu to protest against the ban on the LTTE, similar to the decision taken by the Patali Makkal Katchi (PMK) led by Dr. S. Ramadas. 'I

cannot answer such questions' he said when asked if the DMK would extend its support to the PMK's proposed black flag stir.

Did he foresee the possibility of the ban being misused in Tamil Nadu? 'You can expect anything in the AIADMK's [All India Anno Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] rule in the State' he retorted.

The DMK president said his party's executive committee would meet shortly to decide about the agitation to free Tamil Nadu from what he called the reign of violence.

Earlier, the general council presided over by Mr. Karunanidhi criticised all attempts to force the Sri Lankan Tamil refugees to return home. It would be inhuman to do so at a time when the Tamil militants and the Sri Lankan Army were engaged in an all out war, it said and urged the Government to extend all assistance to the refugees until they chose to go back after the return of normality in the Island nation.

**Economic Policies Criticised**

The meeting condemned the economic policies of the Centre which it said were "threatening the very future" of the country. It urged the Tamil Nadu Government to withdraw the Prevention of Damage to Public Property Bill which it said was a vindictive measure to prevent processions and rallies organised by the Opposition parties. Supply of essential commodities at subsidised rates through the public distribution system and pay greater attention to the drought relief works were also demanded.

A resolution demanded a judicial inquiry into the Mahamakam tragedy at Kumbakonam, threatened a stir if the proposal to establish Navodaya schools in the State was not given up, condemned the move to establish the Institute of Vedic Sciences, urged the Government to hold immediate elections to cooperatives, withdraw the TADA [expansion not given] Act and set free all those detained.

DMK party units were also urged to step up the propaganda campaign to unmask what it called the "corrupt regime" in Tamil Nadu.

Mr. K. Anbazhagan and Mr. S.J. Sadiq Pasha were also re-elected unopposed as general secretary and treasurer respectively for the fifth time in succession. Mr. K. Manoharan was renominated as deputy general secretary.

**Open Trial Sought**

The party general council demanded an open trial of the Rajiv Gandhi assassination case to avoid misgivings about the independence of the Judiciary and the rule of law.

It also urged the Government to conduct an open inquiry into stock market scam and to arrest all those involved in it.

#### AIADMK 'Harassing' DMK Men

Addressing a public meeting tonight at T'Nagar, Mr. Karunanidhi came down heavily on the AIADMK [All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] for "harassing" his partymen. The DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam], which faced many trials and tribulations in the past, had now to put up with insults. There was a limit for everything and one could not be expected to be patient all the time, he warned. He also criticised the ruling party for its "vindictiveness" against the Opposition parties. The day of deliverance was not far off, he said.

Mr. Anbazhagan, Mr. Sadiq Pasha, Mr. Manoharan and Mr. V. Gopalasami, MP, addressed the meeting.

#### BJP Said Interested in Politics, Not Development

92AS1096A Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi  
22 May 92 p 4

[Article by Sacchidanand Sinha: "BJP's Transparent Mask"]

[Text] The standardized meanings of words are very important in a democracy. It is the definite meaning of words that allows the people to measure the promises made by political leaders in light of the facts. That is why leaders tend to distort the meanings of various attractive terms and give them any meaning they want in order to keep the people wondering. This way, it becomes difficult to control these parties. In a government system where terms can be defined according to anyone's wish, politicians are provided with the opportunity to change their policies to reflect the people's wishes in order to get their support. Therefore, their program, instead of being based on concrete plans, is designed to attract people using emotionalism, and is always ambiguous. This atrocity with language is also done to the people by these leaders. Recently, in Antyodya Nagar (Gandhi Nagar), the resolution presented in the national conference of the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] indicates clearly its tendency to change the meanings of various terms. This puts plenty of light on the character of the BJP.

In Gandhi Nagar, the name the BJP picked for their national conference shows its tendency to distort facts and mislead people. The word "antyodya," which means giving priority to the development of the last person, was borrowed from Mahatma Gandhi. This word has a whole history related to Gandhi's thinking. When the BJP joins this word to its national conference site, then the word becomes meaningless, because the BJP was born out of a tradition that had not only opposed all the values that Mr. Gandhi supported, but also was behind his assassination. This fact is clear from the resolution related to ethnicity proposed in its meeting. In this resolution, the BJP has not only called the present Congress Party

factionalist, but has also called the pre-independence Congress Party factionalist. According to the BJP, the Congress Party's attitude resulted in the partition of our country. If we grant the BJP proposal, then we have to admit that Mahatma Gandhi, Jawarhalal Nehru, Maulana Azad, and Rajendra Prasad were the leaders of a factionalist Congress Party. In addition, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Rashatariya Sawyamsewak Sangh (RSS), and, if viewed through the eyes of other minorities, the Muslim League, would not be factionalist parties. It is clear that the meaning of these words in the BJP dictionary differs from the standard meaning.

The fact is that the BJP philosophy purports a fascist-type belief of having a country based on one religion and race. It is the same vision as that of the former RSS president and the guru of present BJP leaders, Gololker had. Gololker took inspiration from Hitler, and his vision of one nation was that of Hitler's Germany. In his book, *We and Our Nationhood*, Mr. Gololker has explained his theory about five actions that unite a nation.

"In order to keep the race and culture pure, Germany killed Jews and astounded the whole world. This is the highest expression of a race's glory. Germany has also shown us that those races and cultures that have deep-rooted differences cannot be absorbed into one unit. This is a very good example for us Indians, and we should learn from it."

In another part of this book he says, "The non-Hindus of India should not only adopt the Hindu culture and language, but should also respect the Hindu religion. They should think of nothing else but to sing songs of praise of the Hindu race and culture.... In other words, they should give up their foreign culture. They can live in this country if they totally come under the Hindu nation and live here without any claim for rights, privileges, special amenities, or questions of citizenship."

All this was written in 1939. We can see easily that as long as there is this concept of a Hindu nation, no non-Hindu can think about living in India. The truth is that even after the tireless efforts by Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders, the relationship between Hindus and non-Hindus evolved such that Muslims had an image of an independent India, just as Gololker had in his mind. Such distorted images are formed through the work of parties like the RSS and Hindu Mahasabha. The Muslim League and the British, whenever possible, used this image to increase the fear in the minds of the minorities. Finally, Pakistan was established, just because the minorities in India had a very scary picture of an independent India. It sounds very strange when the BJP leaders begin to blame pre-independence Congress leaders and their policies for the partition and call the policies of the present Congress Party factionalist.

In the national conference, the BJP repeated its demand for a common civil code, and called the separate civil code for the minorities as its effort to satisfy the them.

However, what will the civil code that will apply to everyone be like? They did not explain this. Is there a consensus about such a civil code? Is the Hindu mentality ready to cast away traditional beliefs and help make a common civil code? In this context, it would be interesting to remember the RSS reaction to the Hindu Code Bill, which was considered inappropriate for reforming Hindu society. THE ORGANIZER, the RSS mouthpiece, wrote in its 7 December 1949 editorial: "We oppose the Hindu Code Bill. We oppose it, because it is an insulting proposal, based on immoral foreign principles."

"The Hindu law is just a component and is an integral part of the Hindu culture and religion. Hundreds of millions of people have been living under it for thousands of years, and they have found it useful and appropriate."

"A secular government has no right to interfere in the personal law of a religious group."

If the RSS has such an opinion of the Hindu Code Bill, then how can the BJP advocate the implementation of the Muslim personal law on everyone? It would be appropriate that strength for reforms at a fundamental level should emanate from every religious group. Such reform movements are very weak among Muslims, Hindus, and other minority groups, and as a result, the minorities see efforts by the majority to change their personal laws as an attack on their existence. This is the kind of issue that requires a lot of patience and flexibility. We can say that the examples given above reflect the thinking of the RSS and not that of the BJP. This is true; however, just like its former incarnation, the Jana Sangh, the BJP depends a lot on the RSS for its philosophical and organizational viewpoints. In addition, the BJP leaders have never rejected Gololker's beliefs openly, nor have they shown their separation from the RSS. The truth is that most of the top leaders and workers in the BJP have come from the RSS. The relationship between these two groups is so strong that the most important reason for the breakup of the Janata Party was the question of RSS membership. Recently, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and the RSS have been influencing the BJP over the Babri Masjid-Rama's Birthplace issue. If we analyze further, we learn that while the BJP tries to keep us in the dark, it still adopts the fascist policies of the RSS. The BJP's insistence on tearing down the Babri Masjid in order to build Rama's Temple, and its repetition of this plan at the recent meeting indicate that the main purpose of the BJP is to terrorize the minorities and, instead of providing solid economic programs for the majority, to play on their emotions and keep control of the government.

If we discuss the economic policy adopted at the BJP's national conference, we will see the similar foggy thinking. The party is talking about changing the present economic policy to a humanitarian economic policy. It is difficult to understand now what this humanistic economic policy will be like. We can understand what

capitalist, socialist, mixed, open market, organized economic policy, or decentralized economic systems based on cottage industries mean, but what direction will the "humanistic economic system" show us? If it means that it is for the welfare of humanity, then the communists and the present open market economy proponents also make the same claim. When they say that this economic system is for the welfare of humanity, then the question arises: Which economic system will really help humanity? The BJP, however, does not give an answer to this question. The fact is that this announcement is not related to any specific economic policy; it is just a slogan to attract attention, and one can interpret it any way one wants to. It is clear that the BJP, which talks about offering an option for the government, does not have any alternative policies. It is avoiding offering us an answer.

The concrete facts that the BJP proposed in this context are all contradictory. On one side, the BJP talks about decentralizing the political and economic systems of our country. At the same time, it talks about making nuclear bombs. If the BJP means by its announcement to decentralize the economy that the country's industrial development will center mostly on cottage industries, then where will it get the technology to make nuclear bombs? Technical progress is many-sided. It is not possible that arrangements for spinning wheels and ox-driven plows are made in one region, and computerized industries are established in another region. Such an arrangement would be a mixed bag, and we would have to ask the industrialized nations for purchasing modern weapons. The talks about self-dependence that the BJP repeats will become meaningless.

The idea of a decentralized economy in our country was introduced by Mahatma Gandhi. However, when he talked about a decentralized economy and political system, he had a vision of the whole social system. There was no room for a weapons race. The BJP does not have such a vision. It uses any kind of proposal that seems to be attractive to the people and changes it into a slogan to get their support. The meanings of the words the BJP uses are not standardized. However, their faces are so transparent that their real goals and purposes are not hidden from the people.

**CPI-M Releases Communique on Politburo Meet**  
92AS1130A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
26 May 92 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, 25 May—The CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] Politburo will consult the left parties and the National Front [NF] constituents to have a common understanding on the presidential elections and is of the "considered opinion that the personalities who occupy the post of President and Vice-President must be persons of high stature and integrity who uphold secular and democratic values," a communique on the two day Politburo meeting said here today.

Despite repeated queries, the CPI(M) general secretary, Mr. Harkishen Singh Surjeet, refused to disclose any

preferences for the two posts and said he was waiting for the government to indicate the names of its choice. "So far, the government has not told us anything. We are waiting for them to tell us what they intend to do." Mr. Surjeet admitted that the Prime Minister had broached the subject with Mr. Jyoti Basu, but insisted that no names had been discussed.

Mr. Surjeet, however, made it clear that the CPI(M) did not support the demand that the next president be necessarily a member of the backward classes. Asked to comment on the Janata Dal's insistence on the issue, he said, "So far as I know, the Janata Dal has no official position on this. I know V.P. Singh and Ram Vilas Paswan has repeatedly made statements on this. We do not want this post to be tagged to the concept of caste."

Elaborating, he said the CPI(M) had no objections to a SC/ST [Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes] candidate who fitted the bill, but did not want caste to be the sole criterion. In an oblique criticism of the stance taken by Mr. V.P. Singh and Mr. Paswan, Mr. Surjeet added, "The scheduled castes and tribes have been cheated for the last 45 years. They face the problem of land, of poverty, of discrimination. These slogans do not help them...We don't agree with this type of approach."

#### Securities Scam

The Politburo also welcomed the call for an industrial general strike against the government's new economic policies on 16 June and discussed ways to make the hartal a success. In its continuing attack against the economic policies, the Politburo focused on the securities scam and said, "There should be no mercy shown to the guilty parties. The CBI [Central Bureau of Investigation] enquiry must lead to arrests and prosecution. The finance minister who heads the sectors affected has shown no moral qualms in continuing in office after such a big scandal."

The Politburo also sharply criticised the government's decision to go ahead with joint Indo-U.S. naval exercises and said, "The Narasimha Rao government must be made to realise that its surrenderist postures on economic policy is resulting in further imperialist pressures in new sectors and all efforts must be made to prevent any pro-imperialist shifts in foreign policy."

#### Tin Bigha

Criticising the BJP's [Bharatiya Janata Party's] stand on the Tin Bigha transfer, the Politburo said, "It is motivated by narrow communal considerations and will be a provocative step in the sensitive border areas." It also criticised the Congress party and said, "The Congress(I), whose central government made this international agreement, has not been mobilising the people in defending the necessity for this agreement with Bangladesh and." [as published]

#### Editorial Looks at Effects of Democracy Within Congress

92AS0900B Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA  
in Bengali 18 Apr 92 p 4

[Editorial: "Is This Much Democracy Desirable?"]

[Text] The election of ten members of the Congress Working Committee is complete. Ten additional members will soon be nominated by the president of the party—Narasimha Rao. Mainly due to his will and effort, the members came through a competitive process of election, rejecting the conventional process of nomination and unanimity. From this effort of bringing back democracy, the process of holding elections at all party levels began. The lack or absence of internal democracy is not a healthy sign for any party. From that standpoint, many will welcome this election. But, is the excess of democracy a good thing? The introduction of democracy into the organizational election formed a Working Committee where no member from eastern, northeastern India, or from the southern states of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu was elected. Moreover, no woman or any representative from a scheduled caste and tribe was elected to that committee. The elected committee, therefore, cannot be considered as truly representative of the whole country, or the major portion of the Congress workers, or the total population of the country. In fact, the election procedure, the forming of the electoral college, and the coalition among the state and the regional leaders gave birth to a committee that was designed to strengthen the power of the so-called party organization instead of the parliamentary party.

If we look at the list of the elected persons and observe the process of their election, it is not difficult to understand that efforts could be made to control the activities of the Congress Parliamentary Board or the government. The opportunity to develop a parallel authority of the Working Committee or the organization was laid open. In the past, the "Syndicate" was developed in the Congress party by abusing this opportunity. Indira Gandhi had to break the party twice in her attempt to get the parliamentary party free from the clutches of the syndicatists. The personality, work technique, and authority of Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi were such that their control over the Working Committee and the Parliamentary Board remained unquestionable. Therefore, the problem of wanting to control the parliamentary party through organization never arose. But this problem lies within the structure of the party. Maybe the Working Committee does not have the courage to challenge the authority of the Parliamentary Board under the leadership of Narasimha Rao at present, but there is no guarantee that such a problem would not arise in future. If the parliamentary party is not placed over the organization, the possibility of such a problem will always remain. In the model of democracy that is followed in this country, the power of the nonelected body of the organization over the parliamentary party, elected by the people, should be reduced.

Representation of the people is the main thing in democracy. Those assembly members or the parliamentarians elected by the people should have sovereign power because the people know them as the representatives of the party, and, in fact, they are the party. They are also accountable to the people. The organization, which has no direct responsibility, should have no authority over them, and, in the developed democratic countries of the world, that authority has never been given to the non-elected and unaccountable body of the organization. The organization, which is not accountable to the people, only helps to develop autocracy. In the former socialist countries and in the communist parties in the Third World, this kind of autocracy was practiced and the elected representatives of the people were controlled by the organization at every step. Congress is not any leftist party. Then why should the organization be given priority? Why would the Working Committee be considered as the highest policymaking body of the party? This right should only remain in the hands of the parliamentary party. There may be a difference of opinion about how to reduce the authority of the Working Committee. The electoral college should be formed with members of the assembly and the parliament and not only by members of the AICC [All India Congress Committee], and the people's representative votes should carry more weight. In that case, the authority of the parliamentary board would be established over the Working Committee. Different kinds of recommendations may be considered in this respect. But there is no doubt about one point, the Parliamentary Board's authority should be established over the organizational committee. And this is the actual principle of democracy.

#### **Congress(I) Said Unable To Oppose Construction of Temple**

92AS0900A Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA  
in Bengali 18 Apr 92 p 4

[Article by Sunit Ghosh: "Opposition to BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) Means Opposition to the Ram Mandir, Opposition to the Hindu World"]

[Text] You will like to pity the Congress leaders of the Hindu belt of northern India. Once they ruled over the whole region, but today, they feel helpless. All other states in the Hindi belt except Punjab and Haryana are no longer controlled by the Congress. Even the party situation in Punjab and Haryana is not secure for Congress, and any day, they could lose control over these states. But there was a time when all the states of the Hindi belt were the most secure regions for Congress.

Congress took it for granted that Uttar Pradesh meant the Congress party. It was natural assumed that all prime ministers would come from that particular state. Although since 1977, Congress's blind faith was shaken on a few occasions, they never dreamt that the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] might capture government power in Lucknow. Not only that, but also the people of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Himachal Pradesh selected BJP

to run their governments. The race- and caste-conscious people of Bihar also rejected the Congress party. Congress leaders like Narayan Dutt Tiwari of Uttar Pradesh, Jagannath Misra of Bihar, and Hardeo Joshi of Rajasthan adjusted to the new political situation. But the leaders of Madhya Pradesh like Arjun Singh and Madhav Rao Scindia are unable to accept this reality. It is their fear that if BJP remains in power in Madhya Pradesh for years to come, Congress will have no future in that state. Under those circumstances, the hope to be in power in Delhi will also disappear. BJP has become a real thorn in the way of their success. So, in spite being the central ministers, both Arjun Singh and Madhav Rao Scindia have become desperate to remove the thorn from their path. They have forgotten that ministers of the central government must obey some basic rules so that confidence about the basic principles of a federal form of government as well as healthy relations between the central and state governments remain intact. These ministers are even ready to take a direct approach to oust the non-Congress government of Madhya Pradesh. The activities of Arjun Singh are, however, not limited to the boundary of his own state. Taking advantage of the weakness of the leaders of Uttar Pradesh, he is trying to establish himself as the leader of the whole Hindi belt. And he is doing all of this while fixing his eyes on the prime minister's chair. To fulfill his goal, he is maintaining good relations with the group close to Sonia on one hand, and is trying to embarrass the BJP government of Uttar Pradesh on the questions of so-called communalism and the birth place of Ram on the other. But since they did not get much support from the Congress party circle in Uttar Pradesh, leaders like Arjun Singh, Madhav Rao Scindia, and Motilal Bora wanted to capitalize on the death of a person due to starvation in the Sarguja district of Madhya Pradesh and other regions affected by drought and demanded the suspension of the BJP government. But the prime minister threw cold water on their endeavor. He personally took a tour of the drought-affected areas and declared that it was useless to debate the death of a person due to starvation; rather, attempts should be made to do full-scale relief work. The prime minister did not stop by saying this. Rejecting the demands of the state Congress leaders, the prime minister further stated that the people of Madhya Pradesh voted BJP in power to rule the state for five full years. It would be unjust to deny the wishes of the people.

Prime Minister Narasimha Rao, who follows the technique of embracing friends and foes at the same time, knows very well that sometimes it is necessary to allow the anti-BJP steam to escape, otherwise, his position could be threatened. It is needless to say that for the sake of self-defense, the prime minister, who is president of the Congress party, permitted the identification of BJP as a communal party in the political proposal of the Congress party following the demand of the group led by Arjun Singh. It is better not to speak too much about this political proposal. Each paragraph of this proposal is full of incorrect statements and misrepresentation of facts. This same old technique of lies was used in this proposal.



Stamping BJP as a communal party does not fit well in the mouth of the party, which was known as the Hindu Congress to the Muslim population in the pre-independence period, which did not hesitate to divide the country on the basis of religion and did not feel shy creating a communal atmosphere by following the policy of appeasement to the Muslims in the name of secularism for the purpose of getting votes in the elections in the post-independence era; that did not hesitate to form a government in Kerala with the help of the Muslim league or change the law to make Muslim fundamentalists happy after the verdict of the Supreme Court in the Shahabun case. In this statement, attempts were made by misrepresenting facts to explain the restlessness throughout the country. It is necessary to point out that the narrow politics of Congress were one of the main reasons for the unrest on different issues in different parts of the country from Kashmir to Kanya Kumari. Just a few days ago, by ousting the governor of Nagaland, the Congress leaders made it clear once again how much faith they have in the federal nature of our government. The Congress party consistently politicized race and caste in this country and poisoned the political atmosphere by using the strength of money and muscle in the elections. The Congress party is the prime source of corruption in the country. The existence of a parallel economy of black money in the country is the product of Congress rule. Because the party does not have the courage to accept this truth, they have to carry on their business on the basis of lies. The new economic policy, which is standing on the grave of Nehruism, is still declared as a continuation of Nehruism.

By pointing at BJP as the main enemy in the party proposal, which the party did by breaking the convention, it is difficult to understand what damage Congress did. Is it BJP's or itself? One thing is interesting to note in Indian politics. Whenever Congress chose a particular party as the main target to attack, that party immediately got attention in the people's eyes and slowly got a place in the public mind. It happens more if that party is powerless. Once the communists were the main enemy of Congress. To decry the communists all the time was the only task of Congress. It was the main work of the publicity media either government or private that was influenced by Congress, to carry on negative publicity against the communists. Indirectly the communists benefited. This negative campaign of Congress was one of the main reasons for the speedy expansion of the communist parties, especially of CPM [Communist Party of India-Marxist] in different parts of the country in the 60's and 70's. Today, by pointing at BJP as the main enemy, Congress placed this party in a special position on the political map of India. The leaders of the BJP are not at all upset by this. After Narasimha Rao came to power, there was some uneasiness in some BJP circles about the party's understanding with some invisible friends in Congress. That uneasiness will now be dissipated.

During the period of Rajiv Gandhi, political powers were divided into two camps—Congress and the anti-Congress forces. After this Congress proposal, if the

anti-BJP stance of the left and the centrist parties remain intact, now the camps will be—BJP on one side and the anti-BJP forces on the other. Opposition to BJP means the opposition of Ram Mandir and the opposition to Ram Mandir means opposition to the religious and social faiths of the majority of the Hindus of upper India. Congress pointed out BJP as the symbol of communalism of the majority, but it did not have the courage to point out any party as a symbol of the communalism of the minority. This is the kind of hypocrisy for which Congress paid a good price in the past. Probably Congress will have to pay the same price in future. There is no doubt that the intelligent leaders of BJP will use this opposition to BJP as opposition to Lord Rama and try its best to create obstacles in the path of the return of Congress to power in the upper India. If we judge it in this light, this political proposal of Congress may be a blessing in disguise for BJP.

### Papers Report Congress(I) Working Committee Meets

#### Secretaries' Portfolios

92AS1136A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
26 May 92 p 5

[Text] New Delhi, 25 May (UNI, PTI)—The first meeting of the newly constituted Congress Working Committee (CWC) will be held here on 28 May, the party spokesman, Mr. V.N. Gadgil, announced here today while releasing the list of work allocated to the four party general secretaries by the party president, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao.

Mr. Gadgil said the agenda for the CWC meeting, to be held at Mr. Rao's residence, was being drawn up.

In the allocation of work, Mr. Janardhan Poojari, has been entrusted with the task of the parliamentary board, CWC, AICC [All India Congress Committee] and plenary sessions besides some states and Union territories.

Mr. Sushil Kumar Shinde has been given the work of 12 states including Bihar and one Union territory.

Mr. Nawal Kishore Sharma will look after the work of Uttar Pradesh besides his other duties.

Mr. Ahmed Patel has been given the administration and frontal organisations work besides the states and Union territories of Orissa, Rajasthan, Haryana, Dadar and Nagar Haveli, Daman and Diu, West Bengal, Kerala and Punjab.

Mr. Poojari, has been allocated the work of parliamentary board, CWC, AICC session, plenary session, organisational elections and the states and Union territories of Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Pondicherry, Andhra Pradesh, Goa, Andaman, Nicobar and Lakshdweep.

Mr. Sharma has been entrusted with the work of organisation, trust, publicity, publication and coordinating, public relations and the states and Union territory of Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, Karnataka and Delhi.

Mr. Shinde will be in charge of AICC cells, and the states and Union territory of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Assam, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Manipur, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh, Tripura, Mizoram, Sikkim and Chandigarh.

The party president has already announced that he would soon be appointing two more general secretaries, including a woman.

#### Narora Camp

The Congress(I) today constituted a five-member group, headed by Mr. Gadgil, to make preparations for the proposed Narora type study camp which is likely to be held in June.

Other members of the group are the party general secretary, Mr. Nawal Kishore Sharma, the deputy chairman of the Planning Commission, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, the former minister, Mr. K.R. Narayanan, MP, and a former party spokesman, Mr. C.P. Thakur.

#### Cong's Favour

The Congress(I) today said the political scenario in the country was in its favour and BJP stood "exposed by pursuing communal and casteist policies."

Making this assertion, the CWC member, Mr. R.K. Dhawan, MP, said there could never be any alternative to the Congress(I) which was "fully competent to provide stability" in the country.

Mr. Dhawan said the Shimla corporation elections in which BJP was completely routed were the latest proof of their downfall. He was addressing a press conference along with his party colleagues.

#### Karnataka PCC(I) Chief

Mr. V. Krishna Rao, MP, has been appointed Karnataka PCC(I) [Pradesh Congress Committee] president with immediate effect. He replaces Mr. Oscar Fernandes.

#### Outcome of Meeting

92AS1136B New Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English  
29 May 92 p 1

[Text] New Delhi—The newly constituted Congress(I) Working Committee [CWC] at its first meeting here on Thursday, predictably, took a unanimous decision to authorise the Congress president, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, to constitute the Congress Parliamentary Board (CPB) and the central disciplinary committee.

The initiative for leaving the authority to Mr. Rao was cannily taken by Mr. Arjun Singh, who proposed that following the practice and convention of the party, the

constitution of the CPB should be left to the president. The suggestion was unanimously accepted.

The Congress(I) spokesman, Mr. V.N. Gadgil, who briefed correspondents, said the CWC also decided that the party should celebrate the golden jubilee of the Quit India movement of 1942 "on a big scale to commemorate the last decisive battle fought by the Congress party to achieve independence."

He said a committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Narasimha Rao would be set up to chalk out various programmes starting from 9 August.

Mr. Gadgil pointed out that since the younger generation was not fully aware of the historic phase of the independence movement, it was felt necessary to observe the 50th anniversary of Quit India to bring it alive through various audio-visual means.

The Working Committee, which was attended by all the members, except the Kerala Chief Minister, Mr. K. Karunakaran, who was stranded in Bombay due to unavailability of flight, decided to authorise the Congress president to co-opt about 150 members to the AICC [All India Congress Committee]. Mr. Gadgil said as per the party constitution, half of the co-opted members would be women and preference would be given to those belonging to the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and the minorities.

The meeting decided to hold the next session of the AICC in Uttar Pradesh before the second week of October. The election of two persons to the CWC, to the posts vacated by Mr. Arjun Singh and Mr. Sharad Pawar is expected to take place at that time.

Mr. Gadgil said the CWC decided to hold the organisational elections in Tamil Nadu at the earliest. A Pradesh Returning Officer (PRO) would be appointed soon to prepare the election schedule.

The spokesman said a number of suggestions were made at the Working Committee on the membership of the Congress party, including observing a membership month, a special membership drive and setting up a "permanent membership window at the district congress committee."

Apart from the regular members of the CWC, those who attended the meeting as special invitees were Mr. Gadgil, Mr. Sitaram Kesri, the party treasurer, Andhra Chief Minister Janardhana Reddy, Karnataka Chief Minister S. Bangarappa, Tripura Chief Minister S.R. Burman, Haryana Chief Minister Bhajan Lal, Manipur Chief Minister R.K. Dorendra Singh, Meghalaya Chief Minister D. Lapang and Pondicherry Chief Minister P. Vaidyalingam.

Mr. Gadgil said the Maharashtra Chief Minister, Mr. Sudhakar Naik, could not attend due to ill health.



Asked whether the CWC took up for discussion the candidates for presidential and vice-presidential elections Mr. Gadgil said it was the jurisdiction of the Parliamentary Board. The question of merger of the Janata Dal (G) with the Congress(I) in Gujarat also did not figure in the discussions, he added.

On Mr. Sitaram Kesri's reported resignation as treasurer of the party, he said Mr. Kesri attended the meeting and "I take it that he is continuing."

### Analyst Looks at Nation's Political Future

92AS1096B Jalandhar PUNJAB KESARI in Hindi  
20 May 92 p 4

[Article by Kuldip Nayar: "Ultimately Where Is India's Politics Headed?"]

[Text] The political division in our country is getting worse. There are three major political powers in our nation. These are: the Congress and its supporters, the National Front (including the communists), and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). All of these are distancing themselves from each other. Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's method of getting popular support is also losing ground now, even though he still has this illusion about minimal opposition. The old issues are emerging again.

The Bofors scandal is being discussed again. The discussion that took place over this issue was very bitter, and the Congress(I) and the opposition had a major confrontation. Before the secret that Foreign Minister Madhav Singh Solanki gave a note to Swiss authorities to go slow on the investigation was leaked out, the announcement that this note was given at the insistence of the prime minister stigmatized the clean image of the prime minister. This has negatively affected his minority government. Still, Mr. Narasimha Rao has noted that the opposition parties were not too upset to unite in their anger to uproot him.

The BJP's announcement that it would build a temple at the site of a present mosque has put more fuel on the already raging dispute over the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya. It is clear that Narasimha Rao does not want to get entangled with the BJP over this issue. He thought it an appropriate political strategy to collect the reports submitted by the BJP as well as other parliamentary members and put them in the Parliament's library. All these discussions are about not starting any building over the disputed area until the Supreme Court has made its decision. There is no doubt that the imminent confrontation between the Congress(I) and the BJP has been postponed for now, but this action has upset secular forces.

The Narasimha government has not declared any clear stand on the issue of Bihari Chief Minister Laloo Yadav threatening the life of the chief justice. If it had done so, then the Janata Dal would have become upset. The

Janata Dal warned Narasimha Rao not to interfere with its government in Bihar. (The Janata Dal has 56 members in the Lok Sabha.)

All the central government has done is ask state Governor Mohammed Shafi Qureshi to issue a denial about the meeting in which he said that he had received a letter from the chief justice, in which protection was requested of him. Now that the script of this meeting has been published in the newspaper, the Narasimha government had to have been embarrassed even more.

A similar situation is facing the government regarding the dispute between Tamil Nadu's Vidhan Sabha and the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court has told the chairman of Tamil Nadu's Vidhan Sabha, Mr. M.R. Muthiya, to cancel the warrants issued against two newsmen accused of abusing their special privileges. The Vidhan Sabha chairman ignored the Supreme Court's warning both times. The Center is watching the whole affair quietly, because the Narasimha Rao government needs the 17 votes of the ADMK [Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] members that are present in the Lok Sabha. The leader of this party is Tamil Nadu's Chief Minister, Jaya Lalitha. The central government can present this case to the president to get it settled. When it is so presented, then the president can ask for the Supreme Court's opinion under constitutional Article 143. A few years ago, when a similar situation developed between the U.P. Vidhan Sabha and the high court of Allahabad, the issue was resolved under Article 143, and the high court was given the authority.

It appears that all Mr. Narasimha Rao wants is to stay in the government, and that he has no interest in keeping his credibility. Punjab and Kashmir are two cancerous wounds, and they are getting worse every day. The situations in Punjab, because of the elections that were held there, and in Kashmir, because of the possibility of similar elections, have worsened now. The "culture of the gun" has spread to many other states now. Militant Naxalites (communist wing) and antisocial elements have come together in such a way that it has become difficult to distinguish between the innocent, the idealists, the wayward, and the ambitious.

The feeling of insecurity has increased because of the liberal use of military and paramilitary forces. The anger at these two forces that should rise, because of the extremities they had practiced in the past, is not expressed because these two forces are fighting the elements that are trying to break up our nation. Their demands for more authority are criticized and denied by the government.

The people may not consider the authoritarian officials and human rights organizations as unpatriotic, but they do think that these groups just make unnecessary noise. The government does not pay attention to the incidents of torture or keeping people illegally behind bars. The government knows that if such incidents are investigated then the military and paramilitary forces would be

further disappointed and the system on which the government is depending now will be hurt. The legal system is so flawed now that it is openly said that anyone with clout can influence it. Whatever the government is doing in the name of controlling the elements that are causing problems is done in an autocratic manner. There are many examples that show the police was used to help the party in power at the center or the state. Many officials, especially the police officials, do not consider themselves under any public mandate.

The whole perspective is uglier now than before. The liberal democratic system was ridiculed about its false secularism and was insulted for submitting to terrorism and separatist forces. Now any social or economic demand is easily labeled as antinational or disastrous. The poor are viewed as a bane and the feeling that India would be a great nation if there were no poor is on the rise.

Corruption is already rampant at every level. The politicians were always accused of corruption, however, now only a handful of central and state government officials are considered to be clean from the filth of corruption. The fact that young men participating in the all India competition for top administrative jobs pick customs and excise as their first and income tax division as their second choice is noteworthy.

Decent people try to prove that they are different from the system, however, they do not mind using every possible mean to achieve their goal when necessary. The best part of the liberal economic policy is considered to be the availability of foreign goods in India. Unemployment is considered a necessary result of this system in which speed and science are merged. Social values have become unimportant because eight to ten percent of the people who benefit from this are the decisionmakers themselves.

The accelerated and strong desire for economic progress has pushed the fundamental human elements such as

morals and spiritualism aside. In the long run these are the basis of civilization and culture, and are the elements that give reality to life. If we succeed in attaining the industrial progress at the cost of our morals and values then can we still call it real progress and prosperity?

I participated in meetings and discussion groups all over the country. I learned that all have the common desire to eradicate poverty and inequities without involving violence and strict control. However, the people have begun to believe that the elected representative in the legislatures have become an integral part of this forced control system. This situation is especially true in rural areas. Be it struggle to get land, or efforts to get out of the clutches of loan sharks, or efforts to obtain quick justice in this very expensive legal system, the same complaint is heard everywhere: The elected representatives support the coercive elements and their own vested interests.

The people have lost confidence in the elected officials, but they still have faith in the election system. The fact is clear that on one side they establish vote banks based on money, religion, and caste, and on the other side, they are stopping the poor people from asking for equal share in economic benefits. Now we have reached a point where the people have begun to ask if there is any importance of the Parliament and the state Vidhan Sabhas because they all limit their efforts to giving lip service major issues. If these are all incompetent, then what is their use?

All political and other incidents have given a bad name to idealism. Those who are still seeking it are considered a group of crazy people. The general tendency now is that one should not even mention idealism. It appears that the general belief is that no person does anything without some selfish reasons. Still, we cannot ignore the fact that if there are no selfless feelings or other inspiring elements then a nation and its people cannot make progress. Sometime I wonder if India is really lacking idealism and strong beliefs.

**Duties Reduced To Facilitate Exports**

92AS1121A Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
1 Jun 92 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 31 May—The Government has announced some changes in the all-industry rate of duty drawback for 161 categories of items. According to an official release from the Department of Revenue, special attention has been paid to items that are exported in substantial quantities or with promising export potential and those suffering higher duties. The new rate schedule comes into effect from tomorrow (1 June).

Duty drawback is a provision to compensate exporters against the high import and other duties on raw materials that are used in the manufacture of export commodities. It facilitates the Indian exporters to compete effectively in the international market.

The present revision in the rates was necessitated keeping in view the budgetary changes and on the basis of fresh data collected in this regard. Further, there has been increase in international prices for a number of import inputs as a fallout of the partial convertibility of the rupee, and a general increase in prices of most of the commodities in the past one year.

In addition to this, six new items have been added to the list of all-industry rate. The items include electronic and electrical items apart from blended woollen knitwears and velvet fabrics. Existing drawback rates have been withdrawn for nine items. This decision has been taken on the lines suggested in the Export Import policy, 1992-97.

PTI reports: The new duty drawback rates continues existing rates for 127 other items, including drugs and pharmaceuticals, cotton fabrics, leather products, sport goods, electronic items.

In the engineering sector, the items for which duty drawback had been improved included aluminium articles, gear cutting tools/small cutting tools, brass articles, brass artware, blow lamps, gun metal articles, kerosene burners, radiator assembly, electrical wiring accessories and cycle rickshaws.

The new items where rates have been specifically fixed included wire wound resistors (10 percent f.o.b. [freight on board] value), coaxial connector assemblies (6 percent f.o.b. value), colour picture tube 53 cm (Rupees 664 per tube), velvet fabrics (8 percent f.o.b. value), deep-well hand pump without riser pipe (5.5 percent of f.o.b. value).

Blended knitwears containing wool, acrylic, nylon or polyester fibre with or without other natural fibres like mohair and angora would also have specific rates.

The rates would be Rupees 31.80 per kg of wool content, Rupees 19 per kg of acrylic content, Rupees 60.10 per kg of nylon content and Rupees 13.90 per kg of polyester fibre content.

In the electronic industry, the items for which duty drawback had been increased included cast alloy permanent magnets, intermediate frequency transformers, colour picture tubes (20 inches) and soft ferrite components.

In the chemical sector, the increase is reflected in paints, various plastic products, zinc oxide, litharge, incense sticks and some specified chemicals such as caustic, potash, potassium carbonate, potassium permanganate and potassium dichromate.

In the textile sector, readymade garments, knitwear garments, handloom lungis, real Madras handkerchiefs, blanket and blanketing cloth, embroidered cotton fabrics, imitation zari, and woollen carpets are some of the items for which drawback rates have been improved.

Miscellaneous products for which the rates have been increased include OTS [expansion not given] cans, food products, articles of butyl rubber, spokes for bicycle and rickshaws, components and parts of bicycle and rickshaws, ophthalmic lenses, dry cell batteries, lead storage batteries, exposed colour cine films, exposed black and white cine film and blank cassettes.

As per the new five year export import policy, no drawback is admissible on the products exported under DEEC [expansion not given]. Therefore, the existing provision of providing the reduced rates of drawback for exporters availing of the duty exemption schemes, have been discontinued.

Some of the 127 items for which existing rates continued included woollen fabrics and knitwear, hurricane lanterns, pressure lamp, majority of the machine tools and electronic items and power-driven centrifugal pumps and most items of the transport industry.

In addition, there are some items for which the existing drawback rates have either been decreased or withdrawn. In the latter category, the items are cotton gloves, variable PVC [Polyvinyl Chloride] gang condenser, spectacle frames made of cellulose acetate sheets, ceramic cartridges, ceramic stylus, refills for vacuum flask with plastic outer cover, ethambutol hydrochloride (in bulk) and ethambutol tablets, 400 mg.

**Increase in Foreign Exchange Reserve Noted**

92AS1138A Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English  
18 May 92 p 10

[Text] Kathmandu, 17 May (PTI)—India's foreign exchange reserves, including foreign currency assets, gold and special drawing rights (SDRs), have more than doubled since 1990.

The economic highlights of the Asian Clearing Union (ACU) member-countries, contained in the 20th annual report of the ACU, say that foreign exchange reserves, including foreign currency assets, gold and SDRs, which stood at Rupees 9,302 crores (SDR 3,624 million) in

December, 1990, increased to Rupees 18,897 crores (SDR 5,104 million) in December 1991.

The report said total gold holdings had been revalued closer to international prices since 17 October 1990.

Among the three components of foreign exchange reserves, foreign currency assets increased by Rupees 7,135 crores (SDR 1,656 million) in 1991. SDR holdings declined by Rupees 445 crores (SDR 190 million) in 1991. Support from the IMF in the form of compensatory and contingency financing facility and stand-by arrangement in 1991 helped to build the current level of reserves.

The World Bank approved a structural adjustment loan of \$500 million in December 1991, of which \$300 million was received by December 1991.

The report said the gold pledged by the Reserve Bank of India [RBI], as part of its reserves management policy, to the Bank of England (BoE) to raise loans worth \$405 million from BoE and the Bank of Japan, had been redeemed.

In May 1991, the government had leased 20 tonnes of confiscated gold to the State Bank of India, which, in

turn entered into a sale with a re-purchase option in the international market. It was re-purchased by the State Bank of India in November/December 1991 and subsequently sold by the government to the RBI.

As regards trade with ACU member-countries, the report said India's exports to ACU as a group (Bangladesh, Myanmar, Iran, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka) increased to Rupees 994.7 crores or \$568 million in 1990 (3.1 per cent of India's total exports) from Rupees 794.6 crores or \$490 million in 1989 (3.1 per cent).

The ACU's report said India's total imports from these countries also increased three-fold to Rupees 1,562.7 crores or \$893 million (3.7 per cent of India's total imports) in 1990 from Rupees 489.1 crores or \$301 million (1.5 per cent) in 1989.

India had trade deficits of Rupees 568 crores or \$479 million in 1990 with ACU as a group and with Iran, Sri Lanka, Myanmar and Pakistan individually.

Up to September 1991, India's exports to ACU members as a group had reached Rupees 1,035 crores or \$479 million (3.7 per cent of total exports), while imports from these countries stood at Rupees 1,188.39 crores or \$549 million (3.7 per cent of total imports).

### Noted Missile Scientist Appointed Defense Adviser

BK0707155892 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 1530 GMT 7 Jul 92

[Text] Noted scientist Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam [chief architect of India's guided missile system] has been appointed as the scientific adviser to the defense minister. He will also be the secretary, Department of Defense Research and Development, and director general of Defense Research and Development Organization.

Dr. Kalam replaces Dr. V.S. Arunachalam who is proceeding on leave for two years.

### Papers Report Air Force, Navy Exercises

#### First Night Exercises

92AS1137A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 21 May 92 p 4

[Text] Jamnagar, 20 May (UNI)—The entire firepower of the Indian Air Force was on display during night bombing exercises at this border coastal town on Sunday—an unprecedented event in the 60-year-old history of the IAF [Indian Air Force].

According to IAF sources, this was also the first time in the whole of Asia when night-time bombing exercises were conducted by an air force.

The defence minister, Mr. Sharad Pawar, Air Chief Marshal Nirmal Chand Suri and top defence officials watched the exercises which showed the deadly MiG, 21, 23, 27 and 29, Jaguars, combat helicopters and even transport aircraft (in an unusual role as a fighter aircraft).

The exercises were aimed at stressing the fast-changing land-air-battle concept, highlighted by last year's Gulf war, and the need for night-time Army movement under protective air cover.

The air chief Marshal said night-bombing exercises would be made more frequent in the future. He said it showed that the technology available with the IAF was just one step behind space technology.

The air chief said no laser-guided equipment was used in the exercises.

While the defence minister and the air chief watched the exercises from a 40-feet-high platform, a separate scaffolding was arranged for newsmen accompanying the minister.

The exercises began after a fighter aircraft "secured" the area. In defence parlance, it means that after the enemy is effectively immobilised and air superiority is achieved, a fighter aircraft goes to scan the skies for an enemy aircraft.

After making sure that no enemy aircraft is allowed to interfere either in ground or in air, a MiG 21 drops 1000-pound heavy S-24 rockets at the "enemy targets."

The rockets hit the targets with lightning speed, traversing the distance in a split second. A thunderous noise followed and the target was annihilated.

The 57-mm rockets are used against tanks and other soft-skin targets like bunkers, bridges and can even break a blast pan where fighter aircraft are kept.

The toughness of blast pans can be gauged by the fact that 18 tonnes of steel and 200 tonnes of concrete go into the making of a blast pan.

This was followed by another MiG-21 which zoomed past dropping napalm bombs. The napalms are incendiary bombs and can cause a major conflagration wherever it is dropped.

The napalms were first used by the United States in the Vietnam war. Their use in a war is prohibited under an international agreement.

Then came the turn of a MiG-23. It dropped scores of bomblets weighing one to two kg each to produce a "carpet-bombing effect." These cluster bombs open up very close to the ground and explode individually. "The devastation caused by these bomblets is widespread. They are capable of doing what thousand pounder cannot achieve," a fighter pilot said. Cluster bombs are ideal for demolishing runways and grounding the enemy's fighter fleet.

Carpet-bombing of the "enemy runway" complete, a MiG-23 suddenly emerged in the skies and dropped powerful "retarder bombs," which are fitted with parachutes to reduce their speed. Retarder bombs have very deep penetration and are the most effective weapon against bunkers and runways. MiG-27s and 29s also displayed their air prowess.

After the MiG, it was the turn of the Jaguars to launch a S-24 rocket attack of the 68-mm calibre on enemy positions.

#### Desert Bombing Exercise

92AS1137B Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 5 Jun 92 p 7

[Text] Somewhere in the South-Western Sector, 4 Jun (PTI)—Aircraft of the Indian air force (IAF) pounded the desert ground in a spectacular display of firepower recently to show the ease with which they can pounce on the enemy and recreate a miniature of the Gulf war situation.

The venue was the Thar desert, the aircraft from MiG-21s to MiG-23s, the bombs varied from 1,000-pounders to napalms, besides rockets and missiles, the targets were flag posts or other markers. The aircraft came at supersonic speed, dived, released the explosives and pulled off before the splinters could hit them.

Besides this, a team of visiting journalists saw what happened immediately before this final phase. Following "scramble" orders from the base air defence centre (BADC), the fighter pilots, who are always in a high state of alert at the operational readiness platform (ORP), rush to the aircraft and zoom into the sky.

It takes less than three minutes for a fighter pilot to get airborne, either to intercept an incoming enemy aircraft or to bomb enemy targets.

The team witnessed all this during their visit to the Jaisalmer and Jodhpur air bases under the South-Western Air Command (SWAC). During the 1971 operations, hunters operated from Jaisalmer and won a major victory by destroying 41 Pakistani tanks and over 120 other vehicles at the famous battle of Longewala.

The Jaisalmer base, formed after the 1965 Indo-Pakistan conflict, houses a forward base unit and faces a number of Pakistani bases across the international border which are of high strategic and tactical importance. These include Mirpur Khas, Sukkur, Rahimyar Khan, Nawabgarh and Rajanpur, besides a number of strategic roads and railway lines.

The SWAC with its headquarters in Jodhpur is responsible for covering Gujarat and portions of Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. It is perhaps the only air command which co-ordinates with both the army and the navy, besides providing air cover to several vital installations like the ONGC's [Oil and Natural Gas Commission] off-shore installations and atomic power projects.

Top officials at the SWAC headquarters, in reply to questions, said since the 1971 operations, the accuracy of the weapons delivery systems has considerably improved providing punch and lethality to India's striking capabilities.

Various modifications have been carried out on weapon systems, imported from the West, to be put onto Russian-made aircraft, they said.

The team of scribes witnessed the operations inside the BADC, the nerve centre of any real-life operation during the air exercise.

The BADC is headed by a Base Air Defence Officer (BADO) who is assisted by a Base Identification Officer (BIO), a fighter controller, a missile controller and a team of personnel operating the radar and guiding the missiles.

Once an incoming enemy aircraft appears on the early warning radar screen, the BIO identifies it (the type of aircraft and the weapon it is carrying), while the team of radar operators charts out its path.

Even before the aircraft enters the base air defence zone, which covers a radius of over 70 km, the BADO orders the fighter pilot stationed inside the ORP to "scramble."

Once the pilot is airborne, the BADO and his team helps the pilot to position his aircraft in the sky in such a manner as to engage the enemy aircraft. The task of the pilot is to intercept the enemy beyond the air defence zone.

In case the pilot fails, the BADO orders the missile squadron to fire at the enemy aircraft coming in to attack a target. On the failure of the surface-to-air missiles, the army's ground-based anti-aircraft guns take over. This mode of air defence gives very little chance to the enemy to attack any target inside the base air defence zone.

One of the major problems faced by the pilots while operating on the deserts is low visibility due to sand and dust in the air, as was witnessed in the recent accident involving the PLO chairman, Mr. Yasir 'Arafat, whose aircraft crashlanded in a Libyan desert after being caught in a sandstorm.

In the desert bombing exercise in Thar, the journalists witnessed the lethal prowess of the IAF. It all started with a fighter aircraft making a sortie and securing the area by scanning the skies for the enemy.

This was followed by MiG-21s dropping 1,000-pounders which hit the targets with lightning speed and a thunderous sound followed after smoke and flames billowed from the ground. Other aircraft zoomed past and dropped napalm bombs igniting a major conflagration wherever they struck.

The basic objective of this exercise was to effect the maximum attrition on enemy targets and dislocate their offensive capabilities.

The MiG-23's, operated from this region, are all-weather supersonic frontline strikes bombers. Each can carry 500 kg bombs, has three guns and variable geometry wings. The MiG-21s are fighter interceptors which can carry 1,000-pound bombs, besides rockets and missiles.

The Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Air Marshal B.D. Jayal, told reporters that the IAF was indigenising all aircraft and weapon systems, either procured from the West or the erstwhile Soviet Union, and had met with considerable success in its efforts in many areas, including missiles, spares and test equipments.

The changes in the erstwhile USSR had not disrupted supplies of spares perennially, but the shortages were more erratic in nature, he said.

As part of the indigenisation programme, the IAF was soon going to set up overhauling facilities for some aircraft along with Hindustan Aeronautics Limited and some other public sector companies, Air Marshal Jayal added.

**Submarine Search Exercise**

92AS1137C Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English  
18 May 92 p 4

[Article by S. Srinivasan: "Navy Men Hone Their Sub-Hunting Skills"]

[Text] Vishakhapatnam, 17 May—Consider this war-time scenario: An aircraft carrier of the Indian Navy is barely out of this sprawling port into the deep sea on an important military mission, unaware of the fact that an enemy submarine is stealthily lurking in its waters.

If the submarine is detected, a major disaster is averted for the carrier fleet. But if it remained undetected and managed to get on to the act, the story would have been entirely different. In underwater warfare, the one who sights the enemy first almost certainly wins the battle.

During a naval exercise off Vishakhapatnam last week, a fleet of surface ships and a submarine were engaged in a mock battle testing their combat preparedness. It was, as a result of such frequent practice and exercise by the Navy that on 3 December 1971, at the height of the Indo-Pakistan war, the Pakistani submarine Ghazi was detected and sunk by the Indian Navy before it could attack the Indian aircraft carrier Vikrant.

The exercise witnessed by the defence minister, Mr. Sharad Pawar, involved 13 surface ships and two submarines. An Offshore Patrol Vehicle (OPV) was designated as a "capital ship" or an aircraft carrier and it was given a "sonar cover" by three British-designed leander class frigates—Udayagiri, Taragiri and Nilagiri. Other surface ships included two missile boats—Chapak and Prabhal and two mine sweepers. An EKM class submarine Sindhuvir and a foxtrot class submarine, Kalveri, sailed stealthily into the designated area—the mission was to penetrate ships forming an anti-submarine screen around the main body.

There was no booming of guns or firing of rockets. The exercise was to find out who detects the enemy first. The sonars of the "screening" ships were switched on as the operators strained to hear the noise from the propellers of the submarine. The course chartered by all the ships and submarines who participated in the exercise were plotted on maps. These would be later analysed to draw appropriate lessons.

The ships try to locate the submarine with the help of long range shore-based anti-submarine aircraft or ship-based helicopters which are fitted with an array of sensors and weapons.

The submarine on the other hand, faces the challenge of penetrating the anti-submarine screens undetected, utilising its stealth and temperature layers, to close down on the target and attack it with anti-ship torpedoes.

The defence minister, Mr. Sharad Pawar, who witnessed the exercises from inside the submarine INS Sindhuvir,

later congratulated the officers and men for their performance. Earlier, he also witnessed amphibious operations mounted by the Army and Naval commandos on an island in Kakinada coast. The commando exercise involved coordination between the three services included.

The demonstration included bombing raids by aircraft on beaches to neutralise or weaken enemy defences, and a stealth attack by marine commandos who infiltrate from sea through small fast-moving rubber boats. They are joined by Navy and Army commandos who slither down from two helicopters.

During the proposed Indo-U.S. naval exercise between Goa and Cochin coast at the end of the month, the two forces will practice "communication at sea" by setting up new frequencies for communication between the two sides. Since the exercise has been scaled down, only a U.S. Naval frigate and a destroyer will participate. This was more "symbolic in nature" a senior naval officer explained.

**Papers Report on Defense Production****MiG-27M Swingwing Fighter Bomber**

92AS1042A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 1 May 92 p 8

[Text] Bombay, 30 April: The Indian aeronautical industry will cross a historical milestone on Saturday when the 100th MiG-27M swing-wing fighter-bomber, produced by Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL), Nashik division, will be delivered to the Indian Air Force (IAF) at Ojhar.

The aircraft rolled out of the assembly line and was test flown recently. The MiG-27M is basically an advanced ground attack fighter-bomber, operating at supersonic speeds.

Equipped with advanced avionics and navigational system, it is capable of carrying various weaponloads, including bombs, missiles, rocket pods and air-to-air six barrel guns.

At Saturday's ceremony, the Union defence minister, Mr. Sharad Pawar, will formally hand over the aircraft to Chief of Air Staff, Air Chief Marshal N.C. Suri.

The HAL chairman, Mr. R.N. Sharma, will preside which will be attended, among others by senior IAF and defence ministry officials, members of the HAL board of directors and over 7,600 employees of the MiG plant at Ojhar.

According to HAL officials here today, the handing over of the 100th MiG-27M symbolised Nashik division's quantum jump in the production of a new generation Mig Series of aircraft in India.

They said that HAL's Nashik division along with its other units at Koraput in Orissa where the aeroengines

for MiGs are produced and the avionics division at Hyderabad in Andhra Pradesh were set up with Soviet collaboration in 1964. The first MiG-27 thereafter rolled out in 1984.

The airframe assembly and flight testing facilities at Ojhar employed 7,600 personnel engaged in various disciplines of aeronautical engineering.

HAL's Nashik division manufactured the MiG-27M and did the overhaul and product support for the MiG-21 variants.

The unit has now embarked upon plans for the export of its services in overhaul and spares support for the MiG-21 to various customers, according to HAL officials.

Meanwhile in the latest annual report of HAL, the chairman, Mr. Sharma, said that the various treaties among the power blocs on arms cuts, realignments in Europe and the Gulf war appear to be the harbinger of a new economic order having a serious impact on the overall industrial growth particularly on defence industries.

He said that the problem has been compounded because of inflation, exchange rate variation and the resource crunch. To survive in these conditions, there was a need for radical thinking in order to remain relevant and competitive, he said.

"This can happen only by taking stricter monetary and fiscal measures on one hand and making greater use of available resources through effective and efficient allocation on the other," Mr. Sharma said.

He stated that defence budgets all over the world were shrinking in real terms which in turn had led to a reduction in the demand for military hardware. That had led to stagnation in sales to major customers.

He said that while defence aircraft orders were shrinking, there was a rapid growth in civil aviation and the market for civil aircraft has been expanding.

#### **Arjun Battletank**

92AS1042B Madras *INDIAN EXPRESS in English*  
25 Apr 92 p 9

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi: India's main battle tank 'Arjun' is in advanced stages of trials and expected to be ready for production by 1993, Defence Minister Sharad Pawar informed the Lok Sabha on Friday.

The Minister said during the trial process, certain shortcomings were noticed in ammunition firing and track links, which had since been rectified.

He told Mr. Anna Joshi and Mr. Bhagey Bogardhan that during recent firing trials, the tank had shown "very promising results."

As an ongoing activity, reliability of the tank was being improved. When ready, 'Arjun' would be a state-of-the-art tank comparable with other world tanks of its class, he added.

Mr. Pawar said the expenditure incurred so far on the project was Rupees 225.44 crore. The likely additional expenditure till completion of development of tank was Rupees 80.56 crore, he said.

#### **SOCIAL**

##### **Torture of Women Reportedly Increasing in Bengal**

92AS0961B Calcutta *ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA in Bengali* 29 Apr 92 p 1

[Text] The incidents of torture on women have increased in West Bengal in large numbers compared to other crimes like stealing and robbery. During the last four years, the rate of increase of the torture on women is 58.57 percent. The IPS [Indian Police Service] Association of West Bengal expressed concern about the matter.

The informative report sent by the IPS Association to the director general of police of this state said that the rate of increase in the cases of torture of women is damaging the goodwill of the state. The statistics stated in the report show that more than one case of rape per day was committed in West Bengal during 1991. The cases of torture on women were reported to be more than four per day. In that year the number of reported cases of rape was 452. The cases of torture on women were 1,455. Seven hundred and sixty four women committed suicide and 217 cases of the murder of housewives were reported.

The IPS Association demanded that a battered-women cell should be opened at the local police station level immediately. Chief Minister Jyoti Basu agreed on principle to opening a preventive cell against torture of women. The director general of state police Mr. Archisman Ghatak will submit a detailed project on this matter to the chief minister this week.

This IPS Association detailed the horrible picture of the different types of crimes committed against the women of this state. It was reported that between 1986 and 1991, the incidents of torture on women increased 58.57 percent. But during 1981 and 1991, the population of West Bengal increased only 24.55 percent. The rate of torture on women increased much more than the rate of ordinary crimes like stealing or robbery. The violation of modesty and teasing are also included in the list of torture on women. But a negligible percent of this kind of offenses is reported to the police.

It was noticed that in 1991, the number of ordinary crimes did not increase that much in comparison to 1987. For example, the number of the crimes like murder, robbery, stealing etc. remained almost the same. Then the question is why did the number of the crimes



relating to women increase so much? In reply to this question, U.N. Biswas, the general secretary of the Association said that because police remain too busy with conventional crimes, they do not have much time to deal with crimes relating to women. Besides, in the absence of a female staff in the police force in the police stations, women cannot file their complaints freely and frankly. He said that if special officers are posted in each police station just to handle the cases of the torture of women, the numbers for this kind of crime will definitely decrease. In the case of ordinary crimes, the crimes actually solved is much less in number, and again in very few cases, the criminals are punished. For example, only 18.43 percent of the cases of stealing are solved. But almost 50 percent of the cases of robbery are solved. But in 10 percent of the cases, the criminals get punished by the law. The kind of effort that the police take to solve these kinds of cases, if they applied a portion of that effort in regard to the cases involving torture on women, the number of this crime would surely decrease. The IPS Association decided to arrange meetings and seminars to develop public opinion against the torture on women and to increase the cooperation among the people and the police to handle the situation in a more efficient manner.

In the bulletin published by Mr. D.K. Sinha, the joint secretary of the IPS Association, allegations were made against corrupted IPS officers for the first time. In the heading of the bulletin, it was said that the corrupted officers are harming the goodwill of the officers of the IPS cadre. Due to the corruption of a handful of officers, the good name and respect of the large section of the IPS officers are severely damaged. It appealed to the government to identify the corrupted officers and to punish them. Otherwise, the good name and respect of the IPS cadre will not be recovered.

#### Editorial Views Self-Sufficiency in Satellite Success

92P40218A Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi  
21 May 92 p 6

[Editorial: "Success of 'Rohini' Satellite"]

[Text] Indian scientists have successfully launched a satellite named "Rohini" into space and have made the Indians proud with this historic achievement. Great powers like the United States are sure to view this achievement with jealousy. It is true that "Rohini" is not the first satellite of India's to circle the earth. However, what is special about this launch is that the launchpad was built on Indian soil. Such an achievement and show of self-reliance is sure to make the United States uncomfortable! This has become a thorn in the side of the United States because it has always been wary of technology transfer. Consequently, both the Russians and the Indian Space Research Organization (ISRO) have had to pay for it with unnecessarily stiff sanctions.

We already have had two failures in the launching of the "D-range" satellites. If this effort had failed again, it would have demoralized our scientists, and our political leaders would have become more submissive to U.S. pressures. India has the world's third-largest resource of scientific and technical manpower. We have made special progress in the sciences. We only have to make sure that we hone our technical expertise to harness all scientific knowledge, so that no other nation in this world will be able to exert unjust pressures on us. We have to watch the reactions of other countries closely, especially that of the United States, regarding our achievements, such as the relaunching of the "Rohini."

The Moscow evening newspaper IZVESTIYA, reported that there is an ever-diminishing hope of rocket-technology sales to India. This should cause India concern and should be considered a challenge to our scientists. Recently the Russian Foreign Minister Burbulis reiterated that the sales agreements between Russia and India would be honored. It is a fact that Russia is undergoing a lot of pressure. It needs to borrow \$24 billion from Western nations. India also needs assistance. India's economy, however, is not shattered like that of Russia's. If Russia is pressured, it may retreat and India may not get the rocket engine as the agreement specifies. India would not want such an eventuality. However, while this may not be desirable, we have to be prepared to face it, if it happens. To a great extent, in these times of globalization, we can hold our heads high, only if we achieve self-sufficiency. The success of "Rohini" portends such an achievement!

#### Acceptance of Hindi as National Language Analyzed

92AS1098B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi  
21 May 92 p 4

[Article by Sheelam Venkateshwar Rao: "Hindi Needs To Understand Its Obligations Also"]

[Text] India is a multilingual country. There is no other country in the world in which so many languages are spoken. However, the specialty of this country is that the relationship among these languages is unique. These languages are united like a chain, and they are never separated. All of these languages are soaked in Indian civilization. The cultural unity of India is as old as its history. It has deepseated relations with India's geography, civilization, and languages. If this was not true then the ancient Indian literature would not have been used for developing similar social systems all over the country. This continuance came from time immemorial, and it has been united socially, culturally, and by religious practices. Time and again, Indian scholars have made many varied and successful efforts to show India's unity within its variances.

Many religious poets in Maharashtra, Kerala, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Gujarat, and Orissa, which are sub-Hindi regions, have used Hindi as a medium to express

their religious feeling. Their literary creations have traveled to Hindi regions to spread religious feeling. Their language was a mixed form of language. It may not have been literary Hindi, but it was basically the Hindi language. The purpose of language is to communicate ideas and feelings. This shows the language's ability for communication. Today Hindi, which is progressing, is depending on this strong background.

Hindi was recognized as a national language even during India's freedom struggle. This honor was not given to it because it was a language of specific regions or because it was a central language. Hindi was recognized because it was understood by a majority of the people in India, and it was important in national campaigns. There is no doubt that Hindi played a very important role in making our freedom campaign effective. Mahatma Gandhi gave a slogan to our country: "A nation without a national language is mute." Other national leaders have also strongly supported a national language.

Section 17 of our Constitution is very important. It has nine articles, from Article 343 to Article 351. They are divided into four parts. These include the national language of the union, regional languages, the Supreme Court, high courts, and the language used therein. In the constitutional assembly, and because of our country's multilingual situation, they discussed for three years the idea of having one common language. According to Moturi Satyanarayan, a member of the constitutional assembly, a Telugu linguist, and a veteran freedom fighter, several of the languages included in the Constitution's eighth section are more widespread than some European languages, including English. Their history is very old, and they have rich vocabularies and literatures. The fact is that it was considered important that the Indian languages, which have grown over centuries, provided support for the growth of our national language. According to the Article 343 of the Constitution, our national language is Hindi, written in the Devnagari script. More details about the national language are in Article 351.

We have to expand the Hindi language so that it incorporates India's culture and is capable of expressing all cultural elements through its medium. Without interfering in the spirit of the culture, Hindi should be able to import the styles of other Indian languages and, when necessary or appropriate, it should enrich its vocabulary mainly from Sanskrit and other written languages. It is the duty of our union to make sure our language becomes richer.

In the eighth section of our Constitution, they have listed 15 languages that are to be used in our nation. It is a well-known fact that 12 of these 15 languages have already been chosen by those states where they are mainly used for expansion and development. In the west coast states of Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka, and Kerala, and in east coast states such as Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, and Bengal, the major languages of the states have already been adopted as official

languages. At the same time, Assamese, Punjabi, and Urdu in Kashmir are playing the role of state official languages. Seven of India's states, namely Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, and Delhi, have adopted Hindi [as their official language]. Of the 15 languages, with the exception of Sanskrit, Kashmiri, and Sindhi, the remaining 12 languages (including Urdu) are being developed and used like any full-fledged language.

The way Hindi is being used in seven states is explained in the Constitution's Article 345. According to this article, Hindi would be the state's official language in the states where they would have to deal with other states of a common language. According to this article, Hindi's status is that of a language of the state. The use of Hindi has also been interpreted in Article 346. Hindi would be the official language for central government work and would serve as its major language; it would be used for communication between two states, and between the states and the central government.

The cultural base, along with the social base, is attained only when both within and without the region, the bilingual campaign is closely related and recognized. In this process, Hindi would absorb vocabulary from all over the country and emerge as a medium for the expression of our culture. Regional idioms of various levels will be dominant in it. This process will be aided by the three spheres known as transmission, execution, and expansion of cognates at social-culture level. It will help in our national unity.

It is important to mention here that in the constitutional assembly, both Hindi and English were discussed. However, nothing was said about the status and development of regional languages. The reason for this could be that under Article 345, each state's legislative assembly was given the right to decide its official language. Following it, all states have been trying to develop their official language. Still, it is important to rethink these languages at a national level. At the same time, in addition to discussing the possibility of the development of the official language of that state, attention should also be given to the development of other Indian languages. In this context, we must look for a balance point between Hindi and other Indian languages.

During the Bhagti era, and later during the independence struggle, Hindi and other Indian languages were very close to each other. However, as the situation in our country changed, their relations and interaction weakened, and the distance between Hindi and other Indian languages increased. After Hindi became the national language, there was a change between it and other Indian languages. Instead of being a language of love, it became a language for earning a living. At the same time, the support of rewards and the feeling of being the official language made Hindi a little different. The third fact is that Hindi began to reject the common Indian language vocabulary and to emphasize the increase of Sanskrit vocabulary.

It is a misconception that the Hindi that is being used as the official language of seven states is the same language that was mentioned in the Constitution's Article 343. This was conceived with the belief that we did not need cooperation, support, or exchange with any other Indian language in order to expand India's national language. The present times demand that Hindi become a sister or friend of other Indian languages. We must expand exchange among these languages. The viewpoint of India should not be narrow; it should be very broad. The accusation that Hindi is the "boss," is not correct. It basically is our national language, and it is the language responsible for tying our nation into oneness. We must broaden our viewpoint and accept all other Indian languages and their literary contributions, and make all of them richer. This is important to make our nation's spirit glorified through Hindi.

In addition, Hindi-speaking people must understand the responsibility of the Hindi language. As for Article 351 of the Constitution, the Indian Government is trying to expand Hindi as the national language. For example, it has established the central Hindi institution, Lok Sewa Aayog, a commission for creating a technical and scientific vocabulary, and the Central Hindi Directorate. In addition, several other organizations, such as a department on the national language, a legislative national language committee, and several Hindi advisory committees have been established. Every year, billions of rupees are spent on efforts to popularize the Hindi language in non-Hindi-speaking regions through voluntary Hindi organizations. There is no doubt that the government is working according to its own program. However, the important task of spreading social-culture, as mentioned in Article 351, is the responsibility of Hindi-speaking people. They must take the initiative in that direction.

Important literary works of different Indian languages have been translated into Hindi. These translations give an indication of the richness and rise of Indian literature. These literary traditions have enriched Hindi's literary treasury. At the same time, the culture of south India is beginning to be reflected in Hindi through these literary works. Hindi has learned about the south Indian lifestyle, traditions, ways of living, festivals, and vocabulary connected to various regional cultures. This rich literature and vocabulary is the gift of south Indian literature to Hindi.

An important point is that the responsibility of exchange between Hindi and other Indian languages falls on non-Hindi-speaking Hindi writers. The Hindi scholars who suspect the scholarship of these writer in Hindi do not think that the literary works that they have translated are worth reading. Such works are looked upon with irreverence. As a result, such works fill publishers' warehouses, due to a lack of readers. Vocabularies from other Indian languages are not adopted into Hindi. The present time demands that Hindi scholars and writers learn other Indian languages and take the responsibility

of translating literary jewels from those languages into Hindi. Only then can Hindi benefit from the literature of south India in a real sense.

The literary scholars of south India have usually complained that they do not get enough encouragement from Hindi-speaking regions. In the history published by the Nagri Pracharani Sabha, equal status is given to the literature of non-Hindi states under the inter-India heading. However, such headings are inappropriate, because they separate Hindi literature from those of other states. Only the whole nation can be "Hindi-ized" or "sub-Hindi". Therefore, in a non-Hindi-speaking region, the progress that has been made in the development of Hindi literature should be evaluated objectively by Hindi critics, and in the history of Indian literature, the literature produced by non-Hindi-speaking writers should be evaluated along with literature produced by Hindi writers.

Dr. Chandra Shekhar Nayer has expressed his reaction about the neglect shown by Hindi scholars of Southern writers in the following poem: "The so-called poets, writers, and literary scholars of the north cannot ever imagine that we can ever write anything in Hindi or read poems in Hindi, and they cannot even think that we consider Hindi to be our language."

#### Konkan Coast Deemed Haven for Smugglers

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27 May 92 pp 1, 11

[Article by R.K. Mattoo: "Arms Smuggling Via Konkan Coast"]

[Text] Bangalore—A confidential note submitted by the Intelligence Bureau [IB] a year go about reports of arms being smuggled through the Konkan coast, off Mangalore, has been confirmed recently when the Directorate of Revenue Intelligence [DRI] busted a well-organised smuggling racket headed by underworld don Abdul Khader.

Kingpin Abdul Khader, now detained under COFE-POSA [Conservation of Foreign Exchange and Prevention of Smuggling Activities], confessed to the DRI that he had been organising landings along the Mangalore coast (between Mangalore and Malpe fishing harbour) with the knowledge of local customs and police personnel. Customs was paid Rupees 2 lakh for each landing for turning a blind eye to the operations. The local police too were taken care of well, he has said.

The Customs superintendent at Mangalore, now transferred to Belgaum, during investigations by DRI, also confirmed the involvement of Customs personnel, including higher-ups, in the racket. He is also said to have confirmed that money was being taken by the Customs for allowing dhows to land on the coast with contraband.

The racket came to light when the DRI sleuths seized a huge consignment of silver ingots valued at Rupees 1.20 crore from a lorry near Mangalore in March. The incident threw out more skeletons from the cupboard.

Further probing into the incident revealed that besides silver and gold, sophisticated arms were also being smuggled into the country through this sleepy coastline where the authorities are less vigilant. These arms subsequently find their way to Malabar in Kerala and from there they are transported mostly to Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir.

Enquiries with Customs personnel at Mangalore reveal that they were not sure about the things being smuggled in. But anti-smuggling authorities argue that paying Rupees 2 lakh per landing to Customs alone besides taking care of the local police is not viable in gold or silver smuggling if one goes by simple arithmetic after taking into account the price difference abroad and in India. Such huge sums had been paid in the past only by arms smugglers, they say.

Principal Collector of Customs C.K. Gopalakrishnan from Madras rushed to Mangalore to make an on-the-spot investigation into the alleged landings and involvement of Customs officials. This was followed by a visit of a special CBI team from Delhi last week to inquire into the whole issue.

Meanwhile, most of the customs and DRI personnel have been shifted from Mangalore and also from Bangalore which controls the Mangalore offices.

Though the IB report on arms smuggling was sent a year ago, the authorities did not take serious note of it. As usual the report was brushed aside as "a routine report."

According to a DRI report, 48-year-old Abdul Khader, resident of a coastal village Ucchil (40 km from Mangalore), confessed that prior to the March landing, he had organised 12 landings in less than a month's time. He also confessed that a consignment of gold valued at Rupees 2.25 crore which was seized by DRI near Surat two days before his arrest was also smuggled in by him.

He has been working for a leading Bombay smuggling gang led by well-known names in the smuggling world—Mohammed and Mustafa. While Mohammed organises things at Bombay, Mustafa looks after the trade at Dubai. Khader, who was arrested near MISA [expansion not given] and kept in Baroa Prison during 1975-77, organises smooth landings at Mangalore coast with the help of 50 to 60 local musclemen in Mangalore. One Hussain, a local "Dada" who has acted in Tulu language films, is said to be Khader's right hand.

Khader carries out his trade with the blessings of local politicians and the police. He has three wives, a Hindu, a Muslim and a Christian. His Hindu wife is related to the wife of the MLA [Member of Legislative Assembly] from Brahmapur, who is also a well-known arrack king in the area.

Khader was caught soon after the DRI intercepted one truck near Mangalore containing silver worth Rupees 1.20 crore. Though the driver and the other two occupants of the truck fled the scene leaving a country-made pistol and the contraband in the truck, there was enough evidence to implicate Khader in the smuggling. He and his two confidants, Thanji Mendon and Raghu Kotyan, were arrested.

The Magistrate remanded him to 15 days judicial custody and later released him on bail on a personal bond of Rupees 25,000 with no surety. So popular is Khader in the locality that he was greeted by 200-odd followers outside the Magistrate's office when he came out on bail. Sensing the notoriety of Khader, the DRI brought COFEPOSA orders from Delhi and detained him and his men before he could leave the place like many other smugglers have done in the past.

With anti-smuggling attention more on the Bombay, Gujarat and Madras ports, the entire coastline has become a haven for smugglers to operate as it has over 100 convenient points for landing. Parallel to the shore is the highway which makes all the more convenient for smugglers to transport the contraband to the main centres. The silver and gold smuggled into the country through this coast finds their way to Indore and Ajmer or to Kolhapur and then to Bombay. On the contrary, the enforcement authorities find it more difficult to exercise controls.

The fact that the smuggling is not restricted only to gold and silver or electronic items, but is extended to bringing in arms into the country should be a matter for immediate attention.

#### Undervaluation

The Finance Minister and the Central Excise and Customs Board [CECB] have taken serious note of allowing large-scale import of diesel engines for vehicles after undervaluing them. Around 22,000 such engines have been imported through the International Container Depots (ICD) at Mangalore, Bangalore and Madras in the last one year.

Each engine was valued at Rupees 5,000. After imposing 100 per cent duty and 100 per cent penalty, the customs cleared the consignments after collecting Rupees 10,000 per engine which is now being sold outside for Rupees 72,000.

At Mangalore, the Customs charged a nominal penalty of 25 per cent, making it more lucrative for the operators.

The Customs Department has now banned the largescale import of engines. They have been asked to impose a heavy duty and a penalty of 500 to 10000 per cent to make the import prohibitive for individuals.

An inquiry has been ordered by the Customs into the matter.

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