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SPREADING SCOURGE ✓

A QUARTER CENTURY after the HIV/AIDS epidemic erupted in the Americas, west Europe and sub-Saharan Africa there is no sign of what has now become a pandemic abating in the world. This is the bleak message from the latest update on the global spread of AIDS from UNAIDS. Considerable research has been done and continues to be carried out on different strands of the virus. There has been substantial progress as well in development of treatment regimes. The cost of medicines used for anti-retroviral therapy has fallen dramatically in recent years, largely because of aggressive interventions by Indian pharmaceutical companies. But what has prevented greater success in the global struggle to control the spread of AIDS is the absence of two simple but yet critical factors. Awareness of what transmits the virus from one person to another and of the associated prevention practices is growing by the year, even in the remotest parts of the least developed countries. This knowledge, however, is nowhere near universal, which creates enough of an opening for fanning the pandemic. The second missing factor is the translation of awareness into strict adoption of prevention practices. This by far has been the bigger failure. With an effective anti-HIV/AIDS vaccine many years away, prevention is the only instrument available. So, it remains the task of society, Governments and international organisations to check the spread of AIDS by improving the levels of adoption of prevention practices.

There are now 42 million people suffering from HIV/AIDS in the world. UNAIDS estimates that before the year is out, 3.1 million people would have died from AIDS and five million would have contracted the virus in 2002. Globally, only 1.2 per cent of the adult population is infected with this virus, but the numbers in absolute terms are huge. Worse, UNAIDS predicts that unless there is a dramatic improvement in the adoption of prevention practices, another 45 million people will be infected with HIV be-

tween now and 2010. While sub-Saharan Africa is still home to the largest HIV/AIDS population and the highest prevalence rates, the virus is beginning to flare up in the populous regions of south, south-east and east Asia. The UNAIDS report does not update the 2001 estimate for India which placed the HIV/AIDS population in the country at a little under four million and a prevalence rate of less than one per cent of the adult population. There has been some valid criticism of the "sentinel" surveys which have yielded estimates of a large HIV/AIDS population for India. Based as they are on prevalence rates among particular socio-economic groups and in specific geographic areas, there is scope for errors in projections of the future incidence of the virus. However, once the virus takes root in a populous country, there is no escaping its spread across a large population. This is what is happening in India and has begun to happen in China as well. So, while one can quibble about the accuracy of estimates such as those made recently by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, which estimated that by the end of this decade India would have the largest HIV/AIDS population in the world, it is not possible to deny the enormity of the problem that the country will soon face.

Recent national surveys, the results of which the new UNAIDS report has referred to, indicate that awareness of safe sex practices is high in India in both towns and villages. Among highly vulnerable groups such as sex workers this is also being translated, in some cities, into safe practices that would prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS. However, there are differences in levels of awareness and use of safe practices between literates and illiterates and also according to the place of residence of the larger population. This suggests that it is not enough, as commonly believed, to focus on the marginal and vulnerable groups. Controlling the scourge in the country requires a broader strategy that addresses awareness of AIDS and adoption of prevention methods in the larger adult population.

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THE HINDU

RULE OF EIGHT

The only significant fallout of the World Economic Forum meet is the report of a survey administered to more than 100 WEF participants. The government expects 8 per cent real gross domestic product growth, a target now enshrined in the tenth plan document. These participants were asked about India's likely growth rate in the next five years. Thirty-seven per cent opted for 5 per cent, 59 per cent picked 6 per cent and 4 per cent believed in 8 per cent. Ninety-four per cent of the respondents felt that India could not overtake China's competitive edge by 2007. Perhaps the Confederation of Indian Industry should ask itself whether this annual ritual of the WEF or India Economic Summit serves any purpose at all. In part, the objective is perhaps to sell reforms to the Indian government. At this meeting also, CII came up with 19 recommendations that will propel India to 8 per cent growth. These mention clichéd agenda items like public investments in social and physical infrastructure, stepping up savings and investment rates and reducing government expenditure. Such arguments are not new, although they have a strong industry bias.

A key feature of this year's WEF was the government's distancing itself from the meet. This was the first year in a decade of WEF activities that the prime minister, the deputy prime minister and the finance minister failed to attend. Since this distancing by the government is across the board, it is unlikely to be coincidental. One wonders whether CII is being punished for real or imagined transgressions on Gujarat or whether the government wanted to avoid a sense of *déjà vu*, with criticism about non-delivery of reforms having become a perennial feature. There is plenty of lecturing, from inside and outside, that goes on. Attempting to showcase India also does not serve much purpose. Since 1991, the likes of Ms Colette Mathur must be tired of projecting India's 8 per cent plus potential, a potential that continually fails to materialize. Having digested the findings of the survey, CII ought to do some serious introspection about whether such WEFs should be scrapped. The counter-argument that WEFs also provide an opportunity for networking will not wash. Participants are an incestuous lot and have several opportunities for meeting and networking otherwise. An alternative is to design future WEFs with state governments in mind. After all, the blunting edge of policy reform is often at the level of states. Given the number of states that exist, this should keep the WEF and the CII going for more than 20 years. By then, the 8 per cent objective may become somewhat more real.

Conspicuously out of the reckoning

The European Union is the most comprehensive and successful of all the regional organisations. It has been built up steadily from the small beginning of a pooled iron and steel industry among former enemies in post-World War II Europe. Since then, its membership has continuously enlarged and today the EU is on the verge of another major expansion. It has been through the preliminary stages of common market and economic community to its present status of a union of countries.

Internally, Europe's affairs are regulated by a huge body of rules and regulations, which give substance to its standing as something more than an economic grouping. By several yardsticks, Europe thus united is the world's premier manufacturing and trading area. In foreign policy, Europe is yet to attain a single voice and structure — witness the varied European response to the US call for action against Iraq — but even there some convergence is visible. Europe's success and prosperity make it a magnet for others, and who to let into this magic circle of prosperity and stability, and under what conditions, is the main current issue to be decided.

At the head of the queue for entry are former members of the Soviet-led Eastern bloc. There is a special edge and colour to their candidature. Following the end of the Cold War, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation has expanded eastward, in what can be seen as a final triumph of the winning side. Expansion of the EU in the same direction will bring the process to a conclusion. The institutions of the Western alliance will be firmly established on what was once hostile territory. Some half dozen mem-

bers of the defunct Warsaw Pact are among the 10 additional countries to be brought into the EU fold. Their admission will make for a significantly larger and more potent European Union.

Conspicuously out of the reckoning is Turkey. It is a longstanding candidate for membership and has sought a closer association with Europe from well before the collapse of the Soviet Union. The country is strategically located on the cusp of Europe, a multi-faceted entity with a Muslim population within a zealously secular and democratic state structure. For centuries, Turkey was one of the Great Powers, a member of the European Concert and an active participant in the high politics of that continent. More recently, it has been an ardent and important member of Nato. Its economy drives it towards Europe as does its political orientation. It is knocking at the door but Europe is not ready. Turkey remains at the gate.

Over the years, various considerations have been advanced for Europe's reticence in this matter, some technical, others more political in nature. Most sharply put are the recent views of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, former French President and current head of the convention on Europe's future. He has come out flat against Turkey's admission, not on the usual ground that it may not be ready — the state of its economy, democratic practice, legal structures, and so on — but because, in his view, Turkey is not "European". To let it in, in Mr d'Estaing's view, would mean the end of Europe. The underlying argument is that Europe is Christian while Turkey,

for all its secularism, is a Muslim country, and the two cannot come together. Here, in practice, is the often mentioned "clash of civilisations". What was said by the head of the Commission may not ultimately guide policy, but his words give a picture of an insular, intolerant Europe that is unable to forget ancient antagonisms and is laying down deep lines of division across the globe. Some may argue that the real reason for EU hesita-

wide angle

SALMAN NAIDAR

tion about incorporating Turkey stems from its large size, making it impossible to assimilate easily, but the reality may well have more to do with what was so sharply expressed by Mr d'Estaing.

Turkey has kept cool under this verbal broadside. It has taken a number of steps intended to show its willingness to cooperate with the EU. The new government, installed only a few days ago after succeeding at the polls, has Islamist leanings. However, it has been careful to indicate that it aims to follow a moderate course. It has made cautiously conciliatory sounds on the vexed issue of Cyprus, where Turk-

ish troops have been in occupation of a large part of the island for more than two decades. It has avoided all sectarian rhetoric in its public pronouncements. Through such means it has given signs of its intention to make the adjustments that are expected of it if it is ever to be part of Europe. Yet all this does not seem to have taken Turkey very far and there is real uncertainty about the future. Turkey's demand for a firm opening date for negotiations for entry, let alone eventual joining of the group, may prove elusive.

For Europe to turn away from Turkey in the present circumstances would be unfortunate. Ever since the era of Mustafa Kemal, Turkey has been the flagbearer of modernisation in the Muslim world. Its secularist separation of church and state has been an enduring example to numerous others. It is important today that the EU should rise above the prejudices of some of its members on the question of Turkey's entry. Closer ties between them can offset the present tendency of widening the chasm between Western and Islamic countries.

(The author is a former Foreign Secretary of India.)

3 DEC 2002

THE STATESMAN

110-10

CALL OFF THE WAR OF WORDS

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Juv Bhandari 20/12

WHETHER BANGLADESH HAS been providing sanctuary for elements of the Al-Qaeda or allowing Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence to freely carry out anti-India activities from its soil, and whether or not India's intelligence services possess irrefutable evidence of the same, the pertinent question is whether senior members of the Union Cabinet displayed wisdom in dwelling extensively on this matter at this point in time. With India's relations with its western neighbour having hardly recovered from the intense hostility that characterised it over the last one year, the occasion was hardly opportune for inserting strain into relations with the neighbour to the east. To have dwelt in detail on these issues at and about the time when Sheikh Hasina, the foremost opposition leader in Bangladesh, was visiting India, was particularly rash since the Government in Dhaka was certainly going to react vehemently — as it has indeed done. It does not serve India's interest to get sucked into the quagmire of Bangladesh politics by becoming the issue which will determine the fortunes of political formations in that country that are extremely antagonistic towards each other. The airing of these views in conjunction with Sheikh Hasina's visit reinforces the belief of the ruling coalition in Bangladesh that India is constantly intervening in its internal affairs and that the opposition Awami League is the instrument through which it does so. The External Affairs Minister, Yashwant Sinha, at least had the excuse that his remarks were made in response to a question in Parliament but the Deputy Prime Minister, L. K. Advani, and the Defence Minister, George Fernandes, should have given more thought to the consequences of their outspokenness.

It may well be that New Delhi believes that it was the Government of Khaleda Zia that first broke the unwritten compact, which has held good for over a decade, that served as the platform on which the two countries strove to build

a happier co-existence. As per this compact, Bangladesh was to ensure that no anti-India activity would be carried out from its soil and New Delhi would in turn refrain from intervening in that country's internal affairs and go more than half way in resolving long-standing bilateral problems. Sources free from South Asian influences have drawn attention to the presence of Al-Qaeda elements or their sympathisers in many parts of Bangladesh and there is little reason to believe that the ISI station in Dhaka would be less active than outposts elsewhere. New Delhi may also have good reason to feel that Begum Khaleda's Government has not demonstrated sufficient willingness to cooperate on other matters of concern. But even if the comments emanating from the Union Cabinet were intended to jolt the Bangladesh Government into a more companionable frame of mind, it is time to call off this war of words. India has more stakes in a healthy relation with Bangladesh than just the benefits of greater trade or easier transit to the States of the North-east or access to a large pool of energy resources. If India can persuade Bangladesh to get over its aversion to the "big brother" and if the two countries can forge a healthy partnership, in time it would send an unmistakable message to the people of Pakistan, other wary neighbours and the Muslim world as well.

While refuting the allegations levelled by New Delhi — and not in very temperate language at that — the Bangladesh Government has reserved most of its ire for Sheikh Hasina. At the same time, Dhaka has offered to investigate the charges if hard evidence is provided to it. Such an approach does offer scope for a renewed effort by the two Governments to remove the irritants that disturb their relationship. At the same time, the Bangladesh Government would do itself a world of good if it were to more closely monitor religious radicals in the country since the European Union and others too have expressed their worries on the score.

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THE HINDU

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Look at Pak. closely, India tells international community

By Our Diplomatic Correspondent

NEW DELHI, DEC. 2. If the international community is concerned about fundamentalism, terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, then Pakistan is the country to be "very closely looked at," India said today.

Commenting on the concern expressed by the Russian President, Vladimir Putin, to *The Hindu* and the NDTV at the Kremlin over Pakistan's nuclear weapons, the Foreign Secretary, Kanwal Sibal, said India had made this point several times in the past. Islamabad had all the "three ingredients" that were at the core of the concerns of the international community — fundamentalism, terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, he said at a press conference. India had also spoken of "nuclearising terrorism." "So what President Putin has said is a reiteration of what we have been saying on several occasions in the past," Mr. Sibal said.

Giving details of the programme of the Russian President, who arrives in the capital tomorrow evening, Mr. Sibal said Russia and India were on the same wavelength as far as cross-border terrorism from Pakistan was concerned. "In fact, in some respects, the Russian President seems to have artic-

ulated the concerns even more sharply....", Mr. Sibal said, pointing out that Russia was a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council and a guarantor of the non-proliferation regime.

A memorandum of understanding on counter-terrorism would be signed on Wednesday and involve inter-agency cooperation between the two countries on the exchange of information and training. On the possibility of concluding high-profile defence purchases such as the aircraft carrier, Gorshkov, and the T-22 bomber during the Putin visit, Mr. Sibal was non-committal. The issue of purchases was being handled by the Defence Ministry. These were high-value deals and had to be negotiated carefully. And they took time. "There is quite a lot on the plate."

Mr. Sibal said that India was also interested in investing more in the energy sector not just in Russia, but also with Russia in third countries. The Russian company, Gazprom, was showing interest in the Iran-India gas pipeline. On nuclear energy cooperation beyond the Koodanukulam unit, Mr. Sibal said there was clear potential for the two countries to work together "further" in this area. Given India's energy requirements, it would be compelled to enlarge its nuclear generation capacity.

The Foreign Secretary confirmed that India was seeking the membership of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), of which Russia was one of the leading lights along with China. The SCO had recently formulated its rules about membership, guest membership and observers. "We have expressed our interest in becoming a member of SCO. What we are told is that our interest is being viewed sympathetically." India had been told that once the rules were formulated, India's case for membership would be taken up. "Now, the time is coming... when they will have to respond to our declared interest."

Asked whether India would be a party to the American military action against Iraq, Mr. Sibal said: "That is a leading question." The Iraqi President, Saddam Hussein, was cooperating with the weapons' inspectors and everyone was hoping that there would be no military conflict and that a solution would be found within the U.N. resolutions. The United States, he said, was committed to the Security Council Resolution 1441 which was clear about how the situation was to be dealt with. If and when the Security Council decided that Iraq was in "material breach" of 1441, the question of military action would arise. Only then India would have to take a position on the issue.

3 DEC 2002

THE HINDU

Business as Usual

The suicide car-bomb attack on a Mombasa hotel that caters to Israeli tourists and the simultaneous missile attack on an Israeli passenger flight taking off near the city's airport last week have directly involved Israel in the international war against terrorism.

Intelligence and security experts dismiss as fake the claim by a previously unknown Army of Palestine that it was responsible for the twin attacks. They also do not think the Palestinian terrorist groups, for all their onslaughts on targets within Israel, can organise such sophisticated operations overseas.

Some US experts do not rule out the involvement of the Lebanon-based Hizbollah because in the past it had attacked Israeli targets abroad — namely, the Israeli embassy (1992) and the Jewish cultural centre (1994) in Buenos Aires.

Considering the place, style and timing of the operation, there is a wide consensus that the attacks in Mombasa bear the unmistakable fingerprints of Osama bin Laden's Al-Qaeda network:

- The synchronised attacks, using different modes in one operation, are a classic hallmark of Al-Qaeda;
- The attacks fit in with the recent threats, including strong anti-Israeli utterances in an audiotape attributed to Bin Laden;
- The precision and choreography of the assaults are reminiscent of the Al-Qaeda attacks of 11 September 2001 and the 1998 bombing of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania; and
- Al-Qaeda operatives have a significant presence in East Africa among Arab and Asian populations in the region, especially Mombasa, that provide them natural cover.

US experts also suspect the Al-Itihad Al-Islamiya, a Somali terrorist group, believed to be closely linked to Al-Qaeda.

The horrific attacks in Kenya, viewed against earlier assaults on a French oil tanker off the coast of Yemen and a nightclub in Bali, confirm that after lying low for a year, Al-Qaeda jihadists are back in business.

Despite the loss of their safe haven in Afghanistan, Al-Qaeda and

If, as wide consensus has it, Al-Qaeda is to blame for the recent Mombasa attacks, then the organisation has opened a new front in its efforts to rally the Muslim world to its cause, writes
BIBHUTI BHUSAN NANDY

its affiliated groups remain formidably well directed and well supplied. They retain the power to wreak havoc upon civilians and a devastating ability to devise new modes and methods to attack.

Impregnable defences built around US facilities and infrastructure since 11 September have forced the terrorists away from preferred targets like American embassies and bases. Adjusting their tactics to the new situation, the Islamists are extending their asymmetric war to US allies and attacking easy-to-access softer targets at vulnerable Third World locales.

The Mombasa and other recent attacks illustrate the increasingly diffuse and global nature of the international terrorist threat. Withstanding the relentless US offensives, arrests and killings, sleeper terrorist cells operate all over. Scattered and invisible, they are present everywhere and their potential threats are pervasive.

Intelligence and law-enforcement agencies are in a dilemma whether the recent flurry of small and medium-sized attacks is all that Al-Qaeda can muster or are they designed to keep the West off balance, while terrorists prepare for spectacular strikes.

If indeed Al-Qaeda is to blame for the Mombasa attacks, the organisation has opened a new front in its efforts to rally the Muslim world to its cause. The twin attacks are

seen as aimed at producing a double dividend for Bin Laden's organisation: enhance his standing among millions in the Arab world; and draw Israel into retaliation to trigger a unified Arab backlash.

The refocusing on Israeli and Jewish targets is designed to weaken the US coalition by rallying Arab opinion against the war on

now feel the long arm of Israel in the same way as the Palestinians have experienced so long.

The Israeli leaders have promised as much. But the question is whether Israel will feel free enough to strike against suspected Al-Qaeda targets inside Arab countries. Such action might jeopardise the cooperation that America receives from Arab countries in the war against terror. The USA could be chary about sharing intelligence on terrorism with Israel, fearing retaliation by the latter against its Arab allies.

Politically, the prospects of a Palestine state materialising and peace being restored in West Asia would recede further, because, after the Mombasa attacks, the return of a hardline Ariel Sharon regime to power in the upcoming January 28 election is a safe bet now.

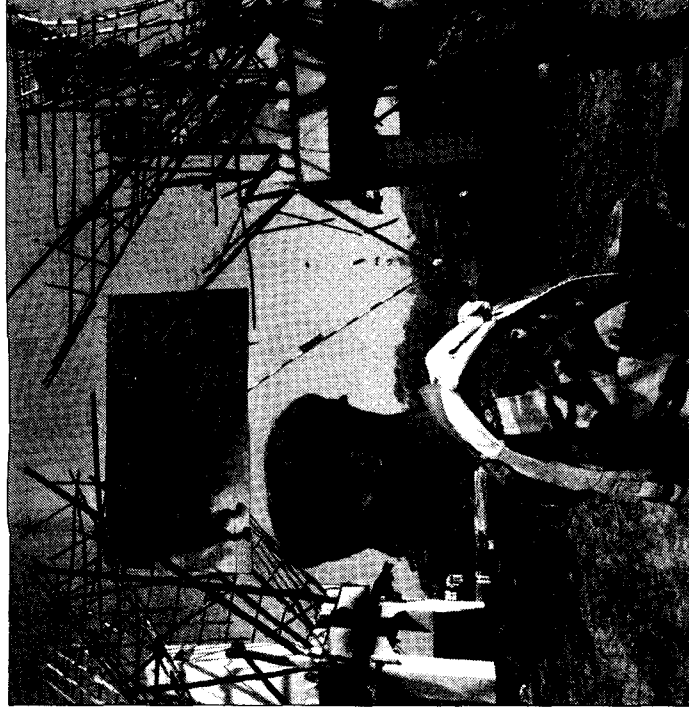
The attacks in Mombasa and the earlier bombing in Bali suggest that civil aviation and tourism are now high on the list of international terrorism targets.

The attack on the Israeli jetliner has highlighted the vulnerability of civilian passenger planes to simple shoulder-fired missiles. The SAM-7 and other shoulder-launched surface-to-air missiles are cheap and easy to obtain, conceal, carry and operate.

Suspected Al-Qaeda missile attacks so far include one against a US war plane taking off from the Prince Sultan Air Base in Saudi Arabia last year, one against a private helicopter in Yemen this year and several in Afghanistan.

Unlike combat aircraft which have in-built counter-measures like anti-missile flames, civilian jets have no protective device.

The risk to passenger planes would be minimised only by adding technologies that can defeat missile attacks and by ensuring that civilian airport parameters are well-secured and well-policed.



Kenyan police (top) guard the entrance of the Israeli-owned Paradise Mombasa Hotel after the suicide bombing that killed 11 people and the ship (above) that carried six Pakistanis and four Somalis who were detained for questioning. An attempt was also made to shoot down a charter flight by Israeli carrier Arkia. — AFP.

terror and reshape the battle as the West versus the rest.

By adopting the popular anti-Israel cause, Al-Qaeda could also bear on the war. Al-Qaeda may

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Mumbai team fails to meet Dubai term

Fingerprint hole in Anees mission

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Dubai, Dec. 10: Two Indian police officers who arrived here to build the case for Anees Ibrahim's handover have made a startling revelation that Mumbai police do not have the fugitive's fingerprints.

Anees, brother of Dawood Ibrahim and wanted for his alleged role in the Bombay blasts, was detained by authorities in Dubai last week. The two police officers from Mumbai reached Dubai as part of India's efforts to get Anees deported.

The officers, who met representatives of Dubai police, were told that they must furnish conclusive proof that Anees is an Indian. What Dubai was looking for were fingerprints from Mumbai, which could be compared with that of the detained suspect.

The officers then revealed that Mumbai police do not have the single-most important record that could have made deportation easier. Without fingerprints, it will be difficult to prove that the suspect is Anees and an Indian — the instrumental factor in deciding whether he should be deported to India.

Reports suggest A.K. Gupta, the CBI deputy director who was sent to Dubai with papers that the Indians thought would help their case, could not even get an appointment with anyone in position in the Emirate police.

It appears that Dubai police are resenting the pressure being brought to bear on them by India and, possibly, also the US to hand Anees over to Delhi. Anees' lawyer has claimed that his client would be released in a few days.

But indications in the Emirate suggest the authorities may not be opposed to handing Anees over to a third country, in which case it would probably be the US.

America is still sympathetic to India's concerns. The Indians have told the Americans that Dawood and his gang were being used by al Qaida in exchange for money.

One claim that has struck a chord among the Americans is the disclosure that Dawood has interests in Kenya, where 16 people were killed last month in a blast inside an Israeli-owned hotel. An abortive attempt was also made to shoot down an Israeli plane there.

Al Qaida subsequently claimed responsibility for the twin strikes. Two Dawood hands were among the suspects rounded up initially in Kenya. The Indians have also told the US that recent extortion calls were traced to numbers in Kenya and South Africa.

Anees was arrested last week — there is some dispute about whether it was on December 3 or 5 — after he arrived from Pakistan, allegedly with a fake passport.

Yesterday, there were suggestions that he had been caught at the instance of the Americans who are monitoring arrivals and departures at Dubai. They alerted the Dubai authorities to Anees' landing and persuaded them to arrest him.

Dubai police officials quoted in Gulf-based newspapers said he was picked up on suspicion of involvement in criminal offences in the Emirate. But the CBI said in Delhi that the UAE authorities caught him on the basis of an Interpol red-corner notice issued against him in August 1993 on charges of being a prime conspirator in the blasts.

The director of Dubai's criminal investigations department, Lt Col Khalil Ibrahim, told *Khaleej Times*, an English newspaper based there, that Anees was arrested as he was "suspected to be involved in a number of criminal cases".

He had been arrested once before in 1995 on charges of fraud, but was granted bail on condition he would not leave the UAE and would pay the businessman he had cheated.

Our Delhi bureau adds: The Indian government is taking extra care not to utter something that may jeopardise Anees' handover. The CBI has been very guarded on developments in the case. The caution was also evident from the fact that the government today dropped plans of making a statement on the arrest in Parliament.

THE OIL FACTOR

Lubricating Wheels Of Fundamentalism And War

By SWAGATO GANGULY

The drift towards war in the Persian Gulf appears inexorable. Under the tough resolution 1441 that has been pushed through the UN Security Council by Washington and London, even an inadvertently inaccurate declaration by Iraq of its chemical and biological weapons can trigger war. General Amer al-Saadi, President Saddam Hussein's chief scientific adviser, has disclosed that Iraq's declaration does not contain any new evidence about the destruction of chemical and biological agents that Baghdad claims it undertook in 1991. But British foreign secretary Jack Straw has dismissed previous declarations as a "pack of lies". Hans Blix, chief UN inspector, had demanded credible evidence of the destruction of previous stocks, stating "mustard gas is not marmalade" and cannot be destroyed without any records. It doesn't seem from al-Saadi's statement, however, that such evidence is provided in the new declaration.

Short fuse

An indication of the lurch towards war is the way Blix's team has come under fire from both Washington and Baghdad when it has barely begun its work in Iraq. Washington thinks it is not being aggressive enough; American hardliners, in fact, do not bother to conceal their desire to see the inspections fail. From Baghdad's perspective Blix's team has already gone too far; the entry of inspectors in one of Hussein's palaces has brought allegations of "misbehaviour". One of Hussein's red lines is entry into his palaces, which brought about the expulsion of UN inspectors the last round in 1998. His rule relies on fear and mystique, and he also knows that Washington is looking to assassinate him as the quickest way to achieving its goals. In that context, foreigners repeatedly forcing their way into his palaces can hardly be relished.

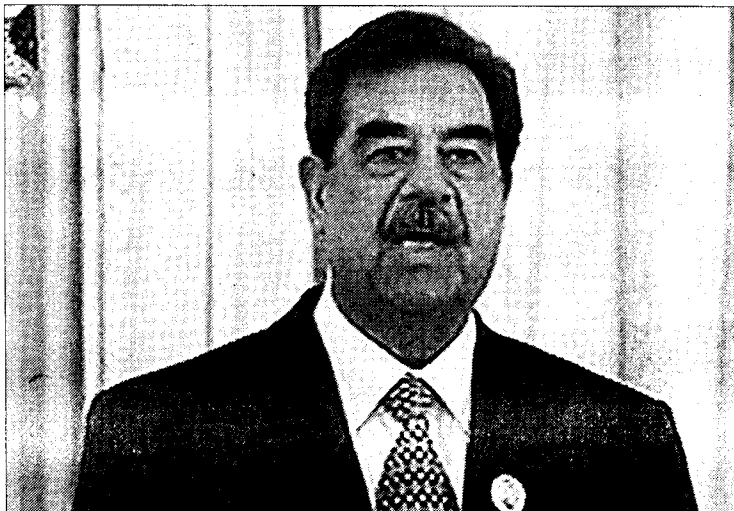
If the region is on a short fuse, what are New Delhi's interests? Washington's campaign in Iraq makes no sense, but it can do little to influence the behaviour of either Washington hawks or Iraq's dictator. Neither are many Indians currently resident in Iraq. Hence its principal interest will be energy security, and what happens to oil supplies if a war breaks out.

Permanent members of the UN Security Council instrumental in passing resolution 1441 all have substantial oil interests in Iraq. A good deal of the negotiations which led to the resolution had to do with how those interests could

be balanced. The cover on murky behind-the-scenes manoeuvres was blown when Lord Browne, chief executive of British Petroleum, warned Washington not to carve up Iraq for its oil companies. Hussein has been awarding multi-billion dollar contracts to French, Russian and Chinese companies, while Ahmed Chalabi, leader of the Iraqi National Congress and Washington's favourite to replace Hussein, has told *The Washington Post* that "American companies

Saudi officials have said they can step this up to 10 million barrels fairly quickly, if needed. The chances are that oil prices will shoot up briefly, then come down, as happened during the last Gulf War.

The wild card, though, is what happens if Baghdad manages to attack and destroy Saudi and/or Kuwaiti oilfields, or if terrorists in Saudi Arabia manage to achieve the same results. The CIA expects an outbreak of terrorist attacks in the Middle East (and elsewhere) if



will have a big shot at Iraqi oil" under his government.

Lukoil, Russia's largest oil company, has a \$20 billion contract with Hussein to drill the West Qurna oilfield, and the China National Petroleum Corporation, along with China North Industries Corporation, is contracted to invest \$1.3 billion to develop the Al-Ahdab field. Hussein has also negotiated with TotalFinaElf, the French oil behemoth, to develop the Nahr Umar field. The problem with contracts awarded by Hussein, though, is that it is difficult to follow through on them under present conditions of sanctions on Iraq.

Cover deficit

In a manner typical of how wheeling and dealing is played out in the region, TotalFinaElf is also in negotiations with the US about redistribution of oil regions. The quid pro quo that France, China and Russia are likely to offer is that they will go along with American plans in Iraq, provided they get a fair shot at the postwar Iraqi oil industry.

What would be the impact on oil supplies if war breaks out? Iraq pumps 1.5 to 2 million barrels a day to the market, which will stop. The last time that happened was during the Gulf War when the Saudis, who have huge unused capacities, stepped in to cover the deficit. Saudi Arabia pumps 8 million barrels a day currently, and

war breaks out. The possibility of major terrorist attacks disrupting oil supplies will increase if the war is protracted.

It is extremely likely, however, that war will be confined to central Iraq. Northern Iraq is already autonomous, held by the Kurds. Southern Iraq is dominated by Shias, who form a numerical majority in the country but are politically repressed. Iraq's governing elite is almost exclusively Sunni. Hussein's power base is therefore Sunnis, who comprise 32 per cent of the total population and are concentrated in central Iraq. Southern Iraq had revolted against Hussein when the first Gulf War broke out, a revolt that was bloodily suppressed. The area should fall rapidly to coalition forces once they enter from Kuwait. Hussein's forces will also be vulnerable in the open desert from far superior American air power. But it is from central Iraq's urban centres, such as Baghdad and Tikrit, that substantial resistance is likely to come.

From such strongholds Hussein is unlikely, however, to be able to launch long-range attacks on Kuwait or Saudi Arabia — his aircraft won't get very far and Scud missiles are few and old. As for terrorist actions, the Saudi secret services are efficient and brutal. They should be able to prevent large disruptions in oil supplies by terrorist attacks.

Iraq has the world's second largest oil reserves (11 per cent), after Saudi Arabia (24 per cent). At present, Iraq is pumping very little of its potential. In the long run, a postwar, post-sanctions Iraq is bound to substantially increase oil exports to the world, to pay for reconstruction and enhanced living standards. That would depress oil prices on the global market, which would be detrimental from the point of view of established exporters like Russia and Saudi Arabia. However, it would be beneficial for oil importers like India.

Saudi oil

The demands of reconstruction, together with a possible pro-American dispensation in Iraq, may cause it to break away from OPEC. In that case, Washington will have used Iraq to outflank OPEC and enhance its own energy security. If that happens it would not be the first time, however, that oil has been used as a political weapon.

The worldwide influence of Saudi Wahhabism, for example, is acquired and powered by oil. The sect dates from the end 18th century and was marginal in the Muslim world even 50 years ago. It is a purist, fundamentalist strain of Islam which wishes to purge all outside influences. Its application has made Saudi Arabia look like a richer version of Afghanistan under the Taliban — it's not a coincidence that bin Laden discovered an affinity with Mullah Omar. Saudi women cannot go out in public unless fully veiled and accompanied by a male relative. Externally, wealthy Saudis donate generously to Islamic charities, many of which are fronts for violent and sectarian groups like the Lashkar-e-Toiba. 15 of the 19 9/11 hijackers were, of course, Saudi. The US treasury recently drew up a suspect list of the world's top ten terrorist financiers, most of whom were also Saudi.

The Saudi royal family, much like the Pakistani military, plays it both ways — it maintains autocratic rule by cultivating close ties with the US, while curbing dissent by paying off the religious loonies. It has, however, greater leeway, given US dependence on Saudi oil. US plans for Iraq would serve the purpose of lessening dependence on Saudi oil.

Futurists had predicted that 21st century wars would not be about oil, but about water. If so, the new century hasn't dawned yet — it's still about oil. Weapons of mass destruction come in too, but only insofar as they threaten Western access to oil. Nothing else explains why the Americans are forcing a war in Iraq while remaining insouciant about Pakistani and North Korean nuclear weapons.

The author is Assistant Editor, The Statesman.

There are serious dangers if one subscribes to the US logic of punitive action against Iraq

Pre-crime fighters

BY J.N. DIXIT

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Hr-k
12/72

THE US Central Command created a forward command post in Qatar on December 2. Commanding General of the Central Command, Tommy Franks, and 400 staffers have moved to this forward post. The US is consulting important countries in West Asia about the type of support they can give, in case a punitive military action against Iraq becomes necessary. There seems to be fair possibilities of such an action in the second half of December or in January.

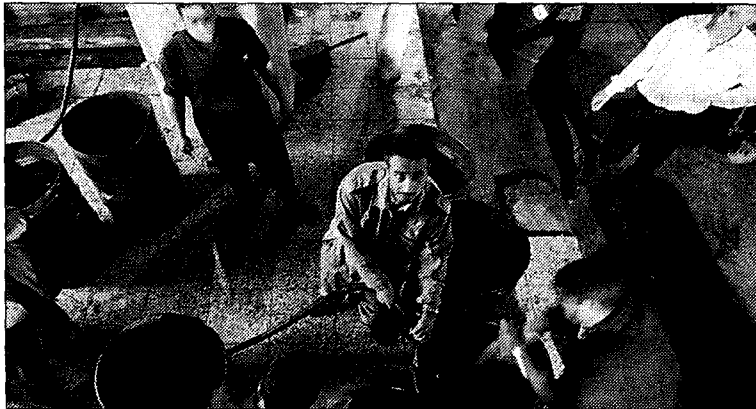
This prospect is despite Iraqi Foreign Minister Naji Sabri writing on November 13 to UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, conveying Iraq's decision to accept the unanimous Security Council Resolution No. 1441 of November 6. The resolution stipulates stringent and detailed obligations to be fulfilled by Iraq about giving up its stockpile of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs).

It is clear that the unanimity in the Security Council was not voluntary. Russia, France and China have reservations about the US's punitive action against Iraq, the intention of which was announced clearly by George W. Bush in his 'Axis of Evil' speech earlier this year. The unanimity was the result of a clear policy declaration by the US that it will launch military operations on its own, if the Security Council does not back up demands on Iraq stipulated by the US.

The Security Council resolution was a tenuous attempt to somehow ensure minimum level of UN influence on actions which may be taken. The US believes that Iraq has not fulfilled obligations stipulated in the UN resolutions about giving up/eliminating its WMDs since the end of the Gulf war. In fact, the US thinks Saddam Hussein has continued to build up his stocks of chemical and biological weapons and has continued efforts to make Iraq a nuclear weapons State.

The US, therefore, considers it a necessity to disarm Iraq before it uses its WMDs on its neighbours or makes them available to terrorist groups. Washington also believes that Hussein has defiantly refused to respect human rights in his country. It also assesses that the Iraqi president is a permanent threat to stability and security in West Asia. Thus, it says, there has to be a regime change in Iraq.

US Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld is on record inviting Sad-



WEAPONS OR NOT, HERE WE COME: Inside a chemical factory at Fullujah, Iraq

dam Hussein to relinquish power and go into exile or face 'alternative consequences' of his removal from power. The US believes that Hussein will only respond when confronted with a clear resolve backed up by the threat of force. Therefore, the policy is of zero tolerance.

The Security Council resolution has confronted Hussein with a moment of truth. If they meet with more lies, Iraq will not escape the consequences. Both US Secretary of State Colin Powell and Rumsfeld have articulated the view that Hussein does not have any choice. The decision to either completely comply with external demands or to face a massive military action rests entirely with Baghdad.

Given the ultimatum addressed to Baghdad, an Iraqi technical delegation led by Amer Al-Saadi held discussions with Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency Mohammed El Baradei and UN chief weapons inspector Hans Blix on September 30 and October 1. At the end of these discussions, Iraq agreed to receive weapons inspectors back into the country. The official agreement that the inspectors could come back on October 19 was conveyed to all concerned.

The US, however, did not consider the outcome of the discussions in Vienna sufficiently credible. Powell declared that the US would refuse to have inspectors go to Iraq unless they go on the basis of terms of reference stipulated by the US which were to be incorporated in a proposed Security Council resolution. Hence, Resolution 1441.

It is significant to note that the assessments to be made by the UN

weapons inspectors will not be considered conclusive and subject to acceptance by the members of the Security Council (technically) but by the US (politically). US officials have stated that it is not necessary to accept the conclusions of the Blix team. They even reminded the international community that Blix is not a credible inspector because he had given Iraq a clean chit about its stock of WMDs before the Gulf War when he was the director general of IAEA.

If this is the US view about Blix's credibility, then the question arises why they agreed to his being leader of the inspection team in the first place. Allowing Blix to remain chief inspector only means that the US wishes to retain the option of rejecting his conclusions if he certifies the absence of WMDs in Iraq.

Sabri's November 13 letter continues to assert that Iraq does not have WMDs and that it has only agreed to Resolution 1441 to do everything possible to avoid military aggression against Iraq. Baghdad has insisted that inspectors should function under the provisions of international law. The Iraqi Parliament has rejected the UN Security Council resolution.

What then are the prospects? It seems that whatever Blix might report, the US remains determined to exercise military options against Iraq. The objective is to destroy the military capacities of the government and to remove Hussein from power. It is also to ensure that countries falling within the geo-strategic triangle of Turkey at the apex and Uzbekistan and Saudi Arabia at the base points are supportive of US economic, strategic and energy se-

curity interests.

The basic point to be absorbed by India is that the military intentions are not just aimed at countering terrorism and destruction of WMDs in Iraq. The objective is to create a precedent for the establishment of a world order where (a) the US can affirm legitimacy of intrusive and coercive policies in different parts of the world; (b) to establish a precedent that the US and like-minded powers can take punitive action to destroy military capacities of countries which may be antagonistic to their interests; (c) to legitimise international opinion led by the US to remove governments and leaders in other countries who are considered a threat to US interests. (Bush's advice that Yasser Arafat should be removed from the government of Palestine a few months ago is another such case in point.)

One does not hold a brief for Saddam Hussein's past record or policies. But the reality is that military operations against Iraq will primarily affect the civilian population which has been suffering for the last decade due to sanctions and sporadic military actions.

The Indian government's reaction to all this has been somewhat confusing. The then Foreign Minister, Jaswant Singh, had stated nine or ten weeks ago that he endorses the right of States to take pre-emptive action against security threats. Prime Minister Vajpayee made a statement on November 19 that no government has the right to impose decisions on Iraq, making the parallel suggestion that Hussein should voluntarily give up his WMDs.

This, to say the least, was an unrealistic pronouncement. No head of State or government will voluntarily give up his military capacities. The stipulation that no government should have the right to impose on Iraq is equally impractical. The question is: should India remain detached and silent or should it clearly state its position based on the logic of power?

No doubt India attaches utmost importance to relations with the US. But this should not preclude the government and our major political parties from clearly stating their apprehensions about — and opposition to — new orientations in structuring an international order rooted in coercive military authority and narrower strategic interests of individual States.

Pollsters predict Modi return

11 1-1 18/12 9- Election - Gujarat



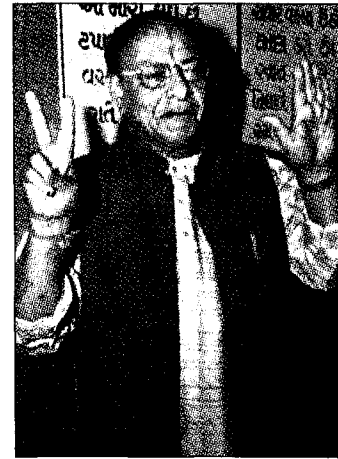
TR VICTORY: Narendra Modi waves to supporters in Ahmedabad on Thursday.

Vinod Sharma & Agencies
Ahmedabad, December 12

"SHAPATH GRAHAN key din ja-roor aana (Make sure you come for the swearing-in)," Narendra Modi told a group of BJP workers even as Gujarat was voting today. A 63 per cent voter turnout and exit polls by three major television channels later justified his swagger.

While the Zee News-Taleem poll gave the BJP 101 seats in the 182-member House, the Aaj Tak-C-Voter poll predicted 93-109 seats for the party, with 44 per cent vote share. The Congress was predicted to win 72-88 seats by Aaj Tak while Zee gave the party 69 seats. But Congress' poll percentage was put at 41 — 6 percentage points higher than the last polls in 1998 — by the Aaj Tak survey. Zee predicted 34 per cent vote share for the Congress and 57 for the BJP.

Barring violence in Jambusar, where curfew was imposed, and stray incidents of attempted booth-capturing at three places, the polling in 181 of the 182 constituencies was overall peaceful. Election in the Surat City (West) constituency was countermanded following the death of the BJP candidate. Repolling is likely to be ordered for two booths in Anand and Dolka, where there were attempts to snatch the elec-



Shankersinh Vaghela at a polling station in Vasnya Mahadev village, some 35 km from Ahmedabad.

tronic voting machines.

There were widespread complaints of names missing from the electoral rolls. VHP leader Praveen Togadia claimed his name was missing, too, and accused Chief Election Commissioner JM Lyngdoh of hatching "a conspiracy by omitting names of a large number of Hindus". The Election Commission refuted him by announcing his serial number on the list and his booth.

Flashing a victory sign after casting his vote, Modi said the people would give a "befitting re-

ply" to those who had launched a "malicious" campaign to defame Gujarat. Casting his vote in Shahpur, Deputy Prime Minister LK Advani echoed his words, saying: "I have never witnessed such vicious campaign in the last 20-22 years since BJP was formed or in 50 years of Jan Sangh... Despite this, if the BJP wins, it will be comparable to the 1977 polls when Jayaprakash Narayan and the Opposition parties were under attack."

After a round of the city, including his constituency Maninagar where a number of people protested against the voters' list, a relaxed Modi parked himself at the BJP's central office at Khanpur to watch the election coverage on TV. Only moments ago, his rival Keshubhai Patel had virtually conceded the leadership to him, saying the BJP had fought this election under Modi.

Compared to the air of expectancy at the BJP hub, the mood was sombre at the Congress headquarters. AICC general secretary Kamal Nath said he wouldn't read too much into the exit polls and that the high turnout would help the Congress.

Despite Modi's swagger, the vindication of his hate campaign lies only in a huge win. A marginal win for his party would, ironically, be a moral victory for the Congress.

THE TELEGRAPH

13 DEC 2002

35-11

CIA ordered to search and kill terrorists

11/15 16/12

Washington, December 15

THE BUSH administration has prepared a list of terrorist leaders the Central Intelligence Agency is authorised to kill, if capture is impractical and civilian casualties can be minimised, senior military and Intelligence officials said.

The previously undisclosed CIA list includes key al-Qaida leaders such as Osama bin Laden and his chief deputy, Ayman al-Zawahiri, as well as other principal figures from al-Qaida and affiliated terrorist groups, the officials said. The names of about two dozen terrorist leaders have recently been on the lethal-force list, officials said. "It's the worst of the worst," an official said.

President Bush has provided written legal authority to the CIA to hunt down and kill the terrorists without seeking further approval each time the agency is about to stage an operation. Some officials said the terrorist list was known as the "high-value target list." A spokesman for the White House declined to discuss the list or issues involving the use of lethal force against terrorists. A spokesman for the CIA also declined to comment on the list.

Despite the authority given to the agency, Bush has not waived the executive order banning assassinations, officials said. The presidential authority to kill terrorists defines operatives of al-Qaida as enemy combatants and thus legitimate targets for lethal force.

Bush issued a presidential finding last year, after the September 11 attacks on New York and Washington, providing the basic executive and legal authority for the CIA to either kill or capture terrorist leaders. Initially, the agency used that authority to hunt for al-Qaida leaders in Afghanistan. That authority was the basis for the CIA's attempts to find and kill or capture bin Laden and other al-Qaida leaders during the war in Afghanistan.

The creation of the secret list is part of the expanded CIA effort to hunt and kill or capture al-Qaida operatives far from traditional battlefields, in countries like Yemen.

The President is not legally required to approve each name added to the list, nor is the CIA required to obtain presidential approval for specific attacks, although officials said Bush had been kept well informed about the agency's operations.

In November, the CIA killed a al-Qaida leader in a remote region of Yemen. A pilotless Predator aircraft operated by the agency fired a Hellfire anti-tank missile at a car in which Qaed Salim Sinan al-Harethi, also known as Abu Ali, was riding. Harethi and five other people, including one suspected al-Qaida operative with US citizenship, were killed in the attack.

Harethi, a key al-Qaida leader in Yemen who is suspected of helping to plan the bombing of the American destroyer *Cole* in 2000, is believed to have been on the list of Qaida leaders that the CIA had been authorised to kill. After the Predator operation in Yemen, American officials said Bush was not required to approve the mission before the attack, nor was he specifically consulted.

Intelligence officials said the presidential finding authorising the agency to kill terrorists was not limited to those on the list. The President has given broad authority to the CIA to kill or capture operatives of al-Qaida around the world, the officials said. But officials said the group's most senior leaders on the list were the agency's primary focus.

The list is updated periodically as the Intelligence agency, in consultation with other counterterrorism agencies, adds new names or deletes those who are captured or killed, or when intelligence indicates the emergence of a new leader.

The New York Times

16 DEC 2002

THE HINDUSTAN

India, bigger than Gujarat

As we head for next year's assembly polls,
let's keep a sense of balance

A WEEK is a long time in politics. Before long the incessant chatter, feverish excitement and endless speculation that characterised the Gujarat election will have died down, as other concerns raise their head. What are the lessons, then, that have emerged from the pollquake that recently hit the western state? The most important, possibly, is this: that political polarisation along community lines may act as a multiplier in terms of votes under certain circumstances, but not only is this a dangerous strategy it could prove a governance divider in the long term. Ultimately, people cast their votes in the hope of achieving a political dispensation that would deliver to them better lives and better choices, and this can only be achieved in a situation of peace, stability and security.

The more mature leaders within the BJP clearly recognise this when they categorically reject the notion that riots can deliver elections and deny that the party is interested in fomenting sectarian tensions in the run-up to next year's string of assembly elections and the general election that follows in 2004. They would, possibly, concede that such an approach would sow the seeds of future sectarian tension. Clearly, though, there are articulate and charismatic leaders within the larger Sangh Parivar that are of an entirely different persuasion

straining at the leash. Keeping them in check would require tough handling. The choice before the BJP — victor of the Gujarat assembly elections — then is clear: will it remain committed to its responsibilities as a ruling party at the Centre, or will it allow its constituents to mine the nation's future?

Ironically, the choice before the Congress — the loser of the Gujarat assembly election — is the very same. Will it, at long last, recognise what an abysmal failure its policy of soft Hindutva has been? That the lamb does not survive by donning the coat of the wolf? The fact that imitation is the worst form of flattery was proved conclusively in the thrashing the Congress got in Sunday's verdict. The party, in the process, failed to protect the idea of a united India. It is an idea that the Congress has long claimed for itself but has also long neglected. Let us hope then that the two most important political parties in the country get the message from Gujarat right, as they set forth to spar again and again in the campaign battlegrounds of the future. Let us hope that the election agendas they espouse in order to come to power will leave the country richer, not poorer. India deserves politicians who can deliver a higher Gross Domestic Product, not a Grossly Divided Polity.

Sinha's NAM agenda

By C. Raja Mohan

Nudging the NAM towards a pragmatic pursuit of collective interests... must be at the core of India's political strategy for the next summit.

10-10
19/12

ALTHOUGH THE summit of the non-aligned movement (NAM) is just two months down the road in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, there is hardly any political excitement in New Delhi. The movement that used to send the Indian foreign policy establishment into overdrive is barely causing a ripple in the South Block. The External Affairs Minister, Yashwant Sinha, however, seems determined to whip up enthusiasm among the mandarins and breathe some life into the moribund NAM. In trying to restore Indian activism in the NAM, Mr. Sinha wants to steer the middle path between the two perceptions that have deeply divided the Indian thinking about the movement. One has declared that the NAM is dead and the other wants to return it to the old days of confronting the United States.

Mr. Sinha's strategy is to avoid the pitfalls of these two strongly held positions and look for a modest but purposeful agenda for the NAM that would bring some benefits to India and the movement as a whole.

The first school says the NAM is passe in the changed world order. The end of the Cold War between the East and the West, it is pointed out, had left little rationale for a movement that tried to steer between the two blocks from the 1960s to the turn of the 1990s. Those who have pronounced the demise of the NAM underline the reality that the economic strategy of most developing countries has changed from that of collective self-reliance to globalisation.

On the security front, most countries have found it prudent to work with the sole superpower than against it. India itself has proclaimed the U.S. as a "natural ally".

They also insist that if India wants to improve the lot of the Third World, it could start by helping itself. Much of the Third World that remains today is within India itself. If New Delhi raises the living standards of its people, it is suggested, the lot of the Third World is automatically transformed. The critics of

the NAM warn against the delusion in New Delhi of "leading the Third World". They point to the wisdom of the Chinese leader, Deng Xiaoping, who prevented Beijing from taking on such a role in the last couple of decades.

Speaking to the top party cadres in 1990, Deng said: "Some developing countries would like China to become the leader of the Third World. But we absolutely cannot do that

— this is one of our basic state policies. We can't afford to do it and besides, we aren't strong enough. There is nothing to be gained by playing that role; we would only lose most of our initiative." In avoiding the leadership role, Deng said, "we do not fear anyone, but we should not give offence to anyone either". Many believe Deng's advice should hold good for India as well. Some old hands at NAM diplomacy recall that the radicalisation of the NAM, and its intense anti-Western orientation in the 1970s and 1980s did not often correspond to India's own understanding of non-alignment and complicated New Delhi's pursuit of its enlightened self-interest.

There is the other school in India which insists that the NAM must be restored to its old glory of a permanent confrontation with the West. This declining band of ideologues criticises India for abandoning the leadership position in the NAM and allowing it to drift. It insists that at a time when there are growing anxieties around the world about American unilateralism the NAM has a definitive role in countering it and that India must take the lead. It also argues that in cosying up to the U.S. on a number of global and regional issues, India is beginning to lose goodwill and support among key countries of the developing world. Giving up non-alignment, these ideologues claim, is tantamount to the

rejection of the political inheritance of the national movement and India's distinctive place in world affairs.

Whatever the Indian debate on the NAM might be, it is unlikely to disappear in the near future. The NAM might be dead, but no one is likely to come forward to bury it. If the movement is destined to limp

along, why not India give it some purpose and coherence? It is this attitude which appears to have led Mr. Sinha to make a cautious but important attempt to reinvigorate the NAM.

After some internal brainstorming here last week, Mr. Sinha headed to Cape Town, South Africa where a group of Ministers from key NAM countries met to discuss the future of the movement. Mr. Sinha was invited to lead the discussion on the future priorities for the NAM and his proposals were accepted broadly and would serve as inputs for the preparation of the work for the summit by Malaysia.

Mr. Sinha's proposals for a new NAM agenda are clustered around five groups. The first would be an effort by the movement to make a significant intervention in the ongoing global debate on unilateralism and multilateralism. While this discussion is largely centred around Europe and the U.S., Mr. Sinha believes India and the NAM can bring forward an "alternative perspective" that would go beyond the current parameters and involve the democratisation of the global institutions including the United Nations, international financial institutions and the World Trade Organisation.

A second set of ideas from Mr. Sinha revolves round human security. They recognise that the NAM cannot make a credible case for democratisation of the international system while perpetuating undemo-

cratic structures within. While India will steadfastly oppose humanitarian intervention, it believes the NAM should internalise the values of good governance, transparency and accountability to its own citizens.

The third set of proposals acknowledges the fundamental changes in the nature of security threats to the international system and the urgency of promoting international cooperation to root out the forces of extremism and terrorism.

Fourth, India believes that the NAM must move from the past blind opposition to globalisation and grasp the opportunities that are coming its way. In limiting the negative affects of globalisation and building capacities within the NAM nations to increase their bargaining power, India and other advanced countries within the NAM will have to lead by sharing their expertise and technology with the others. Fifth, Mr. Sinha wants to reinforce the traditional notion of solidarity among the developing nations through a special contribution by the NAM in accelerating the pace of development in marginalised areas such as Africa.

Mr. Sinha's carefully crafted agenda for the NAM can succeed at Kuala Lumpur only if India, along with other key nations, can exorcise the ghosts of radicalism that permeated the NAM in the past. Nudging the NAM towards a pragmatic pursuit of collective interests, creating more space for the weaker nations in the world order, expanding democratic space within the NAM and generating the political will to deal with new threats such as terrorism must be at the core of India's political strategy for the next summit.

While working with the minimalist consensus that will be hammered out at the summit, India should also be prepared at Kuala Lumpur to outline its own vision of a new global order and announce some major unilateral initiatives on cooperation with other developing countries.

Delhi mulls stricter rules for Pak visitors

Statesman News Service and Agencies

NEW DELHI, Dec. 29. — India plans to restrict Pakistani visitors to this country to three cities and also launch a drive to round up those who have overstayed.

"In view of the growing threats to national security we are considering a proposal to get local sponsors of Pakistani visitors to sign undertakings on their behalf, which will make them responsible for the whereabouts of Pakistani nationals during their stay in India," the Union minister of state for home, Mr Vidyasagar Rao, said today.

The minister said there have been increasing cases of Pakistani nationals overstaying in India and going underground. In all, 8,884 Pakistanis are overstaying their visas while 2,324 have gone missing currently. These include 1,707 persons overstaying or gone missing in Maharashtra, 946 in Madhya Pradesh, 988 in Uttar Pradesh and 634 in West Bengal.

Mr Rao informed that these steps were evolved in a series of ministerial meetings after random verification showed that 90 per cent of the Indian addresses listed by Pakistani nationals while applying for visas to India were found false.

As per the Shimla Agreement, India and Pakistan had signed an accord on issuance of passports which entitled nationals of both countries to visit a maximum of three places. The accord had also restricted the issue of visas only for meeting relatives or for diplomatic purposes. Later, India had

unilaterally increased the number of places which could be visited to 12 and had also started issuing tourist visas, Mr Rao said.

The ministry now proposes to once again restrict places visited by a Pakistani to three, the MoS Rao, said adding that the government was also considering stoppage of granting extension on tourist visas.

Mr Rao said although state governments had been empowered to identify, arrest and deport those staying beyond the time permitted in their visas or otherwise illegally, his ministry had now asked the states to conduct special drives to nab Pakistanis staying illegally.

Quoting Deputy Prime Minister Mr LK Advani as saying that Pakistan had become the "epicentre" of global terrorism, Mr Rao said terrorism had become an instrument of state policy for Islamabad. Hence the urgent need to focus on this area and take immediate measures to check the menace of illegal overstays.

Mr Rao said the practice of "100 per cent pre-verification" of Pakistanis seeking Indian visas will continue and official circulars have been issued to all state governments to verify local sponsors.

There are many women who are staying on long-term visas with repeated extensions as they have married Indian citizens. Similarly, there are cases of elderly people who crossed over from Pakistan in the 1965 and 1971 wars. The Centre, Mr Rao said, was contemplating granting citizenship on humanitarian grounds to such people on a case-to-case basis.

The home ministry plans to revert to the Shimla Agreement's terms on the issue of visas to Pakistanis coming to India. Ministry statistics claim currently about 9,000 Pakistanis are overstaying their visas in this country, 630 in West Bengal alone

'Make peace talks inclusive'

By V.S. Sambandan

118-9
10/11
COLOMBO, NOV. 9. With Sri Lanka's conflict resolution process moving into the committee mode after the recently-concluded second round of talks in Thailand, there have been calls for making the negotiations inclusive by accommodating the various stakeholders.

The call, which came formally from a pro-peace lobby, the National Peace Council of Sri Lanka, was for the need for the Government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) "to formulate their strategies in a manner that recognises the right of people to participate in the peace process".

The main Opposition party, the People's Alliance (PA), has expressed similar sentiments. A senior leader said the party's support would be on an issue-by-issue basis and called for greater transparency, saying that there should be representation of all sections. The party expressed caution against just the Government and the LTTE deciding on the issues, without taking the others into confidence.

Reacting to the second round of talks, the National Peace Council's media director, Jehan Perera, termed the formation of committees as an "unexpected breakthrough" which was "much ahead of schedule". These developments "can be considered as indications that both parties are committed and trust each other in their search for a political solution".

It, however, referred to three areas of concern. Apart from making the talks inclusive, it mentioned the consequences of the court's verdict on

the LTTE leader, V. Prabhakaran, and the need for winning the support of the other stakeholders.

"While it is important that the Government and the LTTE retain their ability to move forward in the peace process, the Council believes it is also important that the peace process accommodate other actors and stakeholders to transform it into a more inclusive one."

The "longer term sustainability" of the process would "critically hinge" on the ability of the Government and the LTTE to "mobilise and enlist the support of other actors and stakeholders".

The two main political parties, the ruling United National Front and the PA, should also come together to translate any results of the talks into a constitutional settlement. Winning the confidence of the Muslims, who are spread across the eastern districts, is also crucial for the outcome.

The PA has expressed concerns over the consequences that any solution might have on the Sinhalese living in the east — a region with near equal distribution of the three main ethnicities.

'Amnesty, a negative impact'

The Council cautioned that "any attempt to grant a sweeping amnesty" for war crimes would have a "negative impact" on the peace process.

Referring to the LTTE's reaction to the 200-year jail-term for Mr. Prabhakaran for his alleged involvement in the bombing of the Central Bank building in Colombo, it said, "both parties need to accept and acknowledge their responsibilities in committing war crimes and abuse of human rights before any agreement is reached on the grant of amnesty".

THE HINDU

10 NOV 2002

SC blow to return of migrants from Pak

OUR LEGAL CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, Nov. 11: The Jammu and Kashmir Resettlement of Migrants Act was today rendered virtually inoperable with the Supreme Court continuing the stay on it.

The Act enables all migrants to Pakistan to come back and settle in the state.

Enacted in 1982, the law was in the thick of discussion recently after the National Conference

government led by Farooq Abdullah announced that it would be implemented.

A three-judge bench of Chief Justice G.B. Pattanaik, Justices K.G. Balakrishnan and S.B. Sinha today ordered that the interim stay on the operation of the law granted in February would continue.

The bench was hearing a public interest litigation by Panthers Party president Bhim Singh, who had the Act.

Singh contended that the Act

would facilitate the entry of ISI-trained terrorists to the state and the Act itself was unconstitutional as it threatened the unity and integrity of the country.

Under the Act, any person from Pakistan could claim to be a migrant and thereafter claim all legal rights as a citizen. In fact, migrants resettling in the state would become citizens of the state, the petition said.

The Act was actually returned in 1982 by then state Gov-

ernor B.K. Nehru and a presidential reference to the Supreme Court was also returned unanswered by the court in November last year.

The state government took a decision that it would implement the Act.

Singh said the Act would pave the way for more than two lakh Pakistanis, including the heirs of those who were actually born in Pakistan and youngsters trained in arms by both Pakistan and the Taliban,

to penetrate into the state.

The Panthers Party chief contended that even the Hindu-dominated Jammu region would be infiltrated by the migrants, including people trained in arms.

The Centre also supported the petitioner holding that the Act would jeopardise national security and public order not only in the state but also throughout the country.

In an affidavit, the Central government said: "The Act

purports to enable even persons who have voluntarily migrated to Pakistan with the partition of the country."

It said persons who have taken Pakistani citizenship and have become citizens of that country for at least two to three generations could also come back to "resettle" and quite a few of them could even be the ones who have fought against India in the past two or three wars.

The Centre's affidavit also pointed out that the law did not

make any provision to verify the antecedents of the migrants wanting resettlement in Jammu and Kashmir.

The affidavit added that once a person had taken the citizenship of another country, he or she could not claim citizenship in India as a legal or birthright.

A law relating to this aspect could be enacted only by the Central government in Parliament and a state government could not enact such a law, it said.

9.2.2002
13/11

New plan for Cyprus reunification

H9-124

13/11

NICOSIA (CYPRUS), NOV. 12. Greek Cypriot refugee groups and some Greek Cypriot newspapers on Monday denounced a United Nations plan to reunify Cyprus, calling it a blackmailing attempt to legitimise Turkish occupation of the island's north.

The plan presented on Monday to the Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders by the U.N. Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, envisages reunification of the island into a sin-

gle country modelled on Switzerland, with two equal states. Mr. Annan gave the two sides a week to study the plan and reply if they will accept it as a basis for a comprehensive settlement.

"The plan is an attempt to legitimise the Turkish occupation of north Cyprus and to disregard the judgments of the Human Rights Court of the Council of Europe supporting the rights of the refugees to return

and enjoy their properties," Yiannakis Shekersavas, spokesman for the Greek Cypriot Kyrenia Refugees Association, said.

A banner front-page headline in the right-wing Greek Cypriot daily *Simerini* condemned the plan as "A nightmare settlement." The E.U. is expected to issue formal invitations to Cyprus and nine other candidates during its summit meeting in Copenhagen, Denmark, on Dec. 12. — AP

13 NOV 2002

Andhra bleeds in Naxalite blunder replay

T-6 20/11 9.88 AP

G.S. RADHAKRISHNA

Hyderabad, Nov. 19: A decade-old deadly "mistake" revisited Andhra Pradesh as Naxalites admitted today that they blew up 14 people in a bus last night after taking them for policemen returning from an encounter site.

The blunder was the bloodiest since the People's War Group set a train compartment on fire, killing 40 people, by mistake during an agitation for quotas for backward classes. Last night's blast was also a throwback to a massacre in 1997 when the Naxalites "misread" the label on a jeep carrying a marriage party and mowed down 12 people.

After the landmine explosion

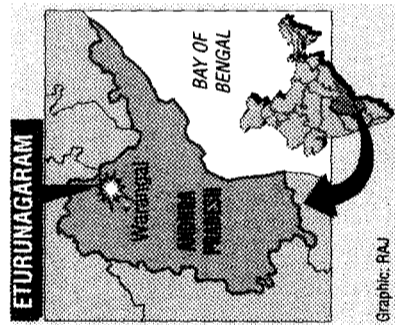
in Warangal last night, a PWG leader has sent a letter to media organisations, conceding the mistake and saying that the attack was in retaliation to the encounter deaths of five activists on Sunday, 12 km from the blast site. The bus was blown up at Eturunagar, a Naxalite stronghold, 200 km from Hyderabad and bordering Chhattisgarh.

The letter, attributed to the PWG's provincial committee secretary Ramakrishna, said a formal announcement by the central committee is expected soon.

The bus carrying mostly tribals back from a weekly shandy had reached the blast spot half-an-hour after two others ferry-

ing policemen had crossed the area.

Officials said the PWG had been tipped off by someone that



Graphic: RAJ

policemen who took part in the encounter would use the public transport bus, instead of service vehicles, to escape retaliation on their way back.

The blast was triggered when the bus crossed a culvert in the forest. The dead included six women and two children.

Under the impact of the blast, the front portion of the bus was blown to pieces and mutilated bodies were strewn all around.

Chief minister N. Chandrababu Naidu ruled out resumption of stalled peace talks with the PWG, saying the outfit must shun violence and join the mainstream.

"How can we talk to them? take up the matter with deputy

Prime Minister L.K. Advani.

"Though the Centre is periodically convening inter-state meetings on anti-Naxalite operations, the exercise is not yielding the desired results. There is a need for strengthening this coordination," he said.

The Assembly today set aside its listed agenda and passed a unanimous resolution condemning the "dastardly act".

Naidu announced a grant of Rs 3 lakh for relatives of the dead and Rs 50,000 for the disabled. As many as eight passengers have been permanently disabled.

"The relatives of each of the dead will get a house site and also a government job," the chief minister added.

PM favours financial autonomy for panchayats

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, OCT. 4. The Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, said today that the Government would introduce a Constitution Amendment Bill, after evolving a political consensus, to give financial powers to the panchayati raj institutions (PRIs).

Ironically, Mr. Vajpayee made the point at the Conference of the Project Directors of District Rural Development Agencies (DRDAs), controlled mostly by the bureaucracy. The DRDAs get dedicated funds for implementation of rural projects, but the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments, devolving functional and financial powers to the PRIs, had envisaged panchayats with financial autonomy, which had not happened in the last 10 years. "If all the political parties agree, the Ministries of Rural Development, Finance and Law will together work out a draft amendment," he said.

The Prime Minister's obser-

vation came against the backdrop of a unanimous resolution passed in April 2002 by the All-India Panchayat Adhyakshas Sammelan here, urging the Government to introduce a new constitutional amendment to empower the PRIs with the much-needed administrative and financial powers.

He said experience had shown that without adequate administrative and financial powers, the PRIs were unable to discharge their new responsibilities.

Recalling the role of the former Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, in taking the historic measure in democratic decentralisation, Mr. Vajpayee said the measure needed to be taken forward to really empower the PRIs.

India, he said, was on its way to becoming a major economic power. The world had become a "global village". There was competition and India should produce quality products to earn foreign exchange.

Pak prism limits India's vision: EU

By Rashmee Z. Ahmed
TIMES NEWS NETWORK

Brussels: In its boldest attempt yet to build a new strategic relationship with New Delhi, the European Union (EU) has asked India to jettison the "narrow prism of Pakistan, develop a wider world view like that of China and create a powerful partnership of ethnically diverse democracies".

The appeal by EU commissioner for external relations Chris Patten comes just a day ahead of the third Indo-EU summit in Copenhagen on Thursday, where Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee will meet Mr Patten and European Commission president Romano Prodi to discuss ways of broadening and deepening the relationship.

Claiming that the EU shared India's concerns about terrorism, wherever it happened, Mr Patten indicated that New Delhi had no reason to feel aggrieved about any special, unearned sops to Islamabad. "We would like India not to view the relationship through the prism of Pakistan. At present, the Indo-EU relationship is good, but puzzled," he told TNN in an exclusive interview here on Wednesday.

"No one is saying India should neglect the US. But I don't think it will be sensible to ignore a (European) Union of 15, going on 25, countries with settled economies, which provide a large amount of foreign investment in India, and, as India's largest trading partner, take 23 per cent of her exports," Mr Patten said wryly.

(According to the Statistical Outline of India 2001-2002, while Indian imports from the EU 2000 stood at Rs 44,736 crore in 1999-2000, its exports were worth Rs 40,863 crore.)

In his remarks, quickly dubbed tough love by Indian observers, Mr Patten hit out

at India's weak infrastructure and narrow and flawed policy decisions, while emphasising the huge potential benefits of cooperation in areas like trade, environment and terrorism. "The relationship is below potential, certainly not adequate. Indian policy makers, unlike the Chinese, appear to need convincing that we are a player that matters," he said.

Mr Patten also tried to rebut New Delhi's oft-repeated concerns about Western sops to Islamabad for its half-hearted war on terrorism. "We are not rewarding Pakistan in any way. Terrorism has to stop. I don't think anyone in Gen Musharraf's cabinet is in any doubt of our views on terrorism, which have been expressed by officials at every level," he maintained.

Meanwhile, Danish Prime Minister A.F. Rasmussen said he expected Kashmir and Pakistan to figure high on the agenda of the Indo-EU summit.



The relationship is below potential, certainly not adequate. Indian policy makers, unlike the Chinese, appear to need convincing that we are a player that matters

—Chris Patten

Governor gives more time to J&K parties

TIMES NEWS NETWORK & PTI

Srinagar: Amidst persisting political stalemate in the state, Jammu and Kashmir governor G.C. Saxena on Wednesday announced the deadline of October 21 for the three main political parties—the Congress, the People's Democratic Party and the National Conference—to prove that they were in a position to form a stable government.

The governor's decision came as the Congress and the PDP struggled to iron out their differences over the issue of chief ministership in the event of their joining

hands in a coalition. Despite negotiations for the last five days, they failed to resolve the issue, while the single largest party, the NC, watched from the sidelines.

Several leaders, including newly-elected Congress legislature party chief Ghulam Nabi Azad and CPM leader Mohammad Tarigami, who heads a seven-member forum of MLAs, including independents, met the governor on Wednesday to request him to extend the time limit for the formation of a coalition government.

● See Edit: Dodgem Democracy, Page 14

Another mosque attacked in Australia

Agence France Presse

MELBOURNE, Oct. 17. — Arsonists threw a firebomb into a mosque here early today, the second attack on a Muslim religious site since the weekend bombing in Bali which killed scores of Australians, police said.

No one was injured but windows were smashed and carpets burned when the firebomb was thrown through the mosque window in East Doncaster before dawn, they said. The fire was put out by people who were in the building.

Police said they were investigating if the firebombing was in retaliation to the Bali bombings, which authorities have blamed on Islamic radicals although no one has claimed responsibility. "It's not being looked at as a retaliation attack, it's just being looked at as an arson attack on a building," deputy police commissioner Mr Bill Kelly said. "But obviously given what has happened last Saturday that puts another dimension into the investigation to follow-up on, to make sure it either is or isn't politically or religiously motivated."

Howard flies to Bali

Australian Prime Minister Mr John Howard flew to Bali today to meet the relatives of the victims of the 12 October blast and assess relief operations, PTI adds from Sydney.

Accompanied by the Deputy Prime Minister Mr John Anderson and the Opposition leader, Mr Simon Crean, Mr Howard will

also attend a sunset memorial service for the victims of the bombing, a majority of whom were Australians.

"I believe it is appropriate for a number of reasons to go there," he told reporters. "It will also give me an opportunity to assess on the ground the situation which has been the subject of comment and reporting over the past few days."

The Australian government has been facing increasing criticism and growing anger over delays and mix-ups in identifying the dead apart from the poor morgue facilities being provided.

"In all of the circumstances, the best is being done by the Australian authorities," Mr Howard said. On the process of identification of the dead, especially using DNA tests, he said it was slow and insisted the Indonesians could not be held to blame.

Australia will observe 20 October as national day of mourning. **Australians recalled:** Following the Bali blasts, Canberra today upgraded its travel advice for Indonesia recommending that its citizens in that country depart due to "disturbing new information" regarding threats to Australians, adds a report from Sydney.

"The decision to amend our travel advice is based on new information of generic threats to Australians and Australian interests in Indonesia," foreign minister Mr Alexander Downer, who has just returned from Indonesia, said. He, however, refused to divulge details. "We now recommend that all Australians in Indonesia who are concerned about their security should consider departure."



CRY THE BELOVED COUNTRY: Mr John Howard meets Australian relatives of the Bali blast victims during a memorial service at the Consulate General in Denpasar, Bali, on Thursday. — AFP

Deputy PM takes path of mediation with compromise formula

Advani crack at selloff deadlock

JAYANTAROY CHOWDHURY

New Delhi, Oct. 30: The government is working on ways to break the divestment logjam resulting from sharp differences within Atal Bihari Vajpayee's Cabinet.

The Prime Minister has asked his deputy Lal Krishna Advani to mediate between warring ministers. A series of meetings is slated to begin next month between Advani and disinvestment minister Arun Shourie, petroleum minister Ram Naik, defence minister George Fernandes and mining minister Uma Bharti.

The compromise formula attempts to meld the views of the two sides. The idea is to continue with the controversial strategic sale of government stake in a state-owned company but, as a counterpoise, permit public sector units to bid. Detractors of the strategic sale principle accuse the government of selling family silver to large business houses.

Advani will try to persuade Fernandes and Bharti to abandon their strong opposition to strategic sales. BJP sources expect a resolution before end of the three-month deadline set by the Cabinet on September 7 when it decided to roll differences over divestment under the carpet.

The solution party managers and top bureaucrats are attempting to work out will seek to address the concerns of ministers with a safeguard clause that will give the government an overriding say in the transfer of financial reserves and assets of a government company even after the sale.

3/10

The clause is designed to head off controversies such as the Tata's decision to funnel Rs 1,200 crore from Videsh Sanchar Nigam Ltd, which they bought from the government, into a group company, Tata Teleservices.

Fernandes has been leading the war against strategic sales, arguing that it amounts to "handing over entities created with the wealth of the people to further enrich the already rich". In a letter to the Prime Minister, Fernandes warned that "the message going out to the people is that our government is selling away the nation's wealth... This will hurt us politically."

As Fernandes is considered to be the most belligerent, the mediation exercise will attempt to moderate his extreme views. The defence minister has not only made it clear that he is against strategic sales, but has also advocated that the government should first sell loss-making units — something the disinvestment department says will be extremely difficult to do.

Fernandes today iterated his stand in Rajkot, where his party is holding a convention, saying that none of the profit-making units and those linked to national security should be privatised. He also called for "total transparency" on disinvestment.

Shourie has been arguing for strategic divestment, where a substantial chunk of government equity is sold to a single entity through bidding, because share sales on the stock market — in its current depressed condition — will not fetch a good price.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

Divestment

FROM PAGE 1 T-8

Few investors will be willing to buy loss-making government companies, a bitter truth that party managers say needs to be acknowledged. At the same time, Shourie is being asked to accept a demand made by Fernandes and Naik: that PSUs should be freely allowed to bid for other state-owned units if it falls within their business area and if they do not have to take loans to finance their bids.

Shourie's position is that divestment is based on the basic principle of the government withdrawing from non-core and non-strategic areas. It will defeat this very purpose if PSUs are allowed to bid for other state-owned entities.

Naik has been insistent that oil PSUs be allowed to bid for state-run petroleum marketers like Hindustan Petroleum and Bharat Petroleum that are being put on the block. Another key demand made by Naik that PSUs be given the freedom to raise capital from the market for modernisation or growth is likely to be acceded to as will be his stand that they should be given time to complete this before being sold.

To address security concerns, it has been proposed that even if private sector bidders succeed in buying PSUs, the government should ensure a degree of control over the firm's operations in times of emergency so that strategic services like telecom and raw materials like oil and aluminium can be commandeered for national needs. Besides, the government will keep an eye on developments in these sectors by retaining its shareholdings and directors on company boards even after they are sold.

Tibet beckons Bollywood

By C. Raja Mohan

LHASA, AUG. 31. If you think it is fanciful to have Shah Rukh Khan and Aishwarya Rai dancing around Manasarovar in Tibet, think again. As China seeks to globalise Tibet and make it attractive to international visitors, Indian film-makers are indeed welcome to shoot in the spectacular settings that the holy land offers.

Beijing has already permitted the Malaysian-born actress, Michelle Yeoh, to produce a film in Tibet. Ms. Yeoh, who thrilled viewers the world over in *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* has now come up with her own film, *The Touch*. Already premiered in Hong Kong, *The Touch* is a romantic action thriller about a family of acrobats in search of a mystical Buddhist artefact in Tibet. The movie features some locations around Manasarovar, called Lake Namtso here.

Ms. Yeoh was reported as saying that she had less problems with Chinese officialdom than with the altitude sickness that afflicts visitors for a few days. Sticking to the script of the film, initially approved by the Chinese authorities, was indeed the key. To make the production hassle-free, Ms.

Yeoh tied up with a Chinese outfit, Tianjin Film Studio. Since Bollywood has long stopped making political films, it is unlikely to run into problems here.

Talking about films, maybe a successful Bollywood venture in Tibet would impress China to open its market to Indian films, which are immensely popular here. While DVDs of Indian films do circulate here, China officially remains a closed market.

Promotion of tourism is at the heart of the Chinese strategy to globalise Tibet and boost incomes in the region. Flights in and

out of Lhasa are full. This year, the local Government expects 8,00,000 tourists and the target for 2007 is five million. At present, most tourists are Chinese, including the expatriates.

The Tibetan Government is keen on building on the international image of Tibet as a very special destination. As a result, the protection of cultural monuments, its natural beauty and folk culture have become an integral part of marketing Tibet abroad.

The authorities are encouraging local entrepreneurs to set up hotels and are providing financial incentives and training packages for the local staff. Direct revenues from tourism already make up 7 per cent of the region's gross domestic product, and its secondary effects are boosting not just the service sector but also the incomes of farm-

LHASA JOURNAL

ers, who are now responding to the growing demand for fruits and vegetables.

Indian travellers to Tibet barely form a trickle. Last year, just 600 Indians visited Tibet. This year has seen 1,300 Indians. The increase is mainly due to the religious significance attached to the circumambulation of Mount Kailash in the 'Year of the Horse'. The local name for Mount Kailash, which is venerated by followers of the ancient Bon religion in Tibet, the Buddhists, the Hindus and the Jains, is Kangrin Poche.

The Government is improving facilities around Kailash and Manasarovar to make the pilgrimage safe and is also promoting group tourism through special packages. Officials of the local tourism bureau say that they would like to see more Indian vis-

itors, who now make it on foot through a special programme run by New Delhi or through tours via Nepal. They say the Tibetan Government and Beijing would be ready to consider special chartered flights from India to the holy sites. They add that Indian investment in the tourism sector — in hotels and restaurants — would indeed be welcome. Talks involving New Delhi and Beijing as well as the local government in Lhasa and Indian tour operators are needed to tap the vast potential of Tibetan tourism in the Indian market.

As part of its globalisation, Tibet wants to invigorate border trade with its neighbours, India, Nepal and Bhutan. Trade volumes on the borders are currently very low, but rising fast.

In 2000, it stood at \$110 million in comparison to just six in 1995. Border trade also makes up for nearly 80 per cent of the total foreign trade of Tibet.

Sino-Indian border trade was in its heyday in the mid-1950s but it came down to a trickle after relations began to sour at the end of the decade. But as Tibet opens up to the world, China has already upgraded facilities at the Yadung port that has historically traded with Sikkim and Bhutan.

China's non-recognition of Sikkim as a part of India is responsible for the latter's reluctance in opening up this trading route. Some Indian businessmen do trade with Tibet through Nepal, but there are many problems on this front too.

An early resolution of Sino-Indian differences on Sikkim and removal of other obstacles on the ground could rapidly expand trade between Tibet and India and benefit people on both sides of the border.

(Concluded)

Koizumi plans historic trip to N Korea

THE YOMIURI SHIMBUN
ASIA NEWS NETWORK

TOKYO, Aug. 31. — The prime minister, Mr Junichiro Koizumi, said he would pay a one-day visit to Pyongyang for talks with the North Korean leader, Mr Kim Jong Il, on 17 September with the aim of drastically improving bilateral relations.

Mr Koizumi's visit to North Korea will be the first of its kind by a Japanese prime minister.

The prime minister told reporters that he called President George W Bush and South Korean President, Mr Kim Dae Jung, to inform them of his plan to visit North Korea, adding that both leaders support

the move.

Mr Koizumi also told Moscow and Beijing about his planned visit to North Korea through diplomatic channels, he said.

The government has been working out details of the talks aimed at normalising diplomatic ties through working-level negotiations with North Korea both officially and unofficially for a year, chief cabinet secretary, Mr Yasuo Fukuda, said at a press conference on Friday.

During the talks with Mr Kim, Mr Fukuda said, the government hopes to overcome the stalled efforts to resolve important issues between the two countries, including the long-standing dispute over

the alleged abductions of Japanese by North Korean agents.

By making the visit the prime minister hopes to ensure that Tokyo and Pyongyang resume suspended negotiations aimed at normalising diplomatic ties. Mr Fukuda said that North Korea has shown its understanding of Japan's position in its effort to solve the problems between the two nations.

Mr Fukuda went on to say that security-related issues, including the North's nuclear development programme, will likely be on the agenda when Mr Koizumi and Mr Kim Jong Il meet.

State ministers will not accompany the prime minister during his trip to

North Korea, Mr Fukuda said, and the government expects foreign ministry officials to go with him.

Mr Koizumi is scheduled to leave for a five-day visit to the USA on 9 September. He is scheduled to hold talks with President Bush in New York on 12 September before returning home on 14 September. Mr Koizumi's meeting with the North Korean leader will probably be a major focus of the summit with President Bush, according to sources.

On Friday afternoon, Mr Koizumi revealed his plans to visit North Korea at a meeting with leaders from New Komeito and Hoshuto (New Conservative Party), who basically agreed with the idea, sour-

ces said.

During senior working-level talks in Pyongyang on 25 - 26 August, the Koizumi-Kim meeting.

Mr Hitoshi Tanaka, director-general of the foreign ministry's Asian and Oceanian Affairs Bureau, reportedly told the North Korean prime minister, Mr Hong Song Nam, that the Japanese side was determined to work earnestly to settle various problems related to diplomatic-normalisation of talks and other issues facing the two countries and that he hoped the North Korean diplomats would also work sincerely to resolve the is-

412-15

Australia launches two military units

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By P. S. Suryanarayana

SINGAPORE, SEPT. 5. Australia today raised its anti-terror management capacity by launching two new military units. These units are the Incident Response Regiment (IRR) and a Tactical Assault Group (East).

Of the two, the IRR is based on the new security doctrine of meeting threats to civilians from all types of weapons of mass destruction, especially chemical or biological agents and radiological devices. The TAG (East) is a relatively more conventional unit designed to deal with

hostage-taking terrorist-offensives. There already exists a similar assault group on the west coast of Australia.

Launching the two units at Holsworthy Barracks in Sydney today, the Australian Defence Minister, Robert Hill, pointed out that these professional capabilities were fashioned in the light of the experiences gained

during security upkeep for the Sydney Olympics in 2000 and the Commonwealth summit held after the September 11 terrorist strikes in 2001.

Portraying the IRR as a new warfare unit in the frontier areas of defence know how, Mr. Hill said the 300-personnel group would need "a great scientific basis... a strong analytical basis as well as soldiering skills". Besides playing a role at home, the IRR would, "in appropriate circumstances, work with Australian forces offshore".

All three wings of Australia's military forces have rallied behind America's anti-terror war in Afghanistan. Noting that Australia was now playing an interactive role with the Americans in the wider Afghan theatre, Mr. Hill said the question of Canberra's participation in a possible war against Saddam Hussein's Iraq at this time would depend on "an assessment of Australia's national interests".

The US is obsessed with its own interests when it comes to terrorism

Lessons for India

By J.N. DIXIT

THE ANNIVERSARY of the terrorist attack by Al-Qaeda on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon is being recalled with complex emotional motives in different parts of the world. On the surface ceremonies of recall would be to grieve for the losses, human and material, and to reaffirm the determination to fight fanatical violence which disrupts not only State structures but also the civil society. At the more fundamental level, the commemoration would mark an internationally shared conviction that violence aimed at representative governments and civil societies aimed at transforming patterns of governance, economic arrangements and socio-cultural diversities cannot be accepted. This unacceptability would be especially emphatic where such violence is rooted in religious, communal or ethno-linguistic fanaticism.

The declared objectives of the US-led coalition against international terrorism have two macro-level elements. First, the campaign is to make the world safe for diversity, democracy, and second, the campaign will be prolonged, its territorial objectives will not remain limited to Afghanistan and it will cover all the countries where the terrorist network exists.

The Al-Qaeda terrorist network would be the first priority for elimination, after which other terrorist groups are also going to be targeted. But what are the specific political objectives of the campaign, especially in the context of India's interests? These concerns have to be perceived in the context of terrorist violence affecting India, and the potentiality of its continuing threats to the South Asia region and to the world at large. According to current intelligence estimates, the Al-Qaeda has an effective network of branches in nearly 45 countries. These branches exist not only in Islamic countries but also in countries which have large Muslim communities constituting socially and politically significant minorities.

Its activities are not geared to political or territorial objectives in any specific area. The network is a trans-national global phenomenon. The cadres of this organisation do not belong to any single nationality or ethnic group. It is a particular brand of Islamic extremism which is the bonding factor of the organisation. It is the violent and militant manifestation of the Islamic movement which has



JUST CAN'T SMOKE 'EM OUT: Osama supporters in Dhaka

decades. Its organisational command and control structure, though having a central authority under the Al-Qaeda's 'federal' (for want of a better word)

The Al-Qaeda movement has close links with other Islamic militant organisations in different parts of the world stretching from the Philippines in the east to the US in the West, including in Central Asia and parts of China and Europe. The logistical and financial resources of the organisation are international, autonomous and in many respects being implemented outside the framework of known arms trading and banking channels. This includes the capacity to purchase weaponry from the illegal arms market and transfer of resources through non-formal channels like the *hawala*.

What then are the ground realities of the campaign being carried out since September last? Apart from action taken within their own jurisdiction by the US-led coalition to search out Al-Qaeda cadres, and to confiscate their financial resources, the focus of operation was Afghanistan. The Taliban has been ousted but the military campaign has not been able to capture and eliminate the two top leaders of the movement, Osama bin Laden and Mullah Omar. Nearly 70 per cent of the Taliban and Al-Qaeda cadre have escaped from the dragnet with their weapons and other supplies. A majority have either merged with the local population within Afghanistan or have escaped into neighbouring countries.

Of particular concern is the presence of these cadre on India's north-western frontiers in Pakistani territory. The remaining cadre have es-

around Afghanistan. Media interviews of the leaders of the movement indicate that the organisation and its operational capacities are still intact.

The expulsion of this terrorist group from Afghanistan has not brought about expected stability in Afghanistan. Violence, targeted against the Hamid Karzai government, has increased to an extent that the president has had to deploy foreign troops as his personal bodyguards. Nor has Karzai been able to expand his control over all parts of Afghanistan. While there are other reasons for this situation, the violence against the government is occurring mostly from southern and south-western Pushtuns who were suspected to be ex-Taliban cadres. Nor has the joint US-Pakistan operations against terrorist cadre in Pakistan fully succeeded.

The US is now planning to launch an operation against Iraq as part of the campaign. This decision, if implemented, will create acrimony in the international coalition. The major powers like Russia, China, France, Germany and even important Islamic countries like Saudi Arabia and Pakistan have opposed this because the justification for the campaign against Iraq is not fully backed up by facts.

India has also opposed this possible anti-Iraq attack. The picture which has emerged is that the US has its own pre-determined agenda in its anti-terrorist campaign. The political and strategic motivation is not only to eliminate terrorist movements posing a threat to the US and western democracies, but also to counter the rising radicalism and dissent in Islamic countries. The US is concerned about this dissent be-

haviors with the current power structures in Islamic countries, particularly in the Gulf and even in Central Asia, which underpins its vital strategic and economic interests; these countries together are the repository of 75 to 80 per cent of the energy resources of the world.

India announced its unqualified support to the US campaign. It expected that in response, the international community and the US would address the India specific concerns in its campaign against Pakistan-sponsored terrorism. It also expected that the US and other major powers would persuade Pakistan to stop activities against India and move towards a practical solution of the Kashmir issue. The frequency of high-level discussions between India and the US-led coalition did result in articulation of support for India's concerns. But that is where it stopped.

Till date there has not been a single statement from the US formally acknowledging the links between the Musharraf government and terrorist organisations operating against India. The insistent advice to observe restraint was given after the Indian Parliament was attacked, after the Kaluchak massacre and after the murder of Hindu pilgrims on the Amarnath *yatra*. Only Jack Straw was an exception. In the British Parliament in May, he did affirm linkages between the Pakistani regime and terrorist organisations operating in Jammu and Kashmir. But even this was a tentative gesture because this was followed by the same advice to observe restraint. This has resulted in incremental disappointment not only in Indian public opinion but even in the Indian government.

Indeed, the US-led coalition's method of countering terrorism is selective. Terrorism affecting the US and its vital interests seems more important than terrorism affecting other countries, specially India. India would have to carry on its struggle against Al-Qaeda etc. on its own, with the additional complication of dealing with US reservations. India has to resolve this contradiction between having close equations with the US and the need to take decisive action against Pakistan-sponsored terrorism. The most important lesson learnt by India is the abiding truth that each State fashions its policies focused on its own interests. As Lord Palmerston remarked: "Countries do not have permanent friends; they only have permanent interests."

BOOK REVIEW

From idealism to disillusionment?

INDIAN FREEDOM STRUGGLE: B. Krishna; Manohar Publishers and Distributors, 4753/23, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi-110002. Rs. 450.

HOW SHOULD one understand the British rule in India and the provocations it led to among Indians for riding it for achieving Independence? How, when and why did the British rule become different from that of the earlier regimes? These questions have been answered a number of times with Mr. B. Krishna now adding to their numbers.

The response of Queen Victoria to the snerled relations between the English and the Indians by the 1857 Great Indian Mutiny by assuming the direct responsibility for the governance of India from the English East India Company was, as the author points out, only "to soothe the Indians' hurt pride by enshrining in it noble sentiments and great promises of the growing class of educated Indians."

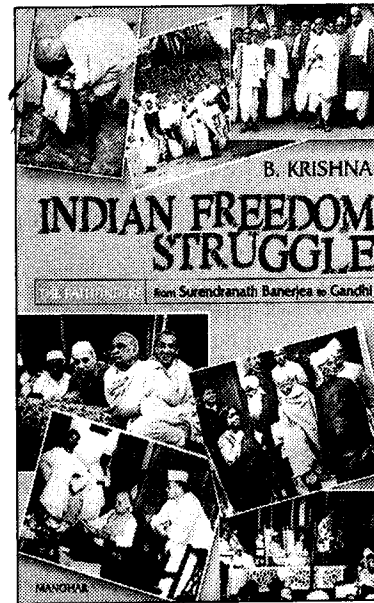
Surendranath Banerjee's Indian Association was a direct outcome of his intentions — though not so very clearly stated — of enabling India to find its place "in the great confederacy of the free State, English in their origin, English in their character, English in their institutions, rejoicing in their permanent and indissoluble union with England".

Among the incredible wonders of British Indian history was the advent of Annie Besant, a remarkable English woman, who came to be known as "White Saraswathi", as the champion of the cause of Home Rule for India long before Mahatma Gandhi arrived on the scene.

The author's recollection of the revulsion against her English husband and her becoming a rebel against the Church and an unbeliever in God is quite revealing.

Among the other intriguing happenings in Indian history is that of several kingdoms and principalities remaining divided and not even wholly united either by Emperor Asoka or even the Moghuls until the British put them together with battles spread over a century coming together under Mahatma Gandhi to claim and preserve the prize of one country won by the British though the gain did not turn out to be fulfilling and complete with Jinnah carving out Pakistan.

The tragedy of it is spelt out by the author when he writes: "With hindsight one can speculate that Tilak and Jinnah might have steered the country to the straight path, as both were men of principle, unwavering mind and above all, most trustworthy to their respective communities, but also to the country and to themselves". Even more absorbing —



though almost the whole of it has been written about earlier is his recollection of Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Vivekananda and Aurobindo of unsurpassed intelligence and greatness.

His recollection of Aurobindo's disapproval of Mahatma Gandhi's Khilafat agitation as a "false diplomacy for placating the Muslims" and his perception that Hindu-Muslim

unity should be "sought deeper down the heart" may not be well known. Gandhiji's untiring but futile efforts to persuade Jinnah to give up his determination to divide India continued to leave the latter unyielding and cold and how very devoid he was of any sentiment towards a man who was assassinated only because of a fierce resentment among the enraged section of the Hindus for what was seen as an "appeasement" of the Muslims could be seen from his comments about Gandhiji being nothing more than an unquestioned "leader of the Hindu community".

The author recalls all the tumultuous events leading to the vivisection of undivided India resulting from a sense of despair among the leaders of the Congress that they had no choice but to agree to it though it broke Mahatma Gandhi's heart and filled him with great sorrow over his failure to save the country from vivisection even at the cost of having it handed over on a platter to Jinnah.

Even after the Partition, Vallabhai Patel did not give up hopes about the reunification of the country as could be seen from a letter he had written to G. S. Bozmann, a British ICS officer, as late as May 1947.

He does not leave out of his book the role played by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Army he had created for

throwing out the British from India. Though he did not succeed and the INA was routed while trying to enter India from Imphal, it could not be disputed that he did spread panic among the British rulers that the longing for revolution he had created would very soon spread to the Indian Army.

It is worth recalling here a statement made with remarkable foresight and attributed to Rajaji that if India was not divided, there would be no country to divide.

The author, who brings his narration down to the present day and draws attention to the sense of disillusionment among the people over how the present generation of politicians has let them down because of their entire concentration being on clinging to power and enriching themselves, concludes that eventually India would live up to the hopes expressed by Aurobindo about its rebirth and its rise "towards newer heights of power and glory."

Even the cynics among us would perhaps agree that this is bound to happen because of the greatness which India had achieved in the past and could be looked forward to in the future since history moves not in a straight line but in circles as it had been stated by a French savant.

CVG

● Tamil as official language ● Personal essays ● Songs of Purandara Dasa ● Social reformer

TAMIL

TAMIZH AATCHI MOZHI — Oru Varalattu Nokku (Tamil official language a historical look): ARASAMAIPPU SATTA VARAVU MANDRA VIVADHANGAL — Constituent Assembly debates: Rs. 60.

TAMIZH NATTIL VATTARA MUNNETRAM — Poruladhara Aaraichi (Regional development in Tamil Nadu — An economic research): Rs. 40. Durai Sundaresan; Jothilakshmi Publishers, 24/135, Karpagam Avenue, Chennai-600028. THE FIRST book is a Tamil translation of the official records of the marathon debate in the Constituent Assembly for three days in September 1949 on the issue of official language. It truly reflects the depth of the sentiments of the proponents and opponents of making Hindi as the official language of India.

An idea of how the issue turned emotive and even touchy is easily discernible from the proceedings when views of caution, moderation, rigidity and inflexibility were aired by many stalwarts of freedom struggle like Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, N. Gopalasami Ayyangar, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Seth Govind Das, Mahavir Tyagi, Dr. P. Subbarayan, R. R. Diwakar, K. Santhanam, Dr. K. M. Munshi, Prof. N. G. Ranga, T. T. Krishnamachari and C. Subramaniam.

Notwithstanding the soft and aggressive tone and tenor of the proceedings one could not miss in the speeches the farsightedness and extreme concern of the participants for the unity and integrity of the nation. This book will be of immense use for students doing research on official language as well as politicians.

The second book deals with the necessity for a regional approach to planning to help overcome problems like inequalities and socio-economic disparities among different areas, given the diversified natural resources and climatic conditions in Tamil Nadu vis-à-vis agriculture.

Summing up his research findings and conclusions, the author refers to the advantages inherent in the agro-climatic regional planning launched in 1988 by the Planning Commission and explains how the scheme differed from the traditional planning beginning with area specific resource mapping instead of hierarchical imposition of priorities and programmes.

R. PARTHASARATHY

CHIDAMBARA NINAVUGAL: Balachandra Chullikadu, translated by K.V. Shailaja, 14, First Cross Street, Trustpuram, Kodambakkam, Chennai-600024. Rs. 60.

THIS COLLECTION of highly personal essays retains its natural flow, emotional intensity and literary flavour in K. V. Shailaja's translation.

Chullikadu's self-puncturing stabs result in confessional outpourings. Surprisingly, there is little self-indulgence. The author's commitment to ideals, self-imposed deprivations, arrogance, the inability to withstand temptations, all spin themselves into the warp and weft of universal experiences.

The flagellation does make the reader flinch at times. We share in the narrator's sorrow and shame. The poet is unsparing in laying bare the dark side of the mind. The stubborn pride, which made Chullikadu refuse every honour and award for literary achievements, steels his content, style, and lurks within the admission of humiliations.

The book begins in Chidambaram, with empathy for an aged couple in the temple courtyard. The same observational (at times voyeuristic) perspective marks succeeding chapters, where we step into interior spaces of mists and shadows.

Midway through the book we realise that this notion of a location shift is another illusion.

The inner and the outer are one. Agitational experiences — whether of forcing his wife to abort their first child, or the chilling glimpse of the desired woman stretched out for lancing in the morgue — undergo a catharsis in tranquil recollections.

The writer's encounter with Sivaji Ganesan surprises you by his excessively adulatory tone. You wonder how a mind that revels in such theatricality can respond to the cosmic grief vibrant in the poems of Kidangarai Srivatsan, moving us even in piecemeal quotations.

The writer records encounters with women of easy virtue; prostitutes on beach and bus stand, flirtations, adulterous women in "chaste" settings. Nothing mawkish here, certainly nothing sensational.

What stands out in this book is the compassion for fellow beings, and for the lost self within each one of us.

GOWRI RAMNARAYAN

KANNADA

SRI PURANDARA DASARA JANAPRIYA KEERTHANEGLU: Srinivasa Havanoor and H. R. Satyanarayana Rao — Editors; Ankita Pustaka, 53, Sahsingh Complex, Gandhi Bazaar Main Road, Basavanagudi, Bangalore-560004. Rs. 90.

SOME FACTS about Purandara Dasa's songs are not so well known. The Dasa passed away in 1564 A.D. and the next year the Vijayanagar Empire collapsed at the battle of Talikota. In the chaos that followed the saint's sons moved from Hampi to their native Purandaragad near Poona taking with them whatever material they had like the text of the saint's songs as noted down by them.

These were in Marathi script, were brought to Mysore 200 years later and transliterated into Kannada script. Then followed printing of these songs in any number of books, paying little attention to the correctness of the texts. Many faults were there naturally. Many good editions have also been brought out, the latest being the one by the Karnataka State Government and edited by S. K. Ramachandra Rao.

The present compilers felt that even the best editions contained many mistakes like those relating to Northern Kannada usage, repetition of many songs in slightly different forms and so on. They set about collecting the most authentic versions, made necessary corrections and have brought out this book with 311 songs. It is a creditable work.

But the literary side is less than half the work needed. To Purandara Dasa's reforms on the music side we owe the present Carnatic system. Carnatic music, after separating from Hindustani music, had started showing signs of breaking up into a number of local variations. It was the Dasa who arrested this trend with his farsighted reforms.

Among others he restricted the number of ragas to around 35-called Bateesa ragas. All his compositions were in these ragas. It is therefore surprising that in this book the ragas mentioned for many songs were not there in the saint's time. Some of these ragas are "Peelu," "Hindusthani Kapi," "Behag," "Kharaharapriya," "Kambodhi" "Mohana" (?), and "Dahanasri". The tunes of these songs are obviously by half-baked pseudo composers. Care should have been taken to point out these odd-

ities. It is somewhat easy to differentiate an original Purandara Dasa composition from others. He had brought about a complete fusion of the three ingredients of a song — raga, sahitya and tala. It is to be noted that the only other composer to have achieved perfection in this respect is Thyagaraja himself.

The mood or rasa of a raga matches well with the sahitya in these compositions and the sahitya has been composed in such a way that the number of syllables matches perfectly the beat of the tala.

With this advantage it becomes easy to spot out the real original tunes and the spurious ones. Attempts to ensure the authenticity of the songs on the music side would have enhanced the value of the book.

G.D.

MALAYALAM

NARAYANA GURU — ANTHOLOGY: P. K. Balakrishnan; Kerala Sahitya Akademi, Thiruvur. Rs. 95.

SRI NARAYANA GURU is universally recognised as the most inspiring leader of the Renaissance movement that put Kerala ahead of the rest of India socially in the last century. A large body of writings by contemporaries on his life and work is available, but they remained strewn across the pages of many books and periodicals.

In 1954, P. K. Balakrishnan, the noted writer and journalist, brought out an anthology drawing material from all available sources and supplementing it with contributions of his own.

This is a comprehensive work that deals with all aspects of the Guru's work in a proper historical context. The contributors include C. Krishnan, K. Ayyappan, E. V. Krishna Pillai, Mannath Padmanabhan and others.

C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar makes an assessment of the Guru as "an acharya in the Hindu tradition". Balakrishnan's own contributions include life-sketches of associates of the Guru in the social reform movement, like P. Palpu, Kumaran Asan, C. Krishnan, T. K. Madhavan and C. V. Kunjuram.

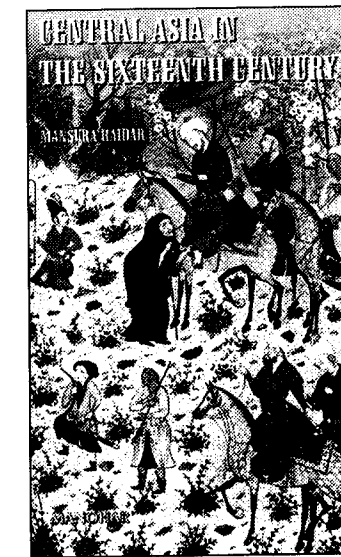
The editor's observation that although caste prejudices have ended the Keralites' emotion life is being regulated in the old cellars still remains valid.

B.R.P. BHASKAR



NEW ARRIVALS

- **Srimad Valmiki Ramayanam** — A Rendering in English: Includes Selected Episodes from Kamba Ramayanam: A. Krishnan; Copies can be had from the author, New No. 15, Luz Avenue, 5th Street, Mylapore, Chennai-600004. Rs. 320.
- **Central Asia in the Sixteenth Century:** Mansura Haidar; Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 4753/23, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi-110002. Rs. 875.
- **Palsuvali Neethi Kathaigal:** Venu Purushothaman; Andal Pathippagam, Plot No. 226, Third Street, Yashwanth Nagar, Selayur, Chennai-600073. Rs. 20.
- **Sangam Valartha Thevar** — Pandithurai Thevarin Naangam Tamizh Sangam Nootrandu Vizha Veliyeedu: M. Muthuchamy; Murugalayam (Regd.), No. 1, Chakrapani Street, West Mambalam, Chennai-600033. Rs. 40.
- **Vimarsanam Ennum Mozhi:** D. Kalyana Sundaram — Tr. & Compiler; Vaani Pathippagam, 402, Alagesan Road, Coimbatore-641011. Rs. 50.
- **Oshovin Vairangal** — By Osho: Sw Dhyan Siddharth — Tr. in Tamil; Rs. 96.
- **Ovuru Manithanum Oru Mannavantham** — By Orison Swett Marden in English: Mowmi — Tr. in Tamil; Rs. 55.
- **Illara Jyothi** — Movie Dialogue & Songs: Kannadhasan; Rs. 25.
- **Thou The Ching** — By Lao-Tzu; N. Ramani — Tr. in Tamil; Rs. 30.
- **Sontha Thozhilum Suya Moolathanam** — By Orison Swett Marden in English: Georgina Peter — Tr. in Tamil; Rs. 75.
- **Thadaigal Thagarattam:** Mu. Shivalingam — Compiler; Rs. 36.
- **Dhammapadam — Part-II** — By Osho: N. Ramani — Tr. in Tamil; Rs. 120.
- **Kilarchaiyalan — Anmigthin Athara Suruthi** — By Osho: M. Shivalingam — Tr. in Tamil; Rs. 115.
- **Computer Vaanguvathu Eppadi?**: Selvi Sugumar; Rs. 70.
- **Foxpro Kattrukollungal** — Tamil Computer: Se. Somasundaram; Rs. 55.
- **Pathu Natkalil 'C' Program:** B. Karthikeyan; Rs. 50.
- **Tamilil — C++:** K. Buvanewari; Rs. internet: v. Patni Arivaiyilum, New No. 32/7, Gowdia Mutt Road, Royapettah, Chennai-600014. Rs. 80.
- **Bharathi Kanda Samudhayam:** R. Shanmugham; Arivu Nilayam Pathippagam, New No. 32, Gowdia Mutt Road, 1 Floor, Royapettah, Chennai-600014. Rs. 50.
- **Neethi Bothikkum Pancha Tanthira Kuttikkathaigal:** Arun; Arun Pathippagam, K.K.P. Complex, 107/8, Gowdia Mutt Road, Royapettah, Chennai-600014. Rs. 60.
- **Ulagappukhazh Petra Sadhanalyalargal:** Malarkkodi; Arivu Nilayam Pathippagam, Royapettah, Chennai-600014. Rs. 40.
- **Kavalaikku Marunthu:** U. Subramanian; Tamizhvantham Pathippagam, Uthandi-Navammal Iilam, No. 9, Munusami Nagar, East Kandasamipuram, Ulundurpet-606107. Rs. 21.
- **Bharatha Mathavin Vanna Arangal** — Poetry Collection: S. Rajasundari; Anandappa Akham, 112, Thirupparankundram Road, Madurai-625001. Rs. 20.
- **Sudhanthira Ponedugalum Sila Chindanaigalum:** Sidharthan; Pannmozhi Pathippagam, 46, Chittapakam II Main Road, Tambaram Sanatorium, Chennai-600047. Rs. 45.
- **Thanjai Kathai Kalanjiam:** Soolai Sundaraperumal; Siva Sakthi Pathippagam, 20/43, Neela South Veda, Nagapattinam-611001. Rs. 150.
- **Aazhi Soozh America:** Sidharthan; Pannmozhi Pathippagam, Tambaram Sanatorium, Chennai-600047. Rs. 50.
- **Train Times** — Explore India by Rail — A Tourism Guide — Vol. II, Issue II Updated Jan. 2002: N. Sugil Chand Jain, 11, Ponnappa Lane, Triplicane, Chennai-600005. Rs. 60.
- **Paalar Amuthu:** IV Murugaiah; Siva Sakthi Pathippagam, 20/43, Neela South Street, Nagapattinam-611001. Rs. 45.
- **Chozha Nattuppara Kathaigal:** Dr. Manali Soman; Chezhiyagam, 28, Vankiyar Kudiyruppu, Kumaran Nagar, Tiruchirappalli-620017. Rs. 95.
- **Paavaanar Perumal** — Vazhkkai Varalaru: K. Tamizha Mallan; Thani Tamizha Pathippagam, 64, Thattanchavadi, Pondicherry-605009. Rs. 50.
- **Tamizh Samooha Thaedal:** Makhizhendi, A. Puviyarasu; Karanthai Pathippagam, 1/23, Thirumazhapadi Road, Kovandakurichi, Tiruchirappalli Dt.-621711. Rs. 45.
- **Harappavil Tamizhar Nagarikam:** Kuruvikkarambai Velu; Siva Sakthi Pathippagam, 20/43, Neela South Street, Nagapattinam-611001. Rs. 100.
- **Soothanthira Adimaigal:** Kumari Raju; Raju Pathippagam, Saroj Vilas, New Royal Studio, Kumari Dist., Tamil Nadu-629194. Rs. 30.



• **The Political Career of K. Kamaraj** — A Study in the Politics of Tamil Nadu 1920-1975: P. Kandaswamy; Concept Publishing Company, A/15-16, Ranjit Nagar, New Delhi-110008. Rs. 200.

• **Human Resource Management** — Evolution and the Challenges Ahead: V.K. Sharma; Viva Books Pvt. Ltd., 7, Aziz Mulk Seventh Street, Thousand Lights, Chennai-600006. Rs. 195.

• **Charnakya's Niti Darpan:** Dr. S.K. Bhatia; Geeta Enterprises, J-436, Baljit Nagar, New Delhi-110008. Rs. 95.

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Science journals told to censor information

11-9 ✓
12/9

By Kalpana Jain
TIMES NEWS NETWORK

New Delhi: Can scientific journals become cookbooks for terrorists by providing easy recipes for assembling germs that could be unleashed easily on people? In the post-September 11 world, this possibility is being seen as real with international journals being urged to censor information that could possibly be used by terrorists.

The publication of a report detailing the synthesis of a human poliovirus in the reputed journal, *Science*, recently has already sparked a huge controversy. A resolution subsequently introduced in the US House of Representatives, while calling the work a "blueprint that could conceivably enable terrorists to inexpensively create human pathogen" has also asked editors to "exercise restraint" in publishing such material.

The resolution obviously would have implications for scientists all over the world, as journals publish scientific work taking place internationally. For scientists, such censorship would imply

changing the fundamental way in which science is practised.

"We mustn't censor science with the idea that it must be used for good work. Scientific and ethically sound material should be publicised," says a former editor of the prestigious *National Medical Journal of India*, Samirun Nundy, while opposing the idea of censorship. "When scientists work, they do not think whether atomic fusion or fission will make a bomb or be utilised for peaceful use. The primary job of scientists is to answer questions," he adds.

However, scientists writing in the authoritative medical journal, *Lancet*, do agree that an uncensored dissemination of scientific information may give useful tips to a terrorist. "Advances in microbiology can eventually facilitate cures for diseases, but a dedicated terrorist can figure out how to use that same information for harm," *Lancet* says. So, under the new guidelines, reviewers are asked to alert the editors if they believe that the manuscripts they are reviewing contain potentially problematic information.

Cauvery: not an inter-party matter

By Mani Shankar Aiyar

It is not clear what the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Jayalalithaa, hopes to gain for Tamil Nadu in the ongoing Cauvery waters dispute by blaming all political parties but her own for the stand-off which has wrecked the lives of millions of farmers and farm labour in the delta region which I represent in Parliament.

During the last monsoon session, I repeatedly approached the AIADMK floor leader, P.H. Pandian, and his colleagues for us to collectively raise the issue of the Cauvery. They kept saying they had sought Amma's permission to do so. The permission never came. An opportunity was lost.

In February this year, heavy unseasonal rains massively ruined the harvested crop lying in the open awaiting procurement. The residual standing crop in the field awaiting harvesting was also ruined. The damage to farmers and farm labour was estimated by the local AIADMK-backed farmers' federation at Rs. 1,000 crores. Yet, the Jayalalithaa Government did not use even the Central calamity relief funds at its disposal to provide anything like the relief required. What is worse, as the Union Minister of State for Agriculture confirmed to me in writing, the Tamil Nadu Government did not care to even approach the Central Government for additional assistance.

By May this year, it became evident that the water level in the Mettur reservoir was too low to permit the opening of the gates on the traditional date for the 'kuruvai' crop: June 12. It was also evident that the Karnataka Government would not cooperate in implementing its obligations under the interim award. It was further evident that the chairman of the Cauvery River Authority, that is, the Prime Minister was being about as helpful as a sick headache. Did

Ms. Jayalalithaa make even a token attempt to bring together Tamil elected representatives to press Tamil Nadu's case in the face of this crisis?

There is a parliamentary forum available to deal in detail with these matters. It is the consultative committee attached to the Ministry of Water Resources. The Congress is represented on it. The DMK is represented on it. But where is the AIADMK? The DMK and the Congress have been pressing the Minister, who chairs the committee, to arrange a visit for the committee to the Cauvery basin. Has the Tamil Nadu Government or any AIADMK MP even begun to mobilise parliamentary opinion?

OPINION

Can Ms. Jayalalithaa cite one detailed speech by any AIADMK member on the Cauvery issue in Parliament all these three years of the 13th Lok Sabha? It is Vaiko who has frequently agitated the matter. It is I who have furnished the most detailed arguments. I have Ms. Jayalalithaa's own letter of congratulations to testify to the Tamil Nadu Congress contribution to enlightening parliamentary opinion on the issues in dispute.

Moreover, it was the Congress represented in my person that filed a PIL in the Supreme Court, backed by 1,79,000 signatures of Cauvery delta farmers, pleading for a resumption of the suspended hearings on Tamil Nadu's 1995 plaint. My petition was rejected on the grounds that as the matter falls under an inter-State act, a back-bench MP lacks locus. But it is that petition which lies at the heart of the issues now being agitated by the Jayalalithaa Government in the Supreme Court.

When the Cauvery River Authority was formed in 1998, Ms. Jayalalithaa plagiarised

my critique of it in *The Indian Express* virtually word for word and comma by comma to prepare her own statement on the subject. She repeated this act of plagiarism after I critiqued the proceedings of the first meeting of the Authority. Far from resenting her doing so, I regard it as a signal honour and recognition of the role the Congress in Tamil Nadu has been playing in seeking justice for the farmers and farm labour of the Cauvery delta.

What appals me about the Chief Minister's latest remarks is that she still does not understand that the dispute is not an inter-party matter; it is an inter-State matter. There is, therefore, no point in asking the Congress to sort it out.

It is for the Centre to sort it out in accordance with the assurances given by the Centre to the Supreme Court. It is the Centre that has promised the court it will implement the interim award. It is the Centre that has fashioned the Cauvery River Authority for this purpose. It is the Centre which has provided the chairman — the wholly powerless Prime Minister. And it is the Congress MP for the delta — me — who has been the loudest and most consistent critic of the whole doomed scheme. For, Ms. Jayalalithaa to go on and on about E.V.K.S. Elangovan having failed to persuade the Karnataka Chief Minister, S.M. Krishna, to release the needed waters shows she has missed the point altogether. Our quarrel is with the Centre for failing to fulfil its promises to the Supreme Court.

My only consolation is that the AIADMK Government has accepted my advice as a Congressman and MP for Mayiladuturai that no justice can be expected from the Centre or the Authority. It is only the Supreme Court that can give my constituency justice.

(The writer is a Congress Member of Parliament from Tamil Nadu.)

40-11
1579

'Time for Commonwealth to act on terrorism'

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

NEW YORK, SEPT. 15. The External Affairs Minister, Yashwant Sinha, has told the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers at a meeting here that time has come for the Commonwealth Secretariat to move on the action plan on terrorism and also focus on the special vulnerabilities of democracies in countering the threat of terrorism, according to the spokesperson of the External Affairs Ministry, Nirupama Rao, who briefed mediapersons here.

Mr. Sinha participated in a session of 40 Commonwealth Foreign Ministers meeting for the first time on the sidelines of the United Nations. The Minister held out the hope that this Forum could be institutionalised so that a meeting could be held each year.

The Minister said the time had come to move to the implementation stage of the Commonwealth for an action plan on terrorism. The Forum should focus on the vulnerabilities of democracies in the fight against terror.

This was necessary as terrorists were exploiting the strengths of democracies.

On Zimbabwe, Mr. Sinha was of the view that the three-nation group of South Africa, Nigeria and Australia should continue discussions and come to a plan of action before the Commonwealth takes action.

The Minister, on Saturday, met his counterparts from Spain, Austria, Angola and Chile and in the course of this week is scheduled to meet Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Movement, the G-77, SAARC and the Rio Group.

15 SEP 2003

INDU

Militia Mentality

Multiple Threats to Civil Society

By Anuradha M Chenoy

Ethnic and religious conflicts threaten to tear apart more societies today than any other issue. These conflicts rise out of identity movements that construct an enemy 'other' and characterise themselves as nationalists even though they are based on exclusionist agendas. Since these movements do not adhere to democratic norms they seek to achieve their goals through private armies or militias. The furore over the recent arrest of the Ranvir Sena chief shows the extent to which these forces have penetrated society.

Militias comprise unemployed youth who are given a purpose by virtue of arms and a free mandate, and they function as an underground sword arm for political parties or movements. In some cases, these may be fighting occupation whereas in others they are used for identity, caste or communal politics. When militias are linked to legitimate political parties claiming to represent a majority community, their impact can be disastrous.

India today is known to have several militias. The Ranvir Sena is one. The Bajrang Dal is emerging as the most widespread all-India Sena. Even after reports on the Gujarat incidents establishing the Bajrang Dal's involvement in the violence, its activities continue. This agenda is more than communal. The intention is to militarise civil society by militarising religion, culture and people through the creation of militias.

To counter a constructed enemy threat, volunteers at Bajrang Dal camps are given firearms and martial arts training. In one camp in Lucknow, student cadres from 22 districts of Uttar Pradesh were trained. The purpose here as one trainee states is how to deal with those who do not respect Hinduism. The consequence of such training camps on Muslims and Christians in Gujarat has already been made starkly clear. Their women's wing, the Durga Vahini, is mobilising women along militarist lines and transforming the meaning of empowerment from securing equal rights to being armed and adhering to a given masculinity.

The Durga Vahini joined the Bajrang Dal in attacking the Orissa assembly. The literature distributed by these Senas concentrates on safeguarding the Hindu nation's security. They call for revenge against others for supposed crimes by the Mughals and other medieval rulers. This collective punishment of the entire community is to be through economic and social boycott and destruction of places of worship.

Lessons on commerce, history and sex by these Senas lead to a false threat perception and create an enemy out of ordinary citizens just because they belong to a different community, and to push them out of citizenship.

Since the enemy is dehumanised, humiliation of such an enemy is commonly acceptable. In protecting their women, men are being asked to safeguard their own women as property and to humiliate the other. The man as warrior is constantly roused as a political goal in intellectual and physical terms. The crisis of identity is articulated as a crisis of masculinity.

This security threat creates a false consciousness as the agenda moves away from equality or development to religious identity. The worldview and the methodology of these Senas are neither new nor unusual. The international trials of Bosnian Serb militia men show how they were militarised and ethnically politicised. Serb men learnt from their elders of how Muslims (their neighbours) had oppressed their ancestors, the militia showed how the Muslims from the Ottoman past to the present were to blame for current problems. The Serbs managed to convince men that their manhood would be validated only if they perform as soldiers. These men then decided to form an armed militia rather than trust the weak state. This process undoubtedly assisted in militarising ethnic nationalism and created the militia that carried out the ethnic cleansing and mass atrocities.

Militias of a similar type have functioned in African nations like Rwanda and Sudan and in Latin American republics like Columbia. Wherever there has been genocide or civil war, a militia has been behind it, ever since the Black Shirts of the 1930s. All these groups organised youth on para-military

lines and had an ideology of cultural superiority that excluded other religious and ethnic minorities from the concept of the nation. They used symbols of past greatness and blamed minorities for historical wrongs, seeking revenge for the past in the present.

Now we have the parallels of such organisations in our body politic. Just like religion has been used by militants to enforce identity politics so also fundamentalist forces mix religion and militancy to mobilise civil society. This has been characteristic of the jehadi and Hindutva ideology. There is an unwritten partnership in this enterprise. The threat of multiple fundamentalisms and the militia has torn apart many countries. This is something we need to guard against in India.

We pride ourselves on our democratic values. The very fact that such organisations which consider themselves out of the purview of the law are allowed to exist and even patronised by elected representatives goes against these values. Past experience has shown that such formations may at first be willing tools in political games but tend to assume a life of their own afterwards. It then becomes impossible to rein in such bodies.

IN BRIEF

- When militias are linked to political parties, their impact can be disastrous
- Militias play a role in militarising ethnic nationalism

LTTE drops Tamil Eelam demand

3attahip (Thailand): In a significant climbdown that can boost the peace process in Sri Lanka, the LTTE on Wednesday declared that it was not working for a separate Tamil Eelam state but for self-determination and a homeland, a statement immediately hailed by the government.

Lankan President Chandrika Kumaratunga tentatively welcomed the LTTE's move, but nationalists in the majority Sinhalese community urged caution.

Wrapping up the talks with the Lankan government, LTTE ideologue and leader of the rebels' delegation Anton Balasingham said, "The LTTE does not operate with the concept of a separate state. We operate with the concept of a homeland and self determination. A homeland does not mean a separate state."

The two sides also agreed on a schedule for three more rounds of talks with the next round planned for October 31 followed by talks in December and January, which are expected to be held here.

Mr Balasingham's statement in the presence of leader of the government delegation and constitutional affairs minister G.L. Peiris is seen as the strongest indication by

ROAD TO PEACE SO FAR



A. Balasingham

July 23, 1983: Birth of the LTTE

July 8, 1985: Sri Lanka opens talks with the LTTE in Bhutan. Talks fail.

Jan. 26, 1998: Sri Lanka bans the LTTE.

Dec. 5, 2001: Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe revives peace effort.

Feb. 22, 2002: Ceasefire announced

Sept. 4, 2002: Ban on the LTTE lifted

Sept. 18, 2002: LTTE drops Eelam demand in Thailand

the LTTE that it may settle for autonomy within rather than independence from Sri Lanka.

However, Mr Balasingham said the question of decommissioning or disarming would not arrive until "we reach a permanent solution meeting the aspirations of the Tamil people". "If our demand for regional autonomy and self-government is rejected and if conditions of oppression continue, as a last resort our people have no option other than to

fight for political independence or statehood," he said.

During the talks, the negotiators discussed the setting up of an interim administration in the Tamil-dominated north and east. "We have not gone into the details of the composition of the administration but we have prepared the ground for it," Mr Peiris said.

The two sides issued a joint appeal for international help to rebuild the economy of the war-torn country.

Mr Balasingham said that India was "fully backing" the peace process between the LTTE and the Lankan government. "I think when an overall solution is reached and the affected communities are satisfied with the political system, when their rights are recognised, the government of India will be the first to welcome it," he said.

Earlier, Mr Peiris also said that India was solidly behind the peace process and did not want to see militarisation of Sri Lanka.

The views were also backed by a senior Norwegian foreign ministry official Eric Stoessler. "Indians are hundred per cent behind the peace process, without them we can't achieve what we have achieved," he said. Agencies

E.U. to halve poll observer team to Pak.

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, SEPT. 18. The European Union (E.U.) is believed to have decided to cut down by half the number of election observers it had planned to depute to oversee the October 10 general election in Pakistan.

According to diplomatic sources, the E.U. would now have around 70-odd observers as against 160 it had planned. The decision is reported to be on grounds of "security". The E.U. had contemplated deputing the largest ever contingent of observers to "monitor" the general elections in Pakistan. In the last few weeks, the E.U. has been engaged in a row with the Pakistan Foreign Office over issues related to security and their status. The issue was partly sorted out when the Pakistan Election Commission agreed to give them identity cards to enable them to travel without any hindrance and to interact with anyone.

But the biggest concern of the observers' mission is "security". The contention of the Foreign Office is that while observers were welcome, there could be

no formal letter. "Security is a double-edged weapon. Once security is given according to their wishes, they should be prepared to be guided by considerations of security and it is not without problems.

They could turn around and accuse the Government of restricting their movements in the name of security", said a senior official.

In August, Pakistan had frowned on the request made by the E.U. team for a formal invitation and special security

19/9 HD-15 R. Atkinson -
to enable them to carry on their job without any hindrance.

The Foreign Office spokesman, Aziz Ahmed Khan, had categorically ruled either signing a memorandum of understanding (MoU) or a formal invitation to the E.U. team on the ground that "there is no need for such a thing".

When reporters persisted with queries on the statements made by the chief of the advance team of E.U. observers on the need for a formal agreement with the Government, an angry

Mr. Khan retorted saying, "Why don't they seek a formal invitation to observe elections in Occupied Kashmir".

He made it clear that the team was in Pakistan on its own and there was no need to provide extra or special security arrangements. "They expressed a desire to come and we welcomed them. That is it", he remarked.

The advance team has faced hostile reaction from some of the senior functionaries of the Musharraf Government.

The world order — II

By Mushirul Hasan

10-10 21/9

THE U.S. must share the anxieties of millions across the globe who want to know why the mountains in Afghanistan, god's gift to mankind, are being flattened to flush out a monster that is America's own creation. Why, they ask, do custodians of democracy support military dictatorships, as in Pakistan, and feudal and authoritarian regimes in North Africa and West Asia? Why should the inheritors of the glorious liberal legacy of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln allow Ariel Sharon, a xenophobic Zionist, to defy U.N. resolutions and brutally kill Palestinians?

Hum aah bhi karte hein to ho jaate hai badnaam;

Wo qatl bhi karte hein to charcha nahin hota.

(A sigh of anguish makes me disreputable; but even his murderous act is on nobody's lips).

The U.S. is a truly great democracy with its fill of outstanding men and women of imagination and foresight. That is why it was expected, especially after the disappearance of the 'red menace' and the end of the chilling titanic struggle between communism and anti-communism, that it would act in unison with the U.N. in ensuring peace and stability across the globe. This has not taken place. Instead of brokering a genuine peace in a volatile region, the U.S. administration, shorn of its rhetoric, lends legitimacy to Israel's military occupation of the land that belongs to the Palestinians, the Syrians and the Lebanese. And in its futile bid to establish a connection between Saddam Hussein and Al-Qaeda, Washington, having equipped Mr. Hussein with sophisticated arms to counter the Iranian revolution, targets the civilian population. If the great Urdu poet Ghalib were alive, he would have comforted them with the thought — *Rang laegi hamari faqamasti ek din* (Someday, our patience and forbearance will bear fruit).

Here, then, is the problem that I present to you, stark and dreadful and inescapable. Sadly, however, militarists and hegemonists among the

Republican right are blinded by their innate hostility towards Islam and the Muslim nations. Yet, there is, in all the recent trends, no clash of civilisations. The West is far from being a unified entity. It embraces North and South America, Europe, and large parts of the former Soviet Union. It is, moreover, not arrayed against Islam. Notice, for example, the massive protest rallies that have taken place in the Western Hemisphere in recent weeks. We, in India, acquiesce to anything and every-

as opposed to *fitna*, a classical medieval concept that conveys the sense of disorder and anarchy. Hence, the contention that Islam's objective was not war *per se* but the establishment of peace. This may be regarded as another reason why the jihad was not made the sixth pillar of the faith, since in theory it was merely a temporary instrument to establish ultimate peace, rather than a permanent article of the faith.

It is not my intention here to present an image of a largely innocent

on earth but, like Christianity, has not produced that world and god-fearing society which could live permanently in peace. Those who kill innocent people in the name of Islam are its greatest enemies. Those who destroy the statues of Buddha in Bamian or keep their women under veil have forgotten the essence of their religion. Those who shun *ijtehad* (interpretation) and, instead, follow the Taliban version of Islam, do disservice to their Prophet. Finally, those who accept dictatorial and authoritarian regimes flout his injunctions.

Al-Farabi's idea of a universal state is unworkable, but the idea of world peace is realisable. Often, warring nations may long for an accommodation, but neither side dare express this longing convincingly. The only hope in such a situation is intervention by the U.N. One can question its abject submission to the First World on certain occasions, but its legitimacy and moral authority is unsailable. Indeed, given its record in recent years, there is every reason to expect the triumphs of the future to exceed the triumphs of the past. For here at the U.N. headquarters, as also at the university Thomas Jefferson founded in Charlottesville, "we are not afraid to follow the truth wherever it might lead, nor to tolerate any error so long as reason is left to combat it".

Let me finally invoke what Bertrand Russell wrote in his celebrated essay on the essence of religion. This is what he had to say: "The infinite part of our life does not see the world from one point of view: it shines impartially, like the diffused light on a cloudy sea. Distant ages and remote regions of space are as real to it as what is present and near. In thought, it rises above the life of the senses, seeking always what is general and open to all men. In desire and will, it aims simply at the good, without regarding the good as mine or yours. In feeling, it gives finite life, it is impartial: its impartiality leads to truth in thought, justice in action, and universal love in feeling."

(Concluded.)

There is, in all the recent trends, no clash of civilisations. The West is far from being a unified entity.

thing, but not those fearless men and women who march through the streets of Berlin, Paris, Rome and London to make our planet safe and secure. We value their intervention. We salute them at a time when peace is seriously imperilled in West Asia.

Muslim states, though afflicted with Islamist ideas and movements, neither desire nor can they afford the risk of confrontation with the West. European civilisation is not a danger but a stimulant for their awakening. Muslims live in Europe and North America with honour and dignity, and their rights are justly safeguarded by liberal constitutions. Even so, they require much soul-searching. Doubtless, they neither realise a peaceful world state nor achieve the salvation of mankind, but Muslim states — from North Africa to the Indonesian archipelago — can certainly create conditions under which all men can live in perfect harmony within and beyond their boundaries.

To Al-Farabi (870-950 A.D.), the Transoxiana-born Arab philosopher, the perfect state was the truly universal state.

"If they lean on peace, then lean thou also to it," says the Quran. Exceptions apart, this axiom guides the foreign policy of most Muslim nations. Muslim intellectuals, too, recognise the need for worldwide peace

Muslim community — "sinned against" but hardly ever "sinning", to use an expression from Shakespeare. Nor do I suggest that its fortunes or misfortunes can be explained solely in terms of unremitting, overwhelming power and prejudice of the West. Sections of the Muslim intelligentsia have made their own history at least as much as others have made it for them — and the reality is that they have not made it very well.

Moreover, the Muslim countries cannot take the world for granted: to assume without hesitation that the world cannot go on without them, and the pace of change that has occurred in them is unquestionably for the better. Eminent men of religion have uttered many warnings, and let me also add, as a minor student of the history of Islam, that we have to learn to think in a new way. We have to learn to ask what has gone wrong, and what steps can be taken to set matters right. We must question our own conduct, examine our own failures in responding to the winds of change, and reflect on the prevalence of social and cultural orthodoxies that have thwarted the emancipation of Muslim societies. Invoking the past and its glories is no substitute for remedial measures.

Islam, unlike Christianity, sought to establish the Kingdom of Heaven

Terrorist blast in Indonesia

By P. S. Suryanarayana

SINGAPORE, SEPT. 23. The Indonesian authorities today said that a pre-dawn explosion in a small motor vehicle in a residential area of Jakarta could have been a planned terrorist attack that had gone awry. While the Indonesian police chief, Gen. Dai Bachtiar, indicated that the plotters might have wanted to blow up a house being leased by the U.S. embassy in that neighbourhood, a statement by the embassy itself said that "at this time, there are no indications that U.S. embassy properties or U.S. interests were targeted".

Confirming, however, that "a device" had "exploded in a car" travelling through the residential neighbourhood in focus, the U.S. statement noted that "preliminary Indonesian police reports indicate that one individual was killed and another individual (who was) in the car is in police custody". The reports that yet another person fled the scene remained unconfirmed.

Noting further that the U.S. embassy owned several properties in the residential area where the car explosion occurred, the statement underlined that "no Americans were injured". Indonesia's initial but official version, as outlined by the police, was that a hand grenade, apparently meant for being hurled at a target, had "exploded prematurely" inside the car that carried the device.

Indonesia's ongoing political discourse on terrorism and America's perceived arm-twisting of the Megawati administration in Jakarta heated up following today's terrorist episode in all but name. Today's major event on the Indonesian political circuit was the appeal that some members of the

House of Representatives made to the President, Megawati Sukarnoputri.

They suggested a 'consultation' between the President and the 'leadership' of the House on the perceived U.S. 'allegations' about the prevalence of 'terrorism' inside Indonesia and on the American "tip-off" about a native Indonesian terrorist plot against her. The appeal to the President was made by politicians belonging to several parties and also the military-police faction that still exists under the praetorian system of governance which will be scrapped in 2004 under the constitutional amendments which were recently adopted.

With Indonesia having come under the international spotlight as a possible 'soft' sanctuary for terrorists since last year's '9/11 strikes', the authorities in Jakarta have been at pains to point out that the country should not be viewed with suspicion merely on account of its Muslim majority. Without reference to this aspect of the Indonesian political psyche, the U.S. authorities have in recent weeks been publicising their advisories about credible and specific terrorist threats to Americans and their interests in the world's most populous Muslim-majority state.

It was in this context that the U.S. shut down its embassy in Jakarta for nearly week at the time of the first anniversary of the '9/11 strikes'. With the U.S. embassy having been reopened only a few days ago, Washington wants to be doubly sure about the intended target of today's botched terrorist plot in Jakarta before coming to a definitive conclusion about this event. The U.S.-Jakarta ties have come under strain, especially in the perception of Indonesian politicians and people rather

than the Government itself, since a suspected Al-Qaeda activist was nabbed by Indonesia's security forces and transferred to America for interrogation. The exact nationality of the person concerned, Omar al Faruq, has not yet been conclusively established or publicised, although he was variously regarded as an 'Arab' or perhaps even a citizen of Indonesia itself.

Showdown likely in Ivory Coast

ABIDJAN (IVORY COAST), SEPT. 23.

Rebels boasted of their firepower, government troops crept up on them for an attack and French soldiers rolled into the countryside to protect foreigners, as Ivory Coast geared up for a showdown in its bloodiest-ever uprising.

Frightened residents in two cities controlled by the rebels waited on Monday for the assault threatened for days by the Government against the insurgents.

Military sources claimed government troops have surrounded one of the cities, Bouake, slipping into position unnoticed.

With fears of new fighting high, the uprising was also opening up deadly rivalries between the mainly Muslim north and the predominantly Christian south in a nation that was once an oasis of stability in a region scarred by some of Africa's most brutal wars.

The rebel soldiers early on Monday remained in control of Bouake, the second-largest city in this former French colony, and of Korhogo, an opposition stronghold in the north. — AP

EU in fix over Schroeder's win, German-US ties strained

The Times, London

PARIS, Sept. 24. — Mr Gerhard Schroeder was swamped with congratulations from European leaders on Monday but their words did little to mask worries that his narrow mandate and German economic weakness spell trouble for the European Union.

There was general relief that the EU can now return to the business that it had suspended in the spring for the French and German elections. However, the most urgent item, the terms of entry to the EU for ten new members, threatens to turn into a Franco-German showdown.

French President Mr Jacques Chirac, who sent Mr Schroeder "warm congratulations after your fine election victory", has dug in his heels against the Chancellor's demands for a reform of the Common Agricultural Policy.

Without a serious revamp, Mr Schroeder says, Germany will be paying the lion's share of EU expansion. Mr Chirac, whose re-

lations with Mr Schroeder are even cooler than that of Tony Blair, had backed the farmer-friendly Mr Edmund Stoiber.

From Helsinki to Madrid, media and politicians agreed that Mr Schroeder's slim majority and debt

Leftovers

LONDON, Sept. 24. — Erstwhile East Germany's former Communists, the Party of Democratic Socialism are faced with annihilation after their worst electoral defeat since reunification in 1989. With just two women directly elected on Sunday, they failed to gain either the 5 per cent of the total vote or the three directly elected seats required to be recognised as a party in the Lower House of the German parliament.

— The Times, London

to his Green partners would limit room for manoeuvre abroad and force him to play the national card. Apart from the EU problem, this German poll has sort of ended the German-US relationship, until Mr Bush or Mr Schroeder leaves office. Yesterday the

Bush Administration gave furious voice to all the stinging retorts it had suppressed in the past month as it watched Schroeder beating the anti-American drum on the campaign trail to a narrow victory. As Washington woke on Monday to the prospect of another four years of Chancellor Schroeder, Mr Donald Rumsfeld denounced the entire conduct of the German campaign, saying that it had "poisoned" relations and that he, for one, had no plans to meet his German counterpart at this week's Nato meeting in Warsaw. The US response "cannot be to ... demand a refund of the Marshall Plan", according to a conservative German columnist.

This is a long way from the Third Way philosophies of Mr Bill Clinton, Mr Tony Blair and Mr Schroeder. A day after his victory, Mr Schroeder moved to repair the increasingly fraught relationship with America by sacking two senior politicians who have offended President Bush.

Terror strike at house of prayer

44 KILLED, 100 INJURED IN GANDHINAGAR TEMPLE ■ GUNBATTLE RAGES

Anil Rana in Gandhinagar

Sept. 24. — Terrorists stormed the Swaminarayan Temple complex around 4.45 p.m. today, killing 44 people and injuring over 100. Two terrorists were holed up inside a room above the temple's exhibition hall and a gunbattle was on with the commandos, late night reports said. No group has claimed responsibility for the attack yet.

Terrorists came in an Ambassador and sneaked their way into the temple complex through the foliage near VIP Gate No. 3. They entered the temple's exhibition hall, hurled grenades and fired indiscriminately.

More than 200 people, including tourists, were reported to be inside the temple at the time of the strike. Reports around midnight, however, claimed that nearly 75 devotees were still trapped in a room inside the temple. But a priest said to be with them reportedly called their relatives on his cellphone to say that they were safe. Also, there were no reports of any hostages being taken.

The Swaminarayan Temple is only 2 km away from the state secretariat and less than a km from the Governor's official residence. Those killed include at least 10 women and children. The injured have been admitted to city hospitals. At least two of them were Muslims, officials said.

Earlier, commandos sealed off the 22-acre temple complex and entered the premises around 5 p.m. Gunshots and intermittent firing could be heard from inside. A huge explosion was heard around 8.20 p.m. Minister of state for home Mr Govardhan Zaphadia said late tonight that the terrorists, armed with AK-47 rifles and hand-grenades, were holed up inside a room above the exhibition hall.

A team of 70 NSG commandos reached the site later in the evening



THE INNOCENT VICTIMS, THE SCENE OF THE CRIME: in hospital (Left) and at the Swaminarayan temple complex (Right) in Gandhinagar on Tuesday. — AFP & PTI

to flush out the terrorists, and began operations at 1 a.m.

The exact number of militants inside the complex is still not known. Initial reports had said three terrorists had entered the complex, a government spokesman said.

Mr LK Advani, who arrived in Ahmedabad late tonight, discounted reports that the terrorists were in Army fatigues and quoted a temple priest as having said that they were in plain clothes. He termed the attack as a "deliberate design" to divert attention

from the success of elections in Jammu and Kashmir. Mr Advani has briefed President APJ Abdul Kalam on the incident. He appealed to the people to stay calm. "People should understand that a communal conflict will only serve the interests of terrorists," he said.

He met Governor Mr Sundar Singh Bhandari and Mr Narendra Modi late tonight to discuss the situation. Mr Modi has asked people to maintain calm. "The state government has taken necessary steps to combat the 'dastardly' act ... Having failed in

Kashmir, they targeted Gujarat." He asked people to have faith in the government and co-operate with it to handle the situation. The entire state has been put on high alert.

Muslim leaders in the state issued a statement condemning the attack.

As the news of the terrorist attack on the temple spread, tension gripped Ahmedabad, still recovering from the trauma of the recent riots. There was tension in Gandhinagar and other parts of the state. The injured were immediately

rushed to the local Civil Hospital. Most of them were soaked in blood and were taken inside in stretchers and wheelchairs. Bodies of four children killed in the attack were lying on the floor of the emergency section covered with a sheet.

Late tonight, Pakistan condemned the attack, saying such attacks were aimed at heightening tension in the region. President George W Bush and British foreign secretary Jack Straw also condemned the attack.

More reports on page 4

Advani rushes to get Modi toe peace line

Sanjay Singh in New Delhi

Sept. 24. — As Deputy Prime Minister Mr LK Advani rushed to Gandhinagar at 8.30 p.m., the Centre's priority was — how to stop possible retaliatory violence in Gujarat. And how to get Mr Narendra Modi to act as peacemaker.

The experience of post-Godhra Gujarat riots dictated the first response of the Union home ministry. The Gujarat chief minister was asked to issue a peace appeal — a contrast, sources said, to his post-Godhra response. Commandos of the National Security Guards were immediately airlifted from Delhi to reach the spot. Additional companies of paramilitary forces are in the process of being deployed in the state.

Mr Advani briefed Dr Abdul Kalam and Mr Vajpayee. The Prime Minister, who is on a visit to The Maldives, is cutting short his trip and will return around five hours ahead of schedule tomorrow, officials said. Mr Vajpayee too spoke to the President.

Officials are "extremely apprehensive" about the communal fallout of the temple attack. "That is why getting Mr Modi to issue a peace statement was so necessary," an official said. The chief minister has had to cancel his gaurav yatra. He was told to reach Gandhinagar and personally monitor the situation, sources said.

Given the way the Centre has reacted to the incident, it will be incumbent on Mr Modi to do his best to contain the situation in the state and stop any retaliatory violence.

Another "special emphasis" comes from the Deputy Prime Minister and home minister himself. A terrorist attack in Mr Advani's home state, and in his constituency, Turn to page 4

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THE STATESMAN

India a potential great power, says USA

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**Desikan Thirunarayanapuram
in Washington**

Sept. 25. — A US strategic document released last week has described India as a "potential great power" — along with Russia and China — "in the midst of internal transition".

The National Security Strategy prepared by White House and the National Security Council largely discusses the need for new alliances in the post-Cold War and post-September 11 world. The US President is required under law to present the strategy to Congress every year. But this document is significant since it is the first from the Bush administration and the first to outline US foreign policy thinking since the 11 September attacks. "We are attentive to the possible renewal of old patterns of great power competition. Several potential great powers are now in the midst of internal transition — most importantly Russia, India, and China. In all three cases, recent developments have encouraged our hope that a truly global consensus about basic principles is slowly taking shape," said the document released by the office of National Security Adviser Ms Condoleezza Rice.

The 33-page report released on Friday devotes two paragraphs exclusively to India, saying Washington "has undertaken a transformation in its bilateral relationship with India based on a conviction that US interests require a strong relationship with India".

The report notes that besides India and the USA being the two largest democracies, committed to political freedom, India is also moving towards greater economic freedom. The report notes the strategic cooperation between the two countries in patrolling the Malacca Straits, one of the busiest sea lanes of the world. "We have a common interest in the free flow of commerce, including through the vital sea lanes of the Indian Ocean," the report says. "We share an interest in fighting terrorism and in creating a strategically stable Asia."

The report says the two countries have differences, especially over India's nuclear and missile programmes and the pace of economic reforms. But, it notes, "while in the past these concerns may have dominated our thinking about India, today we start with a view of India as a growing world power with whom we have common strategic interests."

"Through a strong partnership with

India, we can best address any differences and shape a dynamic future," the report says. Yesterday, Rep. Ed Royce, California Republican and co-chairman of the Congressional Caucus on India and Indian Americans, praised the strategy for "properly recognizing India as a 'growing world power'."

"To the casual observer of the geopolitical landscape, the inclusion of India may come as a surprise. But to those of us who have been watching South Asia and the transformation of India in recent years, it comes as no surprise," said Mr Royce. "The Bush administration is giving India the recognition it deserves."

Mr Royce also noted the growing military relationship between the two countries, saying Washington "is rightly enhancing military-to-military cooperation with India, which was mistakenly terminated in 1998."

The report says the 11 September attacks have "fundamentally changed the context" of US relations with other global power centres. In this context again, the report specifically mentions the need for "active agendas of cooperation" with Russia, India and China, besides "our long-standing allies in Europe and Asia."

Russia rejects U.N. draft resolution

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, SEPT. 29. Russia has rejected the U.S.-British draft of a Security Council resolution on Iraq threatening Baghdad with military action if it fails to comply with U.N. inspection demands. Speaking after talks with the U. S. and British envoys, Marc Grossman and Peter Ricketts, in Moscow on Saturday, the Russian Foreign Minister, Igor Ivanov, made it clear Moscow was in favour of fulfilling the existing U.N. resolutions on Iraq.

Russia is strongly opposed to a planned U.S. attack on Iraq, which is expected to hurt its economic interests. However, aware of Russia's inability to stop the showdown in the Persian Gulf the Russian President, Vladimir Putin, is working hard to minimise the damage and, with luck, to consolidate the gains he won during the U. S.-led war in Afghanistan. By providing valuable intelligence and military assistance to the U. S. in its campaign against the Taliban and Al-Qaeda Mr. Putin positioned Russia as a key U. S. partner in the global anti-terrorist coalition and restored Russia's role as a key player in world affairs.

Mr. Putin is expected to discuss Iraq with the U. S. President, George W. Bush, when they meet twice in October on

the sidelines of Mr. Putin's visit to Mexico and an Asian economic forum. The Russian leader has already set out his terms for the deal on Iraq. Moscow will mute its opposition to the attack in exchange for the Washington's recognition of Russia's vital interests in the former Soviet states and in countries Washington has dubbed "evil." Mr. Putin's threat to flush out Chechen rebels from their bases in neighbouring Georgia, pointedly aired on September 11, sent a clear message to Washington: "If you feel free to pursue your global interests under the anti-terrorist banner, we will do the same in our zone of strategic interests."

Russia's true target in Georgia is not Chechen rebels, who are mostly based in Chechnya anyway, but the regime of the President, Eduard Shevardnadze. Moscow feels that the Georgian leader has overplayed his hand, trying to sap Russia's influence in the Caucasus and provide a foothold for American presence in the region. If Mr. Shevardnadze loses power to a leader more loyal to Moscow, this would prevent the Americanisation of the Caucasus and delay, if not bury, the construction of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline heavily lobbied by Washington to deny Russia control over oil exports from Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan.

THE ECONOMIST

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Freedom at last for Shahnaz, Mobin

Jammu: After a seven-year incarceration, it was freedom at last for Shahnaz as she walked out of the district jail in Jammu along with her four-year-old daughter Mobin after the J&K high court ordered their release and conferred Indian citizenship on the child.

"It is a welcome step taken by the Indian judiciary. I am happy that even Indian people have helped her out from the jail," a visibly-relieved Shahnaz, who was carried across the Indian border by the currents in the Jhelum in 1995, told reporters as she stepped out of the jail with the child in tow.

"I do not want to go to Pakistan and will stay in India only. I will now devote my entire life to bringing up my child Mobin, now four years old," said Shahnaz, who was jailed for her illegal entry into India without valid documents.

Mobin was born to her in captivity after she was allegedly raped in police custody. A division bench of the court on Friday had held the duo's detention to be illegal and awarded a Rs 3-lakh compensation, besides telling the state government to provide them government accommodation.

The mother and daughter were released from the jail in front of the chief judicial magistrate, Jammu, Suresh Sharma, advocate A.K. Sawhney and additional superintendent S.K. Kotwal.



Shahnaz with Mobin outside Jammu Central Jail

Shahnaz alias Sayeda, wife of Mohammad Younis of village Haryan da Bagh of Mirpur (PoK), was arrested on October 6, 1995, and a case was registered against her under the Egress and International Movement Control Order.

She was convicted on November 15, 1995, and sentenced to one year imprisonment and fined Rs 500—failing which she was to serve a further jail term of three months. She was lodged in the district jail in Poonch and thereafter shifted to Central Jail, Jammu, on January 28, 1996.

Shahnaz gave birth to a girl on October 6, 1997, in the jail as a result of alleged rape by Mohammed Din, the jail warden. According to Shahnaz, she had jumped into the river following differences with her in-laws and was swept into the Indian side by a strong river current. PTI

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India has no plans to join WTO procurement pact



By R. Gopalakrishnan

CHENNAI, AUG. 5. India has no intention at present to join the "plurilateral" (namely, voluntary within the World Trade Organisation system) agreement on government procurement. This has been made clear by India more than once in the course of its response to queries posed by several members of the WTO during the recent India Trade Policy Review (TPR) sessions held in Geneva.

According to the minutes of the WTO's India TPR, India also defended the price preference for public sector enterprises (PSEs), introduced in 1992, as a measure of compensation to the companies against the "substantial social commitments" met by them. The extension of the preference till the end of April 2004 is intended to "help the PSEs' transition to the liberalised and competitive environment".

India pointed out that purchase preference was not mandatory and it was left to the procuring entities to accord or deny the preference.

Denying that purchase preference to public sector for 356 items and price preference constituted import substitution subsidies under Article 1.1(b) of the Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures (SCM) of the GATT/WTO.

Schemes like the EPCG (export promotion capital goods), DEPB (duty entitlement pass book) and duty drawback, India said,

were WTO-compatible in terms of Annex-I to the SCM agreement read with footnote 1 thereto and hence had not been notified to the Subsidies Committee. The Technology Upgradation Fund (TUF) for the textile industry (involving an interest subsidy from the government), it claimed, was being paid for by the industry itself "indirectly" inasmuch as the industry was obliged to pay an additional duty.

In response to the plethora of queries about the use of anti-dumping duties, especially from China, Japan and (South) Korea, India said the removal of quantitative restrictions (QRs) on imports had made Indian industry vulnerable to unfair trade practices.

While Japan felt that chemicals seemed to be particularly vulnerable to anti-dumping duties in India, China alleged that its exporters were not given enough time to respond to queries of the authorities. India said that in about 50 per cent of cases, "best available information" had to be resorted to for arriving at a decision on account of nil response from exporters abroad. Resort to the "best available information" after rejection of exporters' response was quite rare, India emphasised.

Brushing aside doubts about the fairness and legality of Technical Barriers to Trade imposed by India in the form of requirements on packaging, labelling, price information and fulfilment of BIS standards, India said these were non-discriminatory

vis-a-vis indigenous and imported goods and had for long been part of the Export-Import policy. But only now these were 'highlighted' by way of inclusion in the Foreign Trade and Development Regulation Act since there was a greater likelihood of imports as a result of the removal of QRs.

India refused to comment on the question of bridging the gap between bound rates of tariff and applied rates as also increasing the share of bound rates in the tariff, in the case of both agricultural and non-agricultural products, since these would form part of the current as also impending negotiations on market access.

Many members, particularly those with competitive advantage in agriculture like New Zealand and Canada, sought India's views on the negative impact of the policy of 'self-sufficiency' in foodgrains, high levels of price support, unmanageable food stocks, cost of storage and transport subsidies.

Though India has already initiated a policy of making agriculture export and global-market-oriented and even encouraging switch-over to cash crops from cereals, it chose, in the TPR, to defend the 'self-sufficiency' approach on the grounds of global price distortion by the export subsidies and domestic support extended by developed countries and vulnerability of Indian agriculture to calamities (like drought and floods) and resultant fluctuations in production and prices of grain.

OPERATION VIJAY-I

Pakistan's Strategic Blunder In Kargil

584 718

By GURMEET KANWAL

It is now three years since Pakistan's foolhardy bid to dramatically raise the ante in its proxy war against India was successfully foiled. In April 1999, regular soldiers from the Northern Light Infantry of the Pakistani army had surreptitiously intruded into several un-held areas on the Indian side of the LoC in Kargil district of Jammu and Kashmir. In launching its ill-conceived military adventure, Pakistan violated the sanctity of the LoC and breached the provisions of the 1972 Shimla agreement. The NLI troops transgressed the LoC in large numbers in Mashkoh Valley, Drass, Kaksar and Batalik sub-sectors and established themselves on the top of high mountain ridgelines. In an attempt to pass them off as "indigenous Kashmiri freedom fighters", Pakistan's general headquarters ordered its soldiers to dress in civilian salwar-kameez Pathani suits.

Objectives of the incursion

Due to the militarily impassable nature of the rugged high-altitude terrain along the LoC in Kargil district, it had been the practice on both the sides of the LoC to man defensive posts only on the tactically important mountaintops and patrol other areas during the summer months. There were several large gaps in development on both sides of the LoC in areas that were considered unsuitable for large-scale offensive military operations. It is axiomatic that no army can physically hold every metre of territory along the country's borders either in peacetime or in war; nor is it militarily necessary to do so.

For over 27 years since the 1971 war the Pakistan army had respected the sanctity of the LoC and there had been no attempt to physically alter it. Hence, in the Kargil sector India's operational priority during the 1990s had been to thwart the Pakistan army's efforts to open up new routes to infiltrate so-called mujahideen mercenary terrorists through the valleys and passes into the Kashmir Valley and the Doda-Kishtwar-Bhadrawah areas south of the Pir Panjal Range. In difficult mountainous terrain like that in the Kargil sector, any regular army can achieve initial tactical surprise by intruding through the gaps and occupying un-held mountaintops. That is exactly what the Pakistan army did. However, its limited tactical gains finally turned out to be a strategic blunder.

The extent of intrusions varied from four to five km to a maximum of seven to eight km. The intruders quickly set about building sangars (improvised bunkers made by piling up locally available stones), bringing forward their heavy weapons and dumping ammunition, rations and other military stores. The intruders were armed to the teeth with battalion support weapons such as heavy and medium machine guns, rocket launchers and automatic grenade launchers. Some of the posts were also given mortars,

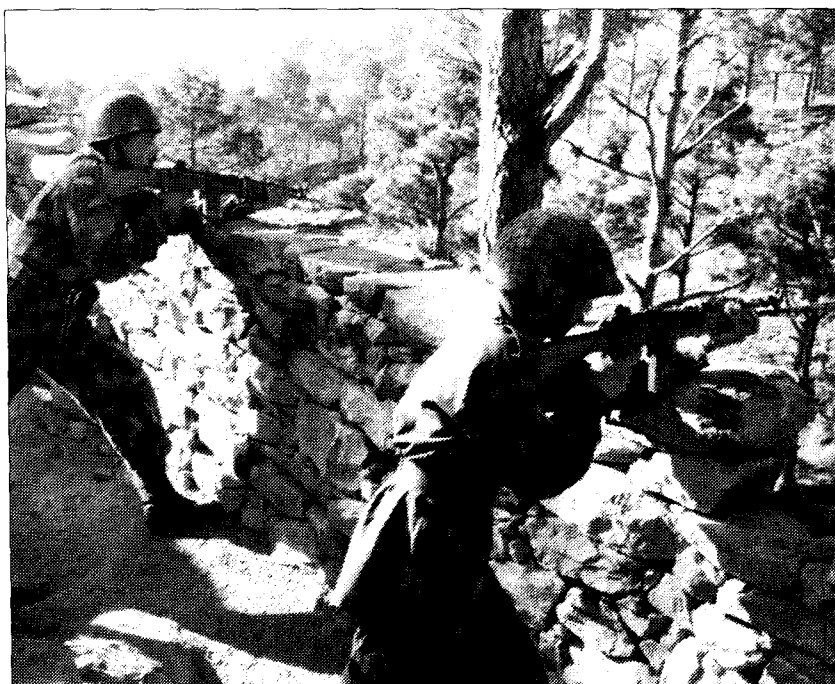
The author is a former senior fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi.

anti-aircraft guns (which were used in the ground role against assaulting Indian infantrymen) and shoulder-fired Stinger and Unza surface-to-air missiles. Large numbers of plastic anti-personnel mines were indiscriminately laid along the expected approaches to the ridgelines.

While the overall strategic aim of Pakistan in engineering intrusions across

damentalism in Ladakh.

The first reports of the intrusions came in to an army unit in Kargil sector from the local people on 3 May 1999. Reconnaissance patrols were expeditiously dispatched to investigate the intrusions. Extensive patrolling followed over the next few days. The depth of Pakistani intrusions and the extent of preparation



the LoC under the facade of Kashmiri militancy was quite obviously to provide a fresh impetus to the flagging *jehad* and again attempt to focus international attention on the Kashmir issue, the intrusions had multiple military aims. In the Drass, Mashkoh Valley and Kaksar sub-sectors, the aim was to sever the Srinagar-Leh National Highway 1A to isolate Kargil district and cut India's lifeline to Leh, with a view to eventually choking supplies and reinforcements to Indian troops at Saltoro Ridge across the Siachen Glacier. Another military aim in these sub-sectors was to open up a new route for infiltration into the Kashmir Valley and the Doda-Kishtwar-Bhadrawah region south of the Pir Panjal Range over the Great Himalayan Range.

India's counter-strategy

In the Batalik and Turtok area, which adjoins the Siachen glacial belt, Pakistan attempted to establish a firm base with a view to eventually advancing along the Shyok River Valley to cut the only road link from Leh to India's Siachen brigade. As a plus, the Pakistan army had also planned to physically occupy a large chunk of real estate on the Indian side of the LoC in Kargil district to use as a bargaining counter, particularly during future negotiations for a mutual withdrawal from Siachen Glacier. The capture of 12 trained Islamist mercenaries in the Turtok sector revealed that a large aim was also to gradually spread Islamic fun-

soon became evident and plans were made to evict Pakistani troops from the Indian side of the LoC as early as possible. In order to ensure that the task was accomplished with the least possible casualties, Army HQ decided to orchestrate maximum available combat power simultaneously on all the points of intrusion. In order to avoid escalation to a larger conflict, the cabinet decided that the LoC was not to be crossed.

It was soon realised that the recapture of each of the ridgelines from the well-entrenched Pakistani regular forces would be an extremely difficult military operation. Infantry assaults would have to be undertaken along narrow, super high-altitude approaches under withering fire from several directions. It is a well-known military maxim that the mountains favour the defender. An attacker assaulting uphill is at an immense disadvantage. It was appreciated that maximum artillery firepower would need to be requisitioned before infantry battalions could launch physical assaults to regain each position. Division and brigade commanders emphasised the necessity of destroying the enemy's prepared positions through coordinated preparatory bombardment to reduce the combat potential of the posts and break the enemy's will to fight.

As part of India's military strategy to deal with Pakistan's unwarranted intrusions, Army HQ decided to adopt a strategic posture that would prevent

Pakistan from focusing only on the Kargil sector, maintain pressure all along the LoC and retain strategic balance to counter unforeseen eventualities. It was also appreciated that ground strikes from the fighter aircraft of the Indian Air Force would also be necessary to strike at enemy positions, particularly those that were not directly visible to ground observers. Approval of the cabinet committee on security was sought and obtained for air strikes against the enemy positions within own territory. The first air-to-ground strikes by fighter ground-attack aircraft of the IAF were launched on 26 May 1999. Throughout Operation Vijay, India's armed forces coordinated their approach under the guidance of the chiefs of staff committee. The synergistic approach of the three services completely unnerved Pakistan's military planners and led to the early capitulation of the battalions that had intruded into the Kargil sector.

Contain-evict-deny

The operational-level strategy in Operation Vijay was to contain-evict-deny. That is, to immediately contain and limit the intrusions up to the areas already affected, then prepare for and evict the Pakistani soldiers from the Indian side of the LoC and, finally, enhance surveillance, patrolling and deployment, where necessary, to ensure that the Pakistan army is denied the opportunity to launch such a venture again. In view of the fact that the Tiger Hill and Tololing complex in Drass sub-sector dominated the Srinagar-Leh highway, the highest priority was accorded to the eviction of intruders from these features.

Besides 3 Infantry Division that had been deployed in Ladakh and Kargil, additional troops of 8 Mountain Division, engaged in counter-insurgency operations in the Kashmir Valley, were inducted into Kargil sector. Additional infantry battalions, artillery regiments and engineers units were expeditiously inducted from other sectors in J&K and from other parts of India.

Logistics plans were fine-tuned to sustain the additional forces in the difficult terrain of Kargil sector. Fortunately, Zoji La pass opened in early-May 1999 — it normally opens only by mid-June every year — and the additional induction of combat forces and logistics units became possible when it was most required. Specialised equipment and extreme cold climate clothing necessary for fighting at super high-altitudes were rushed in from various sectors. While additional troops were building up and acclimatisation was under way, attempts were made to get around the intruders' positions and cut off their supply lines. Along with regular troops, special forces troops were also employed for such tasks. Meanwhile, the NLI troops occupying ridgelines on the Indian side of the LoC were allowed no rest and were kept constantly on edge by the artillery by firing skillfully evolved harassing fire plans.

(To be concluded)

Protecting the poll

ST-4 7/18 Tough call on the forces

The announcement of the assembly elections in Jammu & Kashmir is tantamount to a call to action stations for the security forces. Their functioning will be critical to both the conduct and credibility of the poll exercise. Their operations will have to be distinct from election-related duties in other parts of the country where often a show of force proves adequate: in J&K that would arouse protest of a different kind. Difficult though it will be, the forces will be required to provide adequate levels of security for all those participating in the elections without inviting charges of having forced people to vote. Such allegations were made during the last assembly election, the forces rejected them and said that people had sought to be escorted to and from the polling booth, but to evade the militants' wrath they subsequently claimed to have been forced into voting. That the Chief Election Commissioner did not entirely agree is evident from his having made it clear recently that he would not accept anyone being pressured to vote.

There would be a dimension to the task of the forces in the weeks ahead that was not prevalent during previous polls. In the past the militants and their mentors concentrated on keeping people home on voting day, this time around they are trying to scare people away from contesting — as is evident from no fewer than 30 political workers having been gunned down in recent weeks. Now that the polls have been announced, that particular line of attack might intensify. Yet that also confirms the theory that a number of medium to high level "leaders" are keen to abandon the bullet for the ballot. Personal protection as well as overall control of law and order will be required of the forces. That too when the mentors of militancy continue to issue instructions to their hit men to disrupt the political process. The magnitude of the task being undertaken by the forces will have to be borne in mind when any assessment is made of their efficiency, or lack of it.

Yet the security forces alone will not be on test. During his recent visit Colin Powell virtually took it upon himself to ensure that there would be no cross-border activity aimed at disrupting the election. Just how much influence he wields will be established in the weeks ahead.

Suu Kyi hopes for quick start to talks

LONDON, AUG. 7. Myanmar's pro-democracy leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, said she hoped negotiations with the country's ruling junta on democratic change could start within weeks.

"I don't have a strict timetable," she told the BBC World Service yesterday in an interview from Yangon.

"What is important is that in the very near future we can start on the process of dialogue and cooperation for the sake of the people."

The U.N. envoy to Myanmar, Razali Ismail, said in Kuala Lumpur on his return from Yangon earlier yesterday he expected substantive talks on the country's political future would start "very, very soon".

He was speaking after meetings in Myanmar with Ms. Suu Kyi, senior members of the junta and leaders of major ethnic minority groups.

Asked by the BBC whether

she expected talks within days or weeks, Ms. Suu Kyi replied: "Well certainly we don't want to talk more than weeks."

When asked about the possibility of sharing power with the junta, at least in a transitional period, she said:

"I'm not thinking about power sharing or anything along those lines. What we are thinking of is the start of political dialogue which will speed up democratic change and the cooperation with regard to matters which will directly benefit the people."

Ms. Suu Kyi, daughter of Myanmar independence hero Aung San, spent six years under house arrest for her public attack on retired dictator Ne Win in 1989.

She received the Nobel Peace Prize while under house arrest in 1991.

Her National League for Democracy won the country's last



The Myanmar leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, in front of a portrait of her late father, Aung San, in this file photo.

elections by a landslide in 1990, but was never allowed to govern.

She was released in May this year from a further 19 months

of house arrest for breaching an order banning her from travelling outside the capital, Yangon.

Pressed in the BBC interview on the possibility of sharing power, Ms. Suu Kyi said: "I keep my mind quite open.

I'm being perfectly truthful with you when I say I don't have anything fixed in my own mind as to whether I should share or not share...We're not even talking about sharing government with anybody yet."

Asked how open she was to compromise, she said: "Once you've decided that you're going to start dialogue, you have to be prepared for compromise without compromising your principles."

On her vision for the future, she said: "What I would really like for this country is a little less aggro all around, and I want people to be able to progress in relative peace and security." — Reuters

TRAFFIC hurdle to WWF

Mohan Sahay in New Delhi

Aug. 12. — Plagued with administrative and financial problems, World Wide Fund for Nature India has suffered another blow. It has lost a key partner in conservation work. TRAFFIC, an international organisation which works to curb smuggling of endangered species and animal skin, has withdrawn from its collaboration with WWF India.

TRAFFIC vacated the premises of Pirojsha Godrej National Conservation Centre in Delhi on 31 July. It had stopped its field work from January. Conservation activists said the decision was related to the "unresponsive attitude in India to conservation".

For WWF India, losing TRAFFIC's collaborative effort comes on top of WWF USA stopping funding for some of its projects. The WWF USA in a message to its Indian counterpart wrote: "We regret to tell you that all other funding and support to the tiger conservation programme from the

WWF USA is on hold at this time due to many concerns we have about recent events at WWF India."

Conservationists here said the message was "a severe indictment of the Indian chapter of WWF".

WWF India is caught in a controversy over the appointment of its secretary general cum CEO after the incumbent, Ms M Vyas, left her post.

Though the organisation had advertised for filling up the vacancy, some trustees objected to the selection process.

One trustee, Mr Ullhas Karnath, in a letter to the WWF India chairman, Mr Jamshed Godrej, objected to the job profile of the secretary general cum CEO as advertised for appointment.

In the letter dated 29 July, Mr Karnath asked Mr Godrej to call a meeting of trustees to discuss problems faced by WWF

India. Mr Karnath said: "I joined the WWF board at your (Mr Godrej) invitation and after encouragement from colleagues in WWF USA. The purpose was to provide my expertise in wildlife conservation to WWF India."



THE STATESMAN

Cracks in U.S.-Saudi ties widen

By Atul Aneja

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MANAMA (BAHRAIN), AUG. 17. Cracks in the relationship between Saudi Arabia and the United States appear to be widening with more number of Saudis calling for a review of the nearly 60-year-old friendship between the two countries.

Riyadh is upset about a report by the U.S. Rand Commission that was submitted to the Pentagon's Defence Policy Board recently. The report authored by the French analyst, Laurent Murawiec, accused Saudi Arabia of masterminding and executing terrorism across the globe. The U.S. Government, quickly and energetically dissociated itself from the report, but the latter's conclusions continue to upset the Saudis greatly.

The Saudi English daily *Arab News* described the release of the report as an expression of a vilification campaign being carried out against Saudi Arabia in some quarters in the United States. The filing of a legal suit by more than 600 relatives of those who were killed in the World Trade Center attack has now followed up the Rand report. The law suit, which seeks between \$1 trillion and \$3 trillions in damages, has drawn in three key members of the Saudi Arabian royalty in its ambit. The royals named in the suit are the Defence and Aviation Minister, Prince Sultan bin Abdul Aziz al-Saud, the former intelligence chief, Turki al-Faisal al Saud, and the businessman, Mohammad al Faisal.

The law suit reportedly seeks to link the royals to the funding of the Al-Qaeda and Osama bin

Laden, presumably the key figure in the U.S. attacks that killed nearly 3,000 people. According to an agency report, the Saudi daily *Al Riyadh*, which usually reflects the establishment's views, has called for the revision of the Riyadh-Washington strategic alliance.

There is a need to revise the (Kingdom's) international strategic relations, it said, adding that at the top comes the need to reconsider U.S.-Saudi strategic ties. This front-page editorial says, "We must question those who think that America is our strategic option that cannot be substituted".

Only two of Saudi Arabia's 11 dailies, including the *Okaz* newspaper carried details of Thursday's lawsuit filed in Washington. But neither of them mentioned that the suit named the three Saudi royals.

The *Okaz*, on its part, has described the recent turn of events as the largest operation of blackmail plotted by secret hands. While the apparent downturn in Saudi Arabia's ties with the United States has triggered widespread concern, there is considerable introspection in the Kingdom on its causes as well. According to *Arab News*, Saudi Arabia's inability to reach out to the American people has been a major cause for its poor image. In a commentary, the daily points out "We should admit that our relations with the U.S. have always been confined to officials and diplomatic circles. We failed to make any social connections with the U.S. people". A Saudi lobby in the U.S., it adds, is conspicuously missing.

THE HINDI

THE HINDI

1 8 AUG 2002

Suresh Prabhu resigns

NEW DELHI, Aug. 20. — The Union power minister, Mr Suresh Prabhu, has resigned from the Cabinet after a directive from Shiv Sena chief Mr Bal Thackeray, sources said. Mr Prabhu's resignation, tendered on 14 August, is likely to be accepted. MoS for finance Mr Anant Geete is expected to take his place.

Mr Prabhu has been striving hard for reforms in the power sector for quite some time now. However, Mr Thackeray was not happy with Prabhu's performance and wanted instant results. Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee is reportedly keen that Mr Thackeray rethink his decision to ask Mr Prabhu to resign from government for party work.

But fearing that any such suggestion may be interpreted as interference in Sena affairs, Mr Vajpayee has "kept the resignation with him and not sent it to the President," sources in the BJP said. — SNS

Exit may slow down power reforms, page 6

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SASWATI CHANDA
& ALOK K. GUPTA

FIFTH COLUMN

**IN THE END
IT PAYS
TO BE
FRIENDS**

Any attempt at de-escalation and diffusion of tension between two countries needs to look into the existing perceptions of the security concerns of the two. It is generally perceived in India that Pakistan continues to pose a threat to India's security and its hegemonic role by engaging in cross-border terrorism and destabilizing internal peace through its intelligence agency. Are such strong threats a product of conflicting misperceptions in the two countries regarding their role in the region?

After months of belligerent statements, militant diplomacy, rhetorical media interviews and deployment of massive troops along the line of control, there are clear indications that the danger of a full-scale war has receded. The challenge before the governments and political processes of the two countries is no longer averting war. Despite the present impasse, there are reasons to believe that India will not go to war with Pakistan, either limited or full-scale.

Not on the warpath

First, Indian policies are deliberately ambiguous about the course of action and the goal. Neither are they clear about the threats that have emerged in the recent past. The main reason is that there are no defined vital interests involved, except such abstractions as safeguarding the sovereignty of the country.

Second, the absence of an institutionalized structure in India to define the strategic interest and security scenario has resulted in the lack of planned decisions, leading to confusion and contradictory statements from the cabinet and the army.

Third, the war cry of the Bharatiya Janata Party is mere rhetoric, politically motivated to exploit popular sentiments.

Fourth, agencies like the national security council and the national security advisory board have harmful overlaps with the government of the day. These bodies have little accountability and responsibility, and do not have any decision-making powers.

Fifth, India is not in a position to wage a decisive war as far as defence preparedness is concerned. It is common knowledge that there has been no major acquisition by any wing of the armed forces throughout the Nineties. The technological shortcomings were quite evident in Kargil.

Sixth, the Indian army has developed some fatigue owing to its deployment along the border for a long time under adverse climatic conditions. This, and the resultant low morale, is likely to affect its capacity to perform in a war.

Talking heads

Seventh, the Indian leadership, from Jawaharlal Nehru to P.V. Narasimha Rao to A.B. Vajpayee, has hardly ever undertaken any move which could be termed aggression by the international community, even at the cost of loss of territory to neighbours. Indian history is replete with such examples as the loss of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir to Pakistan and Aksai Chin to China. Notably, the Indian forces were not allowed to cross LoC during the Kargil war.

Eighth, Pervez Musharraf has his own reasons to try and pressure India in every possible way to de-escalate the situation. Every time Pakistan has gone to war with India, there has been a change of leadership in Pakistan.

Ninth, the presence of American troops in Pakistan as part of the war on global terrorism would create serious bottlenecks for Indian defence policy-makers, since it would jeopardize the current Indo-American bonhomie.

Tenth, Indian strategy planners also fear that a war would strengthen terrorist and fundamentalist forces in the two countries as both would be rendered economically and militarily vulnerable. Putting internal stability at stake is something neither country can contemplate.

Finally, the presence of nuclear weapons on both sides of the border would prove to be a major deterrent factor. Neither country can risk repeating Hiroshima.

It is crucial to immediately engage in sensible dialogue and political negotiation, given that conflict preparation involves diversion of precious resources from development to defence sectors. The role of the civil society in both countries would be to change political mindsets and pressure the political leadership.

27 AUG 2002

No Turning the Clock

The assertion of US assistant secretary of state Christina Rocca before the US House international relations subcommittee that in the US view the UN resolutions of the '40s on Kashmir had been superseded by the Simla agreement cannot come as a surprise. As far back as 1957, the UN mediator on Kashmir, ambassador Gunnar Jarring, had recorded that the "implementation of international agreements of an ad hoc character which has not been achieved fairly speedily may become progressively more difficult because the situation with which they were to cope has tended to change". Secretary-general Boutros Ghali wanted to remove the Kashmir issue from the UN agenda in 1995 and his successor Kofi Annan has declared that a resolution under chapter VI passed half a century ago is unimplementable. The Kashmir dispute came about in the first instance through terrorism, following the Pakistani-tribal raid on Kashmir. It has since been sustained through terrorism. President Bush's recent comments on the nature of conflicts are equally significant. In his half yearly commemoration speech of 9/11, he said, "When terrorists are disrupted, scattered and discredited, many old conflicts will appear in a new light. Without constant fear and cycle of bitterness that terrorists spread... old and serious disputes can be settled within the bounds of reason, goodwill and mutual security". Terrorism has to be tackled and eliminated first. Then Kashmir can be discussed bilaterally and resolved.

Which bring us to General Musharraf's pronouncements on terrorism. He says one thing in private to the US and UK and asserts something totally contrary to the media. His promises need to be defined precisely and publicly. The western powers have not succeeded in persuading him to make a public declaration that he would visibly and permanently end cross-border terrorism and dismantle its infrastructure. Even the January 12 speech has since been watered down, which has stripped the western leaders of their credibility. In the western media, there is increasing awareness that in order to perpetuate his position, General Musharraf has compromised with the jihadis, and his forces are not fully cooperating with the West in the war against terrorism. It stands to reason that a certain level of terrorism both vis-a-vis the West and India is necessary to make General Musharraf a much needed ally to the West. Untying this Gordian knot is the foremost challenge before Washington and London. //

'De-recognition of parties EC's sole preserve'

By Our Legal Correspondent

*J. G. ...
- ...*

NEW DELHI, JULY 12. The Election Commission, while declining to comment on the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Jayalithaa's statement in Chennai that she would seek a ban on the MDMK party, said "recognition or de-recognition of political parties is the sole preserve of the Commission."

Talking to presspersons, the Deputy Election Commissioner, Sayan Chatterjee, said: "We have not heard anything about the report.

The Commission registers political parties under Section 29 (a) of the Representation of the People Act. Let the event occur, it is hypothetical now," he added when asked whether the State had the power to ban a registered political party.

Asked whether the Commission would permit the MDMK MP, Vaiko, to vote in the Presi-

dential election on July 15, the other Deputy Election Commissioner, A.N. Jha, said: "He can vote in Chennai after getting an order of parole from the competent court and we have no objection."

Earlier the two Deputy Commissioners explained the steps being taken by the commission to ensure free and fair elections in Jammu and Kashmir.

The Commission would hand-pick 20 senior civil servants with known capabilities and proven track record and dynamism for being deputed as observers from the coming week.

They said around 6,500 polling stations were to be located and electronic voting machines would be used in all the booths. They said that during the 1996 elections polling booths could not be located in certain areas due to threat perceptions.

But for the ensuing elections,

polling booths would be located as per the 1988 elections.

Regarding Kashmiri Pandits who had migrated from the Kashmir valley and residing in camps, the Commission would locate booths in their camps in Delhi and Jammu, from where they could vote.

The electoral rolls for all the 87 Assembly constituencies had been computerised in Urdu and would be distributed free of cost to all the recognised and some unrecognised political parties in the State.

The Commission had asked the State Government to provide security cover to one leader of each recognised national and State party.

This would benefit the Bahujan Samaj Party, the Bharatiya Janata Party, the CPI and the CPI (M), the Indian National Congress and the Nationalist Congress Party, they added.

Come together for a better future

5-13
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National ambient air quality standards have been notified under the Air (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act, 1981, and in the Environment (Protection) Act, 1986.

Research and technologies: Research, development and demonstration projects ...of electric vehicles under alternative fuel, for surface transportation programmes are also underway. The objective of this programme is to develop non-polluting EVs with rechargeable batteries and fuel cells as a power source. Compressed natural gas buses and other forms of less polluting modes of transport are being given incentives. The strategy of the government to develop an integrated transport system aims to improve the efficiency of the system.

Railways have a well-devised system of working with regard to traffic management and increasing safety. The improvement in traffic indices is being achieved through: improved terminal handling; upgradation of signal and telecommunication; introduction of new concepts like engine-on-train; reduced detention to rolling stock for improved turn-around.

Financing: The main sources of funding for building infrastructure like national highways are the national budget, cess collected from sale of petrol and diesel and assistance from external, multilateral and bilateral agencies. In addition, a small amount of funding is from the private sector.

Cooperation: India is a member country of the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific and is a participating country in the Asian highways system. Bilateral agreements for the transportation of goods between India and Bangladesh and India and Pakistan exist. Indian railways is a member of both UN-ESCAP and the International Union of Railways. UIC is a voluntary association of world railways with over 140 members around the world. UN-ESCAP and UIC are currently engaged in the process of developing a trans-Asian railway corridor connecting Europe and countries in the Far East. The proposed corridor passes through Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh,

Extracts from
Agenda 21, based on
information provided
by the government of
India to the United
Nations commission
on sustainable development, April 2001

Myanmar, Thailand and Singapore. Indian Railways will cooperate with both UIC and UN-ESCAP with regard to the corridor development plan.

India is associated with various international organizations in the field of highways and management like PIARC, International Association for Bridge and Structural Engineering and International Road Federation. India is also associated with



Picture perfect

regional groups like the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation and the Bangladesh India Myanmar Sri Lanka and Thailand Economic Cooperation.

Sustainable tourism:

The ministry of tourism, government of India, is the nodal agency for the formulation of national policies and programmes and for the coordination of activities of various Central and state government agencies and the private sector for development of tourism. However, all the environmental regulations are enforced by the ministry of environment and forests.

State governments/district administration/local bodies and councils are responsible for sustainable tourism at the local level. The forest departments of the respective state governments and the Union ministry of environment and forests en-

force environmental regulations.

Legislation and regulations: There are several acts and laws which ensure sustainable tourism. These are the Wild Life Protection Act, 1972, the Environment (Protection) Act 1986, and Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act, 1986. These do not set aside any specific area for tourism, but such areas have to be identified by the state governments and the required approvals/relaxations obtained.

There are established procedure stipulated by the ministry of environment and forests for project clearance and monitoring. There are deterrents in these strategies to check, control or penalize damaging environmental practices on the part of businesses and visitors.

Strategies, policies and plans: The national policy on tourism lays emphasis on sustainable development of tourism. In addition, the government has brought out a comprehensive eco-tourism policy and guidelines...The eco-tourism policy and guidelines will ensure regulated growth of eco-tourism and nature-based tourism with its positive impacts on environment protection and community development.

Eco-tourism policies and guidelines have been formulated by the government in consultation with industry and are being implemented on a voluntary basis. The environment regulations are mandatory. All the players in the tourism industry including consumers have hailed these codes and have shown sensitiveness to the environment. The national policy on tourism lays emphasis on development of eco-tourism and preservation of natural and man-made tourist attractions and resources. The policies and guidelines on eco-tourism are specifically on the development of sustainable tourism.

Major groups' involvement: The national tourism policy envisages a very big role for all the stakeholders in the decision-making process. They are involved in the development of tourism and have contributed substantially to sustainable tourism in the country.

TO BE CONCLUDED

RAPH

TUESDAY, JUNE 18, 2002

NOT THE MOMENT FOR HAWKISHNESS

THE DIPLOMATIC GAINS that India has surely made in regard to Pakistan in recent weeks are really in danger of being squandered by New Delhi through an astonishing display of unthinking or even foolish bravado of a purely political kind. There can be nothing amiss about the desire, if any, within India's foreign policy establishment to set realistic benchmarks for performance by Pakistan in the context of its own recent pledge to cease for ever all terrorist incursions into India. Yet, it is plainly bad diplomacy that the Union Home Minister, L. K. Advani, should have now overplayed India's hand by laying down maximal conditions of a unilateralist kind for the resumption of talks with Pakistan in the foreseeable future. His suggestion of aggressive triumphalism may simply alienate the international community, which seems to have gradually recognised many of New Delhi's perceptions about the anti-India 'jehadi' forces in Pakistan. Not only that. The Home Minister holds a pivotal political rank within the inner circles of the Vajpayee administration. But he does not seem to have paused to ponder whether his freelance diplomacy with an abrasive edge might actually undermine the ongoing efforts of the Prime Minister and the External Affairs Minister to engage the major powers for consolidating New Delhi's current gains as regards Pakistan. Now, Mr. Advani may have calculated that his proactive style is best suited to his own agenda in India's domestic arena of politics. However, India cannot afford to squander the present fragile moment of hopes towards an eventual rapprochement with Pakistan.

Meriting a close scrutiny are two serious aspects of Mr. Advani's reported comments about the nuances in India's indirect 'engagement' of Pakistan through the channels of international diplomacy and of the media at this stage. First, Mr. Advani has ruled out the resumption of dialogue with Islamabad until all the terrorist camps in Pakistan and in the territories it controls are com-

pletely dismantled. This is a position that India's official machinery — the traditional foreign policy establishment — has certainly kept within its sights but without actually identifying it as the sole determinant of whether or not New Delhi can resume parleys with Islamabad in the changing circumstances of today and tomorrow. Islamabad, of course, tends to believe that New Delhi is continuously shifting the goal posts that Pakistan should reach before the two sides could resume bilateral talks. India at first appeared to harp more on the demand that Pakistan end its sponsorship of cross-border infiltration. In Islamabad's view, therefore, New Delhi is trying to exploit the present 'global' mood against terrorism by seeking unilaterally to enlarge the scope of measures that Pakistan could take for the explicit purpose of bilateral conciliation and harmony. It is in this context that Mr. Advani's intervention at this juncture seems to enlarge and not reduce the hiatus between the two sides. *HP-10 18/6*

Closely linked to the principle of bilateralism in the India-Pakistan equation is the second but not the least aspect of Mr. Advani's new discourse. He is reported to have struck the line that India's recent proposal for a joint patrolling of the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir has become a non-issue on account of Pakistan's "rejection" of it. Pakistan, while remaining less than enthusiastic about this idea, has also indicated that the issue might best be sorted out during any future talks between the two sides on mutual concerns. More importantly, therefore, it is amazingly undiplomatic of Mr. Advani to downplay the continuing relevance of India's own initiative which is rooted in the imperative of confidence-building under the rubric of bilateral engagement. Overall, given the stakes of the people of India and Pakistan in non-combative ways of attaining peace, New Delhi may have done without Mr. Advani's hawkish 'update' on bilateral ties at this critical moment.

THE HINDU

18 JUNE 2002

One-man democracy

By Harold A. Gould

IT IS striking how little note was taken in New Delhi, Washington or the media of Pervez Musharraf's announcement of a national referendum on himself. Since no one ran against him, he in effect will by acclamation "elect" himself President of Pakistan for at least the next five years. There was barely a murmur of incredulity or outrage either from the Land of Thomas Jefferson or the Land of Jawaharlal Nehru, or from the Land of Gladstone and Disraeli, or any other 'Western cradle of democracy'. One, of course, can attribute this silence to the sense of resignation which the world of realpolitik has given rise to. No political abomination repels us anymore as long as it can be rationalised or justified in the name of "national interest" and "strategic necessity", or until it blows up in our face. These were the reasons given in the 1980s for selling arms to Khomeini's Iranian Revolution in exchange for profits that the CIA could then illegally funnel to the Nicaraguan Contras. These were the reasons why the Mujahideen, Osama Bin Laden and the Taliban were created, in concert with the CIA and the ISI, to oppose the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and then subsequently were winked at as they transformed themselves into servants of Al-Qaeda and a staging ground for the Kashmir insurgency. These are now the reasons why a strategic marriage of convenience between the U.S. and Gen. Musharraf's military dictatorship was consummated and is now allowed to persist without a murmur despite the fact that it is bad for Pakistan and makes a mockery of all the political values upon which George W. Bush has grounded his War on Terrorism and his vilification of the Axis of Evil.

One American scholar has cavalierly justified the Musharraf regime on the ground that it is a "company town" and "not a military dictatorship" which rules with the consent and collaboration of the "governed" because "most of the civilian leaders have been worse". It implies that the

Pakistani people must be led out of their political morass by a General on Horseback who promises free elections bye and bye.

This view undoubtedly titillates the Pakistani elite, U.S. Government officials, their think-tank compatriots, and the western media. Phoney democracy reinforces and protects the Pakistani elite's ill-gotten privileges. It is a facade behind which the American establishment can mask their unspoken belief that lesser developed

tions, as its neighbour India did. They have been aided and abetted in this subversion of the democratic process by 'democratic' America which, as Mervyn Dymally (*Los Angeles Times*, April 5) puts it, has allowed "national interests to impugn national character".

From the moment they sabotaged Pakistan's first Constituent Assembly in the 1950s, the generals, the landlords and the bureaucrats have systematically aborted the evolutionary

If anyone believes that this time it will be different, they are going to be sadly disappointed. Generals do not impose democracy from the top down. The people build democracy from the ground up. If the former is what the Bush administration, members of the U.S. Congress and the sages who hold forth in the think-tanks are waiting for, then they have a long and fruitless wait ahead of them.

The imagery of the "company town" being used by some to characterise this *de facto* form of governance is drawn from the early days of the industrial revolution when it was common for predatory capitalists to monopolise all the means of production in their industry. Not only the factories and mines, but also the towns which housed the workers, the stores in which employees purchased the necessities of life (on credit), and the puppet policemen and corrupt politicians needed to protect their vested interests from the demands of their workers for decent wages, humane living conditions and civil rights.

The implication is that this is the most we can hope for from today's Pakistan. Generals, bureaucrats, merchants and landlords own and control the "town", and the *sadharan janata* must content themselves with the fishes and loaves dispensed by their paternalistic benefactors, no questions asked. This is the political writ that the Pakistani people have been compelled to endure for more than two generations, and the reason why we are witnessing the spectacle of their being "saved" once again by the same collection of anti-democratic oligarchs who unsuccessfully "saved" them three previous times. Without mature political institutions, it will never be different, and both the Pakistani people and the chances of peace and stability in South Asia will as always be the losers.

(The writer is Visiting Scholar, Center for South Asian Studies, University of Virginia.)

Generals do not impose democracy from the top down. People build democracy from the ground up.

societies 'are unsuited to mature government'.

What all these parties conveniently overlook is that Gen. Musharraf is not the first but the fourth General on Horseback who has ridden out of the military cantonment to "save" the Pakistani people from themselves! Let us remember that Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan and Zia-ul-Haq preceded him. Each time these "saviours" came forth to seize the reins of power on the people's behalf, they in the end plunged Pakistan into war, political repression, economic disaster, and eventual political collapse, followed each time, ironically, by desperate attempts by the politically sane members of Pakistani society to irrevocably end this cycle of government by coup.

Why have they failed? Why, as the cynics claim, have the civilian politicians been worse?

The answer is because they have not been allowed to "grow". It is not because the civilian sector lacks persons with political talent and integrity. It is because the military, bureaucratic and landed elites who control the country's resources have for half a century, out of their contempt for the common man and for democracy, determinedly colluded with each other to prevent Pakistan from "growing" democratic institu-

stages that all would-be democratic states inevitably must pass through (processes that include factionalism, venality and corruption as well as those Jeffersonian moments) over a prolonged period of time before they mature into institutionally viable open politics. To the extent that this is actually the case, what made the present possible was the elite's and the public's (perhaps at times reluctant) willingness to stand fast when the going got tough and trust the capacity of the institutional edifice they had erected to weather the political storms. The Western democracies did this. The Indian people have so far done this.

However, whenever the going has gotten tough in Pakistan, the anti-democratic rakshasas, using Islamic jingoism and the Kashmir bug-a-boo as crutches, have come charging out of the political woodwork to slay the process before it could work out its kinks. And, tragically, almost always the subversives have received a benevolent pat on the head from the Pakistan lobby in the U.S. The result: periodic military dictatorship which promises the public that which a society can only deliver once it has paid its dues over the long run to the jealous gods of democracy, as India has done.

THE HINDU

2002

Revive MEA's Historical Division

110-17
By Inder Malhotra

Mourning for Sarvepalli Gopal, the eminent historian and biographer, has been as sincere as it has been widespread. Sorrow is by no means confined to his friends and admirers, whose number is legion, of course, it is shared also by those who knew him only remotely. The reasons for this are obvious: Gopal's excellence in his chosen profession of historiography and his endearing personality that combined a high degree of erudition and seriousness with an equal measure of good humour and informality.

Of his brilliant contribution to the writing and teaching of history several of his peers have written at some length, drawing pointed attention to his outstanding work other than the famous three-volume biography of Jawaharlal Nehru. But strangely missing from the touching obituary tributes to him so far is any reference to Gopal's remarkable role in building up the late, lamented Historical Division of the Ministry of External Affairs and in the making of foreign policy, especially on China. Even those who accuse him — wrongly — of "having created the border problem with China" are only underscoring his importance in the foreign policy establishment during the 12 years he was its member and a prominent figure on the New Delhi scene. As it happened this period broadly coincided with his illustrious father, S. Radhakrishnan's tenure as Vice President first and then as President.

Gopal arrived at the MEA's Historical Division as its third Director since Independence — K. Zacharia and J.N. Khosla, also distinguished historians both, had preceded him — in 1954 and left in 1966 to be a professor at Oxford. By this time, the division was at the peak of its performance. It also had one of the finest libraries on history, diplomacy and international affairs

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Paradoxically, this was precisely the time when the inexorable slide towards the Historical Division's demise also began. For this there were two reasons, both typically Indian, that would have been rejected with horror in any modern and civilised Foreign Office. The first was the average Indian's inexplicable disinterest in history. Henry Ford's dictum that all history is "bunk" apparently has more adherents in this country than in rest of the world put together. Unsurprisingly, some Foreign Service professionals were able to argue that a separate Historical Division was a "wasteful irrelevance".

Secondly, and sadly, the historians and scholars working as research officers had started agitating for foreign postings and indeed for their own absorption in the IFS. This, they should have known, was impossible in a country swept by the closed shop

CAPITAL TALK

mentality on the one hand and a yearning for iron-clad security of service on the other.

The process of the strangulation of the Historical Division, however, was also characteristic and chaotic. It was abruptly merged with the Policy Planning Division in 1980 and was separated again four years later, without any convincing explanation for either action. It was at the time of the massive financial crisis in the early Nineties that the Historical Division itself finally became history, its last Director having been sent to Cuba as Ambassador and various scholars and researchers shifted to territorial divisions. Almost all of them have since retired. Nothing like historical or institutional memory on vital subjects like China and Pakistan survives.

Incidentally, since nothing can be more contagious than a bad example, the Minis-

try of Defence, existing cheek by jowl with the MEA in the South Block, has also virtually abolished its History Division. But that's a different though no less painful story to be told separately.

Meanwhile, the experiment of merging the Historical and Policy Planning Divisions in the Foreign Office has turned out to be a classic case of two drowning men clutching at each other and thus going down together. Occasions when the PPD might have done any useful work have been few and far between. At one time the late D.P. Dhar was appointed Chairman of the Policy Planning Committee primarily to enable him to coordinate the handling of the Bangladesh crisis and the war that inevitably followed. During her second innings as Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi used the same perch to enlist the late G. Parthasarathi's services as her principal foreign policy adviser. For the rest — let it be said bluntly — the Policy Planning Division has been little more than a dumping ground for officers not particularly in any other section of the foreign policy machine.

A comprehensive rectification of this sorry state of affairs would doubtless take time. But surely the powers that be could have revived the Historical Division that should never have been wound up. Not only several retired and serving diplomats have been suggesting this but also Parliament's Standing Committee on External Affairs has formally asked for the disbanded division's revival. The External Affairs Minister, Jant Singh, too has been anxious to streamline the Foreign Office. But nothing has come of his various ideas evidently because the routine is the worst enemy of the innovative.

Gopal's passing provides an opportunity to bring the Historical Division back to life without any further delay, if only as a merited tribute to him.

SUMMIT / GLOBAL APPROACH

10-12
**Energy, ecology
need to be 'balanced'**

DETROIT, MAY 3. As the world's appetite for energy grows, the challenge for all nations will be ensuring that supplies of oil and gas, and the infrastructure needed to transport these fuels, remain stable and secure, said the U.S. Energy Secretary, Spencer Abraham.

Addressing industry and Government experts on Thursday, the first day of the two-day G-8 energy summit, Mr. Abraham also emphasised balancing the need for more supplies with the desire for a healthy environment. By 2020, world oil consumption is projected to increase by 60 per cent, to roughly 120 million barrels per day, he said.

With concerns about the security of energy supplies heightened by the September 11 terrorist attacks, experts from around the world agreed to pursue a global approach to these issues. "We need also to prepare for the possibility of oil supply disruptions," he said. "On this, of course, international cooperation is fundamental to success."

Cooperation — whether in protecting energy supplies, planning for increasing energy demand as the world's population swells, or developing new technologies to improve energy efficiency — was an overarching theme of the meeting.

The summit in Detroit is the

first G-8 gathering to focus on energy since a Moscow meeting in 1998. Other countries participating are Russia, Britain, Germany, Japan, Italy and France.

The vice-president of markets and fiscal policy with the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers, Greg Stringham, said it was key for nations to maintain backup supplies and delivery systems in case of emergency. "In the critical places, you can look at what necessary levels of redundancy or alternate routes are available to be able to meet that demand in case of a ... disruption," he said.

Mr. Abraham spoke several times about how the effect of new technologies and increased energy use must be weighed against environmental concerns. He said the Energy Department would host an International Conference on the Future of Energy Transportation Technologies in Detroit this fall. The conference will allow international discussion of advanced transportation technologies that solve environmental problems, such as the development of hydrogen as a primary fuel for vehicles, he said.

Gary Skulnik, a Greenpeace spokesman, said it's not enough to merely talk about cleaner vehicles. "We need to show real commitment by investing resources now," he said. — AP

THE HINDO

1 1 2000

UK to pull out envoys from Pak

FROM ANDY SOLOMAN

Islamabad, May 22 (Reuters): Britain said today a series of threats against its interests in Pakistan prompted a decision to withdraw a large number of diplomats and warnings to its nationals living and working in the country to leave.

"The nature of the threats was a bomb attack. It's more than one threat that we've had," a spokeswoman at the British High Commission (embassy) in Islamabad said.

"Visa and consular sections at British missions have been closed, while the British Council has indefinitely shut all its offices in Pakistan.

"The security threat to

diplomats some information.

"It was not against any particular group, section or area but generalised (threats)," the Pakistani official, who declined to be identified, said.

A British diplomat said there had been no specific threats against individuals but some threats to British facilities.

The foreign Office in London said 130 British-based staff and dependants from a total of 210 in Islamabad would be withdrawn, while 26 out of 36 in the volatile southern city of Karachi would also go.

"As a result of these decisions, the British post in Lahore will be closed altogether," Straw told reporters.

"The post in Karachi... will

offer a very limited consular service and there will be a significant reduction in the staffing and therefore the service operated from our main high commission in Islamabad."

At least 15 foreigners have been killed in Pakistan and dozens wounded in violent attacks since January, the targets of Muslim radicals opposed to the US war on terror following the September 11 attacks on the United States and moves by Pakistan's military regime to crack down on militants.

Most foreigners evacuated the country in September, although many returned by December or January.

Some of those who returned said they could leave again.

"If I go I'm sure (my company) won't send me back," said one British executive.

Another said he was keeping his head office informed but the latest developments would deepen gloomy sentiment.

"I don't suppose it will make people any happier... they will be uncomfortable."

A note to British citizens and read to Reuters said the High Commission warned people to be vigilant over their personal security, vary regular routes and check vehicles for bombs.

London also changed its official advice to warn against travel to Pakistan unless there were "compelling" reasons, while British nationals should "consider leaving Pakistan".

No convention for second term, PM tells President

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, May 30. — Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee today met Mr KR Narayanan and reportedly told him that there was no convention of an incumbent President getting a second term. Like the previous government, the NDA holds the same view, the Prime Minister is believed to have told the President.

With this, chances of a "consensus" on Mr Narayanan getting a second term have dimmed. The President, who told Mrs Sonia Gandhi a few days ago that he "has an open mind" for a second term, now has to decide whether he should remain in the fray.

Sources said the President didn't make any comments on

Mr Vajpayee's remarks during the meeting. However, Mr Narayanan "is still keeping his mind open" regarding the issue, they said.

However, there was no official statement from Rashtrapati Bhavan.

Sources said Mr Vajpayee's reference to the presidential election was a "very brief one". Their talks at the meeting were mainly confined to the border tension and Mr Vajpayee's forthcoming foreign trip.

The ruling front indicated it was unhappy about the attempts of the Congress and the Left parties to impose Mr Narayanan as a candidate on others. It said today's development is meant as a message for one and all. The coalition doesn't rule out the Prime Minister finding "another

consensus candidate". Mr Vajpayee may initiate more consultation with other parties in this regard.

More Opposition leaders are expected to call on the President to extend their support for his second term. Mr Harkishen Singh Surjeet plans to meet Mr Mulayam Singh Yadav tomorrow and may also coordinate with the Congress leadership. A senior Opposition leader said since Mr Vajpayee had already made it known that there was no consensus in the NDA in favour of Mr Narayanan's second term, "today's development is not unexpected".

The President had two more visitors today — Mr Krishan Kant and Mr LM Singhvi, BJP Rajya Sabha member, both aspiring for the President's office.

THE STATESMAN

31 MAY 2002

Sinha asks West to devise coherent policies

'Imbalances can erode globalisation benefits'

Press Trust of India
WASHINGTON, 21 APRIL

India today warned that widening global imbalances and imposition of new protectionist measures could sharply erode the capability of developing countries in deriving benefits from globalisation.

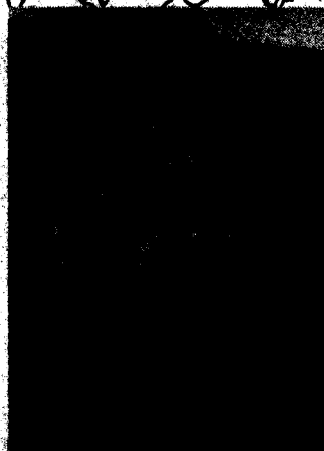
"Widening global imbalances, accompanied by reduced volumes of capital transfers, unanticipated currency volatilities, asset price fluctuations and imposition of new protectionist measures sharply erode the resources and capabilities of developing nations in deriving benefits from globalisation," finance minister Yashwant Sinha said while addressing the International Monetary Fund here.

Thus, it is essential that major advanced economies devise coherent policies as well as policy coordination, since these economies have a bearing on global growth and development prospects of developing economies, Sinha said.

"Equally, it is essential for multilateral institutions, particularly the International Monetary Fund, to expand its resource base by enhancing quotas and increasing special drawing rights (SDR) allocations for complementing private capital flows and reviving international investor confidence," he said.

Pointing out instances of global imbalances, Sinha said one of the major vulnerabilities in the current global outlook was increasing macroeconomic imbalances between the US and other industrialised countries.

"While the US is expected to provide the core stimulus for fu-



Finance minister Yashwant Sinha

ture growth, a greater than expected pick up by the US economy can create problems in sustaining global activity if growth is not commensurate in other economies," he added.

Encouraged by signs of economic recovery, the Indian government is putting together a policy to move on to a high 7-8 per cent growth, finance minister has said.

"We are putting together a policy framework which will ensure this (a sustained growth rate of seven to eight per cent)," he told a meeting co-sponsored by CII and US-India Business Council yesterday.

"I hope the budget I presented to Parliament this year will be another contributory factor," he said.

Asserting that the economic fundamentals are strong, Sinha gave statistics to say that inflation was low at 1.25 per cent, balance of payments comfortable and that foreign exchange reserves soared to about \$55 billion.

"All this shows that the Indian

economy is stable and secure. This crisis that hit international economies in the last five or seven years largely left India untouched," he said.

Sinha said due to the global downturn, India's economic growth had slowed to 3.3 per cent at one point. But it had recovered and reached 6.3 per cent in last quarter of 2001.

The minister said that the government had decided to privatise airlines but did not get good offers. The September 11 terror attacks on the US worsened things. "We still want to privatise. Meanwhile, we are strengthening the fleet of Indian Airlines and Air-India so that they can run better services and become more comfortable," he said.

Privatisation of the four major airports in Delhi, Kolkata, Mumbai and Chennai was also under way, he said.

Sinha assured the audience that the liberalisation process in India was "irreversible."

India today announced its decision to write off the debt owed to it by the highly indebted poor countries.

Sinha made this unexpected announcement before the spring meeting of the international monetary and financial committee of the International Monetary Fund here.

"As far as India is concerned, I am pleased to announce our decision to participate in the highly indebted poor countries initiative," he said.

India is the first developing country to make such an announcement. The quantum of the debt owed by these countries was not immediately known.

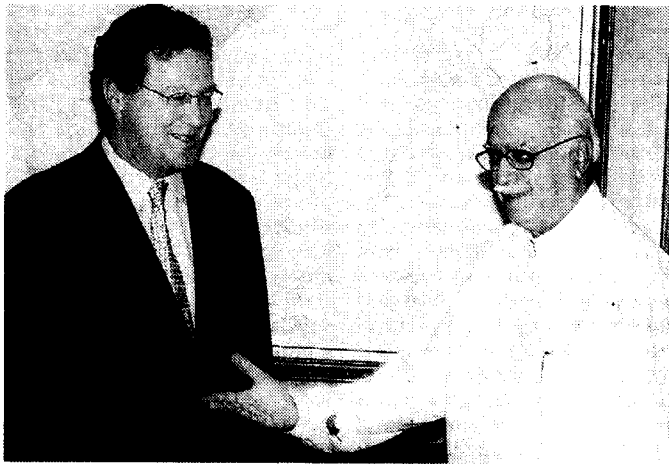
Mining in India most promising, says Australian Minister

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, APRIL 22. Australia seeks to expand bilateral ties in the fields of education, the 'new' economy, the environment and traditional sectors such as mining, infrastructure and agriculture, according to the visiting Australian Foreign Minister, Alexander Downer.

The Minister also said his country aimed to be India's partner as it looks up to the future.

Addressing a meeting organised by the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) here today, he noted that several Indian companies had achieved a place in the Australian market. These include Sterlite Industries which holds a substantial interest in several Australian copper mines while TISCO and the Oswald group were pursuing investment proposals. Over 20 Indian IT companies were enjoying successful ventures in Australia, including Polaris Software, Tata Consulting Services, Wipro, Infosys and Pentasoft.



The Australian Foreign Minister, Alexander Downer, with the Union Home Minister, L.K. Advani, in New Delhi on Monday.

— Photo: Rajeev Bhatt

As for Australian business which has achieved marked success in the Indian environment, the Minister said the Fosters group was the first foreign brewer to establish operations here P&O Ports was now one of India's largest foreign develop-

ers of infrastructure and mining giants, BHP Billiton and Rio Tinto which have a portfolio of developing interest in the mineral and petroleum sectors. Other notable companies with stakes here are Greenspan Technology, a world leader in

manufacture of waste water management equipment, Clipsal Industries, which produces light switches for the domestic and international markets.

On the banking and financial front, he welcomed the Indian move to assess alternative banknote options, including polymer. The Australian company, Securrency, the only one in the world with polymer banknotes in circulation, is well placed to work with India in this matter.

Regarding education, he said Australia aims to be a destination of choice for students wishing to pursue education overseas. Over 10,000 Indian students were now studying in Australian educational institutions and the country was now one of the top three destinations for them.

In the area of the new economy, he said liberalisation and market growth in India should allow Australian firms to invest profitably in IT, health, education, biotechnology, environmental services, media and entertainment sectors.

Orissa Govt. deporting Bangladeshi infiltrators in batches

HO-13
25/4
By Prafulla Das

9th Batch

BHUBANESWAR, APRIL 24. In an effort to deal with the problem of Bangladeshi infiltrators in Orissa, the State Government has started a new initiative to deport the infiltrators to their country. About 3,000 infiltrators, a majority of them Hindus, have been identified in different districts of the State.

The first batch of 21 such infiltrators, who were arrested from Nawrangpur district a few days ago, have already been handed over to the Border Security Force on the Indo-Bangladesh border, the State Home Secretary, T.K. Mishra, told *The Hindu* on Tuesday.

Infiltration posed a potential security threat, Mr. Mishra said and added that the State Government had decided to send the infiltrators in batches of 25 each, and the process would continue till all the infiltrators were sent back.

Asked how the infiltrators were being sent back home, he said that the State Government's job ended with the handing over of the infiltrators to the BSF. The infiltrators were then pushed into the Bangladesh territory by the BSF.

Of the 3,000 illegal Bangladeshi migrants identified in the State so far, 392 persons, including 130 living in Nawrangpur, had been issued quit India notices by the State Government a few months ago. However, only 108 notices were served in Nawrangpur and the remaining could not be served due to want of address.

While several persons who were issued these notices approached the authorities with their

grievances, 37 such persons had moved the Orissa High Court challenging the order.

The Court rejected 30 petitions in January, while referring five petitions to the Nawrangpur District Collector for further verification, Mr. Mishra said. Two petitions were pending in the court.

He said the Bangladeshi nationals living in Orissa had been divided into three categories as per the Centre's orders — those who came to the State before March 25, 1971 would not be disturbed; cases of those who came between March 25, 1971 and December 16, 1971 was to be referred to the Centre for a decision; and those who came after December 16, 1971 should be deported.

This is not for the first time that the Orissa Government has launched a drive to send the illegal Bangladeshi migrants back to their country. The State Government had deported 103 infiltrators between 1973 and 1993.

The issue of illegal Bangladeshi migrants had come into focus with the conflict between the tribals and the Bengali settlers in Raighar block of Nawrangpur over encroachment of land.

The tribals — who were protesting the alleged exploitation at the hands of the Bangladeshi migrants — had demanded deportation of the illegal migrants.

THE HINDU

NAM hunts for summit host

FROM K.P. NAYAR

New York, April 27: Wanted: a chairman for the 115-nation Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

Foreign ministers of the once-prestigious NAM have begun a painful search for a country willing to host the movement's 13th summit after two states which had agreed to host the meeting abdicated that responsibility in quick succession.

NAM's 12th summit in South Africa in 1998 had agreed that Dhaka would be the venue of its next summit, but in the personality-driven, volatile politics of Bangladesh, the proposal quickly became controversial.

Khaleda Zia, then opposition leader, denounced the idea as a waste of money by a poor country and campaigned against hosting the meeting in Dhaka.

NAM coordinating bureau sources at the UN reckon that Khaleda was then unsure of replacing Sheikh Hasina as prime minister and did not want the spotlight of NAM chairmanship to go to her rival.

But having campaigned against hosting the summit in the election last year, she could not change her mind and make an about-turn without losing face.

It was then agreed that Jordan would succeed South Africa and call for a summit in April. But in recent months, instead of making the elaborate preparations needed to receive the 70 to 90 heads of state and government who normally attend NAM summits, King Abdullah's government has been dragging its feet on the issue.

It first proposed a change in dates to July or thereafter. Then Amman plainly told NAM's coordinating bureau here that it simply could not host the meeting.

The Jordanians, sources here said, cited the crisis between the Palestinians and Israel as their reason for withdrawing from the summit. NAM officials agree that the critical situation in Palestine does make security and other arrangements in Amman a nightmare. But they suspect that the real reason for Jordan's unwillingness to take NAM chairmanship is the threat of US action against Saddam Hussein.

If the Americans attack Iraq, Jordan will have to walk a very tight rope as it did during Saddam's invasion of Kuwait in 1990. That will not be possible as head of NAM: the movement will undoubtedly come out strongly against any US action against Iraq.

NAM foreign ministers attending a two-day meeting in the South African city of Durban from tomorrow are now expected to choose Kuala Lumpur as the venue of the next summit.

Mahathir Mohamad, Malaysia's Prime Minister, is not only Asia's longest-serving leader, but is also an outspoken critic of US unilateralism and globalisation, themes still dear to NAM.

Reflecting the changing priorities in New Delhi, the Atal Bihari Vajpayee government has been lukewarm to the idea that India should step in and succeed South Africa as the movement's next head. There was a time when New Delhi would have rushed headlong and accepted such a proposal with open arms.

NAM's sixth summit in Havana in 1979 had chosen Baghdad as the venue for the seventh summit, but the Iran-Iraq war prevented Saddam from succeeding Fidel Castro as head of the Third World group. India then wholeheartedly agreed to host the summit in 1983 and Indira Gandhi became its chairperson.

EU unlikely to expand steel dispute: US

9.5.9

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Business Standard
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Reuters
SANTA MARTA,
COLOMBIA, 15 MARCH

The European Union is unlikely to expand a dispute over new US steel import tariffs to other products, as to do so could harm the world economy, U.S. Trade Representative Robert Zoellick said on Thursday.

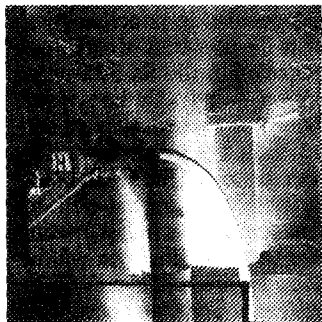
Zoellick said that EU Trade Commissioner Pascal Lamy had so far shown restraint, even during his stinging attacks on tariffs the European Union estimates will cost it \$2.5 billion in the first year alone.

"If you read Mr. Lamy's comments carefully, while he's clearly very upset, he's focusing on the steel issue and keeping the issue in that context. And that's what we will do too," Zoellick told a small group of reporters in Colombia.

"There's too much at stake for both of our economies and the world economy."

President George W. Bush's announcement last week that the United States would impose import tariffs ranging from 8 percent to 30 percent on 10 different categories of steel triggered a storm of criticism from across the globe.

The 15-nation EU has started proceedings at the World Trade Organisation that could allow it to take retaliatory steps by mid-



2002.

Lamy said this week that retaliation could be in the form of unspecified "tariff quotas," while pressing the United States to compensate the EU for its trade losses.

The United States says it does not have to pay compensation since the tariffs — which go into effect next Wednesday — are legal under the WTO's "safeguard" rules, allowing temporary measures to protect industries harmed by a surge in imports.

A major concern in the EU is that it will be flooded by steel exports from other countries that might previously have gone to the United States.

Zoellick said the tariffs would not unleash a flood of cheap steel into Europe, since the budding U.S. economic recovery, the strong dollar and the tariff exemptions given to free-trade partners as well as to other countries, would keep a steady flow of steel reaching American shores.

US will delay tariffs: Japan

Reuters
TOKYO, 15 MARCH

WASHINGTON WILL postpone its tariffs on Japan's steel products for 15 days from a planned March 20 launch, opening the door for possible change in the US position, a Japanese trade official said on Friday. But the official at the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry said the reasons for the delay were unclear, and that there was uncertainty over whether tariffs would still be levied for that period to April 4 but collected at a later date.

"The U.S. told us that the launch of tariffs would be postponed for 15 days. There may be a possibility (of a modification in the U.S. stance) or there may not be," he told a news conference. "We are not sure what that means but at least the measure will be delayed for 15 days during which the U.S. will probably undertake some sort of inspection process."

US President George W. Bush announced earlier this month that Washington would impose duties of up to 30 percent on steel imports from Asia, Europe and Latin America to protect its domestic industry.

China requests talks

Reuters
BEIJING, 15 MARCH

CHINA HAS called for talks with the United States over its planned limits on steel, but stopped short of filing a formal complaint with the World Trade Organisation for now, the trade ministry said on Friday.

The United States said last week it would slap tariffs of up to 30 percent on a range of steel imports from March 20 to help its struggling domestic industry.

"China believes the U.S. steel protection measures do not comply with the relevant rules of the WTO," the Foreign Trade Ministry said in a statement.

"The US government's decision will have a serious impact on the normal exports to America by Chinese steel enterprises." On Thursday, China requested through the WTO "consultations" with the United States at a time and a place set by Washington, the statement said.

A Foreign Trade Ministry spokeswoman told Reuters China could still file a formal complaint to the WTO if talks failed, but she denied a newspaper report that Beijing had already done so.

MAR 2002

THE STATESMAN

HD-12

Ukraine, Moldova likely to join EEC

By Vladimir Radyuhin

19/3

MOSCOW, MARCH 18. Ukraine and Moldova have indicated their readiness to forge closer economic ties with Russia and other ex-Soviet States.

The Presidents of Ukraine and Moldova, Leonid Kuchma and Vladimir Voronin, told the Russian President, Vladimir Putin, that they would study the possibility of "integration" in the Russia-led Eurasian Economic Union (EEC). The three leaders met at an informal summit in Ukraine over the weekend.

The EEC was set up last year by Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Tajikistan to promote economic integration within the loose Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), which unites 12 former Soviet States. Mr. Putin, who

broke the news at a cabinet meeting on Monday, described it as a "highly responsible and important decision" and a "step in the right direction."

If Ukraine and Moldova join the EEC this will give a powerful boost to Moscow's efforts to complement the moribund CIS with an effective economic mechanism. The move would almost certainly toll the death knell for GUUAM, a pro-Western alliance within CIS which unites Georgia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan and Moldova.

While Moldova, where Communists came to power last year, was widely expected to join the EEC, in case of Ukraine the decision marks a radical change of tack. Mr. Kuchma, until now has been a vocal critic of the EEC as a structure that could split the CIS union. However, Mr. Kuchma now needs

Moscow's help to strengthen his hand in the run up to parliamentary elections later this month, which may be won by his Western-oriented opponents.

THE HINDU

15 MAR 2002

11-10 Now Blair's War

The rhetorical fog of war has finally enfolded and obscured the glorious victory George W Bush and Tony Blair so triumphantly declared in January, just three months after the first allied sortie in the skies over Afghanistan. There is no hiding the truth now, for it is back to phase one in America's war on terror with the immediate call-up of sizable British troop reinforcements to tackle the shadowy outlines of what the Pentagon continues, over-optimistically, to call the "remnants" of Al-Qaida and Taliban. Assessments of the challenges still posed by Osama bin Laden's multinational army vary wildly, but few believe it numbers only a few thousand. Unsurprisingly then, Britain's readiness to take on its first significant combat operation in America's war, with the deployment of 2,000 crack troops, has transfixed a nervous nation and the wider world. To its credit, or perhaps because it could not do otherwise, the British government has not made light of the scale and immensity of the task ahead. Mr Blair's defence minister has admitted he is calling upon his men to risk their lives. For better or for worse, Britain is embarking on an open-ended commitment to Pax Americana. At this uncertain juncture, few believe that Britain's admittedly superb arctic-warfare specialist forces will swing the war.

Washington itself has warned that Al-Qaida remains dangerously resilient, unbroken and able to re-group not just in the inhospitable terrain of Afghanistan, but in several western cities as well. Bin Laden and the Taliban's spiritual guru, Mullah Omar, remain missing, presumed alive. Just this week, America's elite US mountain troops reported multiple namby-pamby cases of severe altitude sickness, together with an unconvincing, unverifiable victory over massed Al-Qaida fighters in the dizzyingly high battlefields of eastern Afghanistan. It is surely pertinent, as never before in the first adrenaline rush of battle after September 11, to say the ghost of Vietnam has finally risen from an unlikely Afghan graveyard. Mr Blair's detractors at home blame him for lacking the backbone that enabled another British prime minister, Harold Wilson, to resist America's calls to join the good fight against the Vietcong. Indeed, never before perhaps has a world leader been so convincingly floored by the force of his own rhetorical eloquence. In January, Mr Blair used the symbolic, high-tech venue of Bangalore to embark on old-style empire building. Britain, he said, must be a pivotal force for good in the world. Few, and surely least of all Mr Blair himself, could have imagined he would be forced so quickly to put his men where his mouth was. There is little sympathy for his plight on the European mainland. Too often of late has Mr Blair matched Mr Bush's hawkish pronouncements regarding widening the war on terror to include Iraq. The European Union as a whole, and more particularly the Franco-German axis, has expressed strong reservations on the issue. The only high point of the sombre mood music emanating out of various European capitals is the hope that Britain's commitment to the Afghan war zone will postpone the prospect of bombs raining down on Baghdad. /

Landmark WHO decision to make AIDS treatment in India cheaper

Donald G. McNeil Jr.
Paris, March 21

IN A move that could help bring down the price of AIDS medicines for poor countries, the World Health Organisation (WHO) on Wednesday released its first list of manufacturers of safe AIDS drugs, which includes a large Indian producer of generics and three smaller European ones.

The decision represents a setback for the pharmaceutical multinationals who want only patent-holders to decide what discounts to offer on their most expensive and profitable products. The medicines on the list are approved for United Nations purchase, and it will encourage price competition in poor nations by telling health officials which of hundreds of generics suppliers make safe drugs.

"This is a breakthrough," said William F Haddad, a generics maker who helped create the cheaper off-brand industry in the US in the 1980s. He said it was the first time WHO "has had the nerve to challenge the multinationals by listing generic versions of drugs that are still on patent".

Dr Peter Piot, director of the United Nations AIDS agency, said he hoped the list would help patients "gain greater access to affordable HIV medicines of good quality."

The list includes 41 different formulations of drugs, among them 11 antiretroviral drugs and five drugs for infections that often accompany AIDS. Of the total, 26 come from major manufacturers: GlaxoSmithKline, Bristol-Myers Squibb Company, Roche Holding, and Abbott Laboratories.

But 10 were from Cipla Ltd, the generic drug-maker based in Mumbai, that was the first to try breaking Western patent monopolies in February 2001 by offering AIDS therapy for \$350 a year to charities and African Governments. Before that, AIDS treatment in Africa generally cost the same as it did in the West: \$10,000 or more. Only a handful of countries had negotiated prices in the range of \$1,000 a year after lengthy negotiations with the patent-holders, who sometimes required them to keep the lower prices a secret.

"I am delighted," said Dr Yusuf Hamied, chairman of Cipla. "This proves that we adhere to good manufacturing practices on a par with other companies. It says Cipla is kosher, so now the multinationals can't throw at us what they have said: 'They're Indian, they're Third World, the quality might be iffy'."

Cipla products that WHO accepted include the antiretrovirals nevirapine, zidovudine, better known as AZT, and lamivudine, better known as 3TC. These three drugs make up one common AIDS cocktail.

The New York Times

2 MAR 2002

Indonesian team in Pak. to nab terrorist

By Amit Baruah

110-15
283

SINGAPORE, MARCH 22. Nations from all parts of the world are looking for Islamist "suspects" in Pakistan. Indonesia, according to a newspaper report, has sent a team of intelligence officials to Pakistan to track down Riduan Islamuddin alias Hambali, said to be the leader of Jemaah Islamiah, a militant outfit with links across several countries in South-East Asia.

The Straits Times newspaper said today that the 36-year-old Hambali headed the Jemaah Islamiah structure in Indonesia and was responsible for a spate of bombings in that country. The paper quoted a "one-star" Indonesian Army General as saying that there was a strong likelihood that one of several extremist groups in Pakistan would have offered refuge to the Soviet war veteran in Afghanistan. The five-man Indonesian intelligence team, headed by a colonel, would work closely with the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) Directorate, which had indicated that there was a "strong chance" that Hambali was in Pakistan.

An intelligence source was quoted as saying in the report: "He (Hambali) has a number of countries that he can run to, including Afghanistan, Libya, Iraq and Pakistan. At this stage,

Pakistan is top of the list because of his close links with militant groups there.

"Several of Hambali's associates from the militant group were also said to be on the move. They included his right-hand and financier, Abdul Agis. Both men are suspected to have orchestrated attacks against churches in Indonesia on December 24, 2000," the newspaper said. Hambali, it added, who was on Interpol's wanted list, has been identified as the Al-Qaeda point man for South-East Asia.

Singapore and Malaysia have arrested several members of the Jemaah Islamiah in separate actions. The Singapore Government has accused the detained persons of plotting terrorist attacks in the city State.

The Hambali linkage with Pakistan is hardly surprising given the fact that South-East Asian Islamists have used the country not just as a training ground, but as a gateway to Afghanistan.

The patronage extended to all hues of militants by the Pakistani State appears to have been without discrimination of nationality.

The very fact that an Indonesian team has been sent to Pakistan shows the kinds of linkages some of the Islamists have been able to establish.

THE HINDU

DMK packs punch in Atal praise

FROM M.R. VENKATESH

Chennai, March 24: The DMK today mentioned a "dichotomy" in its ties with the BJP at the Centre and the state but showered praise on Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee for weathering the Ayodhya crisis and steering the nation to peace.

The party general council, which met today, urged the Centre to ensure that the NDA's common agenda, which promises full protection to minorities as enshrined in the Constitution, continues to be implemented, signalling that Vajpayee should not allow the Sangh parivar to control the destiny of the ruling coalition.

Mentioning the surge of violence sparked by the Ayodhya standoff and the RSS resolution warning minorities, the DMK expressed its apprehension about the flare-ups engulfing India in the main political resolution.

Delivering his valedictory speech, Karunanidhi made it clear that the political flexibility of the DMK as a member of the NDA was limited to the Agenda for National Governance adopted in 1998. "We are not prepared to surrender our basic principles (of the Dravidian movement) at any cost," he added.

The party chief pointed out that when the DMK gave up the demand for the "separate Dravida Nadu" in the early 1960s, C.N. Annadurai had said "there is nothing wrong if we bend a little for the survival of the DMK and for the country's good". Karunanidhi justified his party's ties with the saffron BJP drawing on that logic, but said it did not imply "we throw to the winds our basic principles defining the DMK".

To emphasise his stand, Karunanidhi pointed out that

commerce minister Murasoli Maran's suggestion to "put a full stop to the internal bickerings and reiterate the NDA's commitment to the common agenda of governance" clinched the issue at the recent meeting of the allies with the Prime Minister on Hindutva.

Asserting that the DMK would never flinch from expressing its differences on the issue, the DMK said Vajpayee's deft handling of the Ayodhya crisis and his assurance that there will be "no deviation from the NDA agenda" saved the situation.

At the same time, the DMK chief did not hide his displeasure with the BJP's state unit, which he accused of "going overboard to praise the Jayalalithaa regime, particularly inside the Assembly".

Taking off on a BJP leader's slotting of his party's ties with the DMK as a "relationship" and its attitude towards the ADMK as "friendship", Karunanidhi said: "Our's is a relationship with the BJP at the Centre and a friendship with the Tamil Nadu BJP." He pointed out that the "stance of the central BJP leadership vis-a-vis the DMK is different from that of the BJP's state unit".

"This is no curse I am spelling, but you may come to grief later for being overfriendly with the ADMK," he said. Karunanidhi later criticised the state BJP leaders' posturing as "the sole protectors of Hinduism".

In Delhi, BJP parliamentary party spokesperson V.K. Malhotra played down the DMK's decision to distance itself from the state unit. He said both in Haryana and Jammu and Kashmir the BJP is "locally" fighting Central allies National Conference and Indian National Lok Dal.

China, Asean plan FTZ

Press Trust of India

BEIJING, March 29. — China and the Association of South-east Asian Nations (Asean) will hold a senior officials' meeting to review preparations being made for talks on establishing the world's largest free trade zone (FTZ), a senior Chinese official said today.

“Working level consultations between China and the Asean have been going on for some time and a meeting of the senior officials from both sides to review the preparations will be held in May this year”, the state Press quoted vice-minister of foreign trade and economic co-operation, Mr Long Yongtu as saying.

THE STATESMAN

30 MAR 2002

N-E ultras double up as drug traffickers

Jaideep Mazumdar
Kolkata, March 29

A NUMBER of insurgent outfits in the North-east have been lined up as drug traffickers from the Golden Triangle. The ISI has used these outfits as vital links in the global drug trade in the recent months by Pakistan's ISI, say top intelligence sources.

In what could easily emerge as a dangerous dimension to terrorism, especially for India, the ISI has established linkages between these outfits and the warlords in Ka'chin and Shaan

provinces of Myanmar. The ISI has also brought these outfits closer to the military regime in Myanmar. The Pakistani embassy at Kathmandu is the nerve-centre of this massive, multi-million-dollar operation spanning several countries.

According to Indian intelligence sources — and this is corroborated by the latest findings of the United Nations International Drug Control Programme (UNIDCP) — the 'Golden Triangle' (the confluence of the borders of Myanmar, Thailand and Laos) is fast emerging as the

largest opium producing region in the world. After the Taliban established control in Afghanistan, opium cultivation in that country started falling. The warlords in the Golden Triangle, primarily the Myanmar part of it, have stepped up opium cultivation to fill this void. The traditional sea routes through the South China Sea being used to send the drugs to western markets now have to be supplemented. This is where the ISI came into the picture and drew up a land route that was not being used very much till date," an In-

telligence official said.

"The alternate land route through North-east India, North Bengal and Nepal which was being used till now to cater to only local markets is now being extended beyond Nepal to the West. The Governments of Thailand and Indonesia, which control the sea routes, have tightened the screws on drug trafficking of late and thus made the sea route a risky proposition. Huge quantities of heroin have been seized from ships in recent months," the official said. The military regime in Myanmar as well the

warlords of the remote drug-producing provinces of that country have always had a working relationship with the ISI. "The ISI had worked with them in drug-trafficking and gun-running earlier," he said. The ISI got involved sometime in the later half of last year when opium production in Myanmar started increasing dramatically. The UNIDCP's regional centre at Bangkok estimated that Myanmar produced 865 tonnes of illicit opium last year.

"The drug producers and the military rulers of Myanmar

(who profit from this trade) got desperate, especially when heroin prices shot from \$290 to \$600 a kg internationally due to the Afghan crisis.

The ISI stepped in and provided this alternate land route from Myanmar to Nepal. The ISI's task was relative easy since it had already brought together a number of militant outfits of the North East, the MCC in eastern India and the Maoists of Nepal with the objective of giving a boost to subversive activities in India and Nepal," the official said.

(To be continued)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

30 MAR 2002

Callousness...

THEIR HOTELS, factories, garages and showrooms lie shattered. The once well-off are virtually penniless. It is more than a month since the riots broke out, but Gujarat's Muslims are still awaiting succour. Baba Harsoliya, who owned a huge showroom in Himmatnagar, has lost all his money and is not sure when he will get insurance clearance to start his business again, if at all.

Muslims in transferable jobs have already started looking for postings elsewhere. The traders who can afford it are planning to shift their business away from the atmosphere of distrust and hate. Those employed in Hindu-dominated areas are still not reporting for duty, and daily wage earners have lost their income.

Why, even police officers and members of the judiciary belonging to the minority community are feeling threatened, and in some cases have also been attacked. What has happened and is happening in Gujarat in the aftermath of the Godhra train carnage give a clear indication that if the torching of the Sabarmati Express was "pre-planned" as claimed by the BJP leaders, the post-Godhra violence was no less "organised and well executed".

The way the minority properties were systematically targeted, the way the police were kept out of the scene, and the way the Government deliberately delayed calling out the Army, all point to one conclusion: the Government wanted to whip up communal sentiment to create a Hindu vote bank.

It is precisely for political gains that the Chief Minister, Narendra Modi, showed no inclination to stop the violence. The least the people can expect from a Government in such a volatile situation is an honest effort to restore peace at the earliest but even the routine methods of formation of peace committees have not been initiated in four weeks.

As some senior bureaucrats, who said they felt "ashamed" to be part of the "partisan" State administration, pointed out, the speed and alacrity with which the minority establishments were singled out and attacked could not have been possible without meticulous preparation.

It was possible that the Vishwa Hindu Parishad had been making the preparations keeping in mind March 15 when trouble was apprehended during the "Shila Pujan" in Ayodhya, but the Godhra carnage a fortnight earlier came in handy to implement its "Muslim Hatac" programme.

It sounds plausible because the bloody "Gujarat Bandh" began with the destruction of the business establishments of the minorities before turning to the desecration of mosques and

"blood for blood". The idea was to deal a crippling blow to the minority economy to force them to flee Gujarat. It was further strengthened through the subsequent surreptitious campaign calling upon the Hindus to launch an "economic boycott" of the

The least the people can expect from a Government is an honest effort to restore peace. But, says Manas Dasgupta, even routine measures such as formation of peace committees, have not been initiated even a month after the carnage in Gujarat began.

minorities and severe all their business relations with the Muslims.

It could not have escaped even the most inexperienced of administrators that preventive measures were called for on the eve of a bandh call given to protest against the Godhra carnage.

As a senior retired police officer commented, "the sky is the limit for taking preventive measures". The Government could have rounded up known anti-social

elements, could have combed the sensitive areas and seized arms and ammunition, could have imposed curfew in the sensitive areas in anticipation, could have alerted the Army in advance to be ready to move in at the first sign of trouble, or at the least could have appealed to the people to maintain peace. But nothing of the kind was done by the administration in the 24 hours it had at its disposal between Godhra and the bandh.

What was also missing in the present State police cadre was a few upright officers with the guts to exert the powers given to them under the law. As a retired police officer commented, the excuse of being outnumbered by the hooligans was untenable; they are trained to handle such a situation since at no given time is the number of policemen larger than an organised mob. A few trained policemen can be stronger than thousands of hooligans. But even if senior officers had declined to obey unlawful orders, Mr. Modi could still have had his way. And the blame for it lies in the system introduced nearly three decades

ago by the then Congress Government and followed by all subsequent Ministries for their own convenience.

It has become an established practice in the State to appoint field police staff up to the rank of sub-inspector based on the choice of the ruling party MIA of the area. In the BJP administration, the system was taken a step further, packing the police stations in the opposition party constituencies with those convenient for the Sangh Parishad.

The system has resulted in an erosion of authority of the top police brass as the local staff remain more loyal to their political bosses than to senior officers.

In fact, senior officers reportedly at times ask the help of the field staff to exert pressure on the Government for plum postings.

And Mr. Modi by his subsequent actions also demonstrated that he was not bothered about public or media criticism in acting in a partisan manner.

He has unabashedly "punished" all those officials who "dared" to

Barbarism at its worst

Around mid-day earlier this week, a couple on a scooter was stopped by a mob of about 50 people armed with knives and other weapons on Vasna main road in Ahmedabad. They were asked to disclose their identity. Sensing trouble, the man gave a Hindu name. But the mob was not amused. He was made to strip to confirm his identity and then stabbed in the chest and abdomen.

Munnabhai, 28, who migrated from Uttar Pradesh about a decade back, is fighting for his life in hospital. His wife, Mumtaz Bano, 30, who was stripped and stabbed repeatedly on her private parts, died instantly.

It was not a chance encounter. The mob was aware of the couple's identity and wanted to punish them for inter-community marriage. Geetaben was a Hindu girl, a resident of Guptanagar in Vasna locality, before she became Mumtaz Bano.

In Baroda, a teacher running

coaching classes was sought out by a group of hooligans and stabbed to death in broad daylight for the same crime.

He too had married a Hindu girl some 11 years ago.

The Vishwa Hindu Parishad has always been touchy about Hindu girls marrying Muslim boys, viewing it as a method of conversion, though it welcomed Hindu boys marrying Muslim girls.

Eyewitnesses say that on the day of the "Gujarat bandh" a woman was raped repeatedly in front of a frenzied mob of about 5,000 people before being thrown into a fire in Gulmarg society in Ahmedabad's Meghanagar locality.

The Gujarat riots are replete with stories of ghastly attacks on the minorities, humiliation of women and killing of children.

There are no accounts of how many women were raped and tortured before being killed but such complaints have come both from urban and rural areas. — M.D.



Endless agony.

after the carnage

take on the Sangh Parivar outfits. There are not many takers for his claim that the changes were "routine administrative decisions". It was perhaps for the first time in the history of the State that a large-scale reshuffle of senior level police officials was undertaken in the middle of a serious law and order situation and the pattern of the transfers indicated that the entire exercise was carried out with a one-point agenda, to remove all those coming in the way of the Parivar hooligans enjoying a free hand.

The officers who ensured that their areas remain trouble-free or dared to book the local VHP or Bajrang Dal activists for creating disturbances have been packed off to insignificant posts.

The district superintendents of police of Kutch, Banaskantha, Mehsana and several other districts have been made to suffer for their upright stand.

An attempt has also been made to dilute the investigations against BJP, VHP and Bajrang Dal leaders named in the police FIRs in connection with heinous crimes.

A senior police official, who was investigating the involvement of the BJP legislator and the party's Ahmedabad unit president, Maya Kodnani, and the State VHP general secretary, Jaideep Patel, in the gruesome Naroda-Patia incident in which more than 90 people were burnt alive, has been shifted to civil defence.

The district police top brass

who suspended a police officer for inaction during riots in Banaskantha have been sent to the State control room.

The official inquiring into the Sardarpura incident in Mehsana district in which at least 22 people were burnt alive finds himself sidelined in excise and prohibition.

Almost every one of the 27 transfers was either to "punish" the unwanted or to "reward" the "good boys"; in many cases, the officers have been changed within two months of their last transfers. The transfers have led to a mini-revolt in the police cadre and the Director-General of Police dashed off an angry letter to the Home Secretary but by all accounts the protests may have come a bit too late to salvage the prestige of the force.

Apart from the discriminatory decisions, some of which the Government was forced to rescind later at the instance of the Centre, the personal involvement of a few Ministers or the BJP MLAs in the disturbances show the true colour of the ruling party. One of the Ministers was said to have participated in demolishing a dargah and placing an idol there to "convert" it into a temple.

Another had reportedly accepted the responsibility of keeping the police at bay to let the hooligans carry out their job.

A number of BJP and VHP leaders were allegedly involved in

investigating the mobs but had not been named in the FIRs by "loyal" police personnel.

It is the duty of the Government to arrest all the guilty, but the alertness with which it arrested the perpetrators of the train carnage was sadly missing in dealing with the post-Godhra incidents.

Though the police have arrested over 9,000 people in connection with the post-Godhra violence, none of the senior leaders of the BJP, the VHP and the Bajrang Dal named in the police FIRs, has yet been called even for questioning.

Despite being involved in heinous crimes, the police have used such soft clauses against the accused that more than 6,500 could secure bail already and the applications of the remaining are being processed.

The indications are that the Godhra carnage did work in favour of the BJP to consolidate the communal vote bank.

Mr. Modi is confident that he cannot be dismissed and is believed to have conveyed to the central leadership that any punitive action against his "Hindu Government" could result in more disturbances.

Alternatively, a change of leadership at this stage would also not be in the interest of the party.

Mr. Modi and the BJP could gain from the communal holocaust, but Gujarat has lost.

Where time is not a healer

SEVERAL DAYS after the curfew was lifted from the riot-affected areas of Ahmedabad, a few Muslims went to see the condition of their shops outside Shahpur Darwaja. They are no VIPs and in the pre-riot days no one would have noticed their presence. But the times have changed. The message went round fast and soon a huge mob collected.

Most of those in the mob were known to the Muslims, their neighbours till recently, but it was not difficult to read the menacing look in the eyes of some of them. The Muslims realised what was coming and fled for their lives. Fortunately, a reputation of the Makarpura incident in Baroda where two persons were lynched when they went with police protection to collect their belongings from their deserted houses, was averted.

This fear of facing a threat from known persons has seen people continue to make a leeline for the relief camps. Despite being crammed into small, overcrowded rooms and tents in highly unhygienic surroundings, the inmates know they are safer than in the places they lived till February 27.

The inmates of the relief camps are not just those rendered homeless in the riots; many from the fringe areas have also fled to the safety of these camps, no longer able to trust their Hindu neighbours or the police. A few camps also shelter Hindus precisely for the same reason though not many of them have been rendered homeless.

In most of the camps, the organisers' estimates went haywire because contrary to the expectation that the



Contrary to expectations that the numbers in the relief camps would come down as the violence ebbed, they have been increasing.

numbers would come down as the violence ebbed they have been increasing. Those who had been in

Delhi that he needed one more month to call a halt to the violence. The sense of insecurity that pervades the State will take a great deal to undo. There is, however, nothing in Mr. Modi's demeanour to suggest that he is concerned with returning a sense of security to the people battered by the violence. He has shown himself to be entirely unwilling to change even the language of justification ("har kriya ki pratikriya hai", for every action there is a reaction) that underlies his, and his Government's, every utterance on the violence and death of the last one month.

Mr. Modi, his Cabinet colleagues and their minions in the Secretariat and the police force refuse to talk about the systematic killing of Muslims in Gujarat except as "violence/riots" which followed Godhra. Most FIRs filed by the police in the last few weeks and Government orders issued in relation to the violence invariably begin with a preamble about the violence which "followed the burning of the Sabarmati Express in which 58 peo-

ple including women and children were killed". Apart from endlessly repeating what it calls the "causal" connection between Godhra and the annihilation of Muslims, the Government has also chosen to emphasise the State's "communal history" by way of explaining itself. The Gujarat Government refuses to acknowledge what even civil servants and police officers in the State, to say nothing of victims, social activists, and the press, have found: that this was no ordinary "riot", but a programmed attack on the people of one faith. Apart from this, the slowness of its response in providing any assistance to the people in the makeshift relief camps has undermined the Government's wilful abandonment of its constitutional duty to protect the rights of its people. It has failed to defend

their right to life—the most basic of rights—and for the survivors it has been reluctant to provide them the wherewithal to exercise their rights as citizens of this country.

The Government has so far shown little willingness to help people return to homes that may still be intact, or return to work in a guaranteed safe environment. Those who have done so voluntarily have been forced back to the camps by threats and attacks. The Government has also produced no reasonable plan or time frame for rehabilitating those whose homes and sources of livelihood have been destroyed.

Those who expect justice—for the deaths, the damage, the destruction of whole communities—will clearly have to look beyond the State's BJP Government. For, its "reac-

According to the Revenue Minister, Hareesh Pandya, about 101 relief camps in various parts of the State house about 98,000 inmates, a number which has swelled from about 30,000 in the first few days after the rioting. But the organisers of many of the camps claimed that the Government estimate was far less than the reality and that the actual number was way above one lakh.

While the initial problems of shortage of food or medical aid have been taken care of, largely due to the efforts of voluntary organisations, hygiene still remains the biggest problem.

In Ahmedabad and in most other cities, local authorities have set up toilets or provided mobile toilet vans, but the efforts still fall far short of the requirements considering that there is one toilet for an average of 400 people. The inmates still do not want to leave the camps and return home, at least not immediately.

For many, what was once their home has been razed to the ground while others do not feel the conditions are conducive enough to return. Other than providing relief to the inmates, most of whom are yet to receive the first instalment of cash doles, the State Government is yet to address the main problem of rehabilitating them.

Compounding the situation is the fact that many of them want to be rehabilitated in "safer areas", in minority clusters where they can feel safe. There is not enough land available to rehabilitate them all in such areas but till the problem is resolved, the camps will continue despite the inhuman conditions. — M.D.

tion", theory precludes admitting the role of organisations such as the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the Bajrang Dal (enough of whose members have proudly proclaimed their part in the violence).

The Government claims that the police have made hundreds of arrests of people involved in substantive criminal acts. But, so far, it has failed to give an account of these arrests, the charges, if any, against those still in custody and of the investigations which it says are under way.

The police in Ahmedabad have also voluntarily filed many "omnibus" FIRs, against groups of people, naming no names. These FIRs pre-empt the chance of a victim seeking to file an FIR naming either police officers or individuals identified in the mob. An omnibus or group FIR is not worth the paper it is written on, since it is nearly impossible to successfully prosecute a case in which the perpetrator(s) is not identified. The numbers of those "rescued" is an even greater obfuscation mocking the trauma of

the victims. The Government claims, to cite just one example, that the police "rescued" a few thousand people from Naroda Patia in Ahmedabad. Survivors say the police fired at them to force them into the path of the mob. Nearly 100 people, including children, died gruesome deaths, women and girls were raped, a whole neighbourhood was burnt down. Those who survived were transported to relief camps. This is what the Government describes as "rescue".

The Constitution guarantees all Indian citizens the right to protection of life and personal liberty (Article 21), the prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion (Article 15) and the equality of all persons before the law (Article 14).

But, Mr. Modi, and the BJP Government he leads, are determinedly showing the world that these constitutional provisions do not apply to Indians who are Muslim, if they do not "enjoy the goodwill" of the Hindutvawadis.

Crime and no punishment

Those who expect justice will clearly have to look beyond Gujarat's BJP Government, writes Anjali Mody.

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