

# Vajpayee's remark keeps partymen guessing

Neena Vyas 9 3 31 P

2. Mr. Advani, M. Venkaiah Naidu and Bal Apte asked the delegates to work selflessly for the party without expecting "positions". But the party leaders themselves were trying to figure out what roles (read positions) they would hold in the new dispensation, against the backdrop of the former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's remarks that henceforth Mr. Advani and general secretary Pramod Mahajan would play the epic roles of Ram and Lakshman. Some people close to Mr. Mahajan laughed off the remarks, made

by Mr. Vajpayee at a public rally on Thursday, saying no one should worry about his being Lakshman for, that could only mean exile and serving whoever was Ram. Lakshman, after all, never became king.

Mr. Naidu announced from the podium that he would be content to be Hanuman. "People have been asking me what my role will be. I said I will be Hanuman," he told the delegates. Later, talking to some reporters, he said there were "many Lakshmans in the party".

There were other leaders who

took Mr. Vajpayee's comments lightly, saying "they were good for news headlines for a day".

## Vajpayee unwell, leaves for Delhi

It was expected that Mr. Vajpayee would clarify his remarks at the scheduled valedictory address. Although he appeared on the podium briefly, he left for his room — and later in the evening for Delhi — as he was not quite well. Mr. Mahajan assured the delegates that there was nothing seriously wrong with his health.

The valedictory address was never delivered, and everyone

was left to play the game of interpreting what Mr. Vajpayee said. In his closing remarks, an emotional Mr. Advani for the first time directly talked about the ills that afflicted the party of late. But, he said,

the sorry episodes — he was referring to the expulsion of Uma Bharti from the party, the resignation of Sarjay Joshi as general secretary and the expulsion of BJP members from Parliament — were about aberrations and wrongs or indisipline on the part of individuals which could not and should not affect the party.

## WHO STANDS WHERE

# Ramayana riddle



PTI

## Atal's Ram-Laxman remark leaves BJP guessing

**SHEKHAR Iyer**  
Mumbai, December 30

WHO GETS to sit at the driving wheel? And who all must now fall from grace? Confusion deepened on these questions in the BJP — and tussles gained momentum — as the party wrapped up its silver jubilee conclave on Friday with A.B. Vajpayee leaving the venue early and without speaking his mind.

His remark on Thursday that the party would be steered now by "Ram" L.K. Advani and "Laxman" Pramod Mahajan remained unclarified, with no official word about Rajnath Singh, who is supposed to take over from Advani on January 2.

A cocky Rajnath treated Vajpayee's "Laxman" tag on Mahajan as mere praise for his "charisma and organisational skills" amid the buzz that Advani would announce his own exit and Rajnath's elevation at a press meet on Saturday.

Mahajan too dismissed Vajpayee's praise for him as appreciation for his speech at the rally and management of the convention rather than recommendation for coronation.

Vajpayee left the venue shortly before Advani was to deliver his valedictory address, pleading uneasiness and discomfort due to "heat" on the stage. But his failure (reluctance?) to clarify matters added a new angle to the emerging puzzle and seemed to cause further schism in the party.

Some delegates felt Vajpayee would have made a speech had he wanted to clarify his "Ram-Laxman" remark. Also, he hadn't been pressed enough to clarify because it perfectly served Mahajan's interests that way.

Soon after Vajpayee's departure, Rajnath Singh, Jaswant Singh and Mahajan went to the hotel to inquire about his condition. Mahajan didn't prolong the visit to pre-empt speculation over their absence.

Some BJP leaders said, perhaps, Mahajan was happy with the "Laxman" tag and didn't want Vajpayee to add anything that might dilute the impact of his original remark. "I would be the last person to force him to strain himself when he wasn't well," Mahajan explained.

"As for being called Laxman, it is not a crown on my head. Vajpayee was happy with the arrangements. Like Laxman, I will go back to exile and serve the new Ram (read Rajnath Singh)," he said.

While Advani skirted any reference to "Ram and Laxman" in his last address as BJP chief, vice-president Venkaiah Naidu vented many a leader's feelings and displayed his allegiance to Advani. "What is wrong being close to Advani? Why so much ado about Ram and Laxman? There are many Laxmans and Hanumans in our party. I am a Hanuman. I will focus on serving the party."

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31 DEC 2005

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

# Back to basics

9PP  
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Statesman News Service

MUMBAI, Dec. 30. — The BJP today decided to go back to basics. It iterated its commitment to the Uniform Civil Code, abrogation of Article 370 and the construction of a Ram temple at Ayodhya. These issues found no mention in the party's political resolution released yesterday.

In a *Rajat Jayanti Sandesh* (Silver Jubilee Message), adopted on the concluding day of a three-day national conclave, the party said that it still demanded a ban on cow slaughter, as also population control and wanted terrorism put down with an iron hand.

The 10-page document exhorted the party members to strive to make the BJP the "natural choice for governance" while warning them against "contagious diseases such as corruption of which the Congress is the fountainhead". They were also asked to put the "nation first" in their public and personal conduct. It also emphasised the need for taking "corrective measures wherever necessary".

The message comes at a time when the BJP's image of a "party with a difference" has been dented by a series of scams which

## Party not yet over: Advani

MUMBAI, Dec. 30. — Stung by a series of scams and after a lasting public spat with the RSS over the Jinnah row, BJP president Mr LK Advani today said the "pains" that the party had to endure in the last 25 weeks had nothing to do with ideology and asked the workers to adhere to discipline by not airing their grievances in the media. — PTI

Details on page 4

resulted in the expulsion of six party MPs and resignation of party general secretary Mr Sanjay Joshi.

Addressing the convention, former party chief Mr M Venkaiah Naidu said: "We are committed to Uniform Civil Code, Article 370 and building a temple at Ayodhya," making it clear that the party was "not apologetic" about it. He asked the BJP members to take this message back home from the conclave: "The party should go back to basics". He dismissed suggestions that the party had abandoned its three pet planks, asserting that there was no need for iterating its stands on a regular basis.

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THE STATESMAN

# বানপ্রস্থে বাজপেয়ী

অর্পিতা চৌধুরি, মুম্বই

২৯ ডিসেম্বর— অটলবিহারী বাজপেয়ী ঘোষণা করলেন, আর ভোটের দাঁড়ানেন না। তবে দলের জন্য কাজ করে যাবেন। কর্মকর্তাদের পরামর্শ দেবেন। এদিন শিবাজি পাকের প্রকাশ্য সমাবেশে বাজপেয়ী বলেন মাত্র দু'মিনিট নিজমুখে ঘোষণা করেন, ক্ষমতায় থাকার রাজনীতি আর নয়। দলে রাম, লক্ষ্মণ অনেক আছেন, তাঁরাই দলকে চালিয়ে নিয়ে যাবেন। প্রাক্তন প্রধানমন্ত্রী বাজপেয়ী এদিন জানান, দলের আদেলদানে তাঁকে পাওয়া যাবে। উল্লেখ্য, মুম্বইয়ে বি জে পি-র প্রথম অধিবেশনে সভাপতিত্ব করেছিলেন বাজপেয়ী। ২৫তম অধিবেশনে নির্বাচনী রাজনীতি থেকে সরে দাঁড়ানোর কথা ঘোষণা করলেন। এই শিবাজি পাকের দাঁড়িয়েই আদবানি দলের প্রধানমন্ত্রী প্রার্থী হিসেবে বাজপেয়ীর নাম ঘোষণা করেছিলেন। তা হলে কি প্রতিদান দিলেন অটল? মানে, বাজপেয়ী ভোটই নেই, দল ক্ষমতায় এলে আদবানিই প্রধানমন্ত্রী! একদিকে বাজপেয়ী তাঁকে রাম বললেন, অন্যদিকে সুখমা স্বয়াজও এদিন আদবানিকে ধুয়ে দেন। দলের বর্তমান অবস্থায় তিতিবিরক্ত বাজপেয়ী সক্রিয় রাজনীতি থেকে অবসর নেওয়ার কথা ঘোষণা করবেন, এমন ইঙ্গিত মিলছিল কিছুদিন ধরেই। নির্বাচনী লড়াই থেকে সম্মান নেওয়ার কথা বলে, তাঁর সেই বিরক্তির কথা সর্বসমক্ষে ফাঁস করে দিলেন। রাম, লক্ষ্মণ বলেন আদবানি, প্রমোদ মহাজনকে। বললেন, রাম লক্ষ্মণ হামারে সাথ মজুত হায়, হামারে পাশ মজুত হায়। সরাসরি না বললেও আদবানি, প্রমোদের প্রতি বাজপেয়ীর বিদ্রূপ বুঝতে অসুবিধে হয়নি কারও। ভোটের রাজনীতি থেকে বিদায় নেওয়ার কথা ঘোষণা করে দলের দুঃসময়ে দলকে জোর ধাক্কা দিলেন অটল। ভোটই লড়বেন না, ক্ষমতার রাজনীতিতে থাকবেন না বলে দলকে কার্যত খাদের পাশে দাঁড় করিয়ে দিলেন। সভাপতি পদ থেকে বিদায় নিলেন আদবানি, সাংসদরা ফেসে গেলেন সংসদে প্রশ্ন তোলায় জন্য ঘুষ নিয়ে, সঞ্জয় যোশি যৌন কেলেঙ্কারিতে ফেসে গেলেন, উমা ভারতী বহিষ্কৃত হলেন, এরকম টালমাটাল সময়ে অটলবিহারীর প্রস্থান, দলকে বিপর্যয়ের দিকে ঠেলে দিল। এর আগে বছব্বারই ভোটের রাজনীতি থেকে সরে দাঁড়ানোর কথা বলেছেন বাজপেয়ী। বলেছেন, চলে যাব। ইচ্ছে প্রকাশ করলেও সরে যেতে পারেননি। কারণ, দলের স্বার্থেই তাঁকে বৃষ্টিয়েসুষ্টিয়ে ফিরিয়ে আনা হয়েছে। বাজপেয়ীর মতো সবার কাছে



‘রাম-লক্ষ্মণ’-এর হাতে ছেড়ে গেলেন দলকে। বৃহস্পতিবার মুম্বইয়ে। ছবি: পি টি আই

গ্রহণযোগ্য, পরিষ্কৃত ভাবমূর্তির মানুষ দলে আর একজনও নেই। বাজপেয়ী বানপ্রস্থে যাওয়া মানে তো দলের সমুহ সর্বনাশ। চারদিন আগে জন্মদিন গেছে বাজপেয়ীর। ৮১ কিলো ওজনের লাডু, দিয়ে জন্মদিন উদযাপন করেছিলেন যাঁরা, তাঁদের সাথে আঙুল দিয়ে বাজপেয়ী আজ বোধহয় একটু কথাই বোঝানোর চেষ্টা করলেন, অনেক সহ্য করেছি, আর নয়। আর আপস করা যায় না। কিন্তু লোকসভার ভোট তো ৪ বছর পর - তাহলে হঠাৎ এখন ভোটই না লড়ার ঘোষণা কেন? আসলে বাজপেয়ী সবসময়েই সম্ভটের মুহূর্তে পাঁচ দেওয়ান ওস্তাদ। কদিন আগেই সরসম্মেই সম্ভটের মুহূর্তে বলেছিলেন বাজপেয়ী, আদবানিকে। বাজপেয়ী নিজে সরে সুলর্কে মুশি করলেন এবং চাপ তৈরি করলেন আদবানির ওপর। বিনিময়ে তিনি একাধি অনুরাগত প্রমোদ মহাজনের অভিষেক চান। ওদিকে, দলেরই একটি

স্বপ্নের খবর, রাজনাথ সিংকে বলা হচ্ছে, অন্তর্বর্তী সভাপতি হতে, কিন্তু রাজনাথ সেই প্রস্তাব গিলতে চাইছেন না। রাজনাথের সাফ কথা, করলে পুরো মেয়াদের জন্যই তাঁকে সভাপতি করতে হবে। ১৯৮০ থেকে ১৯৮৬ বি জে পি সভাপতি থাকা বাজপেয়ী এদিন শিবাজি পাকের সমাবেশে ভারী সভাপতি রাজনাথ সিংকে রাম বললেন না লক্ষ্মণ বললেন, তা অবশ্য পরিষ্কার হয়নি। ১৩ দিনের প্রধানমন্ত্রী, ১৩ মাসের প্রধানমন্ত্রী, ১৯৯৯ থেকে ২০০৪ প্রধানমন্ত্রী থাকা শ্যামাপ্রসাদ মুখার্জির ভাবশিষ্য বাজপেয়ী বৃষ্টিয়ে দিলেন, এবার তিনি যাচ্ছেনই, আর ফেরা নয়। আদবানি জানান, আজ রাতে শিবাজি পাকের জনসভায় সক্রিয় রাজনীতি ছেড়ে দেওয়ার কথা ঘোষণা করতে চলেছেন বাজপেয়ী, এ কথা আজ সকালে জেনেছিলেন তিনি। আগে বাজপেয়ী এই সিদ্ধান্তের

এরপর ৩ পাতায়

## ১ পাতার পর

কথা জানাননি। এদিকে, এদিন নতুন সভাপতির নাম ঘোষণা করা হয়নি রজতজয়ন্তী অধিবেশনে। সহ-সভাপতি বেঙ্কাইয়া নাইডু সাংবাদিকদের রহস্য করে বলেন, 'আর কয়েক ঘণ্টা সাসপেসে থাকুন।' কয়েক ঘণ্টা মানে আগামীকাল, অধিবেশনের শেষ দিনে সভাপতির নাম ঘোষণা করা হবে? বি জে পি কর্মকর্তারা স্পষ্ট করে কিছু বলেননি। ৩১ ডিসেম্বর আনুষ্ঠানিকভাবে বিদায় নেবেন লালকৃষ্ণ আদবানি। ওই দিন সাংবাদিক বৈঠক ডাকবেন তিনি, 'কিছু গুরুত্বপূর্ণ সিদ্ধান্ত' জানাবেন। এদিকে রজত জয়ন্তী অধিবেশন পর্বের প্রকাশ্য আলোচনায় সশ্চ ও বি জে পি-র অভ্যন্তরীণ টানা পোড়েনের চেয়েও প্রাধান্য পাচ্ছে প্রথম সারির নেতা-কর্মীদের আর্থিক অনিয়ম ও অনৈতিকতার ইস্যু। বি জে পি নেত্রী সুষমা স্বরাজ প্রকাশ্যেই বললেন ঘুষ নেওয়া সাংসদদের জন্য দলের মুখ ডুবেছে। আমাদের দলের সাংসদরা ঘুষ নিচ্ছেন ভাবতেই লজ্জা পাচ্ছি। সংসদীয় গণতন্ত্রে এঁদের ঠাই নেই। দলে যেন এ ধরনের ঘটনা আর না ঘটে তার জন্য শৃঙ্খলা আরও জোরদার করতে হবে। সভাপতি আদবানি সংসদে ঘুষ কেলেঙ্কারি ফাঁসের পর মন্তব্য করেছিলেন, সাংসদরা বোকামি করেছেন। সুষমা আদবানির অবস্থানের বিরুদ্ধে দাঁড়িয়ে ঘুষখোরদের তীব্র ভাষায় নিন্দা করেন। সভায় সুষমার অবস্থান অনুমোদিত হয়। বিতর্কে অংশ নিয়ে

## বানপ্রস্থে বাজপেয়ী

এক নেতা আদবানির সমর্থনে বলেন, কংগ্রেস বদলা নিতে ১১ সাংসদকে বহিষ্কার করেছে। ইউ পি এ সরকারের দাগী মন্ত্রীদের বিরুদ্ধে সোচ্চার হয়েছিল এন ডি এ। তারই বদলা। গতকাল আদবানি যতই নিজের দলের দুর্নীতির জন্য কংগ্রেসের ঘাড়ে দোষ চাপান না কেন, যতই বলুন না কেন দেশের রাজনীতিতে ঢুকে পড়েছে কংগ্রেস-কালচার, বি জে পি-র নিচু তলার নেতারা আদবানির এই অদ্ভুত যুক্তি নিয়ে নিজেদের মধ্যেই মশকরা করছেন। আর সঞ্জয় যোশির বিরুদ্ধে শ্রীলতাহানির অভিযোগ ওঠায় সশ্চ-ঘনিষ্ঠ নেতারাও বিশেষ কিছু বলার অবস্থায় নেই। বরং এই ফাঁকে দলীয় কর্মীদের আর্থিক ও নৈতিক অধঃপতনের বিরুদ্ধে সাংস্কৃতিক জাতীয়তাবাদের প্রচারকে হাতিয়ার করতে চেয়ে হিন্দুত্বকে আঁকড়ে ধরার কথা বলছেন কল্যাণ সিং, মুরলীমনোহর যোশির মতো নেতারা। বি জে পি-র রজতজয়ন্তী অধিবেশনে বিশেষ গুরুত্ব পায় পশ্চিমবঙ্গের বিধানসভা নির্বাচন। গৃহীত প্রস্তাবে বলা হয়, বিহারের মতো পশ্চিমবঙ্গেও কঠোর ব্যবস্থা নিতে হবে নির্বাচন কমিশনকে। বামপন্থীরা গণতন্ত্রে বিশ্বাস করে না। ওরা 'সায়েন্টিফিক রিগিং' করে ভোটে জেতে। পশ্চিমবঙ্গে বামপন্থীদের হারাতে মহাজোটের ডাক দেওয়া হয় রাজনৈতিক প্রস্তাবে। বলা হয়েছে, মার্কসবাদীদের হারাতে জাতীয়তাবাদী

ও গণতান্ত্রিক শক্তিগুলিকে হাত মেলাতেই হবে। কেবলেও একই ধরনের জোটের কথা বলা হয়। রাজনৈতিক ও অর্থনৈতিক প্রস্তাবে ইউ পি এ সরকারের তীব্র সমালোচনা করে বলা হয়, কেন্দ্রের দুর্বল নীতির জন্যই দেশে সন্ত্রাস বাড়ছে। জঙ্গিদের অভয়ারণ্য হয়ে উঠেছে। নাগরিকদের নিরাপত্তা নেই। দুর্নীতি ইস্যুতে সোনিয়া গান্ধীর কংগ্রেস বিরোধীদের ওপর হামলা চালিয়ে যাচ্ছে। বিদেশে দুর্নীতি করে দেশের সুনাম ভুলুষ্ঠিত করছেন কংগ্রেস নেতারা। সে ক্ষেত্রে প্রধানমন্ত্রী মনমোহন সিং যথেষ্ট নরম। এন ডি এ এই বিষয়ে সোচ্চার হলেই তাকে বিপাকে ফেলার চেষ্টা হয়। মনমোহন সিং বামপন্থীদের কাছে আত্মসমর্পণ করেছেন। বামপন্থীদের কথায় ওঠেন-বসেন। অর্থনৈতিক সঙ্কট বাড়ছে। তবু সরকার সংস্কার কর্মসূচি রূপায়ণ করতে পারছে না। বামপন্থীদের কাছে সরকারের টিকি বাঁধা। অধিবেশনে হাজির ৪০০০ প্রতিনিধির একটি অংশের চাপ ছিল, বি জে পি যেন এখনই রামমন্দিরের পথে ফেরে। সরকারে থাকার সময়

মন্দির ইস্যু শিকিয়ে তুলে রাখায় বি জে পি-র ভোটব্যাঙ্ক ভেঙেছে। ভোটারদের ফেরাতে রামমন্দিরের কথা আবার বলা দরকার। হিন্দুত্ব ছাড়া বি জে পি-র পথ নেই। সে কথাই বললেন উত্তরপ্রদেশের প্রাক্তন মুখ্যমন্ত্রী কল্যাণ সিং। বাবরি মসজিদ ভাঙার সময় উত্তরপ্রদেশের মুখ্যমন্ত্রী হিসেবে যে কায়দায় জঙ্গি হিন্দুত্বের কথা বলতেন কল্যাণ, প্রায় সেই ভঙ্গিতেই তিনি সওয়াল করলেন এদিন। তাঁর ভাষণের সময় একটি অংশ থেকে বারবার স্লোগান উঠল 'জয় শ্রীরাম'। কল্যাণ বলেন, হিন্দুত্ব আমাদের লজ্জা নয়, গর্ব। রাজনৈতিক প্রস্তাবে অবশ্য মন্দিরের কথা সেভাবে বলা হয়নি। বলা হয়, ইউ পি এ সরকারের ব্যর্থতার কথা জনগণকে বোঝাতে হবে। বলতে হবে, এন ডি এ ক্ষমতায় আসছে। বোঝা গেল, গতকাল আদবানি যতই নরম হিন্দুত্বের কথা বলে দলের 'ধর্মনিরপেক্ষ' ভাবমূর্তি তৈরির চেষ্টা করুন না কেন, নতুন বছরে আদবানি-পরবর্তী জমানা কতটা উদার থাকবে তা নিয়ে প্রশ্নটিই থেকেই গেল। বিশেষত, তাঁর উত্তরসূরি রাজনাথ সিংয়ের সঙ্গে সশ্চের 'সুসম্পর্ক' কারুরই অবদিত নয়।

WITH A NOD FOR ADVANI  
AND A WINK AT MAHAJAN...

# Vajpayee quits poll turf

Dipankar Chakraborty  
in Mumbai

Dec. 29. — The former Prime Minister, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, today announced his retirement from electoral politics.

The sudden statement came at a public rally for the 25th anniversary of the BJP at Shivaji Park here. The meeting was also a part of the party's ongoing five-day silver jubilee conclave that entered its fourth day today.

It was exactly 25 years ago that Mr Vajpayee took over as the president of the BJP in this city.

"*Ab main satta ki rajniti nahin karunga* (I've had enough of power politics)," he told a stunned audience. In the style so typical of him, Mr Vajpayee invoked the *Ramayana* to establish the disintegration of a political equation. He narrated how Parasuram, known for losing his temper easily, had been furious with Rama for daring to break his bow at a time when preparations were on to crown him and his brother, Laxman.

Parasuram was then told that Rama and his brother

## Hearsay

■ **Mr LK Advani:** "I came to know of his decision (to retire from electoral politics) this morning."

■ **Mr Pramod Mahajan:** "Anything I say now will be wrongly interpreted."

■ **Mr Kalyan Singh:** "I am a small fry. How can I comment?"

■ **Mr Kalraj Mishra:** "I will first find out what made him say that he did tonight."

were, in fact, two *avatars* who had descended to earth and it was time he heralded their ascension to the throne of Ayodhya.

Mr Vajpayee, addressing BJP president Mr LK Advani and party general secretary Mr Pramod Mahajan, announced that just like Parasuram, he would like to dissociate himself from the *rajyabhishek* (coronation) of Rama and Laxman.

"*Ab main chunav nahin ladunga* (I won't contest elections any more)," he said, implying that he would not enter a fray in which Mr Advani and Mr Mahajan already figured as contestants. He, however, said he would continue to serve the party.

■ **See editorial: Spy Games, page 6**  
More reports on page 4

# Mission not over until temple built: Advani

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

MUMBAI, DECEMBER 28

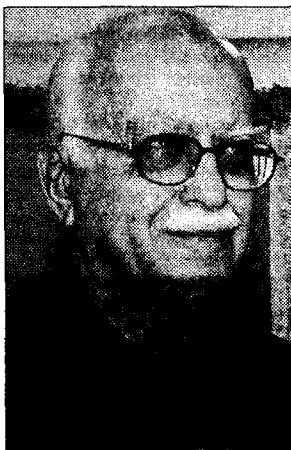
RECALLING the strong ties between the RSS and his party, BJP President L K Advani today said the organisation's mission would not be complete without construction of Ram temple in Ayodhya.

In his presidential address at the start of the party's three-day national convention, he referred to the unachieved task and said, "BJP's mission will not be complete unless a temple befitting Bhagwan Shri Ram is built at his place of birth. Everyone one of us must rededicate ourselves to this mission for Shri Ram is not just a religious icon, he is also a symbol of the Indian ethos, culture and unity."

About strong RSS ties, he said those who had raked up the dual membership issue during the Janata Party rule had in a way helped the nation. "BJP was formed after the Janata Party asked us to choose between it or become an RSS member. We told them that our association with them was since 1975 or 1977 but our links with the RSS were from childhood," he added.

He lauded Gujarat Chief Minister Narendra Modi for banning cow-slaughter. "The High Court said the ban was against provisions of the Constitution. An appeal was filed with the Supreme Court, and the ban was upheld," he said.

Criticising the media coverage of the political situation in



Gujarat, he said, "It portrayed as if there was a war in the party." He also mentioned the BJP's latest electoral success in the recent Ahmedabad civic body polls.

"Our culture is basically Hindu. Like Pakistan, had we declared ourselves a Hindu state during independence, the world would not have objected. But the quintessence of Hindu culture is that the state has to be a secular state," he added.

Projecting Gujarat as a model state, Advani said that Gujarat government was an example of how BJP could manage a model of honest rule and development, singling out Modi, sitting on the dias along with other party Chief Ministers and senior leaders.

Advani mentioned Gujarat and Modi soon after admitting that the party was passing through a bad phase in the last 25 weeks, but declined to blame the media. "I was also a journalist and....They also have the right to write," added

## 'Population control a must for candidates'

► MUMBAI: BJP president L K Advani has advocated strict population control norms for persons contesting Parliamentary and Assembly elections. "BJP-ruled states should take the initiative. Population control is unpopular due to the excesses committed during Emergency. But this should not stop the nation from pondering over the way population is putting pressure on resources," he added.

"No political party has the courage to deal with this issue, but we cannot bury our heads in the sand forever," he said in inaugurating the Silver Jubilee party convention here on Wednesday. "Although a beginning has been made by introduction of family size as a qualifying clause for contesting panchayat and civic bodies polls, there is no such law for state Assemblies and Parliamentary polls," he said.

Electoral laws disqualifying candidates with more than two children must be uniformly applied to all legislative bodies, panchayat upwards, he said.

—PTI

the BJP leader.

He said that rarely a government and its leader had been so mercilessly maligned by most sections of the media, a big chunk of the political class and foreign bodies. "Overcoming such relentless, savage attacks, Narendra Modi has set a shining example of a transparently honest and effective government," he added.

29 DEC 2005

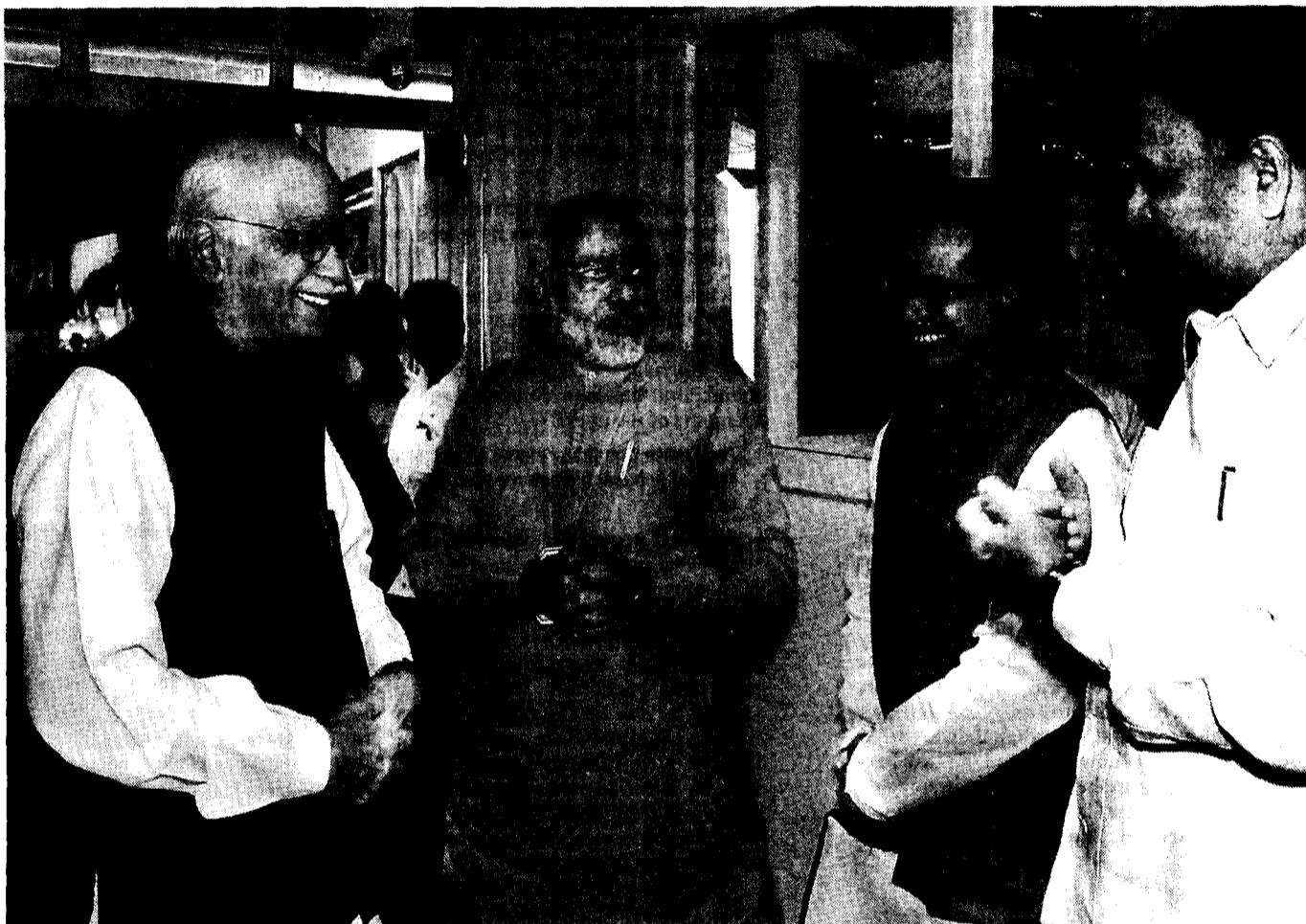
INDIAN EXPRESS

# Controversy over Advani continuing as Leader of Opposition

P.P.P. 10-12

I never asked for his resignation, says senior leader Murli Manohar Joshi

28/12



**CONFABULATIONS:** *Bharatiya Janata Party president L.K. Advani with party Chief Ministers Narendra Modi, Shivraj Singh Chauhan and Raman Singh during the party's national executive meeting in Mumbai on Tuesday.*  
- PHOTO: PTI

Neena Vyas

**MUMBAI:** The controversy over L.K. Advani continuing as the Leader of the Opposition after giving up the post of party president continued to trouble the Bharatiya Janata Party on the second day of its national executive committee session here on Tuesday.

Although officially senior party leader Jaswant Singh said "there was no question of Mr.

Advani resigning as [the] Leader of [the] Opposition," party delegates discussed the stance taken by Mr. Advani in the Lok Sabha on the expulsion of MPs caught in the cash-for-questions scandal.

#### "No proper strategy"

A senior functionary of the Parliamentary Party confirmed privately that the BJP had failed to evolve a proper strategy on on December 23 when six party

MPs were expelled along with five others from the Bahujan Samaj Party, the Congress and the Rashtriya Janata Dal.

Several party leaders praised the leadership shown by Mr. Singh in deciding not to divide the Rajya Sabha on corruption.

However, answering questions from the media, Mr. Singh tried to explain away Mr. Advani's description of the MPs acts as "stupidity." He said while their action was "wrong and cor-

rupt," it was "stupid" of them to accept money for asking questions.

Senior leader Murli Manohar Joshi said he had never asked for Mr. Advani's resignation as the Leader of the Opposition. "I have always stood by the party principle of one-man one-post, but now that Mr. Advani is to resign as BJP president, he will naturally continue to hold the post of [the] Leader of [the] Opposition."

28 DEC 2005 THE HINDU



WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 28, 2005

## The BJP's next man in

**W**ith the question "after Advani who?" reportedly settled in favour of Rajnath Singh, it is time to ask: "Why and how Rajnath?" The former Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister figured frequently in the obsessive guessing games that followed party chief Lal Krishna Advani's exit announcement in September 2005. Yet in the backdrop of the battles within the Bharatiya Janata Party, the choice came as an anti-climax. No sound and fury, apparently no behind-the-scenes lobbying, no bombshell announcements. The tame ending is in keeping with the former Union Agriculture Minister's persona: purposeful, matter-of-fact, the least flamboyant of the party's mediocre second rung. It helped that Mr. Singh has a talent for hatchet jobs (in 1997, the BJP rid itself of Mayawati's support with his help) and is ideologically in sync with the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. Jhandewalan needed a reassuring presence at the helm after the shock of Mr. Advani's Jinnah-appreciation and the endless tantrums of the colourful Uma Bharti. Venkaiah Naidu was too close to the outgoing chief for comfort. The next generation trio of Sushma Swaraj, Pramod Mahajan, and Arun Jaitley is mutually suspicious and therefore prone to quarrelling. Mr. Singh, on the other hand, played his cards well. He remained in the background, taking care not to appear ambitious even as his rivals grabbed the limelight. The package won favour with the Sangh. Nonetheless, the BJP's president-in-waiting appears to have made it more by a process of elimination than by standout merit.

Mr. Singh is a nuts and bolts organisational man. The finesse with which he conjured up a majority for the Kalyan Singh Government in 1997, breaking the Bahujan Samaj Party and the Congress among others, attests to this. However, the narrow vision he brings to the job can be severely limiting. Thanks to the raid on the BSP, he is at daggers drawn with Ms. Mayawati. It says something for this relationship that Rajnath Singh is second only to Mulayam Singh in the BSP chief's hit list. This does not augur well for the BJP in a State where its electoral performance nosedived — from 57 Lok Sabha seats in 1998 to 10 in 2004. In U.P. today, the contest is between the Samajwadi Party and the BSP, with the BJP a distant third. To regain its lost position in the State, the party is badly in need of a dependable ally. The BSP-BJP pact of 2002 was put in place by Prime Minister Vajpayee, overruling Mr. Singh's objections. Even their worst enemies will not deny that Mr. Vajpayee and Mr. Advani are formidable pan-Indian political leaders. In contrast, Mr. Singh is saddled with a Hindi-Hindu image dear to the RSS but unlikely to make an impact on people in most of India and especially south of the Vindhyas. This means the leadership debate in the BJP is far from over. Mr. Singh will soon be anointed as the Hindutva party's chief but who is the party's Prime Ministerial candidate?

THE HINDU

# BJP slams UPA over US foreign policy

Girish Kuber & Devesh Kumar  
MUMBAI 27 DECEMBER

**B**JP's resolution on foreign policy wears a discreet RSS flavour. While being harsh on what it calls the UPA's "drifting and crippled" handling of foreign affairs, the BJP resolution tries to address issues that are dear to the Sangh parivar.

The draft passed by the BJP's national executive meet on Tuesday on the "UPA's mismanagement of foreign policy" has raised issues such as illegal immigration from Bangladesh, cross-border terrorism and Pakistan, growing threat of Naxalism and developments in Nepal, Indo-US relations and overall security concerns.

"The BJP is saddened by the UPA's complete mismanagement of foreign policy. It is crippled on account of drift and lack of decision making," Jaswant Singh, former minister of external affairs, said.

According to him, all this is happening because "those who are not part of the political executive" are handling the important ministry of foreign affairs.

The BJP's attack is largely directed at the UPA's handling of US affairs. "The UPA's lack of understanding in dealing

with the US is worrying," the resolution states. It highlights how the Indo-US relation's balance started tilting in the latter's favour after Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's visit to Washington in July, 2005. "Any lock in with US strategic relations or accepting an asymmetrical relationship is capitulation," the resolution warns.

"The UPA government has clearly not comprehended the abhorrence of the people of India to a subservient relationship with the US," it states. "Friendship is fine. But we should not ignore our security concerns," Mr Jaswant Singh quoted former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee as having said while addressing the BJP meet.

The BJP has also criticised the UPA's "flip-flops" on the issue of Jammu & Kashmir (J&K). "The government should not compromise with the country's fundamental tenet, that the J&K is an integral part of India, to improve our relations with Pakistan," the resolution says.

The party has accused the UPA of being involved in "dubious electoral practices" on the issue of large illegal Bangladeshi immigrants. The UPA and its Marxists allies continue to ignore these large immigrations and overlook threats to India, the BJP said.

# Advani: BJP has made history

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## Harks back to links with RSS

Arunkumar Bhatt

**MUMBAI:** The Bharatiya Janata Party president, L.K. Advani, was all praise for the achievements of his party in his opening remarks at the National Executive Meeting on Monday but did not touch the "cash for query" episode or his own controversial remarks on M.A. Jinnah or not so cordial relations with the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh.

It was the last executive meeting he was presiding over, Mr. Advani said indicating that he was to resign but did not mention anything about his successor, who would reportedly be Rajnath Singh.

The National Executive is meeting here prior to the three-day Silver Jubilee Convention of the party, due to begin on December 28. Mr. Advani would preside over the convention and address a public rally but would resign from the party presidency thereafter.

The outgoing president described the 25-year existence of the BJP as "tumultuous" but credited the party with having made history.

"The single party dominance of the Congress party has been smashed and the BJP has made spectacular strides and converted India's polity into a bipolar polity, with BJP and Congress as the two principal poles of national politics," he said. "The Lotus [the party symbol] has bloomed with splendour and fragrance beyond anyone's imagination." Another achievement of the BJP was, in his view, India becoming a nuclear power and the economy undergoing a "metamorphosis" during the NDA's six-year rule.

"The NDA's slogan that we shall make India a fully developed country by 2020, which at one time seemed a tall order, is now acknowledged by all eco-

• **Single party dominance smashed and bipolar polity brought about**

• **Economy underwent metamorphosis**

• **A fully developed India brought within in realm of possibility**

nomc analysts as being within the realm of possibility," he said.

### 12 defining years

Mr. Advani counted 12 defining years of his political career, including the severe setbacks of 1984 in which the BJP got reduced to just two seats in the Lok Sabha and 2004 when the NDA government faced defeat and also his recent visit to Pakistan when he inaugurated projects for the restoration of Katasraj temples.

He said that all these events were educative. "Some brought us joy and filled us with energy, others brought us setback, uncertainty about the future and forced us to introspect." The BJP did so well because the party did not lose confidence in itself, he said, "or faith in the path we chose way back in 1951, a choice which we renewed in 1980." This was an oblique reference to the BJP's organic link with the RSS with whom the party has now tense relations.

"We succeeded because of our faith in ourselves, because of our dedication, discipline, commitment and hard work," he summed up, omitting the dismissal of six MPs of the party from Parliament because of corruption.

The National Executive will hold day-long deliberations on Tuesday on the party's policies, organisation and the resolutions to be put before the convention.

# আডবাণীর স্মৃতিচারণে আবেগ আর জোট, গরহাজির হিন্দুত্ব

শঙ্করদীপ দাস • মুম্বই

২৬ ডিসেম্বর: বিজেপি সভাপতি হিসাবে এটাই তাঁর শেষ জাতীয় অধিবেশন। দলের রজত জয়ন্তী বৈঠকের প্রারম্ভিক বক্তৃতায় তাই আদ্যোপান্ত নস্ট্যালজিক লালকৃষ্ণ আডবাণী। নিজের পঞ্চাশ বছরের রাজনৈতিক অতীতে ডুব দিয়ে তুলে আনলেন নানান ঘটনা। আর সেই স্মৃতিচারণের ক্ষণে এনডিএ'র সাফল্যের কথা বললেও আপাতত উপেক্ষিত রইল হিন্দুত্ব। যদিও মতাদর্শের প্রশ্নে দলের ভবিষ্যৎ অভিমুখ সম্পর্কে আডবাণী কী বলেন, তা নিয়ে কৌতুহল ছিল যোলো আনা।

আজ সকালেই বৈঠক প্রাক্কণে এসে বিজেপি'র আদর্শগত বিচ্যুতির প্রসঙ্গ তুলেছিলেন আরএসএস নেতা মদনদাস দেবী। কাণ্ডারী বদলের এই গুরুত্বপূর্ণ সময়ে সন্দেহ যে বিজেপি'র উপরে চাপ আর নিয়ন্ত্রণ বাড়িয়ে নিতে চাইছে, তা অস্পষ্ট ছিল না তাঁর কথায়। মদনদাস বলেন, সত্ত্ব পরিবার ছাড়া বিজেপি মণিহারা ফণি। তাই অতীতের ক্রটি-বিচ্যুতি তুলে তারা এ বার নতুন করে মতাদর্শের হাত ধরে এগোক।

এই মন্তব্য সম্পর্কে কোনও প্রতিক্রিয়াই কিন্তু আজ জানালেন না আডবাণী। এড়িয়ে গেলেন এমন নয়। এমনও নয় যে, ভবিষ্যৎ সভাপতি নিজের মতো করে চলবেন, এই ভাবনায় নিজেকে গুটিয়ে রাখলেন, বিতর্কে জড়ালেন না। কেননা, পরে তিনি নিজেই জানালেন, “মতাদর্শ, দুর্নীতি— সব বিষয় নিয়েই মুখ খুলব। কিন্তু আজকের বক্তৃতাটা আমি আবেগের সুরেই বাঁধতে চেয়েছিলাম।”

আবেগ ছিল। খানিক বিষণ্ণতাও ঘিরে ছিল বিদায়ী বিজেপি সভাপতিকে। দীর্ঘ রাজনৈতিক জীবনে গুরুত্বপূর্ণ বলে মনে হয়েছে এমন ১২টি ঘটনার কথা বললেন। এবং আশ্চর্য, তাতে বাবরি মসজিদ ধ্বংসের প্রসঙ্গ নেই। কেন? আডবাণী বললেন, “বাবরি ধ্বংসের চেয়ে রাম রথযাত্রা আমার কাছে অনেক বেশি তাৎপর্যপূর্ণ।” স্বাভাবিক। সেই রথযাত্রাই তো রাতারাতি তাঁকে তুলে এনেছিল সর্বভারতীয় প্রচারের আলোয়। কিন্তু

এই ব্যাখ্যার অন্তরালে আর একটা কারণও বোধহয় আছে। সেটা জোট রাজনীতির বাধ্যবাধকতা। তাই বাস্তবের মাটিতে দাঁড়িয়ে আজ নরম হিন্দুত্বের কথা বললেন আডবাণী। আবার ভারসাম্যের স্বার্থেই যেন প্যাকিস্তান সফরের কথা বললেও, রা কাড়লেন না জিন্না-বিতর্ক নিয়ে। বরং

রইল কাটাসরাজ মন্দির সংস্কারের কাজ উদ্বোধনের কথা।

বস্তুত, আজকের বক্তৃতায় বারবার এনডিএ'র প্রসঙ্গ তুলেছেন আডবাণী। বলেছেন ছ'বছরের এনডিএ জমানার সাফল্যের কথা। জানা গিয়েছে, জাতীয় কর্মসমিতির রাজনৈতিক প্রস্তাবেও এনডিএ'র প্রাসঙ্গিকতার কথা থাকবে।

বস্তুত, এটা হিনের আলোর মতোই স্পষ্ট যে, পাঁচ রাজ্যে বিধানসভা ভোট যখন আসন্ন, তখন বিজেপি'র পক্ষে কট্টর হিন্দুত্বের পথে গিয়ে এনডিএ-কে বিপন্ন করা সম্ভব নয়। তাই আপাতত হিন্দুত্ব ও সংস্কারের মধ্যে ভারসাম্য রেখেই দল চলবে। সেই বাতর্গটাই যেন রাজনাথ সিংহের জন্য প্রচ্ছন্ন ভাবে রেখে গেলেন বিদায়ী সভাপতি।

স্পষ্ট ভাবে জানাবেন পরশু, জাতীয় কর্মসমিতির বৈঠকে। তার আগে কাল রাজনৈতিক ও অর্থনৈতিক প্রস্তাব নিয়ে দলের নেতারা কে কী বলেন, দেখে নিতে চান আডবাণী। তার আগে আজ শুধুই স্মৃতিচারণ। বললেন, ২৫ বছর আগে আশাই করতে পারিনি বিজেপি ক্ষমতায় আসবে। কিন্তু দল আজ কত বড় হয়েছে। কোথা থেকে কোথায় গিয়ে পৌঁছেছে!

দল বড় হয়েছে ঠিকই, কিন্তু সেই সঙ্গে দুর্নীতিও ঢুকেছে। প্রশ্ন-ঘৃষ আর সাংসদ তহবিল কাণ্ডে সব চেয়ে বেশি তো ধাক্কা খেয়েছে বিজেপিই। কিন্তু সেই বিতর্কিত প্রসঙ্গও আজ তোলেননি আডবাণী। সেটা সম্ভবত তুলে রাখলেন জাতীয় পরিষদের জন্য। ঘৃষ-কাণ্ডে জড়িত সাংসদদের বহিষ্কারের প্রসঙ্গে তাঁর ‘লঘু পাপে গুরু দণ্ডের’ তত্ত্বকে চ্যালেঞ্জ জানাতে তলে তলে তৈরি হচ্ছেন মুরলীমোহোর জোশী'র নেতৃত্বে বিক্ষুব্ধ নেতারা। সে ব্যাপারে সতর্ক আডবাণী দুর্নীতি নিয়ে তাঁর উদ্বেগের কথা পরশু জানাবেন বলে দলীয় সূত্রে খবর। প্রমোদ মহাজনও আজ বলেছেন, জাতীয় পরিষদের বৈঠকে আডবাণী'র বক্তৃতা দীর্ঘই হবে।

বান্দ্রার যে ময়দানে আজ বক্তৃতা দিলেন আডবাণী, ২৫ বছর আগে, সেই রিক্রেশন গ্রাউন্ডেই বসেছিল বিজেপি'র প্রথম অধিবেশন। সে দিন দলের সভাপতি অটলবিহারী বাজপেয়ী তাঁর বক্তৃতায় বলেছিলেন, “পশ্চিমঘাট পর্বতমালা ছোঁয়া সমুদ্রের কিনারায় দাঁড়িয়ে আমি আত্মবিশ্বাসের সঙ্গে ভবিষ্যতের কথা বলতে পারি, অন্ধকার কেটে যাবে...”। কেন্দ্রে ক্ষমতা হারানো, গোষ্ঠী কোন্দলে ছয়ছাড়া বিজেপিকে বিদায় লগ্নে সেই আশার বাণীটাই আজ ফের শোনালেন লালকৃষ্ণ আডবাণী।

## বিজেপি'র মহাসমারোহে বিভ্রান্তি রাজনাথকে ঘিরেই

নিজস্ব সংবাদদাতা, মুম্বই, ২৬ ডিসেম্বর: মুম্বই আসবেন কি না, তাই নিয়ে নিজের মনেই সংশয় ছিল তাঁর। দলীয় সভাপতি লালকৃষ্ণ আডবাণী'র কাছে গত রাতে জানতেও চান, “তবে কি আমি মুম্বই অধিবেশনে যাব না? না কি শেষ দিন যাব?”

রাজনাথ সিংহের এই প্রশ্ন খুব অসঙ্গত নয়। আডবাণীকে তিনি বুকিয়ে বলেন, “আমি গেলেই লোকে অভিনন্দন জানাবে, আমাকে ঘিরে ভিড় জমবে। তাতে আমি অস্থিত্তিতে পড়ব। অস্থিত্তিতে পড়বেন আপনারাও।” জবাবে আডবাণী'র বক্তব্য, “ও সব কিছু হবে না। তুমি চল। তোমাকে নিয়ে দলের মধ্যে কোনও জল্পনা নেই।”

এ কথা বললেও আডবাণী কিন্তু জানতেন, বিভ্রান্ত হবেই।

হলও তা-ই। বস্তুত, কোনও জাতীয় কর্মসমিতির বৈঠকের আগে এমন বিষম বিপত্তিতে পড়েনি বিজেপি। রীতি অনুযায়ী, এই ধরনের বৈঠকের আগেই ঘোষণা করা হয় নতুন সভাপতির নাম। তার পর কর্মসমিতির বৈঠকে সভাপতিত্ব করেন নতুন সভাপতি। কিন্তু রজত জয়ন্তী বছরের

মহা অধিবেশনের গোড়ায় আডবাণী না পারছেন রাজনাথের নাম ঘোষণা করতে, না পারছেন বিষয়টিকে এড়িয়ে যেতে। যা-ই করুন না কেন, অধিবেশনের আকর্ষণ রাজনাথকে ঘিরে আবর্তিত হতে বাধ্য। স্পষ্টতই নেতৃত্বের সামনে এখন উভয়সঙ্কট। চেম্বাইতে বিজেপি'র গত জাতীয় কর্মসমিতির বৈঠকে আগাগোড়া ছায়াপাত করেছিল



সোমবার বৈঠকে। - পিটিআই

আডবাণী'র পদত্যাগের বিষয়টি। রাজনৈতিক প্রস্তাব, অর্থনৈতিক প্রস্তাবের মতো গুরুত্বপূর্ণ বিষয় নিয়ে মাথাব্যথা ছিল না কারও। ঠিক একই ভাবে মুম্বই অধিবেশনকে এর মধ্যেই ছেয়ে ফেলেছে রাজনাথ প্রসঙ্গ।

সংসদে প্রধান বিরোধী দলের ২৫ বছর পূর্তির রাজসূয় যজ্ঞে বান্দ্রার ‘রিক্রেশন গ্রাউন্ড’কে ঘিরে আয়োজনের অভাব নেই। কিন্তু কোথাও যেন নেই প্রাণের পরশ। সবই হচ্ছে নিষ্প্রাণ যান্ত্রিক ভাবে।

অথচ আয়োজনের কোনও কসুর করেননি প্রমোদ মহাজন। চেম্বাই অধিবেশন হয়েছিল অভিজাত পাঁচতারা হোটেল। হায়দরাবাদ বা এর পর নয়ের পাতায়

# Joshi says it's Rajnath

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, Dec. 25. — Even as the BJP maintained that no decision had yet been taken on a successor to party chief Mr LK Advani, its senior leader, Mr Murli Manohar Joshi, tonight said that the former Uttar Pradesh chief minister, Mr Rajnath Singh, had been selected for the top post.

Mr Joshi, on his way to Mumbai to attend the BJP national council executive meetings starting tomorrow, told reporters on board the Rajdhani Express: "I congratulated him (Mr Singh) only after confirming from those involved in the process that he has been chosen to succeed Advani".

The former HRD minister was responding to questions about the assertions made by Mr Advani, party vice-president Mr M Venkaiah Naidu and Mr Rajnath Singh himself that no final decision had been taken on the issue.

Mr Joshi said he would not have congratulated Mr Singh yesterday without confirming it from the top brass. He said since Mr Singh's selection had become public, "there is no need to hide it."

Earlier in the day, Mr Singh said that "no decision" had been taken with regard to finding a successor to Mr Advani. "Mr Advani is our party presi-

dent and the process of choosing his successor would begin only after he demits office," he said, adding that there was a "proper procedure for electing the party chief and it will be followed". Party sources said that Mr Singh had the approval of both party and RSS leaders, but the announcement would come later as they did not want the attention to be diverted from the self-congratulatory note that the party's silver jubilee celebrations would adopt at its national convention starting in Mumbai tomorrow.

Mr Singh said that the purpose of his recent meeting with Mr Advani and Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee had been to apprise them of the progress of the party's *Nyaya Yatra* in Uttar Pradesh, undertaken to protest against the killing of BJP legislator Krishnanand Rai.

The former BJP president, Mr Venkaiah Naidu, too tried to deflect attention from the successor issue on the eve of the BJP national convention. "Mr Rajnath Singh, whose name has been mentioned by many news channels and a section of the media, is definitely in the reckoning. But people who are aware of our party constitution know that the final decision can only be taken by the National Council," he said in Bangalore. He dismissed reports of difference of opinions among leaders.

Photograph on page 3

# BJP to suspend 14/12 MIPs from LS

**New Delhi:** The BJP on Tuesday decided to recommend suspension of five of its MPs, who were caught on camera accepting money in the "cash for query" scam, from the Lok Sabha. This was decided at a meeting of party's senior leaders presided over by BJP president L K Advani.

BJP vice-president Bal Apte would head the internal inquiry ordered by the party into the scam involving six party MPs, party spokesperson Sushma Swaraj announced in New Delhi on Tuesday. The committee would submit its report at the earliest, she said, adding it could be before the end of the parliament session on December 23.

Taking a high moral ground after the telecast of the television expose, BJP president L K Advani had announced the suspension of all the six MPs, including two Union ministers Anasaheb M K Patil and Chhatrapal Singh from the parliamentary party, and announced an internal probe into the matter. Wherever necessary, the party would refer the matter to the privileges committee of the Lok Sabha, he had said.



A day after the expose on 'cash for query' scam, the Rajya Sabha suspended its BJP member Chhatrapal Singh Lodha after the House Ethics Committee observed that the sting operation showing him accepting money on camera has damaged the image of Parliament, and recommended such a course of action.

The House unanimously adopted a resolution in this regard after a preliminary report of the committee was tabled in the house. The committee decided that an opportunity be given to Lodha to explain his position in the matter within 48 hours.

"Since the member has been caught on tape accepting money for asking questions, the committee unanimously recommends that Lodha should be suspended from the House pending presentation of the final report," the Committee, headed by Karan Singh, said. Agencies

14 DEC 2005

THE TIMES OF INDIA

# BJP expels Uma Bharti

Recent utterances and behaviour were taken into account

Neena Vyas

**NEW DELHI:** The Bharatiya Janata Party's Parliamentary Board on Monday expelled Uma Bharti from the primary membership of the party on charges of indulging in indiscipline and anti-party activities.

Both party president L.K. Advani and the former Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, were present at the meeting that lasted barely 25 minutes.

Party general secretary Arun Jaitley announced that Ms. Bharti had been expelled after the board considered her response to the notice received by the party on Sunday and taking into account her utterances and behaviour over the last few days.

Mr. Jaitley refused to be drawn into making any comment on Ms. Bharti's allegations that the party had strayed from its ideology, become corrupt, lost direction and had no principles. Her allegations were neither correct nor true and the issue before the board was one of indiscipline.

"Her allegations have nothing to do with the subject of indiscipline but were used to deflect from the charges she faces," he said adding that she had been using language that was "not dignified politics."

While the party was confident that the new Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister, Shivraj Singh Chauhan, would complete the rest of the term of about three

years, Mr. Jaitley did not want to say anything on how much Ms. Bharti was capable of hurting the party in Madhya Pradesh or elsewhere.

Mr. Jaitley pointed out that

of the 13 MLAs who walked out of the legislature party meeting in Bhopal along with Ms. Bharti on November 28 when Shivraj Singh Chauhan was elected leader, nine had responded to

- "Parliamentary Board considered her response to notice"
- Her allegations have nothing to do with the subject of indiscipline
- Nine of the 13 MLAs have expressed regret over their behaviour
- Party confident that Chauhan will finish his term

the notice asking them to explain why they should not be expelled. They had expressed regret over their behaviour and assured the leadership that they would not be found wanting in matters of discipline again.

The central party leadership would await the recommendation of the State committee on the 13 MLAs, he said.

The clear hint seems to be that the expression of regret by nine MLAs would be considered favourably and the other four could face stiff disciplinary action.

## "Advani should resign"



Uma Bharti

Staff Correspondent

**BHOPAL:** After her dismissal from the Bharatiya Janata Party, the former Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister, Uma Bharti, demanded that BJP president L.K. Advani immediately resign as he "disgraced" the party by going to Pakistan and praising its founder Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

Talking to mediapersons here on Monday, Ms. Bharti said lakhs of workers felt humiliated when Mr. Advani went to Pakistan and praised Jinnah. Soon after, she met

and asked him to quit the party.

### To send an appeal

Ms. Bharti said she would send an appeal to the disciplinary committee against her dismissal. The panel was supreme and the party president had no right to violate it. Ms. Bharti said she would tell the committee, headed by Ram Naik, how four party bigwigs broke discipline in the past. She could leave neither the BJP nor lakhs of workers who stood by her.

She would continue her padayatra to Ayodhya.

# Uma prepares path for exit

Press Trust of India

NEW DELHI/BHOPAL, Dec. 4. — Virtually setting the stage for parting of ways with the BJP and hinting at a new political address, Miss Uma Bharati today said the party leadership was incapable of carrying out basic responsibilities and added that it was time to create a “new mechanism”.

As the BJP central parliamentary board meets tomorrow to discuss fresh disciplinary action against her amidst hints that her expulsion was on the cards, Miss Bharati shot off a letter to the party chief, Mr LK Advani, in reply to the 30 November show-cause notice. She wrote that the party seems to be caught up in the cobweb of power politics”.

“Sycophancy, shrewdness and intrigue are increasingly becoming prominent in the party. It is now being felt that the BJP leadership is incapable of carrying out its basic political responsibilities involving hard-core nationalism, social equality, love for the poor and the deprived, idealism and purity,” she said. Charging that “resentment” in the BJP is more today than what it was in 1984, Miss Bharati recalled

Jan Sangh founder Deen Dayal Upadhyay’s comments that the Sangh would create its new political wings if existing ones became corrupt and said “the time has come to set up such a mechanism.”

At a press conference in Raisen, Miss Bharati attacked the BJP brass saying the party, its chief, Mr Advani, and Mr AB Vajpayee were held hostage by a group of “terrorist hijacker leaders who are devoid of ideology and principles.” Taking pot shots at Mr Advani, she said: “One derives strength from paying respects at the feet of Ram... and not by offering flowers at Jinnah’s tomb. Pakistan can betray us, not Ram.”

Though Miss Bharati claimed that she had sent a reply to the show-cause notice, party leaders said they were yet to receive it. The BJP spokesman, Mr Prakash Javadekar, said a decision on her would be taken in the next few days.



**‘Sycophancy, shrewdness and intrigue are increasingly becoming prominent in the party..’**

05 DEC 2005

THE STATESMAN



# Uma Bharti's charge baseless, says BJP

9-8-08  
BJP  
40-1  
4/12

**"No dearth of backward caste leaders promoted by party"**

Special Correspondent

**NEW DELHI:** Senior BJP leaders on Saturday made light of the charge by the former Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister, Uma Bharati, that the party did not give adequate representation to backward classes, Scheduled Castes and Dalits.

Ironically, Babulal Gaur, who initially replaced Ms. Bharti as Chief Minister, and Shivraj Singh Chauhan, who succeeded him, belonged to backward castes, the leaders pointed out. "She could not tolerate either of them."

During her Ayodhya yatra, the suspended leader said the caste composition of the Bharatiya Janata Party's parliamentary board did not give adequate representation to the socially oppressed sections including

• **Gaur, Chauhan belong to backward castes**

• **Ms. Bharti plays caste card often**

• **Her stand a hurdle to reservation for women**

women. The party leaders said Ms. Bharati often played the backward caste card.

She raised the issue of a quota for backward castes within an overall quota for women, creating a hurdle to reservation for them. Her stand was not in tune with the party's.

The leaders rejected as baseless her suggestion that the party suppressed her because of her caste.

"Kalyan Singh was Chief Min-

ister of Uttar Pradesh, Narendra Modi is Chief Minister of Gujarat, Sushil Modi has been made Deputy Chief Minister in Bihar. Arjun Munda, a tribal, is Chief Minister in Jharkhand. There is no dearth of examples of backward caste leaders promoted and projected by the BJP," a senior leader pointed out.

## Deadline ends

Even as the party awaits Ms. Bharati's response to the show-cause notice, general secretary Arun Jaitley told reporters here on Saturday that there need not be another meeting of the parliamentary board to consider her reply. Party president L.K. Advani was fully empowered to take whatever action he thought fit on receipt of her response, the three-day deadline for which was coming to an end.

04 DEC 2005

THE HINDU

Sympathisers look for saffron support, Congress rival eggs her on to fight Chauhan

# Uma resigned to life away from BJP

POORNIMA JOSHI

New Delhi, Dec. 1: The resignation of Uma Bharti loyalist Prahlad Patel from the BJP today is a signal that the fire-brand leader is resigned to life outside the party.

Patel, a former Union minister, had been suspended after he supported Uma's protest against Shivraj Singh Chauhan's ascent as chief minister.

Uma did appear to make a last-ditch attempt to stage a comeback yesterday by toning down her tirade against "elders" Atal Bihari Vajpayee and L.K. Advani. But sources close to her say her fate was sealed the day the BJP decided to give Chauhan the Madhya Pradesh crown.

Many in the party feel it would have done her good to accept the offer of the general secretary's post. "She should have taken it up and waited for a while. She was in too much of a hurry to become chief minister again," said a BJP general secretary.

The Uma camp believes that by portraying herself as a woman wronged by her "parivar (family)", she has drawn public sympathy and her muted appeals to Vajpayee and Advani are also a deliberate move in that direction.

"It is clear that she cannot go back to the BJP. First, she has to make the most of the situation she cannot control. The next course of action is to align with a larger cause and exploit the contradictions within the Sangh," said a source.

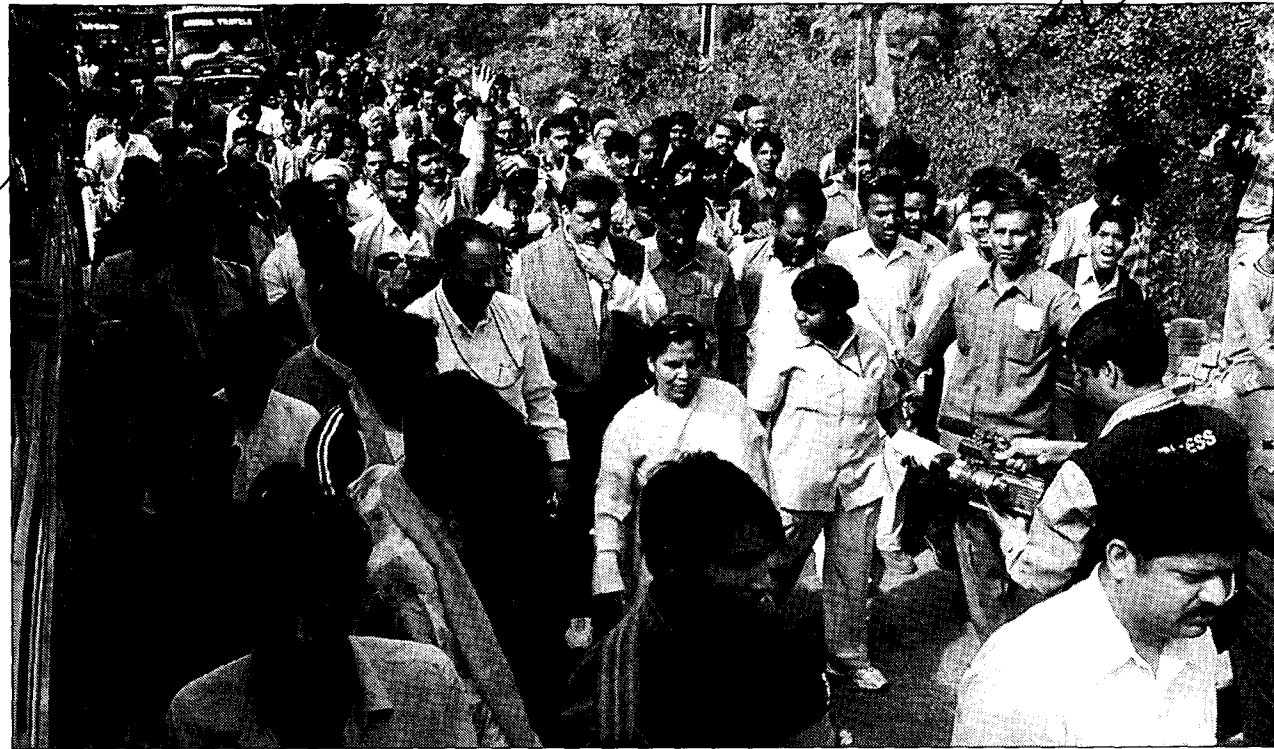
The "larger cause", as defined by her advisers, is "swaraj, swabhiman and swadeshi (self-rule, pride and nationalism)", which they expect would endear her to the Sangh. Uma has already embarked on a Ram, Roti yatra to apologise for the BJP's failures. This has won her some support from the VHP, particularly because she has raised the banner of Ram temple once again.

The parivar components her advisers are banking on are elements in the VHP, her RSS sympathisers and the Swadeshi Jagran Manch of which K.N. Govindacharya is a co-convenor. Ashok Singhal of the VHP has already declared his support for her.

However, Uma's cardinal sin has been that she turned most people who matter, both in the BJP and the RSS, against her. The two Sangh members she had personally targeted — Suresh Soni and Sanjay Joshi — are far too relevant.

Joshi is an organising secretary in the BJP, which means he is responsible for coordinating between the two organisations. She allegedly circulated damaging letters and CDs about him. Soni is second only to Mohanrao Bhagwat who is arguably the most powerful person in the RSS. Besides, her supporters — K.N. Govindacharya and S. Gurumurthy — are out of favour with *sar-sanghchalak* K.S. Sudarshan.

In the BJP, she has ruffled the feathers of even Vajpayee and Advani, who had so far taken an objective view on her.



Uma Bharti leading the "Ram, Roti yatra" near a village 25 km from Bhopal on Thursday. (PTI)

## Take poll test: Digvijay

RASHEED KIDWAI

Bhopal, Dec. 1: Enjoying the disquiet in the Madhya Pradesh BJP, former chief minister Digvijay Singh has dubbed Uma Bharti's ongoing "Ram, Roti yatra" the "Rozi-roti yatra" (bread-and-butter yatra) and advised her to take on chief minister Shivraj Singh Chauhan in an election.

"If Uma is serious about teaching him (Chauhan) a lesson, she should contest against the chief minister as an Independent," Digvijay said. "It will be a befitting test of her support base in the state."

In the 2003 Assembly polls, Chauhan had contested against Digvijay from the Raghogarh Assembly segment and lost badly. Chauhan is Lok Sabha MP from Vidisha. He has to get elected to the Assembly within six months of assuming office as chief minister.

Uma trained guns on the BJP's central leadership, accusing it of indulging in indiscipline by making public the contents

of the showcause notice served on her.

"I don't know how to reply to the notice — before (the) people or in a sealed envelope," an angry Uma said. "It was appropriate to announce that I have been served a notice by the parliamentary board. But handing out the notice to (the) press... doesn't it amount to indiscipline?" she asked.

When it was pointed out that former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and party president L.K. Advani, too, had charged her with indiscipline before television cameras, Uma said sarcastically: "It was not indiscipline. But when I reply to the charges, it becomes indiscipline."

Asked about loyalist Prahlad Patel's resignation from the BJP, she said he quit despite her advice against it. "He seemed upset over the developments," Uma said, claiming she had asked the MLAs and other leaders, who were issued showcause notices, to tender apologies.

"Some apologised and others like

Prahlad Patel sought (to do) otherwise," she said.

Asked whether she planned a similar move, Uma said: "I am BJP. BJP means the ideology of workers on the street. I consider the government (Madhya Pradesh) as my child and like a mother, I am trying to save it, without letting it to be harmed."

Chief minister Chauhan has deferred the expansion of his council of ministers by a week and postponed the Assembly session slated for December 5 to 16. Sources said the idea was to let the Uma episode blow over before forming his ministry.

A group of BJP MLAs and ministers considered loyal to Uma, which has not walked out with the suspended leader, now expects some rewards in return.

The anti-Uma lobby, too, is hoping to bounce back. Former chief minister Babulal Gaur is eyeing the post of Speaker. As a "loyal partyman", he was "not hankering for office but keen to serve the party in some capacity", Gaur said.

# BJP suspends Uma Bharti

Show cause notice issued for anti-party activities, faces imminent expulsion

Neena Vyas

**NEW DELHI:** The Bharatiya Janata Party on Wednesday got ready to expel its recently appointed general secretary, Uma Bharti.

The parliamentary board decided within minutes of meeting here to issue a show cause notice, asking her to explain within 72 hours why she should not be expelled for anti-party activities. She was suspended from primary membership.

By afternoon — well after the meeting — Ms. Bharti, in a statement in Bhopal, softened her stance towards the leadership but central leaders here were not impressed.

The word from the party is that it is not likely to accept some kind of expression of regret. After all, the same drama was staged in November last year, also soon after she was made general secretary.

The one-page notice, signed by vice-president Mukhtar Abbas Naqvi, charged her with deliberately and openly defying and opposing Saturday's unanimous decision of the parliamentary board, the party's highest decision-making body, in the matter of leadership change in Madhya Pradesh.

## Anti-party activities

The notice expressed dismay at her utterances attacking and defaming leaders and indulging in anti-party activities inside and outside the venue of Monday's meeting in Bhopal, where party legislators elected Shivraj Singh Chauhan leader.

Wednesday's board meeting was chaired by party president L.K. Advani and attended by the former Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Jaswant Singh, Murli Manohar Joshi, M. Venkaiah Naidu, Arun Jaitley, Pramod Mahajan, Sushma Swaraj and Sanjay Joshi.

Immediately after the 20-



**CRACKING THE WHIP:** BJP president L. K. Advani and the former Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, with party leaders at the Parliamentary Board meeting in New Delhi on Wednesday. — PHOTO: V. SUDERSHAN

minute meeting Mr. Jaitley told reporters that the board's attention was drawn to Ms. Bharti's statements and conduct over the last few days and "it was of the opinion that these constituted anti-party activities."

He announced her immediate suspension from primary membership and added that a show cause notice asking her to explain why she should not be expelled was being served on her. She would be given 72 hours to respond.

Mr. Jaitley and Mr. Mahajan earlier submitted to Mr. Advani a detailed report on Monday's incidents in Bhopal and the continued activity in her camp.

The board was apparently briefed on the happenings sur-

rounding the election of Mr. Chauhan.

The leadership was particu-

larly annoyed at Ms. Bharti charging it with being anti-democratic and unconstitutional.

Party leaders admitted that in the short term there would be some losses in Madhya Pradesh — some MLAs might even walk out of the BJP with her.

But in the long term, they were confident, it would not suffer as the BJP was "cadre-based" and had a strong organisational set-up in the State. Some of the younger leaders have started saying openly that they cannot deal with a "loose cannon" and that she is "unfit for public life."

On the other hand, there is a view in the party that she is one of the few who had a genuine voter support base and that the party was unfair to her in denying chief ministership.

## I will live and die for the party: Uma Bharti

**BHOPAL:** Suspended Bharatiya Janata Party leader Uma Bharti said on Wednesday that the former Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, party president L.K. Advani and senior leader Jaswant Singh were like her parents.

"Vajpayeeji, Advaniji and

Jaswantji are like father figures for me. I am their child. I will live and die for the party. I am not a person who is after power. I am there for ideology," she said. — ANI

Details on Page 12

# Animated Uma suspended

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BSP  
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**Statesman News Service**

NEW DELHI, Nov. 30. — Barely four days after the BJP had named Miss Uma Bharati a national general secretary, it suspended her from the primary membership of the organisation for “anti-party activities” today. She was also served a show-cause notice, asking her to explain within three days why she should not be expelled from the party.

Miss Bharati, however, continued her animated and at times vitriolic campaign against the party leadership stating that she had ensured that “the BJP flag flies high”.

“The (BJP) Parliamentary Board, which met here, considered the conduct and statements of Miss Uma Bharati over the past few days, and was of the opinion that these constitute anti-party activities,” the party general secretary and Miss Bharati’s bete noire, Mr Arun Jaitley, said.

The meeting was chaired by the party president, Mr LK Advani, and attended by Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, Dr Murl Manohar Joshi, Mr Jaswant Singh, Mr M Venkaiah Naidu, Mr

Rajnath Singh, Mrs Sushma Swaraj and Mr Sanjay Joshi, besides Mr Jaitley.

The cornered *sanyasin*, however, struck a somewhat conciliatory note, appealing to Mr Vajpayee and Mr Advani — whom she referred to as “father figures” — “to step in and defuse the crisis”. It’s unlikely, though, that the Big Two would be able to bail her out given that the Gen Next leaders, much maligned by the firebrand leader, have now tasted blood. “I’ve lived and I will die for the party. Individuals are irrelevant; what matters is ideology,” Miss Bharati said in Bhopal, giving final touches to her Bhopal-Ayodhya Ram-Roti *padyatra*. “All routes in my life pass through Ayodhya,” she added.

Miss Bharati, once the *Hindutva* brigade’s poster girl (a woman, an OBC Lodhi and a staunch Ram Temple votary made for a heady mix for the RSS), was disowned by the Sangh after her broadside against the senior RSS functionary, Mr Suresh Soni. That the BJP’s decision to suspend her had the implicit support of the RSS became evident when its spokesman, Mr Ram

Madhav, said: “We don’t interfere with such matters, but we attach utmost importance to discipline.” The VHP senior vice-president, Acharya Giriraj Kishore, echoed him: “It is an internal matter of the BJP and we have nothing to say about it.”

It didn’t surprise many that the BJP Young Turks too have closed ranks on the matter. For, Miss Bharati had, on umpteen occasions, accused them of “planting stories against her in the media”.

A leader with a solid mass base, an orator par excellence, and an indefatigable campaigner, Miss Bharati felt she had been shortchanged when she was not allowed to make a comeback as the Madhya Pradesh chief minister, even though she had almost single-handedly won the state for the party.

When she referred to the party being “hijacked” by a handful of leaders yesterday, she was essentially referring to her rivals who, she argued, had taken the *Rajya Sabha* route to cut to size a leader with a popular support base.

**Cong smirks at ‘Uma opera’, page 4**

# BJP to get tough with Uma Bharti

Indiscipline won't be tolerated: Vajpayee

Neena Vyas

**NEW DELHI:** The Bharatiya Janata Party's central leadership has given strong signals that it will adopt a hard stance against its general secretary Uma Bharti and her supporters in Bhopal, where acts of vandalism and indiscipline on Monday tarnished the party's image. The word is that she will be suspended from the party when the BJP parliamentary board meets on Wednesday afternoon; if that happens, it will be the second time in less than 13 months.

The first signal came on Tuesday morning from the former Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, who spoke to reporters immediately after the weekly parliamentary party meeting. Responding to questions on the happenings in Madhya Pradesh, he said: "Indiscipline will not be tolerated, howsoever big the person is and whatever the issue may be."

He said what was witnessed in Bhopal on Monday when the party's central observers had gone there for the election of a new leader of the BJP legislature party in the State was "the height of indiscipline." "While internal competition within the party was a sign of healthy politics," what had happened there was the demonstration of "the lust for power that had crossed all limits." The "people will not accept" when some fight for the "chair" and when "the chair becomes bigger than our ideals and idealism."

## "Party above individual"

While Madhya Pradesh was apparently not discussed at the parliamentary party meeting, it was the subject of informal discussion at all levels. The second

generation leadership in the party — Venkaiah Naidu, Pramod Mahajan, Arun Jaitley, Sanjay Joshi and Sushma Swaraj, among others — are united in their wish to see the back of Ms. Bharti, who won the party a handsome electoral victory in Madhya Pradesh less than two years ago. The BJP, some leaders said, was determined to "put the party above the individual." Ms. Bharti could be made an "example" for others who may fancy themselves as regional satraps, party leaders said, citing the ouster of Kalyan Singh after the 1999 Lok Sabha election.

Senior leaders hinted that while Ms. Bharti had made allegations against some leaders that they got stories planted against her — the most recent was that she had threatened to immolate herself if denied the chief ministership — "her own supporters had in fact done this."

The leadership is not happy that a senior leader like her had not stopped her supporters from indulging in violence. The former party general secretary, K.N. Govindacharya, jumping in to the fray to defend Ms. Bharti provided the last straw.

Party leaders are angry that Ms. Bharti should charge the central leadership with being undemocratic and unconstitutional in thrusting their choice of a new "leader" on the party's legislative wing in Madhya Pradesh. "We took the decision as per the party constitution. The parliamentary board is fully competent to take such decisions," Mr. Jaitley said.

He referred to the announcement here on Saturday that Shivraj Singh Chauhan would be the new Chief Minister.

## বিজেপির কংগ্রেসায়ন

দুই বছরের মধ্যে তিন-তিন জন মুখ্যমন্ত্রী। রাজ্যের নাম মধ্যপ্রদেশ। বছর দুই আগে কংগ্রেসের দীর্ঘ শাসনে যবনিক টানিয়া এখানে বিজেপি বিপুল ব্যবধানে জয়ী হয়। মুখ্যমন্ত্রী হন দলকে ক্ষমতায় ফিরাইতে যিনি রাজ্য-রাজনীতিতে প্রবলভাবে তৎপর হন, সেই উমা ভারতী। কিন্তু রাজ্যশাসন অপেক্ষা অন্যান্য নানা বিষয়ে অধিক আগ্রহের ফলে তাঁহার মধ্যে দলের অন্দরেই বিক্ষোভ দানা বাঁধে। তাঁহাকে অপসারিত করিয়া বাবুলাল গৌরবে মুখ্যমন্ত্রী করা হয়। কিন্তু বাবুলাল সাধ্বী উমার চেয়েও অধিকতর অকর্মণ্য প্রতিপন্ন হওয়ায় এ বার তাঁহাকেও যাইতে হইল। সর্বশেষ মুখ্যমন্ত্রী শিবরাজ সিংহ চহ্লাণ রাজনীতিতে আনকোরা নন। বয়সে তরুণ হইলেও চার-চার বার দলীয় সাংসদ নির্বাচিত হইয়াছেন কিন্তু উমা ভারতী মুখ্যমন্ত্রিত্বে ফিরিতে ব্যর্থ হইয়া যে ভাবে গোঁস করিয়া আছেন, তাহাতে এই মুখ্যমন্ত্রীর মেয়াদ লইয়াও সংশয় দেখ দিতেছে। অস্যার্থ দলের অভ্যন্তরীণ গোষ্ঠীদ্বন্দ্ব বিজেপিকে কংগ্রেসের মতোই জর্জরিত করিতেছে। এতটাই যে, বিধানসভা নিশ্চিত পরিষদীয় গরিষ্ঠতা থাকা সত্ত্বেও দলীয় হাইকমান্ডকে ঘন ঘন মধ্যপ্রদেশের মুখ্যমন্ত্রী বদল করিতে হইতেছে।

জাতীয় বিরোধী দলের পক্ষে ইহা কোনও শুভ ইঙ্গিত নয়। কেননা মধ্যপ্রদেশে বিজেপি ক্ষমতায় ফিরিয়াছিল হিন্দুত্বের পালে ভর করিয়া নয়, বরং 'বিজলি, পানি, সড়ক' অর্থাৎ উন্নয়নের স্লোগান দিয়া। অথচ বাস্তবে দেখা গেল, উন্নয়নের নামে বিজেপির মুখ্যমন্ত্রীরা গোশালা নির্মাণ, গোমূত্র, গোময় সংরক্ষণ, নগরীঃ নিরামিষকরণ ইত্যাদি অকাজেই বেশি আগ্রহী। উমা ভারতী তাঁহার হিন্দু সন্ন্যাসিনীর ভাবমূর্তির সহিত সামঞ্জস্য রাখিয়া এই সকল অপকর্মে ব্যাপৃত রহিলেন। ইত্যবসরে শাসন পরিচালনার কাণ্ডে ফাঁকি পড়িতে লাগিল। তাঁহার পর যিনি মুখ্যমন্ত্রী হন, সেই বাবুলাল গৌরকে উমা এক মুহূর্তের জন্যও স্বস্তিতে থাকিতে দেন নাই গৌরের অপসারণের সম্ভাবনা নিকটবর্তী হইলে তিনি মুখ্যমন্ত্রিত্বে ফিরিয়া পাইতে তৎপর হন, এমনকী বিহার নির্বাচনে প্রচারের কাজেও টিলা দিতে থাকেন। এখন যখন শিবরাজ সিংহকে দল মনোনীত করিয়াছে, তখন সাধ্বী উমা ফুঁসিতেছেন। তাঁহাকে জাতীয় স্তরে সাধারণ সম্পাদকের পদ দিয়া প্রশমিত করার চেষ্টা হইয়াছে। কিন্তু উমা ভারতীর প্রাদেশিক রাজনীতির বদ্ধ জলার মধ্যেই স্বস্তি বোধ করেন, জাতীয় রাজনীতির আকাশে তাঁহারা হিমশিম খান। শিবরাজ সিংহ তাই কাঁটার মুকুট পরিতেছেন বলিলে অত্যুক্তি হয় না। তাঁহার বিপদ বিরোধী পক্ষ কংগ্রেসের কাছ হইতে আসিবার সম্ভাবনা তত নাই, যত আছে নিজ দলেরই বিক্ষুব্ধদের কাছ হইতে, যাঁহাদের নেতৃত্ব দিতে উমা সর্বদাই প্রস্তুত থাকিবেন।

বিহারে সংযুক্ত জনতার সহিত জোট গড়িয়া যে নির্বাচনী সাফল্য সদ্য অর্জিত হইয়াছে, তাহার আনন্দ মধ্যপ্রদেশের ঘটনায় ম্লান হইতে বাধ্য। সুশাসনের স্বাভাবিক পার্টী হিসাবে বিজেপির দাবি ইহার ফলে অনেকটাই হ্রাস পাইবে। তাহার পরিবর্তে বিজেপি গোষ্ঠীদ্বন্দ্ব দীর্ঘ, উপদলীয় কোন্দলে জর্জরিত একটি সংগঠন রূপেই জনচক্ষে উত্তরোত্তর প্রতিভাত হইতে পারে। বিজেপি যে 'অন্য রকম দল' নয়, তাহা এত দিনে স্পষ্ট। কিন্তু তাহার কংগ্রেসায়ন যে এত দ্রুত সম্পন্ন হইবে, সেটা বোধহয় তাহার শত্রুপক্ষীয়রাও ভাবেন নাই। অথচ একের পর এক রাজ্যে কংগ্রেসসুলভ গোষ্ঠীদ্বন্দ্ব দলকে কুরিয়া খাইয়াছে। গুজরাত দিয়া ইহার শুরু। নরেন্দ্র মোদীর বিরোধীরা সেখানে নিত্য নেতৃত্বের পরিবর্তন দাবি করিতেছেন। উত্তরপ্রদেশে কল্যাণ সিংহ, কলরাজ মিশ্র, রাজনাথ সিংহ প্রত্যেকের নিজস্ব গোষ্ঠী আছে। বিহারে তো সুশীল মোদী উপমুখ্যমন্ত্রী হওয়ায় এবং অন্য কেহ কেহ নীতীশ কুমারের মন্ত্রিসভা হইতে বাদ পড়ায় শপথগ্রহণ অনুষ্ঠান পর্যন্ত ভণ্ডুল হওয়ার উপক্রম হয়। আর মধ্যপ্রদেশে দুই বছরে তিন জন মুখ্যমন্ত্রী হইলেন। উপরন্তু আডবাণী-উত্তর দলীয় সভাপতির পদ লইয়া টানা পোড়েন শুরু হইয়াছে। কাঁচারভিত্তিক দলের সংহতি ছাড়িয়া বিজেপি কি ক্রমশ কংগ্রেসের মতোই ক্ষমতালিপ্সুদের টিলেঢালা মঞ্চ হইয়া উঠিতেছে?

# SM Angry Uma to take a hike

SNS & PTI

29/11  
BHOPAL/NEW DELHI, Nov. 28. — A few hours before Mr Shivraj Singh Chauhan was elected the leader of the Madhya Pradesh BJP legislature party, an angry Miss Uma Bharati today criticised the party's decision to name him the new chief minister.

Calling the decision unprecedented, she suggested it was an imposition when she said that it had robbed the BJP legislators of a chance to elect their leader. The BJP rejected the allegation. The former chief minister, who arrived here from New Delhi to

attend the BJP legislature party meeting, said: "This has never happened in the history of the Congress or BJP or any other political party. Usually, the name of the leader is informally proposed and the announcement is made after the legislature party meeting. It was the first time that the decision had been announced ahead of the election."

Miss Bharati said she had never wanted to be reinstated as the chief minister but the BJP's decision to replace Mr Babulal Gaur with Mr Chauhan had "hurt" her. "I may be a *sanyasin*, but I'm also a human being. Obviously, I was hurt," she said. The

BJP leader said she would undertake a *padyatra* to Ayodhya in protest after storming out of the BJP legislature party meeting with over a dozen MLAs.

BJP general secretary Mr Arun Jaitley later said that of the total 172 party MLAs, 171 had attended today's meeting and 154 had voted in favour of Mr Chauhan. He said 17 had walked out of the meeting.

Former BJP leader Mr KN Govindacharya today said a "mass leader" like Miss Bharati had been sidelined by a bunch of "rootless wonders".

Photograph on page 3  
Raj rebellion rattles Sena, page 4

# Uma Bharti will continue her battle

✓

HP-9  
25/11

9-8 P  
15 JP

## Charges and counter charges over decision making in BJP

Neena Vyas

**NEW DELHI:** Even before Shivraj Singh Chauhan could take office as new Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, accusations and counter accusations are flying around on the manner of decision making in the Bharatiya Janata Party. An internal battle has broken out.

Fending off the attack from the new general secretary Uma Bharti, who was also in the race for Chief Minister, party spokesman V.K. Malhotra said the parliamentary board, which selected Mr. Chauhan, flouted neither democratic nor constitutional norms. Ms. Bharti had said the party imposed a leader, without giving its MLAs any say.

Mr. Malhotra pointed out that it was the central leadership which projected Ms. Bharti as the chief, ministerial candidate before the elections; in Rajasthan, Vasundhara Raje was declared the party's candidate for the top job.

In the past, the leadership replaced Keshubhai Patel by Narendra Modi in Gujarat. Nor was Ram Prakash Gupta the natural choice of the party MLAs from Uttar Pradesh when Kalyan Singh was removed as Chief Minister.

There is more than a hint from Ms. Bharti's camp that she will not accept the party's decision quietly and will continue her battle. On Monday, her long-time supporter and friend and former general secretary K.N. Govindacharya accused general secretary Arun Jaitley of planting stories against Ms. Bharti in the press.

He said Mr. Jaitley should apologise to her for the "scurrilous stories."

Ms. Bharti has repeatedly charged some general secretaries, including Pramod Mahajan

• **Parliamentary norms not flouted, says Malhotra**

• **Govindacharya accuses Jaitley of planting stories**

and Mr. Jaitley, with getting stories "planted" against her through "off-the-record briefings."

Some leaders sympathetic to Ms. Bharti were of the view at Saturday's meeting of the parliamentary board here that the choice of the Chief Minister should be left to the MLAs. There is also the view that she is one of the few younger generation leaders with a support base and among the few women leaders in the party who have risen from the grass roots.

Over the last few weeks it became increasingly clear that Ms. Bharti, who claims majority support in the legislature party, was not prepared to accept quietly any decision favouring Mr. Chauhan or anybody else for Chief Minister.

She has repeatedly pointed out that she led the BJP to a massive victory in Madhya Pradesh two years ago and resigned as Chief Minister only on moral grounds in the 10-year old Hubli case. When the case was dropped she should have been allowed to re-assume the job.

Her supporters believe that quite a few younger BJP leaders want to provoke her so that she can be thrown out of the party.

She has made enemies of Mr. Mahajan, Mr. Jaitley and above all, party vice-president, M. Venkaiah Naidu. Mr. Mahajan has already warned that discipline on the party of anyone, howsoever tall, will not be tolerated.



# Uma Bharti walks out in a huff

## Begins march from Bhopal to Ayodhya for the cause of "Ram and roti"

Lalit Shastri

**BHOPAL:** The former Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister, Uma Bharti, and 16 MLAs walked out from the BJP Legislature Party meeting held at the State party headquarters here on Monday.

Soon afterwards, Ms. Bharti began a march from Bhopal to Ayodhya, saying it was for the cause of "Ram and roti."

The BJP Legislature Party met here in the evening with party general secretary Arun Jaitley conducting the proceedings. Senior leaders Rajnath Singh and Pramod Mahajan were present as central observers.

A tense atmosphere prevailed as a large number of Ms. Bharti's

supporters gathered at the entrance and raised slogans in her support.

They went berserk after State BJP president Shivraj Singh Chauhan entered the premises in a big procession. After bringing down the arch put up at the entrance, the supporters of Ms. Bharti began throwing and breaking chairs kept for media persons. The police resorted to a mild baton charge in which some journalists, including this correspondent, were hit.

Later, talking to journalists Ms. Bharti said she "had been sacrificed at the Legislature Party meeting." She said she was not interested in the Chief Minister's post; in fact, she had rejected the proposal to elect her to

the post. She added that she had no grouse against the party.

It was unfortunate that "we have failed to meet our commitment to the people. Neither has the temple been constructed at Ayodhya nor have we been able to address the problem of roti," she said. "One fails to understand why we go back on the promises we make to the people at the time of elections."

Ms. Bharti reiterated her commitment to the BJP ideology and all that the Jan Sangh founder, Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya, stood for. She welcomed members of the public to join her in the march "but no party MLA, Minister or MP should join her as they should continue to work to meet the

commitment made to the people by their party."

She said she had asked many MLAs and Ministers, who left the Legislature Party meeting with her, to go back.

Earlier, Ms. Bharti told news-persons at her residence that the BJP Parliamentary Board had created history by announcing that Mr. Chauhan would be the new Chief Minister even before

the Legislature Party had met. Ms. Bharti was critical of a report in a prominent Hindi daily, which said she had told Mr. Jaitley that she would commit suicide after coming to know that Mr. Chauhan had been selected as the next Chief Minister. She condemned the news item as "false and mischievous."

# Shivraj Chauhan next CM of MP

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, Nov. 26. — Thwarting Miss Uma Bharati's frantic attempts to regain her previous position as the Madhya Pradesh chief minister, the BJP today appointed the state unit chief and Lok Sabha member, Mr Shivraj Singh Chauhan, to the post. The incumbent, Mr Babulal Gaur, was given his marching orders.

The rehabilitation of Miss Bharati as the party's national general secretary is seen as a move to appease the former chief minister. After an unprecedented two rounds of meetings during the day, in the course of which differences over the Madhya Pradesh leadership came to be laid bare, the party's central parliamentary board decided to replace Mr Gaur with Mr Chauhan.

Since Miss Bharati continued to be at loggerheads with her one-time protegee Mr Gaur, second generation BJP leaders, often criticised by the fiery *sanyasin*, apparently settled scores today. They rallied behind the 46-year old Mr Chauhan, a four-time MP from Vidisha who is an OBC leader like Miss Bharati.

After a 90-minute session for the second time at Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee's residence, Mr Arun Jaitley, the BJP general secretary in charge of MP affairs, announced the decision. He said that Mr Gaur had told the party chief, Mr LK Advani, that he wanted to step down.

## Raj Thackeray revolts

MUMBAI, Nov. 26. — Shiv Sena leader Mr Raj Thackeray is all set to defy the leadership of his cousin and the party's executive president, Mr Udhav Thackeray, to revive the "original" party that "cared more for Marathi-speaking citizens than *Hindutva*." Mr Raj Thackeray, Mr Bal Thackeray's nephew and considered heir to the latter's political legacy until the supremo started promoting his son, sent a letter to him two days ago seeking to know his "status" in the Shiv Sena. SNS

Details on page 4

"It's been decided to call a meeting of the legislature party where Mr Shivraj Singh Chauhan will be elected as the leader," Mr Jaitley said, adding the date and time of the meeting would be announced later by Mr Advani. He said Miss Bharati had been chosen general secretary as the party wanted to utilise her services at the national level "keeping in mind her contribution to the BJP".

Mr Jaitley's statement that Mr Gaur had offered to quit came barely hours after the chief minister declared in Indore that he would "try to complete" his term. Mr Gaur later said he would resign tomorrow. "Miss Bharati's role in the state is important," Mr Chauhan said after the BJP had announced its decision. Miss Bharati was not immediately available for her comments to be recorded.

THE STATESMAN

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## ~~Volcker Report:~~

### Advani says Centre has backtracked

Special Correspondent

**PATNA:** BJP president L.K. Advani on Friday alleged that the United Progressive Alliance Government at the Centre had backtracked on its assurance to set up a judicial commission to go into the Volcker Report. He told reporters here that the Pathak Committee would not be able to do justice to the task.

Mr. Advani said "the inquiry commission had been deliberately reduced to a committee."

Now it would be only a "private" inquiry rather than a public hearing under a commission. He said his party would raise both the Volcker Committee report and the KGB 'funding' issues in the winter session of Parliament commencing from November 23. It would also demand a 'White Paper' disclosing the names of beneficiaries.

He, however, denied that the former Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, had written any letter to the deposed Iraqi leader, Saddam Hussein. He said that he would like to see the letter if at all it existed.

The ruling alliance at the Centre was in a mess and the Rashtriya Janata Dal was in a soup in Bihar, Mr. Advani said and added that the Bihar election results would have a far-reaching impact at the national level.

On the internal conflicts within the BJP, Mr. Advani said the party was facing some problems but these would be settled.

THE HINDU

'NEXT PARTY CHIEF MUST TOE RSS LINE'

# Sangh charts BJP's course

Statesman News Service & PTI

CHITRAKOOT/NEW DELHI, Oct. 23. — Breaking its month-long silence on Mr LK Advani's charge that it was "remote-controlling" the BJP, the RSS today said it would speak to him on the issue and expected his successor to adhere to the Sangh's five-point guideline on the way the party should be run.

The Parivar would go into the reasons to ascertain as to what caused this perception to be formed, RSS leader Mr Mohan Bhagwat told reporters after the three-day national executive committee meeting in Chitrakoot. He, however, said the "perception was his (Mr Advani's)". "We will meet Mr Advani and see as to what are the reasons for this perception," he said, adding that the views of other *swayamsevaks* would also be ascertained.

The RSS leader also made it clear that Mr Advani's successor would have to adhere to the Sangh ideology. Asked what would be the Sangh's reaction if the next BJP chief did not have an RSS background, Mr Bhagwat said: "The (BJP) president could not take decisions alone... The BJP is not a new party and we have our *swayamsevaks* there." He also said the BJP's progress on the suggestions given by the Sangh was slow due to recent developments (Miss Uma Bharati's letter and Mr Advani's charge).

On being asked about the suggestions given to the BJP by the RSS, he said they included ideology, organisation, training of the workers, values and communication. "We had also asked the party to resolve the intra-party disputes and not to take them to the media." Mr Bhagwat, however, refused to set a time-frame on when the Sangh would be speaking to Mr Advani.

Also today, the RSS termed as "unfor-

## Uma explains Soni attack



NEW DELHI, Oct. 23.

— Joining issue with the RSS, BJP leader Miss Uma Bharati today sought to suggest that her criticism of senior Sangh leader Mr Suresh Soni was ag-

against an individual and not the outfit. "For me, the Sangh is not an individual. It's an ideology whose flow has been nurtured through *tapasya* (devotion) of lakhs and lakhs of *swayamsevaks*," she said today. — PTI

Gaur warns rebels, page 4

fortunate" the public perception about divisions within the Sangh Parivar and said it was concerned over it and was making efforts to rectify it at the earliest.

The Sangh fountainhead has also said that it would work along with other non-Parivar positive movements and organisations to play a crucial role in the country's destiny. "It is unfortunate that it appears to the people that those who believe in the Hindutva ideology are a divided lot. This is not good either for our outfit or the Hindu society. We are concerned about it and we are making efforts to rectify it," senior Sangh functionary Mr Dattatreya Hosbale said in an article in the latest issue of the RSS mouthpiece, *Panchjanya*.

## Vasundhara praise for RSS

Rajasthan chief minister Ms Vasundhara Raje today lauded the commitment of the RSS to national cause and work done by it for social uplift. She said this in Mumbai while releasing a book on the second *Sarsanghchhalak*, late Madhav Sadashiv Golwalkar, alias *Guruji*.

STATESMAN

21/10/98

# Uma Bharti's "defiance" to be discussed

## General secretaries to discuss her actions

Neena Vyas

**NEW DELHI:** The continued defiance of the former Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister, Uma Bharti, is expected to figure prominently at the next weekly meeting of the Bharatiya Janata Party general secretaries expected to take place on Monday or Tuesday.

Reports from Bhopal that Ms. Bharti organised a meeting of disgruntled party MLAs at her residence on Sunday on the pretext of a Dussehra 'milan' have not been taken lightly. "This is gross indiscipline. Party general secretaries are certain to take note of this when they meet in a day or two," a party functionary told *The Hindu* here on Sunday.

Party leaders are furious that Ms. Bharti has chosen this time to open a front in Madhya Pradesh when the National Democratic Alliance is in the midst of a crucial election battle in Bihar. Party general secretary Arun Jaitley, in-charge of BJP's Bihar election campaign, is also the 'prabhari' for Madhya Pradesh. At this juncture he is expected to be fully engaged with Bihar.

There is a view that "some one senior" in the party should pick up courage to tell Ms. Bharti that

• Meetings at Bhopal not taken lightly

• Gross indiscipline: party functionary

• Party leaders are allegedly furious

while she will remain a party leader at the all-India level, she will not be allowed to return to Madhya Pradesh as Chief Minister. After her attack on the RSS pointsman for the BJP Suresh Soni in her letter to Mr. Sudarshan, the backing of the RSS, which she may have, has vanished into thin air.

### Venkaiah's denial

UNI reports from Jabalpur: BJP national vice-president M. Venkaiah Naidu on Sunday said he had nothing to do with the controversy surrounding the letter written by the former Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister, Uma Bharti, to RSS chief K. S. Sudarshan. Commenting upon the allegations that he had leaked the letter to the media Mr. Naidu, who was here to participate in a two-day party State executive meet, said there was no question of the letter being read or leaked by him.

# BJP attacks Centre by raising reforms pitch

Our Political Bureau  
NEW DELHI 14 OCTOBER

**I**N an attempt to reclaim its constituency among reform-friendly sections, the BJP on Friday mounted an attack on the Manmohan Singh government for abandoning key elements of liberalisation. The BJP, which accused the government of buckling under the Left's pressure, said the government did not have the stomach or stamina for reforms.

"It is a repeat of the 1996-98 period when the Left sabotaged economic reforms. Due to the slowing down of reforms, three navratna oil companies have suffered a huge loss of over Rs 40,000 crore. Infrastructure development is sluggish. There is no relief from bad governance. The consequences of all this will be felt in the next 18 months. This is all the more serious in a scenario where nations are competing by taking timely decisions on economic reforms," a BJP spokesman said.

The industry and a sizeable section of the middle class, which have a big stake in the new economic process, are impatient with the current pace of reform. While the industry fears they will lose out in the global war for markets, investments as well as resources, the middle class is quite uncomfortable with the Left's rhetoric—a mix of biases and prejudices. The BJP appears to be trying to tap this prevailing unease.

The BJP also used the issue to drive home its political point that the decisions concerning the government's reform agenda was taken not at the South Block office of the Prime Minister, but the residence of the Congress president.

"Sonia Gandhi's assurance on keeping the Bhel disinvestment in abeyance is cited as the reason for the Left joining the coordination committee.



However, the announcement to this effect was made by the Prime Minister and the finance minister in Parliament much earlier. It seems that Leftists don't believe in the Prime Minister's announcement in Parliament but trust the content of the letter from the super Prime Minister. Both owe an explanation whether there are other promises made which will affect economic reforms and poverty alleviation," said the BJP spokesman.

The BJP's attack comes at a time when the Left is sharpening its attack against the government's reform agenda. While its Delhi-based leaders have given a free hand to its trade union wing, the Left parties have made it clear that they will intervene more strongly in the policy matrix of the government. At a meeting here on Thursday, the Left leaders said they will not allow disinvestment in profit-making PSUs. The government is also finding its elbow room considerably reduced in the foreign policy sphere. The Left is planning a national convention in Delhi to protest against India's anti-Iran vote at the IAEA.

# Sangh plays hardball

## RSS message in Uma letter: Keep Advani on leash

SHEKHAR Iyer  
New Delhi, October 14

BJP LEADER Uma Bharti's latest missive to RSS chief K.S. Sudarshan against Sangh's pointsman Suresh Soni's efforts to prevent her return as Madhya Pradesh chief minister has bared the RSS conflict with L.K. Advani.

The Sangh is against Advani making any appointment in BJP or allowing change of leadership in party-ruled states. He has to demit office on December 30. His continuation till then is essentially to enable him preside over the silver jubilee fete.

On the other hand, Advani believes that he is still the party chief till he actually bows out. The genesis of the tension lies in this differing perception. The second-line BJP leaders, who include general secretaries and vice-president Venkaiah Naidu, back the Sangh for the sake of their own future.

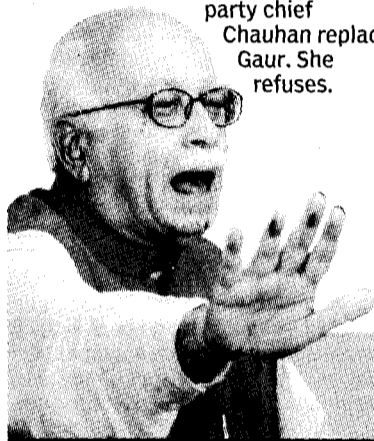
Given this scenario, the RSS brass was irked by Advani's decision to settle the MP leadership issue. The trouble began last month. Uma drew Vajpayee's and Advani's attention to controversies about Gaur's visit to US, when he was said to have been accompanied by his daughter-in-law.

On October 4, Advani sounded out Uma to become BJP general secretary while allowing MP BJP chief Shivraj Singh Chauhan replace Gaur. She refused to back Chauhan. Uma's response did not please Advani. Another meeting of BJP leaders was set for October 8 to see if a change could be effected by October 14. When the RSS got wind of Advani's plan, Soni told the second-line leaders that Uma should not be allowed to replace Gaur.

## THE BUILD-UP

Sept 2005: M-P CM Gaur on US visit, reportedly accompanied by daughter-in-law. Uma tells Vajpayee and Advani about the "controversy"

October 4: In Vajpayee's presence, Advani sounds out Uma: Be party gen secy and let state party chief Chauhan replace Gaur. She refuses.



**Shocker:** Uma presses for floor test of MLAs

**October 8:** Party leaders meet again to see if a change could be effected as early October 14

**RSS jumps in:** Gaur should stay, Soni tells BJP leaders

**October 9:** Uma writes to RSS chief, takes up Gaur's "moral turpitude"

**Bottom-line:** RSS is opposed to Advani making any appointment in BJP

## Atal walks tightrope

HEMENDRA Singh Bartwal  
New Delhi, October 14

DISTANCING HIMSELF from BJP president L.K. Advani's criticism of RSS, former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee said on Friday that the Sangh did not interfere in the party's affairs. "Sangh ka koi hastakshap nahi hai (there is no interference by the Sangh)", he said on a day when the RSS top brass was embarrassed over BJP leader Uma Bharti's letter to the organisation's chief K.S. Sudarshan accusing its joint general secretary Suresh Soni of unduly meddling in the party's Madhya Pradesh unit. Atal's turnaround came as

a surprise as last month he had come to Advani's rescue accusing the RSS of attempting to limit the thought process. The veteran leader, who had refrained from any comment on the issue at the BJP's Chennai conclave, where Advani charged the RSS with undue interference in the party's work, chose to break his silence after none of the second rung leaders came forward to back the party chief.

But on Friday, when he said on the sidelines of a book release function, "There is no question of RSS interference", it seemed that he was performing a delicate balancing act between the party and its ideological fount.

# Mahajan takes pot-shots at Advani

## Says Lack Of Team Effort Has Resulted In Indiscipline In BJP

New Delhi: In a veiled criticism of outgoing party chief L K Advani, senior BJP leader and one of the contenders for the top job Prantod Mahajan on Wednesday said discipline could be brought back to the party if all decisions were taken collectively.

Terming as unprecedented the questioning of the party leadership by members, Mahajan said, "Under such circumstances, the only option left is to have a collective leadership. That is, the general secretaries and few of the vice-presidents should sit together and take all the decisions collectively and own it. By doing that, the organisation can be gradually toned and discipline brought back."

Claiming that earlier the party always took decisions together, he said, "But slowly some top leaders began taking individual decisions. In the BJP, we don't need Lord Krishna to come and solve our problems. All we need is a team effort."



He expressed surprise at Advani's statement at the party's Chennai national executive that bringing the RSS-BJP ties into public domain would not help. Asked why the party leaders were silent on Advani's comments despite it opening up a debate, he said, "Whom is an open discussion on the RSS-BJP ties going to help? I don't think debating publicly about the relations between a mother and her son will solve problems."

Asked when the new BJP president would take over after Advani steps down at the party's Mumbai plenary in December, Mahajan said the party might look for a candidate in mid-December. "If senior leaders like A B Vajpayee, M M Joshi and Advani come to a consensus, Advani can name his successor while announcing his resignation and request the Mumbai session to elect the new president then and there," he said.

According to Mahajan, the other option would be for Advani to appoint a vice-president to look after the party affairs for two-three weeks so that the new party chief can be elected sometime in January 2006. Asked if he was upset by the Uma Bharti episode, particularly her off-the-record comments on him, Mahajan said, "I am in the BJP. Forget about Uma. I am not in the BJP because of Vajpayee or Advani. Even if Vajpayee, Advani and Uma leave the party, I will not leave it." Agencies



# BJP leader Prasad shot at in Bihar during poll meet

TIMES NEWS NETWORK

Patna: There are bad days ahead in poll-bound Bihar. In a deadly indication of desperate politics, former Union minister Ravi Shankar Prasad was on Thursday shot at by a lone gunman who invaded the dias BJP leaders were sitting on and sent a bullet crashing through the minister's left arm.

The as yet unidentified assailant, who was almost lynched by BJP supporters, charged at Prasad moments after he had finished addressing an election meeting at Nokha, 25 km from Sasaram. BJP general secretary Pramod Mahajan too was present when the incident happened. He had just taken up the mike when the bullet was shot. Doctors attending Prasad said a bullet had pierced his arm. The BJP leader was out of danger.

Prasad, a noted lawyer and former Union minister of state for information and broadcasting in the NDA government, was shot minutes after he had finished his



Injured Ravi Shankar Prasad sits in a helicopter as he is rushed to a hospital for treatment after he was shot and wounded in the left arm during an electoral campaign rally in Sasaram district of Bihar on Thursday

speech. Hit by the bullet, Prasad staggered to the ground and was encircled by a rush of supporters. Mahajan later said he saw a youth holding two countrymade revolvers.

Though neither the identity of

the assailant nor the reason for the attack could be established, it is suspected that his target could have been Rameshwar Chaurasia, the man who won the Nokha seat in both 2000 and February 2005 assembly polls.

"There was no police near the dias nor around the ground. In the adjoining ground, Ram Vilas Paswan was scheduled to address a meeting and there was no security in that place too," Mahajan said. Maintaining that the Nokha dias was "too small and overcrowded", he said, "For the past few days I have been addressing over half a dozen meetings and nowhere could I locate security-men."

During the last assembly polls, the helicopter in which BJP leader Venkiah Naidu was travelling in was blown up by extremists near Gaya. The worst attack was on former MP from Gaya Rajesh Kumar, who was burnt alive in his car by Maoists on January 22 this year. He was a candidate for the Imamganj assembly seat.

# Probe foreign funding: BJP

## Mitrokhin Papers' Revelations Biggest Scandal, Says Advani

New Delhi: Recovering from a bout of party problems, BJP president L K Advani on Sunday sought to put the Congress and the Left parties on the mat on Mitrokhin papers issue, demanding that the government should come out with a white paper on the sources of funding of political parties from abroad and set up an inquiry by a SC judge into the allegation contained in the records of the KGB official.

Taking potshots at the "guilty silence" of the Congress and the Left parties, especially the CPI, the "two pillars" of the UPA government, he said here that "revelations" in the Mitrokhin papers, which have "bersmirched" the country's fair image in the comity of nations, were the "biggest scandal since Independence."

In his first press conference since he announced his plans to quit as party president a fortnight ago in Chennai, Advani asked Prime Minister Manmohan Singh to take the matter seriously and come out with all the information he had on the subject.

Flanked by party leaders Jaswant Singh, Rajnath Singh and Arun Jaitley, the BJP president said the supreme court judge should investigate how



L K Advani addresses a news conference in Delhi on Sunday

much truth was there in the statements recorded by the former Russian intelligence agency official's archival papers.

"We have written to the Prime Minister (in a letter) that names which have been mentioned in the Mitrokhin papers may be wrong or mistaken. Those against whom allegations have been made can file defamation cases," he said. Accusing the Congress and the government of keeping quiet in the hope of brushing issues under the carpet, Advani demanded a public debate

on the subject.

"The white paper should come out on the role of foreign monies in Indian politics. It should cover details, including money received by various sources and the role of KGB, CIA and ISI.

"At the end of the day, the role of ISI has been very strong in this country. There should be a public discussion on this," he said. "I will not not be surprised if the winter session of parliament is dominated by the issue," he said making light of CPI leader A B Bardhan's description of the papers as a spy thriller. Advani also cited a former RAW officer's view to say that "it was not a spy thriller."

Reacting to Advani's demands, Congress spokesperson Anand Sharma said "It is a belated reaction from a besieged president of a party struggling to find its relevance and direction." Sharma said allegations in the Mitrokhin archive "lacked credibility and can't be given any credence by any responsible leadership." Dismissing as "baseless" the issues raised by Advani, CPI national secretary D Raja said Advani "is crestfallen in his organisation and is trying to beat a dead horse which is not going to gain anything." Agencies

## Advani seeks white paper on KGB charges

Special Correspondent

**NEW DELHI:** Bharatiya Janata Party president L.K. Advani demanded on Sunday that the Government come out with a white paper on the role of foreign intelligence agencies and order a judicial inquiry on the allegations in *The Mitrokhin Archive II*.

Releasing the copy of a letter dated September 23 to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh by National Democratic Alliance chairman Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the Leader of the Opposition in the Rajya Sabha, Jaswant Singh, and himself, Mr. Advani said it was over a week since the letter was written. Having received no response, the party decided to release copies of the letter.

He said the focus would be on this issue in the winter session of Parliament. Mr. Advani referred to the allegation in the book, *The Mitrokhin Archives II*, that "India was the easiest country for KGB operatives to penetrate" and that some top politicians, 10 newspapers and a news agency received slush funds from the Soviet intelligence agency

Details on Page 12

2 SEP 1995

# Jaswant backs Advani against RSS

**SHEKHAR IYER**  
New Delhi, September 26

THE SILENCE of senior BJP leaders to L.K. Advani's call to the RSS to get off the party's back cracked a day after former Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee signalled to the Sangh to stop limiting "thought process".

Senior BJP leader Jaswant Singh — no darling of the Sangh, but quite close to Vajpayee and Advani — gave full support to what both the top leaders have said.

BJP insiders said Singh's support for Vajpayee and Advani opens a new chapter in the BJP-RSS war, showing that the Sangh cannot have it easy. Singh's stature is high in the hi-

## ECHOING THE LEADER

erarchy, next only to that of Vajpayee and Advani.

On Monday, Singh came to the BJP headquarters to articulate the party's line on the IAEA vote against Iran. But he was more than willing to take questions on the call of Vajpayee and Advani for a free flow of ideas in the BJP unhindered by the Sangh's ideological fetters.

Welcoming Vajpayee's remark, Singh said, "If ideas are kept locked, decay will set into the party. So, there should be a continuous movement. Whatever

er he (Vajpayee) has said is welcome in every form. Favouring a flow of ideas doesn't mean in-discipline".

Showering praise on Vajpayee, Singh said, "His statements are like *Ram Charit Manas*. Every time you read it, you get a different meaning. It's not easy to comprehend Vajpayee's ideas. It takes time", the leader said with a smile.

As for party chief Advani's strong assertion against the RSS at the Chennai conclave, Singh said, "He (Advani) has made the statement after giving proper thought. There's no superficiality in it. He's said it with seriousness. It's a clear statement and there are no knots in it".

PTI

## Mum on successor

THE BJP had not discussed any names as successor to party president L.K. Advani, who will demit office in December, Venkaiah Naidu said on Monday night.

"All the names in circulation are media speculation. We haven't given a thought to this. We have plenty of time. We'll discuss it at an appropriate time", he said at Chennai airport. He said the party was proud to be associated with the RSS.

PTI, Chennai

74 19 2001

THE HINDU

# Vajpayee criticises RSS attempt to restrict thought process

## "It is a constantly evolving process; there should be room for fresh thoughts"

**NEW DELHI:** In an apparent disapproval of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh's insistence on sticking to its core ideology in the changing times, the former Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, said on Sunday that thinking was an evolutionary process that could not be curbed. Without mentioning the Sangh's denouncement of the Bharatiya Janata Party chief, L.K. Advani's controversial remarks on Jinnah, Mr. Vajpayee said, "Our friends have made an attempt to limit the thought process. It is not necessary that all of us accept it [ideology] in the same form as others."

"There can be no restriction on thoughts, which is a constantly evolving process. ... There should be room for fresh thoughts and ideas," he said at

the party headquarters here at a function to mark the 89th birth anniversary of party ideologue Deendayal Upadhyay.

Observing that it was impractical to rein in the thought process of any individual, he said, "It is difficult to pinpoint the final principle of any ideology. It is, therefore, not right to adopt an attitude that what we have accepted as the final principle of our ideology is the ultimate truth." Recalling that Upadhyay favoured fresh ideas and thoughts in pursuit of ideology,

Mr. Vajpayee said there were times when there were differences within the RSS on Upadhyay's ideas. "Deendayal also tried to pursue fresh ideas and thoughts, due to which he suffered occasionally. In the long run, however, he was proved right."

Advocating fresh ideas and thoughts, he said, "It is essential that our ideology stands the test of being beneficial for humankind as a whole. The thought process will evolve constantly. Exchange of ideas will also take

place. The process will not come to a halt at any time."

### "Image dented"

Party vice-president M. Venkaiah Naidu, who was also present, said the BJP's image had been dented due to the recent happenings.

Mr. Vajpayee also released a collection of essays, "Challenges," written by Upadhyay. The essays mention terrorism, casteism, unemployment, inflation and corruption as major challenges facing the country. — PTI

# BJP refuses to back Advani line

Statesman News Service *6/8/1*

NEW DELHI, Sept. 21. — Reaffirming the RSS's invincible control over party affairs, the BJP today refused to come out in support of Mr LK Advani, who last week had to announce his resignation from the post in the face of mounting pressure from the Sangh.

Mr Advani today presided over a meeting of the party general secretaries at his residence. When asked by reporters if the party endorsed Mr Advani's statement, that the RSS interfered in the BJP's affairs, Mrs Sushma Swaraj, one of the contenders for the party president's post, said after the meeting that

*27/9*  
there was no precedent suggesting that the party must support what its president had said.

Although Mrs Swaraj denied that Mr Advani's resignation as the party president had been discussed at the meeting, party sources contradicted her. Mr Advani dwelt on the likely fallout of his announcement. The party, however, made no secret of its intention not to defend Mr Advani or his statements against the RSS.

When asked if the party supported Mr Advani's observations that the RSS interfered too much in the party's affairs, Mrs Swaraj avoided a direct reply. "What I can say is that it has not been discussed at the general secretaries' meeting today." She said there was no need for her to

comment on the party president's statement. She said the RSS had already reacted to it, making it clear that the issues raised by Mr Advani would be discussed at an appropriate forum.

On the possibility of the party putting pressure on Mr Advani to continue beyond the Mumbai plenary session in December, Mrs Swaraj asked: "Where is the option?" The BJP spokesperson added that Mr Advani had already announced his decision. The party spokesperson ruled out any adverse impact of this on the party's prospects in the Bihar Assembly elections. She said Mr Advani might have taken into account all the ramifications of his announcement.

THE STATESMAN

# Advani to step down, criticises RSS

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## Will demit office as BJP president at December Mumbai meet

Neena Vyas

**CHENNAI:** A first rate crisis stared the Bharatiya Janata Party in the face here on Sunday when party president L.K. Advani announced in a concluding statement that he would demit office in December at the BJP national council session in Mumbai that would also mark the end of the party's silver jubilee celebrations.

Significantly, while announcing a roadmap for his exit Mr. Advani signalled the need to change "the impression that has gained ground that no political or organisational decision can be taken [by the BJP] without the consent of the RSS functionaries".

Mr. Advani's stated view was "both the RSS and the BJP must consciously exert [themselves] to dispel that impression" as "this perception ... will do no good either to the party or to the RSS." The RSS, he added, must also be concerned that such a perception "would dwarf its greater mission of man-making and nation-building." The message was clear and blunt: the RSS must stick to its role of character building among swayamsevak and leave the business of politics to the BJP.

The exit had become a certainty after Mr. Advani's "Jinnah's August 1947 vision was secular" formulation during his Pakistan visit in early June. It was expected ever since an

- Advises the RSS to leave politics to the BJP.
- Party leaders feel Mr. Vajpayee's position would be stronger
- No information on selection of new president

agreement was hammered out between the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh functionaries and top BJP leaders in New Delhi on July 17 to allow Mr. Advani to stay in office, but not beyond December. Following the Jinnah controversy, communication between Mr. Advani and the RSS bosses broke down. The relationship soured to an extent that the RSS seemed to be waiting anxiously for the announcement of his departure as BJP president.

Mr. Advani's comments on the RSS were viewed as an indictment of the manner in which the RSS tried to impose its views on the political party. The BJP's senior leadership was clearly divided over this "open criticism" of the mother organisation by the party president.

Party leaders felt that with Mr. Advani's imminent departure as BJP president, Mr. Vajpayee's position as the "supremo" had become stronger. It was also accepted by party leaders that with Mr. Advani having lost his clout, and even his ability to communicate, with the RSS, it was the former Prime

Minister who would now have the last word, possibly even on the problems in Gujarat where there is serious dissidence against Chief Minister Narendra Modi.

There was a last minute attempt by some party functionaries, notably Bihar leader Sushil Modi, to stave off the crisis. He wanted "rumours" about Mr. Advani's expected announcement to be scotched, with the exit timetable not being made public till after the Bihar elections.

It was obvious that jostling for the post of party president would now begin in right earnest. That added to the sense of impending crisis felt and expressed by some national executive committee members, Mr. Jaswant Singh, who briefed the press on Sunday's developments, did not throw any light on when the process of election — or selection — of a new party president would begin. He only confirmed that the outgoing party president would preside over the December National Council session in Mumbai, and hand over charge to the new president

on the last day of that session, possibly December 30.

In his concluding statement, Mr. Advani noted that "the BJP leadership has had no hesitation in consulting with the RSS functionaries" but "after such consultations the party takes its own independent decisions." Some of these decisions, he added, "may differ — have indeed differed — from the stated positions of the RSS and certain constituents of the Sangh Parivar." Basically, the message was that the RSS must limit its role to strengthening the "ethical, moral and idealistic" moorings of party workers and functionaries.

On the other hand, Mr. Vajpayee's address emphasised the "primacy of the organisation" and paid homage to the "unsung workers of the party" who had dedicated their entire lives to "fulfilling the mission to serve the country." Generations to come would be called upon to discharge their duties for this "continuing mission," he added.

Mr. Vajpayee, who spoke ex tempore, chose to reflect on the BJP's association with the RSS, "an exceptional organisation unequal in the world." He made it a point to focus on the unbreakable bond between the two, saying that first the Jan Sangh and then the BJP was "established jointly with the RSS."

Editorial: Page 10

Text of statement: Page 12



**ENOUGH:** Bharatiya Janata Party president L. K. Advani coming out after the national executive meet in Chennai on Sunday. — PHOTO: K. PICHUMANI

BJP CHIEF TO QUIT POST AFTER PARTY PLENARY IN MUMBAI ■ SANGH INTERFERENCE CRITICISED

# Advani sets December date

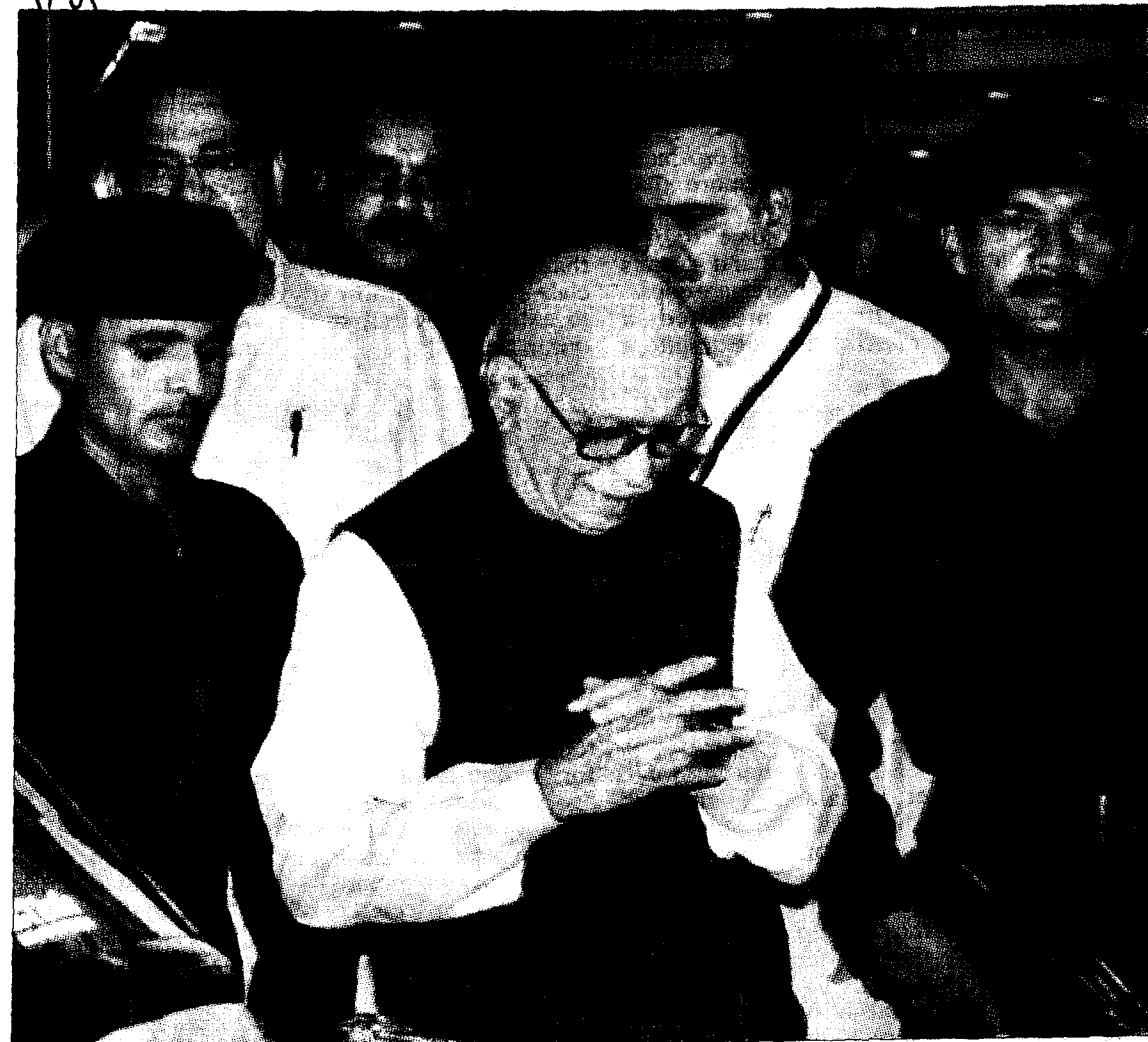
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Dipankar Chakraborty  
in Chennai

Sept. 18. — Putting at rest all speculation over the possible time-frame for his exit from the BJP president's post, Mr LK Advani today declared that he would "demit office" at the BJP plenary session slated for December in Mumbai.

The announcement, which came in the course of Mr Advani's concluding remarks on the last day of the three-day national executive here, is being seen as a sign of the RSS's ultimate authority over BJP affairs as it was not sans bitterness which the party president had possibly felt over the RSS's concerted attempt to show him the door.

The BJP president also made it clear that he would not resign from the post till the plenary session, coinciding with the completion of 25 years of the party's existence, and which, he said, "is going to be presided over by me". He added: "I had accepted this responsibility as party president in October 2004 because Shri Venkaiahji had some personal problems. I have decided, however, that after the Mumbai session, I shall demit office, and the party's stewardship should be taken over by some other colleague."

Mr Advani's speech in the presence of the executive members that followed Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee's (more in the tune of a farewell speech) was a strong disapproval of the RSS's excessive interference in party



BOWING TO RSS PRESSURE? Mr LK Advani after the conclusion of the BJP's national executive meeting in Chennai on Sunday. — PTI

matters. He said the impression that "no political or organisational decision can be taken without the consent of the RSS functionaries" would do no good to either the Sangh or the

BJP's interests. He underlined the importance of letting the BJP emerge as an independent entity not withstanding the party's deviations from "the stated positions of the RSS and

certain constituents of the Sangh Parivar".

"But lately an impression has gained ground that no political or organisational decision can be taken without the consent of

the RSS functionaries. This perception, we hold, will do no good either to the party or the RSS. The RSS too must be concerned that such a perception will dwarf its greater mission of man-making and nation-building," Mr Advani argued.

The BJP president advised the RSS to "continue to play its role to strengthen the ethical, moral and idealistic moorings of the workers as well as functionaries of the BJP", as in the past, and this in the larger interest of the nation. Referring to the BJP's continuing interaction with the RSS and other constituents, Mr Advani asserted that the party had also to work in a manner "that enables it to keep its basic ideological stances intact and at the same time expand itself to reach larger sections of people outside the layers of all ideology".

Briefing media persons later at a joint press conference with the party general secretary, Mr Pramod Mahajan, at the Deccan Plaza Hotel, Mr Jaswant Singh said Mr Vajpayee had recalled the "great contribution" made by Mr Advani in helping him discharge his responsibilities as a member of Parliament in the early days of the party's existence.

Asked to comment on Mr Advani's decision to step down as the BJP chief, Mr Jaswant Singh said he fully endorsed the party president's statement. He, however, evaded comments on the timing of the announcement of Mr Advani's decision.

Another report on page 4

## Mum's the word for RSS



Sangh leader Mr Ram Madhav

CHENNAI, Sept. 18. — The RSS has reacted cautiously to the BJP chief's critical remarks against it. "We will hold consultations soon on correcting the perception about the relationship between the BJP and the RSS," Sangh spokesman Mr Ram Madhav said.

He refused to comment on Mr LK Advani's announcement to step down as party chief in December. Sources said BJP leaders had held discussions with the RSS brass before the announcement.

Though peeved over the BJP chief's critical remarks over the Sangh's role, RSS leaders expressed happiness in private that they were able to secure a commitment on his resignation and re-establish the moral authority of the Sangh fountainhead. — PTI

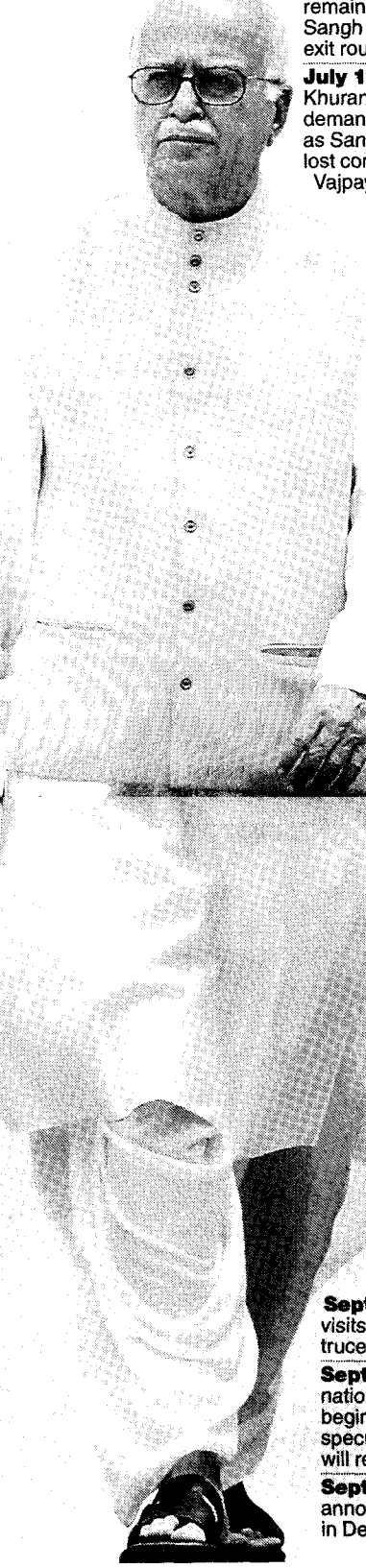


ADIEU ADVANI

Advani leaves behind crown of thorns

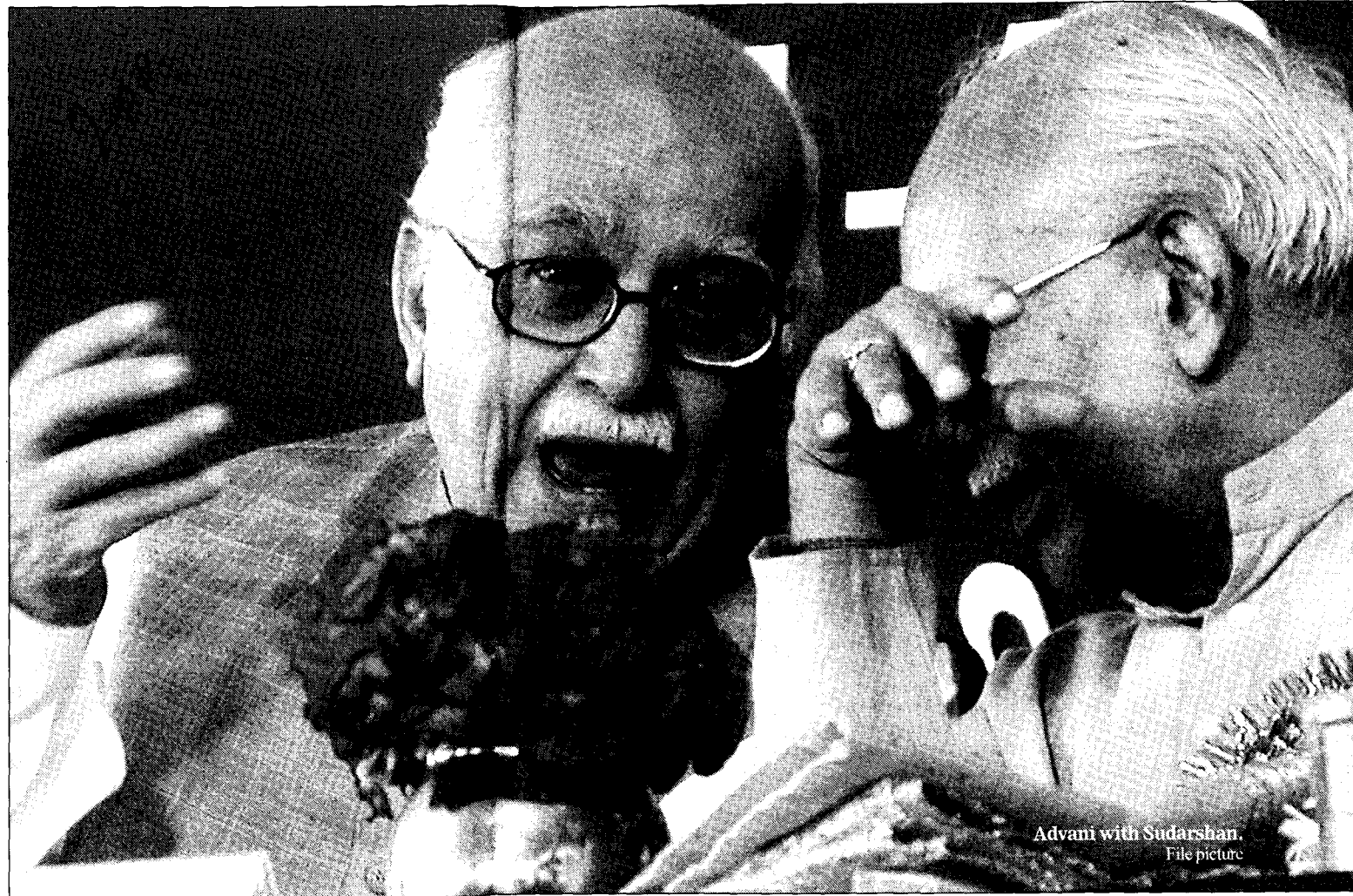
THE WAY OUT

- April 10:** Sudarshan says in a TV interview that Vajpayee and Advani should make way for younger leaders
- April 16:** Rajnath Singh emerges as RSS choice to head the party
- April 19:** Vajpayee seconds Sudarshan's proposal for younger leadership; says Advani himself and party will decide whether the party president should quit
- April 20:** Vajpayee disowns remarks made on Sudarshan's proposal; says Advani would continue as BJP chief
- May 29:** Advani says he would continue as BJP president, adding that he has Sangh's backing
- June 4:** At Jinnah's tomb in Karachi, Advani describes the founder of Pakistan as someone who began as a secular leader
- June 5:** Calls for Advani's resignation come from Sangh hawks who accuse him of violating ideology
- June 7:** Advani submits resignation under pressure
- June 8:** Vajpayee emphasises Advani should not be allowed to quit in such circumstances
- June 10:** Advani back as BJP president after party passes resolution calling Pakistan visit path-breaking
- June 12:** RSS questions Advani's decision to withdraw resignation
- June 19:** Sudarshan lauds Indira Gandhi for dismembering Pakistan in 1971 and describes her as a leader of guts, indirectly snubbing Vajpayee
- June 21:** Sangh lines up dos and don'ts for Advani
- July 3:** Advani accepts resignation of his aide Sudheendra Kulkarni
- July 12:** BJP says Advani remains party president but Sangh sources insist only full exit route is found
- July 16:** Madan Lal Khurana writes to Advani demanding his resignation as Sangh leadership has lost confidence in him. Vajpayee and Advani speak with Sudarshan. Vajpayee suggests Advani give up one post
- July 19:** RSS asks Advani to step down as BJP chief before national executive in Chennai
- August 16:** Khurana says he is finding it difficult to work under Advani
- August 20:** Advani suspends Khurana from BJP for five years for indiscipline
- August 21:** Vajpayee, in presence of Sudarshan, says Jinnah was secular in initial years
- September 6:** BJP central leadership recommends expulsion of Khurana
- September 8:** Vajpayee condemns Khurana's expulsion
- September 12:** Khurana apologises, Advani rescinds expulsion
- September 13:** Advani visits Vajpayee, signalling truce
- September 16:** BJP national executive begins in Chennai amid speculation if Advani will remain
- September 18:** Advani announces stepping down in December



Advani remains party president but Sangh sources insist only full exit route is found

IN HAPPIER TIMES



Advani with Sudarshan. File picture

An era ends, saffron revival begins

THE BIG PICTURE MAHESH RANGARAJAN

**T**he premature end of L.K. Advani's tenure at the helm of the BJP will mark more than a change of guard at the top. The party will ready for an ideological makeover; more closely aligning with its core ideology of Hindutva.

It will probably lead to a clearer line of communication with the parent organisation, the RSS, even as this opens up the risk of political isolation.

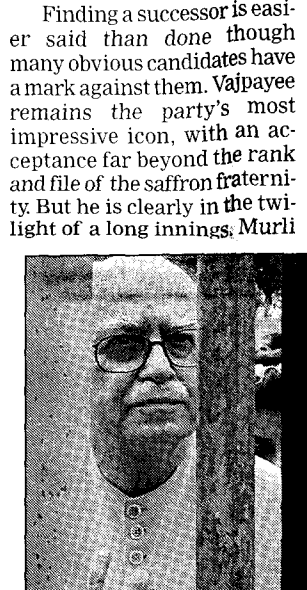
There is deep irony in Advani's bowing out symbolising a saffron revival. As party leader from 1986 on, he steered both the BJP and the country to an era where its ideology of Hindutva gained in appeal and attraction. If the rath yatra of 1990 brought in mass support especially in the north, Advani also showed he knew where the limits of such mobilisation lay.

In December 1995, he had proposed as head of a BJP-led coalition the man with a much wider appeal: Atal Bihari Vajpayee. As home minister from 1998 on, Advani took care to stress that governance and not ideology was the hallmark of the ruling alliance.

Yet it is after the defeat of the NDA in May 2004 and his return to office that his appeal began to wear thin. The statement on Jinnah in Pakistan in June 2005 was a straw. But it mattered enormously in a party and a movement where

strident anti-Pakistan sentiment is often linked to strong affirmation of how Hindutva alone can define what India is and stands for.

Finding a successor is easier said than done though many obvious candidates have a mark against them. Vajpayee remains the party's most impressive icon, with an acceptance far beyond the rank and file of the saffron fraternity. But he is clearly in the twilight of a long innings. Murl



Manohar Joshi has the opposite image problem: while a purist in ideological matters, he has often found it difficult to carry his colleagues with him.

The well-known faces of the party such as Pramod Mahajan and Sushma Swaraj are all Rajya Sabha members without a strong state-level base. Narendra Modi is under continuing dissident pressure in Gujarat and cannot gain wider acceptance outside the state or in the larger body politic after the massacres of 2002.

Rajnath Singh fits the bill in more ways than one. But much will depend not only on the inner party conclave of the BJP in Chennai and after; it will also hinge on the ability of Advani's successor to fine-tune equations with Nagpur.

This is more than a matter of pleasing a few people at the helm in Hedgewar Bhavan in Reshim Bagh. Now that it is in Opposition, as was the case in the late 1980s, the BJP will become more, not less, reliant on

her return to the fold only exposed a hollowiness of the national leadership, which this month's episode with M.L. Khurana in Delhi has reinforced.

Contrary to perception, the record will go to show that Vajpayee, more than Advani, has had an iron fist in a velvet glove. His amiable nature has often concealed an ability to strike at detractors where he is on the up. Nanaji Deshmukh exited active party work in

nineties now turned their ire on him. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the Bajrang Dal were only the most prominent such groups. Suddenly, his own fans bereft of direction denounced the *lauha purush* or man of steel.

It is here as much as in ties with the Sangh that the challenge will be a difficult one. A new leader from a different generation will signal renewed succession struggles as the party prepares for the post

Atal-Advani era. This was not the case when the party was in office as the centre of gravity had shifted to the government.

Things are bound to be very different now. The Advani denouement will confirm that the baton of leader may pass from one to another but the Sangh cannot be defied by anyone.

How this will play out in the larger scheme of politics is still unclear. Hindutva is diminishing in appeal and the politics of coalitions is here to stay. Already Janata Dal (U) leader Nitish Kumar has called for reservation for Dalit Muslims. In the south, Chandrababu Naidu has moved on beyond the embrace of the BJP. In Chennai itself, the party, a mere marginal presence, has no relationship with any regional party.

Renewed stress on Hindutva may go down well with the Sangh but can hardly help the party. If it is indeed ready for a long haul, it will have to contend with a longer spell in Opposition than it may have bargained for.

The Advani denouement will confirm that the baton of leader may pass from one to another but the Sangh cannot be defied by anyone

the spine provided to it by the functionaries of the RSS.

Advani did more than just fall foul of his movement's core tenets. His appeal for open debate fell on deaf ears with even the second-rung leaders groomed by him across the decades stepping back.

The loss of a sense of timing and judgement were equally evident in the handling of state units in provinces where the party is still in power. In Bhopal, Uma Bharti virtually questioned his ability to keep the top rung together.

1980 when the BJP was created. Two decades later, it was K.N. Govindacharya's turn to feel the heat. He, too, left.

Advani was inducted into the leadership post after the UPA wrested power in 2004. His tenure was marked by swings in emphasis in ideological terms. His very first speech saw him evoke the Ram Mandir issue; the last in Chennai two days ago talked of "appeasement of minorities".

Yet the search for the political centre proved his undoing. The very organisations that had spurred him on in the

Pat and prick in same breath

Excerpts from the text of L.K. Advani's statement at the BJP national executive in Chennai on Sunday:

In free India's political history, the launching of the BJP in 1980 has really proved a landmark event. The Indian polity has undergone a radical metamorphosis in these past 25 years.

Personally, I deem it a proud privilege that while the first session was presided over by Shri A.B. Vajpayee, the party's silver jubilee session being held this December at Mumbai is going to be presided over by me.

I had accepted this responsibility as party president in October 2004 because Shri Venkaiahji had some personal problems. I have decided, however, that after the Mumbai session, I shall demit office and the party's stewardship should be taken over by some other colleague.

From time to time, and depending on the issue at hand, the BJP leadership has had no hesitation in consulting the RSS functionaries.

After such consultations, the party takes its own independent decisions. Some of these decisions may differ — and have indeed differed — from the stated positions of the RSS and certain constituents of the Sangh parivar.

But lately an impression has gained ground that no political or organisational decision can be taken without the consent of the RSS functionaries.

"This perception, we hold, will do no good either to the party or to the RSS. The RSS, too, must be concerned that such a perception will dwarf its greater mission of man making and nation building. Both the RSS and the BJP must consciously exert to dispel this impression."

We feel that the RSS should continue to play its role to strengthen the ethical, moral and idealistic moorings of the workers as well as functionaries of the BJP as in the past, and this is in the larger interest of the nation.

The BJP greatly appreciates the continuing interaction we have been having with the RSS and with other organisations in the Sangh parivar. Their views provide valuable inputs for our decision-making process.

But the BJP as a political party is accountable to the people, its performance being periodically put to test in elections.

So in a democratic, multi-party polity; an ideologically-to function in a manner that enables it to keep its basic ideological stances intact and at the same time expand itself to reach the large sections of the people outside the layers of all ideology.

It is in protecting the ideological moorings of the BJP and in articulating it in an idiom and language that the people understand that great care is needed.

For us in the BJP, Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya has been a model idealogue. We have seen him interpret the party's ideological commitments, as for example in respect of Akhand Bharat, with remarkable clarity and conviction, and yet with flexibility and finesse.

The RSS is a nationalist organisation whose contribution to character building of millions and towards inculcating in them the spirit of patriotism, idealism and selfless service of the motherland has been incomparable.

It is an organisation that has inspired tens of thousands of public-spirited persons to serve the nation through the medium of politics. Those in the political field and those who are serving the society in other fields have to function with unity and trust like a family to ensure that the country secures its rightful place in the comity of nations.

Elimination round kicks off

OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Chennai, Sept. 18: L.K. Advani's announcement of his decision to demit office as the BJP president has set in motion the speculation on who could succeed him, even though a little over three months remain for the succession to happen.

Until yesterday, Advani's acolytes had proposed to the RSS, through the general secretary (organisation), Sanjay Joshi, that a presidium could run the BJP until it was time for the next poll. This presidium would have three members — M. Venkaiah Naidu, Pramod Mahajan and Arun Jaitley.

The idea was since the three are known as Advani "loyalists", it would enable him to continue having a say in party matters, if not exercise surrogate control.

The technical argument was since the BJP chief has a three-year term — which neither Advani nor his predecessors Naidu and K. Jana Krishnamurthy could complete — Advani's successor will assume charge mid-way and be denied a full tenure. Knowledge of this could make him seem a

IN THE FRAME



(From left) Joshi, Sushma, Rajnath Singh

"lame duck" president in the cadre's eyes. So, it was more "tenable" for the presidium to keep things going until 2007 (when Advani's term would normally have ended) and then elect a new president.

The RSS, which monitored the Chennai happenings with a microscope, reportedly shot down the idea and insisted that a new president will be in place on December 30, when Advani is expected to step down.

Sources admitted that as the Sangh will have a veto power, the process of "elimination" has got underway with the first "list" deleting the names of the RSS's "bete noires". The names of Jaswant Singh, Naidu and Mahajan figured in it.

While the Sangh reportedly had no problem with Jaitley,

the sources said it was "doubtful" if he would be up to the job after his recent bypass surgery. Specially since he had his legal practice on hand as well.

The sources said had narrowed down to three persons: Murl Manohar Joshi, Sushma Swaraj and Rajnath Singh and in the reverse order.

Rajnath, because it felt his "uncontroversial" image, Hindi heartland roots and an unquestioned loyalty to the Sangh were assets at a time when Advani seemed set to take on the RSS. The fact that the BJP was down and out in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar was noted when Rajnath's name was mentioned. A Thakur from Uttar Pradesh, he is reportedly being backed by fellow

Thakur and Vice-President Bhairon Singh Shekhawat.

Rajnath's perceived lack of articulation and an "inability" to get the big picture on politics and contemporary issues were more than made up for by Sushma, said the sources. She reportedly distanced herself from the Advani group during the recent crisis and stayed "neutral" in order to get into the Sangh's good books.

Sushma, always an RSS favourite, was briefly out of favour when the RSS suspected she had "misrepresented" certain events during the Jinnah crisis.

As for Joshi, the sources were doubtful if his public show of affinity towards RSS boss K.S. Sudarshan — they travelled together from Nagpur to Chennai last week — would help him score brownie points.

The general view was that his "overt Brahminism" and "sense of aloofness" from the rank and file may not make him the most effective leader of the BJP at a time when a lack of workers' connectivity was identified as the biggest problem area.

The sources said the power sweepstakes may end in a toss-up between Rajnath and Sushma.



ENOUGH IS ENOUGH

The Telegraph

80

SUDOKU

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Solution to previous Sudoku is on the right

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Party's National Executive Spells Out Economic Agenda With A 20-Point Wish List

# BJP borrows Cong's aam aadmi

Devesh Kumar  
CHENNAI 17 SEPTEMBER

**T**HE BJP on Saturday made a determined bid to appropriate the "aam aadmi ke saath" slogan from the Congress as it launched a vicious attack of the Manmohan Singh government's economic policies which, it alleged, had only ended up in increasing the levels of poverty and unemployment, aggravated the woes of the farmers, the poor and the middle class.

The party took off from where L.K. Advani had left yesterday in his presidential speech, as it hit out at the UPA government for adopting measures which, while hurting the "aam aadmi" (common man), had, in fact, proved beneficial for the rich and the affluent (*Khas aadmi*).

The economic resolution adopted on Saturday by the BJP's national executive came out with a 20-point wish-list. The harsh realities of present-day politics had, it is clear, forced it to shed its "pro-reforms" image, and embark, instead, on a populist plank, as evident by the fact that growing unemployment, escalating prices and the problems being faced by the agricultural sector came in for special mention.

Even though the economic resolution did not mention anything about the possibility of the five BJP-ruled states embracing the VAT regime, the issue is said to have figured in the discussions that followed the circulation of the draft document. The party put off a final decision on joining the category of states which have implemented VAT, arguing that it wanted to act in tandem with the



governments of Tamil Nadu, Uttaranchal and Uttar Pradesh "the three other states which were yet to join the league."

"In these 15 months, the UPA government has failed to honour even a single promise and has utterly failed on the economic front. During the last year of the NDA government, the economy's growth-rate was 8.4% which, during the last one year, has gone down to 6.9%," the resolution said. The party also sought to highlight the growing contradictions between the Congress and the Left parties which, it asserted, were undermining the country's economic progress.

"Overawed by their fears and threats, the UPA government is kneeling before the Left parties at

## BJP's back to anti-minority plank

**T**HE BJP on Saturday showed signs of reverting to its strong anti-minority appeasement plank, which guided its political march during the early nineties, as its national executive mounted a severe assault on the Manmohan Singh government for taking recourse to minorityism and vote-bank politics.

The political resolution passed by the party on Day 2 of its national executive here this afternoon carried a detailed critique of the UPA government's politics of appeasement.

For the first time ever, it devoted a full chapter on the politics of fatwas, as it felt emboldened to reiterate its demand for the formulation of a uniform civil code. The focus on fatwas was designed as much to hammer away the BJP's charge of minority-appeasement at the Centre as at emphasising its concern over the growing gender inequality.

The draft document, it is learnt, had made only a passing reference to the politics of fatwas. On former union minister Sushma Swaraj's insistence, it was expanded to form a full chapter as she felt that the original draft looked like a Xerox copy of the inaugural speech delivered by BJP president L.K. Advani.

The re-worked political resolution, which was adopted by

the BJP's national executive this afternoon, is likely to go down well with the Nagpur establishment, which had only a couple of months ago expressed its deep concern over the ideological deviations that had crept up within the party in the past few years. The "Justice for all, Appeasement of none" slogan, which had formed the basis for the party's remarkable surge in the early nineties, it is clear, is set to be revived on an aggressive basis.

The party sought to fault the Congress-led government at the Centre for its outreach to the Muslims alone.

"The government's minority-appeasement policy is directed at the Muslims alone. When it came to the anti-Sikh riots of 1984, the government showed its lack of sincerity. The ATR on the Nanavati Commission report is a vivid example of its unwillingness to prosecute Congress who had a hand in the killings," the document said, even as the BJP patted itself on its back for forcing the government to drop a riot-tainted minister.

The party that by pandering to the Muslim fundamentalists, the government had encouraged the Islamic clerics to issue one fatwa after another in the past few months.

DEVESH KUMAR  
IN CHENNAI

# পাকিস্তান-নীতিতে বদলের ঘোষণা

## বাজপেয়ীর জোরেই দল সামলালেন আডবাণী

জয়ন্ত ঘোষাল • চেম্বাই

১৬ সেপ্টেম্বর: বইটার নাম, 'দ্য ওয়ার্ল্ড ইজ ফ্ল্যাট'। লেখক টমাস ফ্রিডম্যান। চেম্বাই বৈঠকে সভাপতির প্রারম্ভিক বক্তৃতা দিতে গিয়েই লালকৃষ্ণ আডবাণী জানিয়ে দেন, এই বইটাই এখন তিনি পড়ছেন। গোটা দুনিয়া কী দ্রুত বদলে যাচ্ছে, সেটাই এই বইয়ের সারবস্তু।

এই সংস্কারের কথা শুনিয়েই আজ আডবাণী দলের পাকিস্তান-নীতিতে বদল আনার কথা ঘোষণা করলেন। যে পাকিস্তান সফর আর জিলা নিয়ে সঙ্ঘ পরিবার প্রশ্ন তুলেছিল, সে ব্যাপারে যে আদর্শই ক্ষমাপ্রার্থী নন, তা বুঝিয়ে দিয়ে আজ এক নিঃশব্দ বিপ্লব করে ফেললেন তিনি।

বৈঠকে উপস্থিত সদস্যদের সকলের কাছে বিলি করা হয়েছে করাচিতে জিলা সম্পর্কে তাঁর বক্তৃতার কপি এবং এই ব্যাপারে প্রকাশিত একটি পুস্তিকা।

দলে সভাপতির পদে তিনি থাকবেন কি থাকবেন না, তা নিয়ে বিষ্ণুরা প্রশ্ন তোলার চেষ্টা করেছে। স্বাবক-পরিবৃত হয়ে থাকার অভিযোগ তুলে প্রাক্তন সভাপতি বঙ্গার লক্ষ্মণ সকালে কার্যত তাঁর ইস্তফাও দাবি করেছেন। কিন্তু পাকিস্তান সফর নিয়ে সঙ্ঘ পরিবারের সঙ্গে আপসের পথে না গিয়ে ঘুরে দাঁড়িয়েছেন আডবাণী। তিনি বুঝিয়ে দিয়েছেন, পাকিস্তান সফর নিয়ে বিতর্কের জন্য তাঁকে সভাপতির পদ থেকে সরানোর যে দাবি আর এস এসের পক্ষ থেকে উঠেছে, তা তিনি মানতে রাজি নন। এই জোরের পিছনে ছিল অটলবিহারী বাজপেয়ীর বরাভয়, যা বোঝা গেল তাঁর রাতের বিবৃতিতে— দলের সভাপতি ও বিরোধী দলনেতা— দু'টি পদেই থেকে যাচ্ছেন আডবাণী।

আজ বৈঠকে গুজরাতের ক্ষুদ্র প্রাক্তন মুখ্যমন্ত্রী কেশুভাই পটেল, যশবন্ত সিন্ধা বা জনা কৃষ্ণমূর্তির মতো অনেকে আসেননি, কিন্তু অধিবেশনে

তিনি সংস্কারের আওয়াজ তুলেছেন। আডবাণী বুঝেছেন, তিনি যত দুর্বল হবেন, যত আপসকারী হবেন, প্রতিপক্ষের ততই সুবিধা। এই কারণেই তিনি সুকৌশলে এগিয়েছেন। প্রকাশ্যে সঙ্ঘ-বিরোধিতা না করে এমন বহু কথা বলেছেন যাতে আরএসএস নেতাদের খুশিই হওয়া উচিত, কিন্তু পাকিস্তান সম্পর্কে দলের নীতিকে পৃথক এক অনুচ্ছেদে রেখেছেন বিজেপি সভাপতি। এর আগে কোনও বৈঠকে পাকিস্তান সম্পর্কে নীতি বদলের কথা বলা হয়নি। আডবাণী বলেন, “মে-জুন মাসে পাকিস্তানে গিয়ে আমি সেখানকার নেতা ও মানুষকে বোঝাতে চেয়েছিলাম যে বিজেপি বরাবর পাকিস্তানের বিরোধিতা করেছে মানেই এটা নয় যে আমরা দেশভাগ করতে চেয়েছিলাম।” আডবাণী পাকিস্তানের সঙ্গে বন্ধুত্ব গড়ে তোলার প্রসঙ্গে বাজপেয়ীকেও ব্যবহার করেছেন। তিনি বাজপেয়ীর উদ্ধৃতি দিয়ে বলেছেন, “ইতিহাসের পরিবর্তন সম্ভব, ভুলোলের নয়।”

বিজেপি সভাপতি বিষয়টি ব্যাখ্যা করে বলেছেন, পাকিস্তানে ইসলামি মৌলবাদ থেকে দেশকে বের করে আনার চেষ্টা চলছে। অন্ধকারের মধ্যে একটি ছোট মোমবাতি জ্বালানোর চেষ্টা হচ্ছে। এ অবস্থায় এই আলো যাতে আরও ছড়িয়ে পড়ে, তার চেষ্টাই করা উচিত। এমন কোনও কাজ করা উচিত নয়, যাতে এই আলো নিভে যায়।

সঙ্ঘ পরিবারের নাম না করলেও এটি তাঁদের উদ্দেশ্যেই বলে মনে করছেন কটর নেতৃত্ব। পাকিস্তানের কাটাসরাজ

মন্দিরে যাওয়া এবং এই মন্দির নির্মাণে পাক সরকারের ২ কোটি টাকা বরাদ্দেরও তিনি প্রশংসা করেছেন।

দলে পাকিস্তান নীতি বদলের কথা বলায় আর এস এস নেতৃত্ব কি খুশি হতে পারেন?

আর এস এস নেতা সুদর্শন আজ চেম্বাইয়ে ছিলেন। চোখের চিকিৎসার জন্যই তিনি এখানে এসেছেন। ছিলেন মোহন ভাগবতও। কিন্তু আডবাণীর সঙ্গে তাঁদের কোনও বৈঠক বা কথাবার্তা হয়নি। চিত্রকূটে ২২, ২৩ ও ২৪ সেপ্টেম্বর আর এস এসের বৈঠক। এই বৈঠকে চেম্বাইয়ে আডবাণীর বক্তৃতা ও পাকিস্তান নীতি নিয়ে সবিস্তার আলোচনা হবে, যেখানে আর এস এস তার রণকৌশল টিক করবে।

আজ আডবাণীর বক্তৃতার অনেকটা অংশ জুড়ে ছিল কেন্দ্রের বিরোধিতা। সাবধানী ছিলেন আডবাণী। তিনি অপেক্ষা করছেন। বহিঃশত্রুকে আক্রমণ করে ঘর গুছোতে



উদ্বোধনী অনুষ্ঠানে অটলকে প্রদীপ এগিয়ে দিচ্ছেন লালকৃষ্ণ। — পিটিআই

চান তিনি। বিহার নির্বাচন অস্ত্রাবরে। এই ভোটে ফল ভাল হলে, দলে তাঁর কর্তৃত্ব মজবুত হতে পারে। দলের মধ্যে কর্তৃত্ব শক্তপোক্ত হলে, ডিসেম্বরে মুম্বই অধিবেশনে সঙ্ঘ পরিবারের রাজনৈতিক নিয়ন্ত্রণ থেকে দলকে মুক্ত করার আওয়াজ তোলা যেতে পারে। এই কথা বলার ঝুঁকি আজই কৌশলগত কারণে তিনি নেননি। তবে আর এস এসের সঙ্গে সংঘাতেও তিনি যাননি, তেমনই অতিরিক্ত প্রশংসায় পঞ্চমুখও তিনি হননি।

আর এস এস ও বিজেপির পারস্পরিক বোঝাপড়ার সম্পর্কে দু'জনেই উপকৃত হয়েছে, এ কথা বলে তিনি দলের কর্মীদের স্মরণ করিয়ে দিয়েছেন যে, ১৯৮০ সালে জনসঙ্ঘ এবং আরএসএস পৃথক হওয়ার পরে সিদ্ধান্ত হয়ে যায়, দলীয় সদস্যদের সঙ্গে আর এস এসের কোনও সম্পর্ক থাকবে না।

দলের মধ্যে অভ্যন্তরীণ গণতন্ত্রের নামে যে শৃঙ্খলাহীনতা চলছে সে ব্যাপারে অবশ্য সতর্ক করেছেন আডবাণী। তিনি বলেছেন, বিতর্ক এবং আলোচনা হওয়া ভাল। গণতান্ত্রিক সংগঠনের সজীবতার লক্ষণ সেটি। কিন্তু মতপার্থক্যের সহিষ্ণুতার অর্থ ‘ফ্রি ফর অল’ পরিস্থিতি নয়। খুরানা থেকে বঙ্গার লক্ষ্মণ, কারও নাম না করেই তিনি এই সাম্প্রতিক ঘটনাবলির নিন্দা করে দলকে সতর্ক করেছেন।

বুদ্ধদেব ভট্টাচার্যের সাম্প্রতিক জাকার্তা-সিঙ্গাপুর সফরের কথা উল্লেখ করে আডবাণী বক্তৃতায় বলেন, মুখ্যমন্ত্রী

এর পর ছয়ের পাতায়

## দল সামলালেন আডবাণী

মাধ্যমে বিষয়টির নিষ্পত্তি চায়। কিন্তু এ কথা বললেও আজ বক্তৃতায় জাতি-হিন্দুত্ব আনেননি আডবাণী, বরং সিপিএম নেতারা যেমন বাৎসরিক সম্মেলনে নিয়ম বন্ধের জন্য অস্ত্রাবর বিপ্লবের কথা তোলেন, আজ আডবাণীর রামমন্দির-প্রসঙ্গ উত্থাপন প্রায় সেই রকমই। এই ভারতীয় খেলায় বুদ্ধদেব ভট্টাচার্য যে ভাবে সফল হবেন, আডবাণী কি সে ভাবে সফল হতে পারবেন তাঁর দলের সংস্কারে?

প্রথম পাতার পর

কলকাতার ভাল-র জন্য সংস্কার করতে চাইছেন। কিন্তু সিপিএম কলকাতার জন্য যা ভাল বলে মানতে, তা গোটা দেশের জন্য কেন মেনে নিচ্ছে না? তবে পাকিস্তান-নীতি নিয়ে আরএসএসের সঙ্গে সংঘাতের সম্ভাবনা আছে জেনেই সঙ্ঘবৃত্ত আডবাণী রামমন্দির নির্মাণ সম্পর্কে বলেছেন, রাম প্রতীকি ভারতীয়ের মনের মধ্যে আছে। বিজেপি আদালতের রায় বাতিল হলে, সম্ভাব্যের মধ্যে আলোচনার

# Advani lashes out at UPA, Left

9-p.p. BJP  
Calls Manmohan "weakest PM"; underplays BJP's internal squabbles

HD 1 1979



BJP president L.K. Advani and former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee at the national executive committee meeting of the party in Chennai on Friday. — PHOTO: K. PICHUMANI

Neena Vyas

**CHENNAI:** Bharatiya Janata Party president L.K. Advani on Friday unleashed a no-holds-barred attack on the United Progressive Alliance Government, describing Manmohan Singh as the "weakest Prime Minister in the country's history," even as he underplayed the internal squabbles of the BJP. He, however, took care to mention the party's "symbiotic relationship" with the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh.

The three-day BJP national executive committee meeting began here on Friday afternoon with Mr. Advani's 19-page opening address in the presence of the former Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, and over 180 delegates. Despite a series of squabbles within the party that broke out over the last few

months, Mr. Advani virtually dismissed this problem in two paragraphs, emphasising that internal party democracy would not be allowed to "degenerate into a free-for-all."

Mr. Advani's visit to Pakistan in June that started a controversy within the Sangh Parivar was mentioned in some detail but there was not a word in the address on the simmering Jinnah controversy that led to his resignation and its withdrawal in June-July. However, his Jinnah speeches made in Pakistan were distributed to all delegates in the form of a booklet, an act that was seen as his continued defence of his own Jinnah formulations.

## "Symbiotic relationship"

Much of the Hindutva agenda — immigration from Bangladesh, a uniform civil code, con-

struction of a Ram temple in Ayodhya, regret over withdrawal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act by the UPA and the assertion that the BJP stood for certain "core values" relating to "cultural nationalism" (synonym for Hindutva) — was part of Mr. Advani's presentation. He emphasised that both the RSS and the BJP had "immensely benefited" from their "symbiotic relationship" that had "succeeded in bringing our ideology of cultural nationalism to the centre-stage in India's public life."

The focus, however, was on the "misrule" of the UPA, and the "nation's misfortune" that "the weakest Prime Minister India ever had" was currently presiding over its destiny — there were references to the Congress "supremo" (Sonia Gandhi). The supporting Left was said to be exercising "power without re-

sponsibility" while the Prime Minister, Mr. Advani said, had "no power" but was "saddled with all the responsibility."

## "American pressure"

The Government was attacked for its "flip-flop" policy in handling naxalism, for working under "American pressure" in the area of foreign policy, and for working against the interests of the *aam admi*, the common man, in its economic policies. Turning the Congress election slogan upside down Mr. Advani said that the "*aam admi* was suffering" while the "*khas admi*" (the elite) was profiteering.

Mr. Advani said the West Bengal Chief Minister wanted a new airport for Kolkata with 100 per cent private capital, but it had blocked the modernisation of the Delhi and Mumbai airports. What is the CPI(M)'s design?

# BJP slams PM for Atal remark

TIMES NEWS NETWORK

**New Delhi:** Reacting sharply to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's remark in New York about his predecessor Atal Bihari Vajpayee not endorsing India's nuclear pact with the US, BJP on Wednesday criticised the premier for breaking the convention of not discussing domestic politics while abroad.

As the main opposition party faulted Singh for infringing the convention not to wash domestic linen on foreign shores by "complaining to US President George W Bush about domestic politics", it got support from one of Manmohan's partners CPI, which broke away from CPM to criticise the PM. With the PM's Cabinet colleagues and Congress standing by him, the issue is set to trigger a fresh round of fight between the government and the opposition.

After Bush had expressed confidence that he would obtain Congressional nod for the N-deal the two countries had recently signed, the PM reportedly told the US Pres-



Manmohan Singh's wife Gursharan Kaur (left) being received by the wife of India's ambassador to the UN, Nirupam Sen, in New York on Wednesday

ident that while he had Parliament's backing, Vajpayee's sharp criticism of the agreement surprised him.

BJP did not waste time to attack the PM for what it termed as a "serious" lapse. Senior party leader Jaswant Singh said: "It needs to be emphasised that all established conventions, mutual regards and due courtesy demand that domestic politics is not made a subject of

discussion by our Prime Minister when visiting abroad."

But defence minister Pranab Mukherjee rushed to Manmohan's defence, saying, "Whatever the PM has said is absolutely correct." Refuting BJP charges, Congress spokesman Abhishek Singhvi said Singh had only made a factual statement. He charged the Opposition with making issues out of non-issues before their Chennai meet.

Jaswant Singh contended: "This is unfortunate, because the country awaits an elaboration of issues discussed—details of the Iran-India pipeline project; UN reforms or domestic opposition to President Bush on the issue of nuclear cooperation with India." He stressed BJP had always abided by the convention. Party general secretary Rajnath Singh reminded the Prime Minister that "during Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's regime, Vajpayee as an Opposition leader had defended the country's stand on Jammu and Kashmir at an international forum in Geneva, whereas at home, there were great differences on the issue between BJP and Congress". He said that Vajpayee was right in expressing his apprehensions on the fallout of the deal with the US on the indigenous nuclear programme.

## Truth or dare: Left divided over Manmohanspeak

**New Delhi:** Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's remark to US President George Bush about the lack of political unanimity in India on the Indo-US nuclear agreement, especially its criticism by former PM Atal Bihari Vajpayee, has also brought to the fore differences within the Left.

While the CPM feels Manmohan could not be faulted for speaking the truth, the CPI believes there was no need for the PM to say anything to Bush. "Why should the PM say anything to Bush?" CPI general secretary A B Bardhan asked on Wednesday.

He also felt there was no need to offer any clarification to the US. "These are our matters. The entire decision has to be ours. We should not do anything at anyone's behest. Neither does Bush have any right to ask us nor do we need to give him any clarification. This has been the stand of the Left," he said.

But CPM did not agree. While making Left's opposition to the nuclear agreement clear, CPM politburo member Sitaram Yechury said the PM "cannot be faulted for telling the truth". "Not only the BJP, but the Left has serious differences on the issue," he said, adding the party's comments would come after the details are known. TNN

# BJP aims Atal gun at Mannohan

## OUR BUREAU

New Delhi, Sept. 14: The BJP today slammed the Prime Minister for "discussing domestic politics" on foreign soil following his alleged remark to the US President that Atal Bihari Vajpayee had been "sharply critical" of the Indo-US nuclear pact.

A statement issued by former external affairs minister Jaswant Singh called Mannohan Singh's remark "unfortunate".

"Media reports highlight the Prime Minister's half-hour meeting with President (George W.) Bush in a particular vein as if the PM was complaining to the President of the US about our domestic politics," the statement said.

"This is unfortunate because the country awaits instead an elaboration of issues discussed and in particular details of the Iran-India gas pipeline, UN reforms or the domestic opposition to President Bush, in the Senate, on the issue of nuclear cooperation with India."

The BJP leader stressed that "all established conventions, mutual regard and due courtesy demand that domestic politics is not made a subject of discussion by our PM when visiting abroad".

BJP vice-president Mukhtar Abbas Naqvi said the Chennai national executive will discuss the Prime Minister's exchange with President Bush as well as a speech he made at Oxford University in July. In the speech, the Prime Minister was perceived to have spoken in a positive vein about some aspects of British rule in India.



Gursaran Kaur with the wife of the Indian ambassador to UN, Nirupam Sen, after reaching New York. Picture by Jay Mandla

The BJP is expected to release a separate statement on the Prime Minister's "conduct" of foreign relations.

Naqvi claimed that during his overseas visits as Prime Minister, Vajpayee had always made it a point to praise the country.

The Congress was in denial mode. Spokesperson Jyavantji Natarajan said what took place between Bush and the Prime Minister was strictly private and that the official transcript of the talks, put out in the form of a statement by

foreign secretary Shyam Saran, makes no reference to Vajpayee's "criticism" of the nuclear pact.

It was the Prime Minister's media adviser, Sanjaya Baru, who had spoken about this in his press briefing in New York.

"If the BJP is referring to Baru's comments, we are not aware of these. We are trying to ascertain the fact because we do not know the context of Baru's comments. What transpired between President Bush and the PM, nobody knows. What we have is a statement by Shyam Saran and what he said is the official version. We are neither denying nor agreeing with Baru's remarks," Natarajan said.

The CPI reacted cautiously. General secretary A.B. Bardhan said the Prime Minister's remark was "avoidable" and added, "We do not need the US to deal with Vajpayee".

The CPM stood firmly behind the Prime Minister, saying he "cannot be faulted for telling the truth". But the party made it clear that like the BJP, it is opposed to the nuclear deal. CPM politburo member Sitaram Yechury said the Prime Minister, by acknowledging the differences among Indian parties on Indo-US relations, was just "stating a fact".

BJP general secretary Rajnath Singh recalled the "glorious tradition" upheld by previous governments. He cited how in 1995, Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao had sent Vajpayee (then leader of the Opposition) to New York when the UN General Assembly was proposing to move an anti-India resolution on Kashmir.

"The BJP and the Congress had serious differences on Kashmir but on foreign soil, Vajpayee said nothing that was out of step with the official policy. This PM has broken the tradition and undermined his prestige and that of the country," Rajnath said.

# ক্ষমা চেয়ে দলে ফিরলেন খুরানা

## আডবাণীর সামনে

### নয়া চ্যালেঞ্জ মোদী

স্টাফ রিপোর্টার, নয়াদিল্লি, ১২ সেপ্টেম্বর: পার্ট ওয়ান পরীক্ষায় কোনওক্রমে পাশ। কিন্তু পার্ট টু-র রেজাল্ট না-বেরোলে বলা যাবে না লালকৃষ্ণ আডবাণী রাজনীতির বি এ পরীক্ষায় পাশ করলেন কি না।

মদনলাল খুরানাকে নিয়ে সমস্যার সমাধান আজ হয়ে গেলেও বিজেপি সভাপতির মাথার ওপর থেকে তাই কালো মেঘ এখনও কাটল না।

দলীয় সভাপতির প্রকাশ্য সমালোচনার জন্য অপরাধ স্বীকার করে খুরানা লিখিত ভাবে ক্ষমা চাওয়ায় তাঁকে দলে ফিরিয়ে নেওয়ার সিদ্ধান্ত হলেও এ বার সঙ্কটের দ্বিতীয় অধ্যায় শুরু হতে চলেছে গুজরাতের মুখ্যমন্ত্রী বদল নিয়ে। প্রথম ইনিংসে বাজপেয়ী এবং আডবাণী দু'জনেই কিয়দংশে জিতেছেন এবং হেরেছেন। খুরানাকে শুধু দলে ফিরিয়ে নেওয়া নয়, বাজপেয়ীর মতকে দল গুরুত্ব দিতে বাধ্য হয়েছে। কিন্তু অন্য দিকে, দিল্লির এই প্রাক্তন মুখ্যমন্ত্রীকে দলের প্রাথমিক সদস্যপদ ফিরিয়ে দিলেও জাতীয় কর্মসমিতির সদস্যপদ আর দেওয়া হল না। এমনকী, দলের তরফে তিনি বেশ কয়েকটি রাজ্যের দায়িত্বপ্রাপ্ত ছিলেন, সেগুলি ফিরিয়ে দিতেও আডবাণী রাজি হননি।

এ বার দ্বিতীয় ইনিংসে গুজরাতের মুখ্যমন্ত্রী পদ থেকে নরেন্দ্র মোদীকে সরাতে ইতিমধ্যেই আসরে অবতীর্ণ নানা পক্ষ। অটলবিহারী বাজপেয়ীকে এ বার মোদীর বিষয়টি নিয়ে নতুন করে পর্যালোচনা করার আশ্বাস দিয়েছেন বিজেপি সভাপতি। চেম্বাইয়ে দলীয় বৈঠক বসছে এ মাসের ১৬ তারিখ। এই বৈঠকে মোদী-হটাও অভিযান তীব্র করে আডবাণীকে বিপাকে ফেলতে মরিয়া আরএসএস নেতৃত্ব এবং মুরলীমনোহর জোশীর নেতৃত্বে দলের একটি ছোট গোষ্ঠী। বাজপেয়ীর ঘনিষ্ঠ প্রাক্তন মুখ্যমন্ত্রী ও গুজরাতের বিক্ষুব্ধ নেতা কেশুভাই পটেল রণসাজে সজ্জিত হয়ে সদলবল চেম্বাই পৌঁছেছেন। খুরানা ইনিংস মিটেতে না মিটেতেই তাই মোদী এখন আডবাণীর শিরঃপীড়ার কারণ।

এই পরিস্থিতি সামাল দিতে আডবাণীর কৌশল— চেম্বাই বৈঠকের আগেই মোদীর ভবিষ্যৎ সম্পর্কে চূড়ান্ত সিদ্ধান্ত নেওয়ার জন্য একটা রোডম্যাপ তৈরি করা। মোদী-বিরোধী নেতাদের এই আশ্বাস দিয়ে চেম্বাই বৈঠকের উপরে রাজনৈতিক নিয়ন্ত্রণ বজায় রাখতে চাইছেন তিনি। আডবাণীর সমস্যা হল, মোদীর প্রক্ষেপে দলের মধ্যে তিনি কার্যত একা। মোদীকে সরাতে ব্যর্থ হওয়ার যন্ত্রণা আজও ভুলতে

পারেননি বাজপেয়ী। খুরানার বহিষ্কার নিয়ে যে তিনি সরব হয়েছিলেন তার পিছনে অন্যতম কারণ মোদীই।

ঠিক তেমন ভাবে আরএসএস নেতারাও গুজরাতের মুখ্যমন্ত্রীকে সরাতে চান। গোধরা কাণ্ডের পর মোদী হিন্দুত্বের 'পোস্টার বয়' হয়ে উঠলেও ভিতরে ভিতরে সঙ্ঘের নেতাদের সঙ্গে তাঁর বিবাদ তীব্র আকার নিয়েছে। সঙ্ঘের অভিযোগ, মোদী উদ্ধত। প্রশাসন পরিচালনায় তাদের মতামতের তোয়াক্কা করেন না।

অন্য দিকে, মুরলীমনোহর জোশীর লক্ষ্য যোলা জলে মাছ ধরা। তিনি বিজেপি সভাপতির ঘোর বিরোধী। চেম্বাই বৈঠকে দলের দুই প্রাক্তন সভাপতি বঙ্গার লক্ষ্মণ আর জনা কৃষ্ণমূর্তিকে সঙ্গে নিয়ে মোদী-প্রসঙ্গ তুলে আডবাণীকে বেকায়দায় ফেলতে চান জোশী। এই সঙ্কটে আডবাণীর পাশে আছেন সম্ভবত একমাত্র অরুণ জেটলি। জিমা বিতর্কে মোদী আডবাণীকে সমর্থন করেছিলেন বটে। কিন্তু এখন নিজের গদি বাঁচাতে ব্যস্ত আডবাণীর পক্ষে তাঁকে কত দিন

পেয়েছেন। এ জন্য আমি দুঃখিত। আমার সে সব মন্তব্য আমি ফিরিয়ে নিচ্ছি। আপনি আমাকে ফের দলের মাধ্যমে দেশের সেবা করার সুযোগ দিন।”

খুরানা প্রথমে লিখিত ভাবে ক্ষমা চাইতে রাজি ছিলেন না। কিন্তু লিখিত ভাবে ক্ষমা না চাইলে তাঁকে ফেরাতে রাজি ছিলেন না আডবাণীও। মধ্যস্থতাকারী যশোবন্ত সিংহ-রাজনাথ সিংহদের অনুরোধে খুরানাকে দলে ফেরানোর ব্যাপারে সম্মতি দিলেও বিজেপি সভাপতি তাঁদের স্পষ্ট ভাষাতেই জানিয়ে দেন, কেউ প্রকাশ্যে সমালোচনা করবে, আর দলের অভ্যন্তরে ক্ষমা চেয়ে পার পেয়ে যাবে এটা চলতে পারে না। তাই বাজপেয়ী আজ দুপুরে খুরানাকে ডেকে পাঠিয়ে ক্ষমা প্রার্থনার চিঠি লিখতে বাধ্য করান। এ দিন সন্ধ্যায় বিজেপি পদাধিকারীদের বৈঠকে সেই চিঠির ভিত্তিতেই খুরানার বহিষ্কার প্রত্যাহার করা হয়।

বিবৃতি দিয়ে খুরানা-বিতর্ক শুরু করেছিলেন খোদ বাজপেয়ী। তিনিই



আড়াল করে রাখা সম্ভব হবে সেটাও দেখার। আপাতত মোদী অপসারণের বিষয়টি নিয়ে আলোচনা শুরু করার আশ্বাস দিয়ে এ বারের মতো চেম্বাই বৈঠকটি ভালয় ভালয় পার করতে চাইছেন আডবাণী।

খুরানা-অধ্যায় যে ভাবে সমাপ্ত হয়েছে তাতে অবশ্য বাজপেয়ী-আডবাণী দু'জনেই সন্তুষ্ট। খুরানা চিঠি দিয়ে আডবাণীকে বলেছেন, “কিছু দিন ধরে আমি আপনার বিরুদ্ধে প্রকাশ্যে সমালোচনা করেছি। যা একেবারেই উচিত হয়নি। এতে দলের যেমন ক্ষতি হয়েছে, তেমনই আপনিও মানসিক কষ্ট

আবার খুরানাকে লিখিত ভাবে ক্ষমা চাইতে বাধ্য করিয়ে বিতর্কে ইতি টানলেন। দলে শুধু আডবাণী নন, তিনি যে আজও প্রধান নির্ণায়ক শক্তি, তা প্রতিষ্ঠা করতে সফল হলেন বাজপেয়ী। আর তাই সাংবাদিক বৈঠকে বাজপেয়ীকে দলের সর্বোচ্চ নেতা বলে অভিহিত করে বিজেপির সাধারণ সম্পাদক প্রমোদ মহাজন বললেন, তাঁর মতকে আমরা সম্মান করি। বেশি রাতে বিজেপি সভাপতি জানিয়েছেন, আগামী দু'দিন তিনি কারও সঙ্গে দেখা করবেন না। বাড়ি থেকেও বেরোবেন না। প্রস্তুতি নেবেন চেম্বাই বৈঠকের জন্য।

# Rebels explode, Modi cool

BASANT RAWAT

Gandhinagar, Sept. 12: Gujarat chief minister Narendra Modi showed he is a seasoned politician by not reacting as rebel MLAs blasted him at the BJP legislature party meeting shortly before the three-day Assembly session began today.

An expressionless Modi heard the dissidents but pretended as if they were taking up issues too trivial to merit his attention. The chief minister gave the legislators no assurance that their grievances would be looked into.

After the legislators had spoken, the chief minister nonchalantly concluded the meeting, asking the MLAs to work hard in their constituencies for the coming district panchayat elections.

Twenty-three of the 25 districts of the state are under Congress control. As such, the stakes are high for the chief minister, whose popularity will be put to test during the district panchayat or the civic elections, scheduled to be held in November or December.

Senior party leader Bechar Bhadani fired the first salvo, saying he knows of the corrupt practices of many ministers and dared Modi to institute a probe against them to show he is really committed to providing a clean and transparent administration.

Surat legislator Dheeru Gajera was at his acerbic best



Modi: 'The best'

when he told the chief minister that he should not be talking about party discipline as he himself was indulging in anti-party activities by instigating supporters to target senior leaders like former textiles minister Kashiram

Rana.

Gajera challenged Modi to punish those burning effigies of Rana and former chief minister Keshubhai Patel. "Everybody knows who instigated a handful of people to protest against Rana," he said.

On Saturday, a group of Modi supporters had heckled Rana at a function organised by a corporate house in Surat

and did not allow him to speak. Earlier last week, the chief minister had taken a pot shot at Rana at another function held in Surat and an organisation called Gaurav Samiti held demonstrations at the residence of the former textiles minister.

Rana is believed to have called up senior central leaders of the party in Delhi and drawn their attention to the "regular, obnoxious campaign" against him by Modi loyalists.

Gordhan Zadhaphia, who had earlier snubbed Modi by refusing to accept a cabinet berth, handed over to Modi a bunch of pamphlets praising the chief minister and ridiculing dissident.

"We know you are behind this nasty campaign," he told the chief minister.

Handwritten scribbles at the bottom of the page.



# Khurana back after apology

*Atal as peacemaker*

**SHEKHAR Iyer**  
New Delhi, September 12

TWO DAYS after being sacked, Madan Lal Khurana is back in the BJP, thanks to Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Vajpayee on Monday made Khurana write to L.K. Advani, expressing regret and withdrawing all his statements against him. Advani, in turn, was persuaded to accept his comeback.

Advani ensured Khurana's return was only as a primary member — a position that Vajpayee accepted. That means Khurana will have to wait for sometime before he can expect restoration of his status as a national executive member. Till then, his conduct will be under watch.

Yet, Khurana has made history. It was the quickest ever revocation of an expulsion. Advani restored his primary membership within 90 minutes of his withdrawing his statements against him.

Advani showed that though he's the party boss, he still thinks Vajpayee is the supreme authority and final arbiter. While announcing Khurana's return, Mahajan said that Vajpayee was the "supreme authority" who influenced all things in BJP.

In return, Vajpayee conveyed that he supports the BJP chief's efforts to enforce discipline and curb public bickering by party-men. He had already soothed Advani's ruffled feathers on Sunday by praising the BJP chief.

On Monday, Vajpayee got Khurana to accept a draft prepared by BJP general secretary Pramod Mahajan who acted as a go-between. This satisfied Advani. Mahajan took the letter to a meeting of BJP general secretaries at Advani's home in the evening.

The BJP leaders did not prolong the crisis, making sure that Vajpayee's wishes were upheld.

With curtains having fallen on the crisis, the Chennai meeting of the party's national executive will be held as scheduled from September 16.

## TIMELINE



11 am: Pramod Mahajan conveys to Vajpayee that Advani will revoke Khurana's expulsion if the Delhi leader apologises

12 noon: Vajpayee asks Khurana to do so and tells him not to criticise leadership in public

3.30 pm: Khurana hands Advani a letter expressing regret and withdrawing all recent statements

5 pm: BJP leaders okay Khurana's return

THE HINDU TIMES

# Khurana gets expulsion order, crisis deepens

## Meets Vajpayee To Register His Protest

**New Delhi:** In a setback to the ongoing efforts to break the logjam in BJP caused by former Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee's public criticism of Khurana's expulsion, the Delhi strongman has been served with a formal expulsion order, indicating a hardening of stand on party chief L K Advani's part.

An apparently upset Khurana, who received the letter signed by BJP general secretary (organisation) Sanjay Joshi late Saturday night, rushed to Vajpayee's residence early on Sunday to register his protest.

"It's clear that a section of BJP is against me. It is a matter of concern that the letter has been served on me when talks were on and Vajpayee had expressed his reservations about the decision," he told reporters emerging from a 90-minute meeting with Vajpayee.

Claiming that it was Vajpayee who had called him for talks, Khurana said that since the letter had been withheld for 48 hours, it could have been delayed further as well. He, however, said he had total faith in Vajpayee who had issued a public statement on September 8 saying Khurana should have been given one more opportunity to explain his stand.

As Khurana left, party general secretary Pramod Mahajan, who has been me-

diating between Vajpayee and Advani, called on the former Prime Minister prior to his departure for Lucknow. Advani is on a visit to MP.

The latest salvo from the Advani camp has deepened further the crisis in the party even as efforts were being made over

the past two days to defuse it. While Vajpayee has been reportedly sticking to the stand that a senior leader like Khurana should have been given an opportunity to explain his stand prior to his expulsion on grounds of indiscipline and anti-party activities, Advani is understood to have taken a tough stand that any compromise on the issue of discipline would send a wrong signal to the party cadres.

The issue is expected to figure promi-

nently at Monday's meeting of party office bearers here, initially called to discuss resolutions for the national executive meeting in Chennai next week.

Earlier, Khurana told reporters that "They (party chief Advani and others) should have consulted Vajpayeeji as he had expressed his opposition to my expulsion publicly."

Vajpayee is understood to have been upset over the development wherein he is seen as being bypassed by Advani and other leaders of the party. Agencies



# Patch-up sign with Atal 'friend' Advani

OUR BUREAU

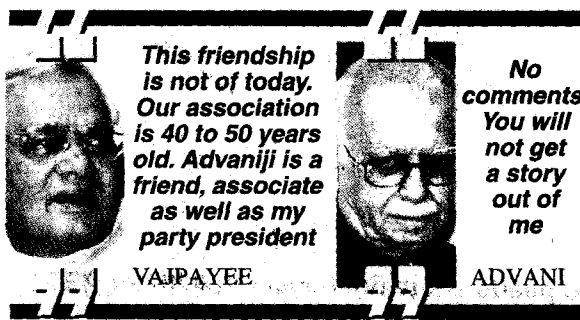
New Delhi/Lucknow, Sept. 11: A formal expulsion order served on Madan Lal Khurana last night suggested a worsening of the crisis in the BJP, but a compromise formula seemed to be emerging to resolve an unprecedented open conflict between Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Lal Krishna Advani.

Sources said Khurana would offer the BJP president an unconditional apology for attacking him in public and Advani would consider rescinding his expulsion.

Speculation about a compromise effort making progress was reinforced by Vajpayee's statement in Lucknow that he had no differences with Advani.

"There have been speculative media reports that we have some kind of differences. I do not know from where people come up with such conjectures... We have been working together for so long and would continue to do so," he said.

Vajpayee added that political opponents were trying to take advantage of a sensitive



situation, but "these elements should not be given any chance to weaken us".

Travelling in Madhya Pradesh, Advani would not comment on the developments.

Earlier in the day, Khurana rushed to Vajpayee's house after receiving the formal expulsion letter before the former Prime Minister left for Lucknow. Another visitor was Pramod Mahajan who has been acting as a mediator.

BJP sources said Jaswant Singh, the former finance minister, and Rajnath Singh, a general secretary, were working on a solution that would not undermine Advani's authority and would redeem Vajpayee's status as the party's number one.

They said Khurana, who had publicly attacked Advani and Gujarat chief minister Narendra Modi, would be asked to "publicly express his regret" for his repeated assertions that he would not work under Advani's leadership.

It seems Vajpayee himself conveyed this to Khurana.

A public apology, the sources said, was the least Khurana could offer to allow Advani to open the door again for him to the BJP. For the past week, Khurana has been saying he had not received his expulsion letter and, therefore, could be taken back. A party leader said this was not possible because it would mean a loss of face for Advani.

"His powers would have

been undermined because it was tantamount to signalling that anybody could say anything about him and get away with it. The expulsion order signifies that disciplinary action was taken against him and what follows will be political damage control," he said.

According to the Jaswant-Rajnath script, Khurana might make a public statement tomorrow morning. Advani will ask his general secretaries if they will reconsider the expulsion so that the exercise is imbued with the spirit of "consultation and consensus" he has been accused of violating in the recent past.

One of Vajpayee's major complaints against Advani is that the BJP chief used his stature to fight the RSS after the Jinnah controversy, but after securing a reprieve, he regrouped his estranged acolytes and gave Vajpayee the short shrift.

But the Khurana dispute, if resolved, will not signal an end to the battle. Vajpayee would claim Modi's head next. The knives are already out for Modi after civic poll losses.

■ Who's with whom, Page 8

SEP 2005 THE HINDU

# It's now Atal vs Advani over Khurana expulsion



(From top) Advani,  
Vajpayee and Khurana

**SHEKHAR Iyer**  
New Delhi, September 8

ATL BIHARI Vajpayee on Thursday put L.K. Advani in yet another spot by questioning his decision to expel Madan Lal Khurana from the BJP.

Vajpayee's statement left Advani stunned. Now in Jodhpur, he called up party leader Jaswant Singh and is believed to have conveyed that Vajpayee's veto had left his position untenable.

Advani's presidency had been shaky ever since the RSS challenged his position. Ironically, it had been Vajpayee who had brokered peace following Advani's remark on Jinnah in Pakistan. But now came a statement, quoting Vajpayee on his official letterhead and released from his 6A, Krishna Menon Marg.

It said, "It would have been better if instead of action being taken against Khurana, he was given one more opportunity." It triggered a fresh wave of rebellion seeking a change of guard.

After Advani called him, Jaswant and other senior leaders

met Vajpayee. Advani-baiters Yashwant Sinha and Pyarelal Khandelwal came out with statements in support of Vajpayee and sought a revocation of Khurana's expulsion. They also spoke to Murli Manohar Joshi, another Advani-baiter.

Jaswant and Venkaiah Naidu rushed to the RSS headquarters at Jhandelwala to meet Suresh Soni. The RSS No. 2, Mohan Bhagwat, will arrive on Friday for resuming talks with the BJP over its leadership. As the contours of the truce remained a secret, the Sangh expected Advani's exit soon after Parliament's session while the Advani camp made it clear that it would not be before Bihar polls.

What triggered Vajpayee to come out with the statement was not clear, but BJP insiders said he was furious with Advani for not consulting him. Khurana's explanation was that Advani had scuttled Vajpayee's plan to mediate in the crisis. Khurana used a meeting of his supporters to launch an attack on Advani, whom he called "dictatorial".

5.6.2005

ATAL OPPOSES EXPULSION

# BJP split wide over Khurana

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, Sept. 8. — Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee today caused a stir within the party rank and file when he came out openly against Mr LK Advani's decision to expel Mr Madan Lal Khurana from the party. The former Prime minister said it was an "unfortunate" move.

The BJP president had yesterday expelled Mr Khurana on the basis of the recommendation of the party central disciplinary committee, which charged him with speaking to the media against the party leadership and showing disrespect to the party.

In an unsigned note released here, Mr Vajpayee said: "Mr Khurana has been charged with anti-party activities. But instead of taking action against him it would have been appropriate if he was given a chance to make clear his stand".

Mr Vajpayee's statement took the party's central leadership by surprise. In the note, Mr Vajpayee recalled Mr Khurana's "selfless service" to the party and society during the past 40 years. During a one-on-one meeting between Mr Vajpayee and Mr Khurana recently, the senior BJP leader had expressed the hope that Mr Khurana would be given another chance to serve the party and any action against him would be taken keeping in mind the services he had rendered for the party.

"Mr Advani's decision to expel Mr Khurana without taking Mr Vajpayee into confidence has obviously hurt him. It will not be easy for Mr Advani to ignore Mr Vajpayee's views. The BJP president will try and explain to him the circumstances under which he had to take the decision.

Given Mr Vajpayee flexible nature, he may agree to a 'face saving' formula. But any move to revoke Mr Khurana's expulsion, if at all that happens, will be only after the national executive," a party source said.

The party's senior office-bearer, Mr Pyarelal Khandelwal, echoed Mr Vajpayee's sentiments. He said Mr Vajpayee's statement clearly showed that he was not consulted on the issue of Mr Khurana's expulsion. Citing a specific clause of the party constitution and supporting Mr Vajpayee's contention, he said it was incumbent on the party to give the accused a chance to



**...Instead of taking action against him (Mr Khurana) it would have been appropriate if he was given a chance to make clear his stand**

explain his position.

There was no official reaction from the BJP to Mr Vajpayee's statement. The party spokesman, Mr Prakash Javadekar, said most of the top leaders, including Mr Advani, were out of town.

Party insiders said Mr Advani's decision to not consult Mr Vajpayee should be seen in the backdrop of his attempt to reassert himself as the party president. Rejection of Mr Khurana's expulsion by Mr Vajpayee would have further weakened Mr Advani's position within the party.

# Advani expels Khurana

Statesman News Service

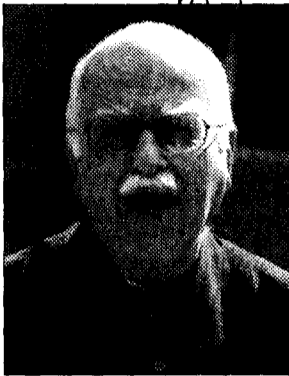
NEW DELHI, Sept. 7. — The BJP president, Mr LK Advani, today expelled senior party leader and former Delhi chief minister, Mr Madan Lal Khurana, from the party for six years on charges of "gross indiscipline and criticising the party leadership openly".

Mr Khurana's expulsion followed the BJP central disciplinary committee's recommending such a step to Mr Advani yesterday. "Mr Advani has accepted the unanimous recommendation of the party disciplinary committee to expel Mr Khurana from the party for a period of six years," a party statement said here.

Mr Khurana had said he was not given sufficient time to explain his position before the party central leadership, a charge denied by the disciplinary committee chairman, Mr Ram Naik, yesterday. The party found Mr Khurana "guilty of gross indiscipline under Article 25 (Gh) and (Ch) of the party constitution".

The party release said: "His action of going to media without raising his views in party forum was found to be an act of gross indiscipline. He was also found guilty of criticising the party leadership openly."

Mr Khurana met his nemesis through his open defiance of the BJP president, after the RSS stepped up pressure on Mr Advani to resign following his controversial remarks on Jinnah during his Pakistan visit. Mr Khurana had said he would not be able to work under Mr Advani and also sought the Gujarat chief minister,



Mr Advani: Rebels beware

Mr Narendra Modi's resignation and an apology for the post-Godhra violence in the state.

In what appears to be a clear warning to dissident leaders against going to media with their complaints, the party spokesman, Mr Prakash Javadekar, said: "The BJP attaches tremendous importance to discipline and members are expected to air their viewpoints in the party forum and not through media."

Even as Mr Khurana plans to declare his next course of action — floating a regional party is one of the options — he has been invited by the Delhi Congress to join the party.

## Lotus trouble

The Election Commission, which has found the BJP government guilty of using its party symbol — the lotus — in school textbooks, has directed it to rectify the faux pas with immediate effect, SNS adds from Bhopal. The rectification, however, is estimated to cost the government about Rs 20 lakh. Covering up, literally, 14 lakh books with a one-page sticker could have been avoided had the state textbook corporation ensured printing of the national flower in the stipulated manner.

# UPA victim of instability, keep in touch with constituency: Former PM to party MPs

## Session over, Vajpayee points to early elections

VRINDA GOPINATH

NEW DELHI, AUGUST 30

INDICATING that the party should prepare for mid-term polls, former prime minister Atal Behari Vajpayee today asked BJP MPs to "keep in touch with their constituencies", saying the UPA Government was "a victim of instability."

Addressing the party's parliamentary board meeting on the final day of the Monsoon Session, Vajpayee said, "The UPA Government is a victim of instability and every now and then one hears of a mid-term poll, which makes things worse between the partners and supporters of this government. All you MPs must do your duty inside and outside Parliament and keep in touch with your constituencies. I appreciate your role in raising crucial political issues in Parliament and these issues must be carried to the people."

In fact, BJP leaders appeared to be in a self-congratulatory mood at the meeting in Parliament House this morning when it claimed credit

Anil Sharma



Former prime minister Atal Behari Vajpayee in New Delhi on Tuesday.

for its "strong and constructive opposition" and for exposing "the wrongdoings of the UPA" on several issues during this session. MPs in both Houses for "its con-

structive approach as an Opposition party."

Said Advani, "We gave support on several issues but we also opposed the wrongdoings of the UPA government, and it was because of our strong opposition that an UPA Union Minister (Jagdish Tytler) was forced to resign."

Advani highlighted the fact that the BJP forced the Government to accept two adjournment motions—on the IMDT Act and on the Action Taken Report on the Justice Nanavati Commission's findings on the 1984 anti-Sikh riots in New Delhi.

Advani also raised the contentious Women's Reservation Bill by criticising Congress President Sonia Gandhi for her "baseless allegations against the BJP." Gandhi had accused the BJP of going back on its support to the bill at an all-party meet last week.

Advani reiterated the BJP's commitment to the bill "in any form" as long as "there was an all-party consensus". "It is the UPA which is not able to evolve a con-

sensus among its coalition partners. The BJP is willing to accept the bill in any form and is also willing to accept the next best form of the bill, which is reservation through the Election Commission. However, the bill must be acceptable to all parties," he said.

Advani, however, said the BJP will vehemently oppose Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the retail sector and any fuel price hike.

Malhotra, meanwhile, accused Prime Minister Manmohan Singh of "psychophany" for thanking party president Sonia Gandhi in his valedictory address to the Lok Sabha today.

"It is a practice to thank the executive heads in the House, but nowhere does it say the party president has to be thanked, too. It sheer psychophany."

The party spokesperson also criticised the UPA Government for its limited outlook to the country's problems, saying the much-lauded Rural Employment Guarantee Bill ignored the plight of the urban poor.

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**GUJARAT ■ Solanki, Pandya and Rana say: Support CM Advani at Modi side and some rebels too**

98 1537 93-3 2918

**RUPAM JAIN NAIR**

AHMEDABAD, AUGUST 28

WITH BJP chief L.K. Advani standing resolutely by Chief Minister Narendra Modi, some dissidents have started deserting the Keshubhai Patel camp.

At today's public meeting in Botad that was addressed by Advani and Modi, much of the huge crowd that turned up was courtesy Dhanduka MLA Bharat Pandya and Gogha MLA Purshottam Solanki—both staunch anti-Modi campers once.

Solanki is now beholden to Modi, having been made a Minister, but Pandya's turnaround is a new development. Also sharing the dais with Advani and Modi was Rajendrasinh Rana, who isn't known to be on

Modi's side either. Rana, too, made a public appeal for support for Modi.

Speaking at the function, Modi, who has so far maintained stoic silence on dissidence, said: "We don't believe in Shakti Pradarshan, but in Shakti Darshan."

Inaugurating an electricity supply scheme in Bhavnagar district, Advani praised Modi for focussing on issues of development and progress instead of political matters.

Among those who have come to accept that Modi will be around for a long time is Godhra MLA Haresh Bhatt. "I respect both Keshubhai Patel and Narendra Modi. For me, Hindutva is the key to leadership. If Modi changes his stand on Hindutva, I will also change my allegiance," said the former chief of Bajrang Dal's state unit.

A senior party leader close to the rebel camp was forced to concede that some of their supporters were now likely to back Modi. "Equations have changed. The rebels have realised that the party president has made up his mind and the chief minister's leadership will not change," he said.

Kashiram Rana, also a rebel camper, admitted that some MLAs might have changed their stand and others may be thinking of doing so.

Other Keshubhai Patel supporters described Solanki as a traitor: after all, he's the one who likened Modi to Hitler and now says he was mistaken and realises that Modi is "a people's leader." They said the struggle to oust Modi would continue, and that Keshubhai was doing something.

INDIAN EXPRESS



# গুজরাতের পরে এ বার ঝাড়খণ্ড, বিপাকে বিজেপি

স্টাফ রিপোর্টার, নয়াদিল্লি, ২৫  
অগস্ট: আরএসএস-এর সঙ্গে ঠাণ্ডা  
লড়াই তো চলছেই। তার সঙ্গে ক্ষমতায়  
থাকা রাজ্যগুলিতে অভ্যন্তরীণ দ্বন্দ্ব  
জেরবার হচ্ছে কেন্দ্রীয় নেতৃত্ব।

বস্তুত কেন্দ্রে ক্ষমতা হারানোর পর  
থেকেই একটা না একটা ঝঞ্জাটে  
পড়ছে বিজেপি। প্রথমে মধ্যপ্রদেশ।  
তার পরে গুজরাতে মোদীর বিরুদ্ধে  
বিদ্রোহ, মন্ত্রীর ইস্তফা, এ সব তো  
ছিলই। তাতে নতুন করে যুক্ত হল  
ঝাড়খণ্ড। ঝাড়খণ্ডে ১২ জন মন্ত্রীর  
মধ্যে সাত জনই মুখ্যমন্ত্রী অর্জুন মুন্ডার  
বিরুদ্ধে বিদ্রোহ ঘোষণা করেছেন।

এমনিতে দলের অন্দরমহলে  
সমস্যা তো রয়েছেই। তার উপর  
জাতীয় গণতান্ত্রিক জোট তথা এনডিএ-  
র শরিকেরাও নানান টালবাহানা শুরু  
করে দিয়েছে। চন্দ্রবাবুর তেলগু দেশম  
ইতিমধ্যেই বিজেপি'র সঙ্গ ত্যাগের  
কথা ঘোষণা করেছে। মুসলিমদের  
সংরক্ষণের প্রশ্নে মতভেদ তৈরি হয়েছে  
জর্জ ফার্নান্দেজ-নীতিশ কুমারের  
সংযুক্ত জনতা দলের সঙ্গেও। তার  
উপরে গুজরাত-ঝাড়খণ্ডের সমস্যা  
ভাবিয়ে তুলেছে আডবাণীকে।

মধু কোরা, এনুস একা-সহ  
ঝাড়খণ্ডের পাঁচ নির্দল বিধায়ক তথা  
মন্ত্রী ও সংযুক্ত জনতা দলের দুই মন্ত্রী  
অর্জুন মুন্ডার বিরুদ্ধে বিদ্রোহ ঘোষণা  
করে কালই দিল্লি এসে পৌঁছেন। সকাল  
থেকে দীর্ঘ কয়েক ঘণ্টা ধরে তাঁরা  
ঝাড়খণ্ডের দায়িত্বপ্রাপ্ত বিজেপি-র  
সাধারণ সম্পাদক রাজনাথ সিংহের  
সঙ্গে বৈঠক করেন। তাঁদের অভিযোগ,  
গালভরা মন্ত্রিপদ থাকলেও তাঁদের  
প্রকৃত কাজ বলতে কিছু নেই। দলীয়  
সূত্রে খবর, এই সব নির্দল এবং সংযুক্ত  
জনতা মন্ত্রীদের উস্কানোর নেপথ্যে  
রয়েছেন বিজেপি-রই দুই নেতা যশবন্ত  
সিন্হা এবং বাবুলাল মারাভি। রাজনাথ

সিংহের সঙ্গে বৈঠকের পরে  
ঝাড়খণ্ডের এই মন্ত্রীরা আজ আডবাণীর  
সঙ্গে বৈঠক করেন। পরে রাজনাথ  
জানান, স্থির হয়েছে, সহযোগী দল  
এবং নির্দল বিধায়কদের সঙ্গে সুষ্ঠু  
সম্পর্ক রাখতে একটি সমন্বয় কমিটি  
গঠন হবে। সমন্বয় কমিটির কথা বলে  
রাজনাথ যখন বিষয়টি আডাল করতে  
চাইছেন তখন ঝাড়খণ্ডেরই বিজেপি  
নেতৃত্বাধীন সরকারের এক মন্ত্রী রমেশ  
মুন্ডা বলেন, বারো জনের মধ্যে যখন  
সাত জনই বিরোধিতা করছেন তখন  
বোঝা যাচ্ছে অর্জুন মুন্ডার বিরুদ্ধে  
বিদ্রোহের চরিত্র কী রকম। কেন্দ্রীয়  
নেতৃত্বের উচিত অর্জুন মুন্ডাকে এখনই  
অপসারণ করা।

যদিও বিজেপি-র এক কেন্দ্রীয়  
নেতা আজ বলেন, বিধায়কদের  
সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ অংশ মুখ্যমন্ত্রীর পাশে  
রয়েছে কি না, সেটাই বিচার্য বিষয়। তা  
তিনি অর্জুন মুন্ডাই হোক বা নরেন্দ্র  
মোদী। হিসাবমতো এখনও সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ  
বিধায়ক মোদী বা মুন্ডার বিরুদ্ধে যাননি।  
ফলে তাঁদের সরানোরও প্রশ্ন নেই।  
কিন্তু একাংশের ক্ষোভ যখন রয়েছে  
তখন তা প্রশমনের জন্য কেন্দ্রীয় নেতৃত্ব  
অবশ্যই সচেষ্ট হবেন।

রাজনৈতিক সূত্রের খবর, সঙ্ঘ  
পরিবারের সঙ্গে সংঘাতে আডবাণী  
নিজে সমস্যায় পড়ে যাওয়াতেই মূল  
সমস্যার সৃষ্টি হয়েছে। নিচু তলার  
নেতারা তাঁকে মানতে চাইছেন না।  
দলের মধ্যে নৈরাজ্য মাথাচাড়া দিয়ে  
উঠেছে। অবশ্য জানা গিয়েছে,  
আডবাণীর সঙ্গে শত বিরোধিতা  
থাকলেও সঙ্ঘ একে ভাল চোখে  
দেখে না। সেপ্টেম্বরের গোড়ায় সঙ্ঘ-  
বিজেপি-র চিহ্নন বৈঠক এবং শেষ  
দিকে বিজেপি-র জাতীয় কর্মসমিতির  
বৈঠকের পর এই সমস্যাগুলির সমাধান  
সম্ভব বলে মনে করা হচ্ছে।

26 AUG 2005

ANADABAZAR PATRIKA

# Gujarat dissidents unimpressed by Advani's praise for Modi

8 P.P. 110-13  
 27/8

Trip to Delhi to press the demand for a change of leadership remains unchanged

Manas Dasgupta

**GANDHINAGAR:** BJP president L.K. Advani's praise for Gujarat Chief Minister Narendra Modi's "achievements" and his Government's performance does not seem to have discouraged party dissident MLAs from campaigning for a change of leadership in the State.

From his addresses at party and official functions, it was apparent that Mr. Advani's two-day visit to the State was intended to discourage the dissidents. However, the latter gave clear indication that they were not impressed by his praise for Mr. Modi.

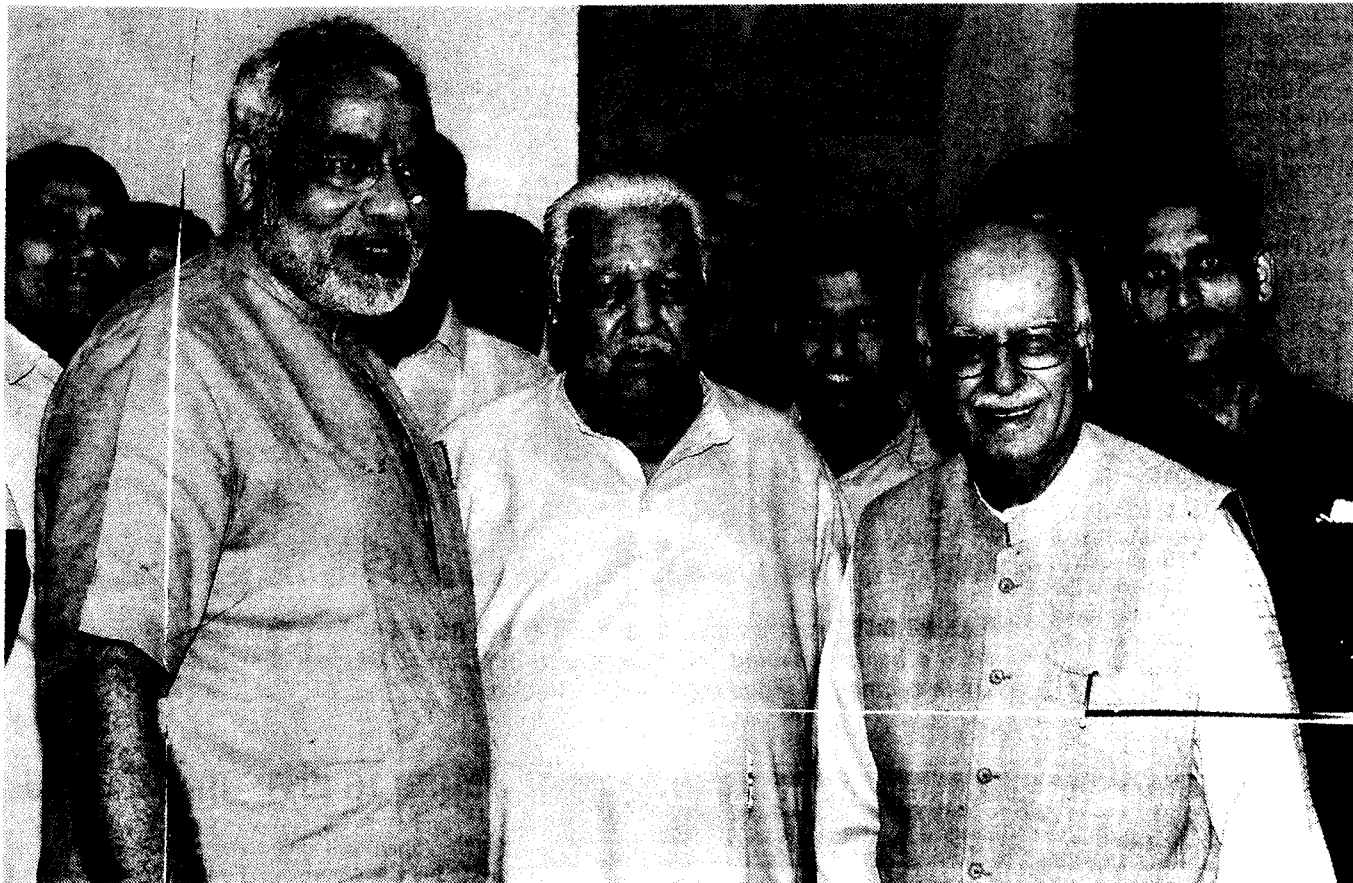
Mr. Advani, accompanied by Mr. Modi, called on the former Chief Minister and dissident leader, Keshubhai Patel, at his official residence here this evening. The two leaders were with Mr. Patel for about 15 minutes.

While Mr. Advani declined to make any comment to presspersons, Mr. Patel said the BJP president was on a "social visit" and inquired about his and his wife's health. There was no political discussion.

Asked about the BJP president's repeated praise of Mr. Modi and his administration, he said: "It may be Mr. Advani's opinion." Some dissident MLAs, who later came to visit Mr. Patel, hinted that the trip to Delhi to press the demand for a change of leadership would be made tomorrow.

Mr. Patel is leaving for Delhi on Tuesday to attend the Parliament session. Mr. Advani returned to Delhi this evening.

At several official functions Mr. Advani attended in Ahmedabad, Radhanpur and Gandhinagar, the central theme remained



**BRINGING THEM TOGETHER:** BJP president L.K. Advani with the former Gujarat Chief Minister, Keshubhai Patel (centre), and Gujarat Chief Minister Narendra Modi in Gandhinagar on Sunday. - PHOTO: AP

unchanged: "Gujarat under Mr. Modi has shown new direction to the country on the path of development."

Inaugurating the "Jyotigram" village electrification scheme in Radhanpur in Patan district this morning, he said: "I have no words to praise and congratulate Mr. Modi and his team of Cabinet Ministers for the series of developmental measures taken by the State administration."

He claimed that when no

State could ensure a regular and uninterrupted power supply to the villages, Gujarat under Mr. Modi had implemented the Jyotigram scheme in over 11,000 of the 18,000 villages in the State, ensuring 24-hour three-phase power supply.

"The people outside Gujarat refuse to believe that one State can progress so much in such a short period. Gujarat has set an example for all the States in the country to follow its line for the

welfare of the people and prosperity of the nation."

NDA convener George Fernandes, who was here to attend a party function on Sunday, refused to draw a parallel between the anti-Sikh riots in 1984 and the Gujarat communal riots in 2002.

"There is no comparison between what the then Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, and the Congress did to inflame the anti-Sikh riots with the communal

riots in the State with Mr. Modi as the Chief Minister," he said.

He did not see any reason for Mr. Modi to apologise for the riots because he had tried his best to control the situation. "Mr. Modi called for the Army and made elaborate planning to deploy the forces at strategic points," he said.

"It is shocking that the Congress which had encourage riots against the Sikhs is now trying to teach us secularism."

TUESDAY, AUGUST 23, 2005

## BJP's crisis widens and deepens

**T**he more the Bharatiya Janata Party tries to stamp out the flames engulfing its house, the fiercer they seem to grow. Madan Lal Khurana's suspension from the party following his contrived show of rebellion is hardly an earth-shaking development. The problem is that it comes on the heels of a series of debilitating crises for the party and its embattled leadership. The BJP's image was already in tatters from the warfare between Lal Krishna Advani and the Sangh Parivar. Today, factional quarrels have become the norm in the State units. For Mr. Advani, facing unrelenting sniper attacks from the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, this is a challenge like no other. The anti-Narendra Modi campaign has reached a peak in Gujarat, with Keshubhai Patel and company taking their grievances to leaders big and small. Characteristically, Uma Bharti has opened two fronts simultaneously — against Chief Minister Babulal Gaur in Madhya Pradesh and against Team Advani in Delhi: in Bhopal her supporters are baying for Mr. Gaur's blood while in Delhi she has fired a salvo at Sushma Swaraj for her unqualified support to the Women's Reservation Bill. In Jharkhand, Ajun Munda is hanging on to his chair precariously thanks to dissidence bolstered by Yashwant Sinha's open attack on the Chief Minister. Whether it is Mr. Patel seeking Mr. Modi's removal or Mr. Khurana suddenly discovering his 'secular' roots or Ms. Bharti agitating for 'sub-reservation' in the women's quota Bill, the malcontents are clearly working to a plan — aided by an RSS determined to mount pressure on the BJP chief before the upcoming Chennai meet of the party's national executive.

The situation is rich in irony. Hardly two months ago, Mr. Advani was pilloried for praising Mohammad Ali Jinnah's August 1947 vision of a secular Pakistan. The hysterical charge against him was that he had wilfully deviated from the party's core ideology of Hindutva. Today he finds himself in the dock for standing by Mr. Modi, the man once hailed by party and parivar as Hindutva's shining mascot. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad, which stood shoulder to shoulder with Mr. Modi during the Gujarat anti-Muslim pogrom, has joined the fight against the Chief Minister. As for Mr. Khurana: post-Jinnah, he dashed off an angry letter to Mr. Advani accusing him of "ruthlessly shredding the party's time-tested ideology" and demanded his resignation as party chief and as Leader of the Opposition. Today the disgruntled war horse is a champion of 'secularism'. The letter that triggered the former Rajasthan Governor's suspension asked Mr. Advani to remove the "taint" of the "shameful Gujarat carnage" by following the inspiring example of Manmohan Singh who apologised for the 1984 anti-Sikh riots and showed the door to Jagdish Tytler. Mr. Khurana showed not the slightest remorse when Mr. Modi and the forces of genocidal fury were on the rampage. What of Mr. Advani? Presented with an opportunity to prove that his Jinnah-appreciation was no flash in the pan, he chose to shower praise on Mr. Modi. Ideology, did you say?

2 AUG 2005 THE HINDU

# It's Vajpayee's turn to open Jinnah chapter

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, Aug. 21. — Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee today raked up an issue that had triggered a storm in the Sangh Parivar by declaring that Md Ali Jinnah was secular in his initial days, but was later responsible for India's Partition.

Mr Vajpayee's remarks at a condolence meeting for RSS leader HV Seshadri, which revived a controversy that appeared to have been buried, were variously interpreted by Sangh members.

Some saw in them an approval of BJP president Mr LK Advani's pro-Jinnah remarks in Pakistan, which led to the RSS asking him to step down, while others saw the opposite.

The RSS chief, Mr KS Sudarshan, was present when Mr Vajpayee made the remarks on Jinnah today. Mr Sudarshan did not comment on the controversy, but asserted that the Sangh has survived four generations because it was "ideology-centric and not personality-based".

Mr Vajpayee recalled that Seshadri in his book *Tragic Story of Partition* had written that many people who were nationalists later on became communal and religious fanatics.

"What happened to such people? Why Jinnah changed his colours? He had nothing to do with



Jinnah had nothing to do with communalism or Islam. It was wrong to call him religious...

communalism or Islam. It was wrong to call him religious and when he became associated with the Home Rule movement, he used to say he belonged to the sect which believed in *Dashavatara* and practised Hindu social customs and laws of succession," Mr Vajpayee said quoting extensively from the book which he asked everyone to read.

Mr Vajpayee said Jinnah used to hate religious fanaticism and to illustrate his point read out an anecdote from Seshadri's book wherein he tells Motilal Nehru that he "doesn't believe in the *bakwaas* (nonsense) of mullahs". Quoting from the book, he said: "It is regrettable that he had to go with the fools."

Mr Vajpayee added: "However, we have to see in totality and he (Jinnah) was responsible for the Muslim League, the country's partition and religious fanaticism."

THE STATESMAN

# Coterie running party: Khurana

It is unfortunate that those with no political base are at the helm of affairs

Staff Reporter

**NEW DELHI:** Senior Bharatiya Janata Party leader Madan Lal Khurana, suspended from the party for "gross indiscipline," on Sunday said that he was "worried" by the manner in which the party was being run by a "coterie" surrounding BJP president L.K. Advani and added that he was feeling "sad and hurt" at the "downfall" of the party.

"I will chalk out my next course of action only after consulting my supporters and senior party and RSS leaders. I am yet to receive the show cause-notice issued to me," he said.

Unfazed by the disciplinary action, the one time strongman of Delhi said it was unfortunate that those leaders who have no political base or have rarely contested elections were at the helm of party affairs. On the other hand, mass leaders had been sidelined and relegated to the background in a humiliating



Thus speaks Khurana...

- I am feeling sad and hurt over the downfall of party
- Show-cause notice yet to be received
- Future course of action after consulting RSS leaders

manner. "The coterie surrounding Mr. Advani is running the BJP like a private limited company from air-conditioned rooms and acting as managing directors. Such a situation was

unacceptable. We have nurtured the party for more than five decades and cannot be silent spectators to such a depressing scenario," he alleged.

## RSS meeting

It is learnt that Mr. Khurana attended an RSS meeting at Jhandewalan on Sunday to discuss his further course of action. He is also said to be in touch with some dissident leaders of Jharkhand, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Karnataka.

"I have been associated with the Sangh Parivar and the BJP for 50 years. I want the party to run properly. After all I have devoted my entire life for its betterment," he added.

Ever since news of Mr. Khurana's suspension became public, his supporters including some BJP legislators from Delhi have been thronging his residence.

## Not demoralised

Often referred to as "Delhi ka Sher," Mr. Khurana maintained

that he had never crossed the limit so far as discipline was concerned and the show-cause notice did not worry him. "I had resigned as the Chief Minister of Delhi on my own. Then I resigned as Governor of Rajasthan to serve the people of Delhi. All through my decades of political life with the BJP and the Jan Sangh, I had never broken discipline and the latest action of the party had not demoralised me. It is unfortunate that Mr. Advani has chosen to take sides with his coterie and not read the ground realities. I had requested him along with the former Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, to have a "peace meeting" with RSS chief K. Sudarshan. However, Mr. Advani declined to meet the RSS chief at that time but after a few days, at the behest of his coterie, went to the RSS headquarters and had a meeting with the senior leaders there in the aftermath of the Jinnah controversy, he alleged.

72 AUG 2005

THE HINDU

# খুরানাকে শাস্তি দিয়ে সঙ্ঘকে পাল্টা আঘাত আডবাণীর

স্টাফ রিপোর্টার, নয়াদিল্লি, ২০ আগস্ট: আক্রমণাত্মক ভূমিকায় আসরে নামলেন লালকৃষ্ণ আডবাণী।

ফলে দলের মধ্যে বিদ্রোহ করতে গিয়ে আরও বিপদে পড়লেন দিল্লির বি জে পি নেতা মদনলাল খুরানা। গত কয়েক দিন ধরে তিনি প্রকাশ্যে লালকৃষ্ণ আডবাণীর বিরুদ্ধে বিবৃতি দিচ্ছিলেন। এমন কী বি জে পি সভাপতির উপর অনাস্থা দেখিয়ে গুজরাতের মুখ্যমন্ত্রীকে সরানোর দাবিতে চিঠি লিখেছিলেন অটলবিহারী বাজপেয়ীকে। কিন্তু গুজরাত সফরে ব্যস্ত আডবাণী আজ দলের নেত্রী সুযমা স্বরাজকে দিয়ে খুরানাকে দল থেকে 'শৃঙ্খলাভঙ্গের কারণ'—এ সাময়িকভাবে বরখাস্ত করার কথা ঘোষণা করালেন। একই সঙ্গে আডবাণী মোদী সরকারের ভূয়সী প্রশংসাও করেন। খুরানাকে বলা হয়েছে, নোটস দেওয়ার পনেরো দিনের মধ্যে তাঁকে কারণ দেখাতে হবে। না দেখাতে পারলে তাঁকে সরিয়ে দেওয়া হবে।

কিছুটা অপ্রত্যাশিত আক্রমণ। আর তাই আজই পাল্টা আক্রমণ না হেনে খুরানা রক্ষণাত্মক ব্যাটিং করেছেন। তাঁর মন্তব্য, "আমি যে কোনও শাস্তির জন্য প্রস্তুত। এখনও চিঠি পাইনি। না পাওয়া পর্যন্ত কোনও কথা বলব না। সময় এলে সব প্রশ্নের উত্তর দেব।"

জুলাই মাসে জিমা নিয়ে বিতর্ক দলের মধ্যে তুঙ্গে উঠলে আডবাণী বেশ সঙ্কটে পড়ে যান। আর সেই সময় যোলা জলে মাছ ধরতে নেমে পড়েন খুরানা। তিনি আডবাণীর ইস্তফা দাবি করেন। শুধু তাই নয় তাঁর পিছনে আর এস এস-এর সমর্থন আছে বলেও দাবি করেছিলেন। খুরানার আচরণে আডবাণী ক্ষুব্ধ হলেও তখন কোনও ব্যবস্থা নেননি। কারণ আডবাণী নিজেই তখন ব্যস্ত ছিলেন আর এস এস নেতৃত্বের সঙ্গে লড়াইয়ে। নিজে গদি সুরক্ষিত করাই ছিল তখন অগ্রাধিকার। এবং আডবাণীর সবচেয়ে বড় সমস্যা ছিল জিমা বিতর্কে দ্বিতীয় প্রজন্মের কোনও নেতাকে পাশে না পাওয়া।

এক মাস অতিবাহিত হওয়ার পর পরিস্থিতিতে বদল এসেছে কিছুটা। আডবাণী রাজনৈতিক কৌশলও বদলাচ্ছেন। আর এস এস-এর সঙ্গে সংসদ অধিবেশনের আগে ধারাবাহিক বৈঠক করে সংঘর্ষ বিরতি কয়েম হয়েছিল। আর এই শাস্তি ফেরানোর কাজে আডবাণীর পাশে ছিলেন প্রাক্তন প্রধানমন্ত্রী অটলবিহারী বাজপেয়ী ও যশোবন্ত সিংহ। বাজপেয়ীর বাসভবন থেকে ফোনে আডবাণী কথা বলেছিলেন সুদর্শনের সঙ্গে ও তারপর আর এস এস-এর

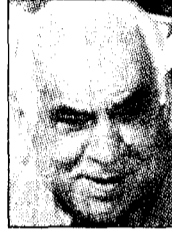
সদর দফতরে গিয়ে শীর্ষ সঙ্ঘ নেতাদের সঙ্গে বৈঠক করেন। সাময়িক সংঘর্ষ-বিরতি হলেও আর এস এস বনাম আডবাণী লড়াই কিন্তু থামেনি। বস্তুত দু'পক্ষই এই লড়াই থামাতে উৎসাহীও নয়। আর এস এস নেতারা এখনও চান মুম্বইয়ে ডিসেম্বরের দলীয় অধিবেশনের আগেই আডবাণী ইস্তফা দিন দলীয় সভাপতির পদ থেকে। আর আডবাণী আর এস এস-এর ছকুমনামায় চলতে আর রাজি নন। পাকিস্তান সফরের সময় যে ভুল আডবাণী করেছিলেন, তা এখন আর করতে রাজি নন। আর তাই নবীন প্রজন্মের নেতৃত্বকে সঙ্গে নিয়েই চলতে চাইছেন। সম্প্রতি বাসভবনে দলের সাধারণ সম্পাদকদের সঙ্গে বৈঠক করে তিনি এই প্রক্রিয়াকে আরও সুসংহত করেছেন। এই বৈঠকে সদ্য বাইপাস সার্জারি করে ওঠা অরুণ জেটলি পর্যন্ত হাজির হয়েছিলেন। আডবাণী নবীন প্রজন্মের নেতাদের কাছেও একটা কথা পরিষ্কার করে দেন। তা হল, বি জে পি-র রাজনৈতিক কার্যকলাপে আর এস এস-এর নিয়ন্ত্রণ কাঙ্ক্ষিত নয়।

চেন্নাইয়ে সেপ্টেম্বরে দলের কর্মসমিতির বৈঠকের আগে এই আক্রমণাত্মক মনোভাব আরও বেশি করে নিতে চাইছেন আডবাণী। কারণ যাতে চেন্নাই অধিবেশনে নিজের কর্তৃত্বকে নতুন করে প্রতিষ্ঠা করার সুযোগ পাওয়া যায়। সঙ্ঘ তো বটেই, খুরানাকে শাস্তি দিয়ে দলের বিক্ষুব্ধ গোষ্ঠীর কাছেও একটা

কড়া বার্তা পৌঁছে দিতে চান আডবাণী। প্রয়াত প্রধানমন্ত্রী ইন্দিরা গান্ধী তাঁর চরম রাজনৈতিক সঙ্কটে দলের ভিতরে আক্রমণাত্মক কৌশল নিয়ে লাভবান হয়েছিলেন। আডবাণী সেই কৌশলই অনুসরণ করতে চাইছেন। ২৬ অগস্ট সংসদ অধিবেশন শেষ হলে তিনি আরও আক্রমণাত্মক হবেন বলে মনে করা হচ্ছে। আডবাণী আজ আমদাবাদে নরেন্দ্র মোদীর কাছেও তাঁর কাজকর্ম নিয়ে সন্তোষ ব্যক্ত করেন। খুরানা নিয়ে তিনি কোনও মন্তব্য করেননি। এর পর আডবাণী আরও আক্রমণাত্মক হলে আর এস এস-এর কৌশল কী হবে সেটাও দেখার বিষয়।

আর এস এস-এর সঙ্গে সংঘাতের সময় আডবাণী সঙ্ঘ নেতাদের কাছেও খুরানার প্রসঙ্গ তুলেছিলেন। বাস্তবোন্মুখী আর এস এস সদর দফতরে সেই বৈঠকে মোহন ভাগবৎ তখন আডবাণী, যশোবন্তকে জানিয়ে দেন খুরানার বিবৃতির

এর পর যোলার পাতায়



## সঙ্ঘকে পাল্টা আঘাত

প্রথম পাতার পর পিছনে সঙ্ঘ নেই। সঙ্ঘের কোনও নেতা এই কাজ করতে তাঁকে বলেননি। আডবাণীর চাপে আর এস এস নেতৃত্ব তাঁদের বিবৃতিতে খুরানার নাম না করে সেই সময় জানিয়েও দিয়েছিলেন কোনও রাজনৈতিক নেতার কাজকর্ম নিয়ে চর্চা করবে না সঙ্ঘ।

আর এস এস-এর ঘোষিত নীতিকে মূলধন করেই আজ আডবাণী খুরানা-বিরোধী ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণে তৎপর হয়েছিলেন। আবার খুরানার বিরুদ্ধে ব্যবস্থা নেওয়া হচ্ছিল না বলে আডবাণীর উপর চাপ আসছিল সাহেব সিংহ বর্মা থেকে শুরু বিজয় গোয়েল, বিজয়কুমার মলহোত্র, সুযমা স্বরাজ, অরুণ জেটলি— দিল্লির প্রায় সব নেতার তরফ থেকেই।

এঁরা সকলেই খুরানার আচরণে অসন্তুষ্ট ছিলেন।

আজ দিল্লির প্রদেশ বি জে পি-র রাজ্য ইউনিট একটি বৈঠকে বসে নিজেদের মধ্যে খুরানা-বিরোধী একমত্যা তৈরি করে নেন। কোনও একজন বিধায়কও যাতে খুরানার দিকে না যান, সে বিষয়টি নিশ্চিত করা হয়। তবে দিল্লির নেতাদের আশঙ্কা, আডবাণী যদি আবার খুরানার বিষয়ে নরম হন, তাহলে বেশ কিছু নেতা ফের খুরানার পিছনে চলে যেতে পারেন।

খুরানাকে সরানোর জন্য রাজনৈতিক হোমওয়ার্ক এমন পর্যায়ে পৌঁছায় যে এক সময় খুরানা আর এস এস-এর বিরুদ্ধে কী কী বলেছেন, তা জোগাড় করে আডবাণীর কাছে পাঠিয়ে দেওয়া হয়।

21 AUG 2005

ANANDABAZAR PATEIKA

# BJP suspends Khurana, hints at expulsion

Neena Vyas

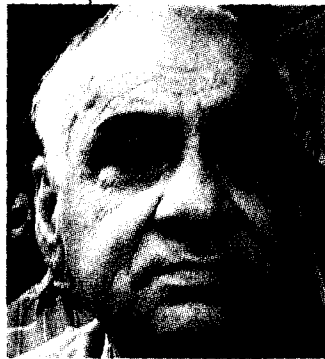
**NEW DELHI:** Bharatiya Janata Party president L.K. Advani on Saturday ordered the suspension of the former Rajasthan Governor, Madan Lal Khurana, from the party for "gross indiscipline." Mr. Advani stripped him of all official duties on the recommendation of the general secretaries. Party leaders hinted that Mr. Khurana could be expelled unless he apologised.

The disciplinary action came within hours of his writing to Mr. Advani demanding that Gujarat Chief Minister Narendra Modi be sacked and that the party follow the example of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, who apologised to the nation for the 1984 anti-Sikh riots.

A former Delhi Chief Minister, Mr. Khurana referred to the Supreme Court's observations against the Gujarat Government and said the party could not wash away the stain of the Gujarat riots without publicly apologising for the incidents. He distributed copies of his letter at a press conference here earlier in the day.

Later reacting to the suspension, Mr. Khurana said he was "prepared to face any action." He was yet to receive a show-cause notice. In the evening party leaders pointed out that as several leaders were not in town now, the notice asking him to respond within 15 days would be served by Monday.

Announcing the suspension, party spokesperson Sushma Swaraj said, "Mr. Advani has stripped him of his duties as *prabhari* (political affairs in-charge) of Delhi, Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir with immediate effect." She said Mr. Advani had consulted general secretaries Arun Jaitley, Pramod Mahajan, Rajnath Singh, Sanjay Joshi and Om Mathur as



well as vice-president M. Venkaiah Naidu and "they recommended Mr. Khurana's suspension, which he decided to accept."

On Mr. Khurana's suggestion that he had the backing of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh leadership, Ms. Swaraj said, "No Sangh leader can ever encourage indiscipline. Therefore, to say that the Sangh leaders are telling him to do this would be wrong."

Ms. Swaraj said that when Mr. Khurana, Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister Babulal Gaur and the former Finance Minister, Yashwant Sinha, demanded Mr. Advani's resignation after his "Jinnah is secular" formulation, the chapter on the standoff between him and the RSS was considered closed after an agreement was worked out. "That is why no disciplinary action was taken then," she said.

While Mr. Khurana indicated that he would respond to the show-cause notice when he received it, the BJP's central leadership hinted that he could be forgiven if he apologised unconditionally — as did the former Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister Uma Bharti after she publicly dared Mr. Advani to take action against her.

See also Page 8

21 AUG 0 THE HILL

# BJP leadership faces upheaval across states

9.19.18

19/18

Our Political Bureau  
NEW DELHI 18 AUGUST

THE dissidence virus that has infected the BJP's Gujarat unit, is spreading to other states with vengeance. On a day, in which the anti-Modi camp took its battle to former Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, BJP vice-president Babulal Marandi, who is engaged in a bitter feud with Jharkhand chief minister Arjun Munda, intensified his campaign to force a change of leadership in the state.

Mr Marandi is said to have met BJP president LK Advani on Wednesday, and apprised him of the situation prevailing in the state. The former Jharkhand chief minister warned of growing resentment among the people. And, the state government was getting increasingly unpopular, due to widespread corruption and lack of developmental activities.

The tide turning against the government was apparent from the stance adopted by a group of five ministers — two belonging to the All Jharkhand Students'

Union (Sudesh Mahto and Chandra Prakash Chaudhary) and the remaining three independents (Enos Ekka, Hari Narayan Rai and Madhu Kodah) — at a meeting held on Wednesday, in Ranchi.

Despite being made ministers, they complained, they lacked

real powers, all of which were centralised in the chief minister's office. "We cannot announce new programmes or allow new projects. The decision-making authority has been taken over by the chief minister," an aggrieved minister said. The in-fighting within the



Jharkhand unit has only added to the mounting woes of Mr Advani. The opening of another front, the first being Gujarat, can only come as bad news to the beleaguered BJP leadership.

For the third consecutive day, there was no let-up in dissidence activity in the party's Gujarat unit. Accompanied by Kashiram Rana and Suresh Mehta, former chief minister Keshubhai Patel, who has emerged as the rallying point for the rebels in the state, on Thursday met Mr Vajpayee.



# Now, BJP opposes FDI

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, Aug. 17. — The BJP, original votary of a free market in India, today expressed its opposition to foreign direct investment (FDI) in the retail sector apparently keeping in view Sangh reservations on it which believes the livelihood of small, and medium retail traders in the country would be affected.

The consensus within the parliamentary party of the BJP, which met this morning under the chairmanship of former Prime Minister Mr Atal Behari

NEW DELHI, Aug. 17. — Key Gujarat dissident leader Mr Keshubhai Patel today arrived here with his supporters to highlight dissident activities in Gujarat before the BJP central leadership, which, however, ruled out replacement of chief minister Mr Narendra Modi. Mr Patel, who had organised a show of strength at his residence in Gandhinagar yesterday, told reporters that "all is not well" with the Gujarat BJP.

In a veiled attack on Mr Modi, he said the alleged attempts to prevent the

Vajpayee, was that the entry of foreign retail traders would be

## Party rules out Modi's ouster

MLAs from meeting him yesterday exposed the "frightening mind set of some of those in power". Though dissident leaders, including some MLAs, met among themselves, they did not meet the party central leadership.

Meanwhile in a rebuff to the dissidents, party general secretary in charge of Gujarat Mr Om Mathur asserted: "Mr Modi is doing a fantastic job. There is no question of replacing him." — PTI

Manch (SJM), an RSS constituent, had earlier called for a countrywide mobilisation against any attempt by the government to allow FDI in the sector.

The BJP also came out against any toning down of the employment generation provisions of the proposed National Rural Employment Guarantee Amendment Bill. Party spokesman Mr VK Malhotra said the BJP would press for the amendments moved by it. He said if the government did not admit these it would give the party a chance to "expose" the government. He demanded time-bound implementation of the scheme.

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# BJP slams govt for putting reforms on hold

Our Political Bureau  
NEW DELHI 16 AUGUST

**T**HE BJP attempted to reclaim its space in the reform turf on Monday by mounting an attack on the UPA government for letting policies become a hostage to the well-known views of the Left. The party, which fielded former finance minister Yashwant Sinha to attack the rollback of the disinvestment programme, said the Congress-led government at the Centre has opted for "horrible economics and bad politics".

Mr Sinha, describing the decision to shelve strategic sales as a move aimed at appeasing the Left, said it amounted to rewriting the policy matrix. "The government has taken a regressive step. It is a big setback for reforms," he said.

In an attempt to endear itself to certain sections with a stake in the reform process, the BJP charged the government with copying the contrarian positions of the Left. The party reminded the Congress that the entire reform process was a revolt against the failed policies of the past and said such reversal in the policy framework will harm the economy.

Questioning the finance minister's stand that the government will not be able to get the maximum out of

strategic sales, Mr Sinha said it was a flawed thesis.

"A perusal of the earnings from the sale of minor lots of Maruti shares during Dr Manmohan Singh's tenure in the North Block will prove that Mr Chidambaram is wrong. We did not get the right value at that point. When we went for strategic sale in companies, we got better value. The government also got handsome control premium," he went on to point out.

Mr Sinha said the government's decision to shelve the disinvestment process in 13 companies is a move in the reverse direction. "We have evolved a policy over a period of time. The policy was evolving from the interim Budget of 1991. Manmohan Singh followed it up. And in the 1998 Budget, we had said the government will bring down its share in non-strategic companies below 51%," he pointed out.

The BJP's response is significant as it signals its resolve to shed its diffidence about projecting a reform-friendly face. After it lost the last Lok Sabha polls, a section of the party had concluded that the emphasis on reform was the cause for the electoral setback. But Monday's response indicates that the BJP will be only too happy to have the whole reform field to itself.

The Economic Times

# Never compromised on internal security, says Advani

Staff Correspondent

**BHOPAL:** The two-day training programme for State Ministers and district presidents of the Madhya Pradesh unit of the Bharatiya Janata Party concluded at Mandu near Indore on Sunday with the party president, L.K. Advani, lashing out at the United Progressive Alliance Government at the Centre saying that it should be "ashamed of the rapidly deteriorating internal security scenario." Mr. Advani said the BJP had never compromised on the national security front.

The previous BJP-led NDA Government had stunned the whole world by giving a crushing blow to terrorism and forcing Pakistan to stop supporting those engaged in cross-border terrorism, he said adding that the BJP-led NDA Government

went for Pokhran-II and created history by making India a nuclear power. There was some initiative in this direction in the "70s but successive Governments that buckled under the pressure of the capitalist powers and never had the courage or strength to go for a nuclear explosion, he asserted. The BJP-led NDA Government had put the country on the fast track of development and when they were in power there was an 8 per cent increase in GDP.

## High ideology

Mr. Advani praised the role continuously being played by party workers. The BJP was known for its committed party workers and went on to emphasise that the party had been able to march ahead due to its "high ideology". He said that those

who swear by democracy are the biggest enemies of democracy. He gave the example of the post-emergency movement led by Jai Prakash Narayan and said that those belonging to the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS) and the then Jan Sangh were in the forefront and had sacrificed a lot to restore democracy.

Mr. Advani had a special word of praise for the BJP organisation in Madhya Pradesh and said that the party was in power in the State due to the hopes and aspirations of the people.

He reiterated every party worker's commitment to the ideology followed by the stalwarts of the erstwhile Jan Sangh, Shyama Prasad Mukherjee and Deendayal Upadhyaya.

Earlier on Sunday, the training sessions were addressed by the state party president, Shivraj

Singh Chauhan, national general secretary of the party, Sanjay Joshi, and the former state party president, Kailash Joshi.

The BJP vice-president, Venkaiah Naidu, was to address the inaugural session on Saturday but as he could not reach Mandu, the party's national general secretary Rajnath Singh delivered the inaugural address and emphasised the crucial role of the party workers both within the party organisation and society.

Addressing state party leaders and ministers on the inaugural day, the national training coordinator of the BJP, Vinay Sahasrabudde, cautioned against too much involvement in politics and said that social commitment and involvement in the voluntary sphere could also help in implementing welfare schemes and serving the larger public cause.

01 AUG 2005 THE HINDU

# মনমোহনের চেষ্ঠায় মার্কিন নীতি নিয়ে নরম বিজেপি

জয়ন্ত ঘোষাল • নয়াদিল্লি

৩০ জুলাই: শুধু বামেদের নয়, তাঁর সরকারের মার্কিন নীতির প্রপ্নে বিজেপি-র শীর্ষ নেতৃত্বের তীব্র অসন্তোষকেও অনেকটাই লম্বু করে ফেলতে সক্ষম হয়েছেন প্রধানমন্ত্রী মনমোহন সিংহ। তবে আক্রমণের ঝাঁক কমালেও বিরোধিতার পথ থেকে এখনই পুরোপুরি সরে আসছে না লালকৃষ্ণ আডবানী'র দল। কারণটা সহজবোধ্য, তাদেরও তো মুখরক্ষা করতে হবে।

প্রধানমন্ত্রীর আমেরিকা সফরের পরেই প্রাক্তন প্রধানমন্ত্রী অটলবিহারী বাজপেয়ীর তৎকালীন প্রিন্সিপাল সেক্রেটারি ব্রজেশ মিশ্র পরমাণু ক্ষেত্রে মার্কিন সহযোগিতার প্রপ্নে সমালোচনার ঝড় তোলেন। কিন্তু মনমোহন শুধু বাম নেতৃত্বই নন, দেশে ফিরে তিনি ডেকে পাঠান ব্রজেশকেও। তিনি তাঁর মার্কিন সফরের সমস্ত খুঁটিনাটি ব্রজেশকে বোঝান। উল্টে প্রধানমন্ত্রী ব্রজেশ মিশ্রের কাছ থেকে এই দ্বিপাক্ষিক সমঝোতার সাফল্য কামনায় সব রকম সাহায্য চেয়েছেন। ব্রজেশ এই গোপন দীর্ঘ বৈঠকে সরকারকে সব রকম সাহায্যের আশ্বাসও দিয়েছেন।

লোকসভার বাদল অধিবেশনের শুরুতেই বিজেপি নেতৃত্ব জানিয়ে দিয়েছিল যে, আই এম ডি টি আইন নিয়ে মূলতুবি প্রস্তাবের পাশাপাশি আমেরিকা সম্পর্কে মনমোহন সিংহ সরকারের অবস্থান সম্পর্কে বিরোধী দল নিন্দা প্রস্তাবও আনতে পারে। কিন্তু প্রধানমন্ত্রী এই বিষয়ে বিবৃতি দেওয়ার পরে বিরোধী দলনেতা লালকৃষ্ণ আডবানীও জানিয়েছেন যে, এ ব্যাপারে আর কোনও নিন্দা প্রস্তাব আনা হবে না। নিন্দা প্রস্তাব আনা না হলেও ভারত-মার্কিন সম্পর্ক নিয়ে সংসদে বিতর্ক হবে আগামী সপ্তাহে। প্রাক্তন প্রধানমন্ত্রী অটলবিহারী বাজপেয়ীর এই বিষয়ে বক্তৃতা দেওয়ার কথা। বক্তৃতায় তিনি বেশ কিছু বিষয়ে সমালোচনাও করবেন। কিন্তু সে ভাবে আর এটিকে বিজেপি প্রচারের প্রধান বিষয় করবে না।

আমেরিকা-ভারত সমঝোতার প্রপ্নে বিজেপি-র মধ্যেও অবশ্য মতপার্থক্য হচ্ছিল। প্রতিরক্ষামন্ত্রী প্রণব মুখোপাধ্যায়ের মার্কিন সফরের পরে প্রাক্তন বিদেশমন্ত্রী যশোবন্ত সিংহ তাঁকে স্বাগত জানান। যশোবন্ত সিংহের এই সমর্থনের পরেই মনমোহন সিংহ আমেরিকা যান। কিন্তু তার পরেই দেখা যায়, ব্রজেশ মিশ্র সমালোচনায় মুখর হন। পরে বাজপেয়ীও এই সমালোচনায় অংশ নেন। বিজেপি সূত্রে বলা হচ্ছে, গত কয়েক মাস ধরে বাম নেতৃত্ব

এর পর ছয়ের পাতায়

## নরম বিজেপি

প্রথম পাতার পর

সরকারের কাজকর্মের তীব্র বিরোধিতা চালানোর বিরোধী দলের জায়গা বিজেপি-র বদলে বামেরা দখল করে নিচ্ছে। তাই বিজেপি ঠিক করেছে, আমেরিকার প্রপ্নে বামেদের সুরে সুর মিলিয়ে বিরোধিতা চলবে। তা আয়ত্তে আনতে দেশে ফিরে সক্রিয় হন মনমোহন। বাম নেতা ও পরে ব্রজেশ মিশ্রের সঙ্গে আলাদা করে তিনি বৈঠক করেন। মনমোহন প্রধানমন্ত্রী হওয়ার পরে তৎকালীন জাতীয় নিরাপত্তা উপদেষ্টা জে এন দীক্ষিত ব্রজেশ মিশ্রের সঙ্গে নিয়মিত যোগাযোগ রাখতেন। প্রধানমন্ত্রী মনমোহন সিংহও সেই অধ্যায়ের ধারাবাহিকতা রক্ষা করেই এগোতে চান। তাই ব্রজেশ মিশ্রকেও এ কাজে লাগানো হচ্ছে। বিজেপি-র আপাতত কৌশল, মুখে বিরোধিতা বজায় রাখলেও নিন্দা প্রস্তাবের মতো কট্টর রাস্তায় না হাটা।

ANADABAZAR PATRIKA

# BJP puts off national executive meet

Statesman News Service 5/1

NEW DELHI, July 18. — In an obvious attempt at preventing Mr LK Advani's comments on Jinnah and the controversy surrounding it from snowballing into a major crisis, the BJP today decided to postpone its three-day national executive scheduled for 21 July in Chennai and rescheduled it for 16 September.

The move to defer the party executive came in the wake of a seemingly fragile rapprochement reached between the

party and the RSS yesterday, which allowed Mr Advani a short breather but asked him to select a time of his choosing to step down and make way for a new incumbent to take over as the party president. Senior BJP leaders today met at Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee's residence.

The BJP parliamentary party spokesman, Prof. VK Malhotra, said the party executive had been postponed in view of the monsoon session of Parliament beginning 25 July. He said party leaders discussed the issues to be taken up during the parliament session. Mr Malhotra said Mr Advani

would continue to hold the twin posts of party president and leader of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha during the monsoon session.

Sources said the September national executive, in all likelihood, would be held under the leadership of a new party president. The BJP today indicated disciplinary action against Mr Madan Lal Khurana for asking Mr Advani to step down from the party president's post. The BJP spokesman, Mr Prakash Javadekar, said the party had taken a serious note of Mr Khurana's assertions and it was seized of the matter.

## Congress dig at BJP

As the RSS continues to turn the heat on the BJP full-throttle, the Congress also does not seem to be in a mood to spare the saffron outfit. Barely concealing its glee over the unfolding BJP-Sangh drama, the Congress today said: "It's a matter of concern that the RSS appears to be a holding company whereas the country's principal Opposition party, the BJP, has been reduced to merely its subsidiary body."

Another report on page 3

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THE STATESMAN

# ডিসেম্বরেই আডবাণী সরবেন জেনে নিরস্ত সঙ্ঘ পরিবার

স্টাফ রিপোর্টার, নয়াদিল্লি, ১৮ জুলাই: আপাতত সংঘর্ষ-বিরতি হলেও লালকৃষ্ণ আডবাণী চূড়ান্ত সিদ্ধান্ত নিয়ে ফেলেছেন, ডিসেম্বরে মুম্বই অধিবেশনের পরে আর নয়।

দলের সভাপতি পদ থেকে ইস্তফা দেবেন তিনি। তার আগেই দল সর্বসম্মত প্রার্থীর নামও ঠিক করে ফেলবে। মুম্বই অধিবেশনেই নতুন সভাপতির নামও ঘোষণা করা হবে। ফলে আগামী মাসগুলিতে সভাপতি হওয়ার ইদুর-দৌড় আরও তীব্র হয়ে ওঠার সম্ভাবনা।

আর এস এস সদর দফতরে মোহন ভাগবতের কাছেও রবিবার আডবাণী এ কথা জানিয়ে দিয়েছেন। তিনি বাজপেয়ীকেও বলেছেন, পাকিস্তান যাওয়ার আগেই তিনি ঠিক করে ফেলেছিলেন, ডিসেম্বরেই নবীন প্রজন্মের কোনও নেতাকে এই দায়িত্ব তুলে দেবেন। কিন্তু আর এস এস-এর প্রকাশ্য হুমকির মুখে ইস্তফা দিতে তিনি রাজি ছিলেন না। এই প্রস্তাবে আডবাণীকে পূর্ণ সমর্থন করেছেন অটলবিহারী বাজপেয়ী এবং যশোবন্ত সিংহ।

আডবাণীর সিদ্ধান্ত জানার পরেই আর এস এস নেতৃত্ব আডবাণী-হঠাৎ অভিযানে ক্ষান্ত দিয়েছেন। সংগঠনের মুখপাত্র রাম মাধব আজ বলেছেন, “বি জে পি-র সঙ্গে আমাদের বোঝাপড়া হয়েছে। আগামীদিনে আমরা ঘটনাপ্রবাহের দিকে নজর রাখব। এবং সেই অনুসারেই পরবর্তী সিদ্ধান্ত নেব।”

আজ সকালে বাজপেয়ীর বাড়িতে দলের কর্মকর্তাদের বৈঠকের পর বি জে পি মুখপাত্র বিজয়কুমার মলহোত্র ঘোষণা করেছেন, “আডবাণী শুধু দলের সভাপতিই নন, বিরোধী দলনেতার পদেও থাকবেন। তবে, চেম্বাই কর্মসমিতির বৈঠক পিছিয়ে সেপ্টেম্বরে করা হচ্ছে।” আপাতত অভ্যন্তরীণ কলহ থেকে বেরিয়ে বি জে পি সংসদীয় অধিবেশনে সরকার-বিরোধী আক্রমণের পথে গিয়ে দৃষ্টি ঘোরানোর চেষ্টা করছে।

গত প্রায় একমাস ধরে বি জে পি শিবিরে যে যাত্রাপালা অনুষ্ঠিত হয়ে চলেছে গতকাল তা এক ক্লাইম্যাক্সে পৌঁছে যায়। পরশু বাজপেয়ী ও আডবাণী কথা বলেন কুপ্পহলি সুদর্শনের সঙ্গে। তখনই আডবাণী তাঁকে বলেন, ইস্তফা দিতে তিনি প্রস্তুত, কিন্তু দল যদি তাঁকে সেই নির্দেশ দেয় তবেই তা করবেন। অন্য কারও কথায় নয়।

এই একই কথা আডবাণী মোহন ভাগবৎ, মদনদাস দেবী আর সুরেশ সোনিকে বলেছিলেন, যেদিন তাঁরা গুঁর বাড়িতে এসেছিলেন। বাজপেয়ীও সুদর্শনকে জানিয়ে দেন, দল

আডবাণীকে এখনই না সরানোর সিদ্ধান্ত নিয়েছে।

আজ দলীয় বৈঠকের পর বিজয়কুমার মলহোত্র যখন জানিয়ে দেন আডবাণী দু'টি পদেই থাকবেন, তখন আপাতভাবে আডবাণীর সম্মান রক্ষার চেষ্টা হলেও বাস্তব হল আর এস এস এবং আডবাণীর মধ্যে গতকালই একটা চুক্তি চূড়ান্ত হয়েছে। এই চুক্তি অনুসারে আডবাণী সেপ্টেম্বর মাসে চেম্বাইয়ের জাতীয় কর্মসমিতিতে সভাপতিত্ব করছেন।

এরপর ডিসেম্বরে মুম্বই অধিবেশনেও তিনিই সভাপতিত্ব করবেন। ডিসেম্বরে সেই অধিবেশনের পর তিনি ইস্তফা দেবেন। পটনা থেকে নীতীশ কুমারও বাজপেয়ীকে ফোন করে জানিয়েছিলেন, বিহার নির্বাচন নভেম্বরে। তার আগে আডবাণীকে সরালে ভোটে দলের ক্ষতি হবে।

এই ঘটনার পর আডবাণী কয়েক মাসের জন্য বাড়তি সময় পেলেন। তিনি আর এস এস-এর কাছে নিজের বিশ্বাসযোগ্যতাকে আর ফিরে পাবেন না জানেন। কিন্তু সম্মানজনক বিদায়ের পটভূমি রচনা করতে চান তিনি। কোনও সন্দেহ নেই, আডবাণীর নেতৃত্ব আজ এক গভীর সঙ্কটে।

প্রথমত, এইসব ঘটনা তাঁর রাজনৈতিক কর্তৃত্বকে দুর্বল করে দিয়েছে। মদনলাল খুরানার বিরুদ্ধে শাস্তিমূলক ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণের হুমকি যতই দেওয়া হোক, বাস্তবে তাঁর নেতৃত্ব যথেষ্ট দুর্বল হয়ে পড়েছে।

দ্বিতীয়ত, তিনি এক দিকে সঙ্ঘ পরিবারকে খুশি করার চেষ্টা করতে বাধ্য। তা না হলে দলে সহকর্মীদের কাছে তিনি একঘরে হয়ে যাবেন। আবার যদি এখন নতুন করে অতিরিক্ত সঙ্ঘ-প্রেম দেখাতে শুরু করেন, তবে তাঁর নব-অর্জিত ধর্মনিরপেক্ষ উদার ভাবমূর্তি কালিমালিপ্ত হবে। এই উভয়সঙ্কট থেকে বেরোনো কিছুটা সম্ভব হতে পারে যদি বিহারের আসন্ন নির্বাচনে বি জে পি ভাল ফল দেখাতে পারে। কিন্তু সে কাজটাও সহজ নয়।

এইসব চ্যালেঞ্জের মুখে আডবাণী রাজনৈতিক অস্তিত্ব রক্ষার লড়াইয়ে নতুন করে মাঠে নেমেছেন। এক ব্যক্তি এক পদের নীতি অনুসরণ করে তিনি বিরোধী দলনেতা থাকলেও সভাপতি পদটি ছেড়ে দেবেন। তবে তিনি সরে গেলে পরবর্তী সভাপতি কে হবেন, তা চূড়ান্ত হবে বাজপেয়ী ও সঙ্ঘের সঙ্গে আলোচনা করেই।

● নাগপর-আধিপত্য...পঃ ৫



ANADARAZAL PATRIKA

## মারে সংঘ রাখে কে

লালকৃষ্ণ আডবাণীর ফাঁড়া খেন আর কিছুতেই কাটিতে চাহে না। তিনি একটা বাধা টপকাইতে না টপকাইতেই নূতন বাধা আসিয়া হাজির হইতেছে। রাষ্ট্রীয় স্বয়ংসেবক সংঘ কিছুতেই তাঁহাকে স্বস্তিতে থাকিতে দিতেছে না। তাঁহার অপসারণের দাবিতে বিজেপির উপর সংঘের চাপ অব্যাহত। বিজেপির অধিকাংশ নেতা দৃঢ়ভাবে তাঁহার পক্ষে দাঁড়ানো দূরস্থান, কার্যত তাঁহার সহিত দূরত্ব রচনা করিয়াই নিজেদের পিঠ বাঁচাইতে ব্যস্ত। পাছে সংঘের কোপে পড়িতে হয়, এই ভয়ে তাঁহারা তটস্থ। যে দুই-এক জন দলীয় নেতৃত্বে তাঁহাকে সমর্থন করিতেছেন, সেই সাহেব সিংহ বর্মা, যশোবন্ত সিংহ কিংবা প্রমোদ মহাজনরা এমনিতেই সংঘের খরচার খাতায়, দলেও তাঁহাদের অবস্থান খুব মজবুত নয়। বাকিরা সংঘের প্রতি তাঁহাদের ঋণ, কৃতজ্ঞতা ব্যক্ত করিতে, এমনকী নিজেদের রাজনৈতিক অস্তিত্বের সার্থকতাকেও সংঘের আনুকূল্য ও প্রশিক্ষণের দাক্ষিণ্য রূপে বিবৃত করিতে ব্যস্ত। দলীয় নেতৃত্বের এই দুর্বলতা, দ্বিধা ও কাপুরুষতাই সংঘকে দলের উপর ছড়ি ঘোরাইতে সাহায্য করিতেছে। বিজেপি কিছুতেই নিজের স্বাধীন রাজনৈতিক পরিচিতি অর্জন করিতে পারিতেছে না। এই পরিস্থিতি এক দিনে তৈয়ার হয় নাই। দীর্ঘ ছয় বছর ধরিয়। বিজেপি কেন্দ্রীয় সরকারে ক্ষমতাসীন ছিল। সংঘের প্রভাব খর্ব করিয়া দলকে তাহার অঞ্চলছায়া হইতে বাহির করিয়া নিজস্ব রাজনৈতিক পরিচয়ে বলীয়ান করার এটাই ছিল শ্রেষ্ঠ সময় ও সুযোগ। অথচ সেই সময়ে আমরা কী দেখিয়াছি? দল ও সরকারের উপর প্রধানমন্ত্রী অটলবিহারী বাজপেয়ীর আধিপত্য খর্ব করিতে আডবাণী বারংবার সংঘের শরণাপন্ন হইয়াছেন। প্রায়শই তিনি নাগপুর কিংবা দিল্লির ঝাণ্ডে ওয়ালায় পূজা দিতে হাজির হইতেন। সে সময় আডবাণীই ছিলেন সংঘের 'পোস্টার বয়', দলে সংঘের সবচেয়ে মুখর প্রতিনিধি এবং হিন্দুত্বের সর্ববৃহৎ প্রবক্তা। সংঘ যে বিজেপিকে প্রতি পদে নিয়ন্ত্রণ করিতে চাহিবে, ইহা স্বাভাবিক। কিন্তু বাজপেয়ী যখন বিজেপিকে আধুনিক ভারতের শাসনভারপ্রাপ্ত একটি ধর্মনিরপেক্ষ রাজনৈতিক জোটের প্রধান শরিক রূপে প্রতিষ্ঠা করিতে ব্যগ্র, তখন সংঘের আশীর্বাদ লইয়া আডবাণীই তাঁহার কাছা ধরিয়। পিছনে টানিয়াছেন। আজ পরিবর্তিত পরিস্থিতিতে তিনি যখন বাজপেয়ীর ভূমিকা পালন করিতে উদ্যত, তখন সংঘ তাঁহাকে সেটা করার অনুমতি দিবে না, এটাই স্বাভাবিক। ইহাও স্বাভাবিক যে তাঁহার গোষ্ঠীর লোক বলিয়া গণ্য এককালের অনুগামীরাও তাঁহাকে ত্যাগ করিয়া যাইবেন। আসলে আডবাণী সংঘের প্রতি তাঁহার মনোভাব, এমনকী আনুগত্য পাল্টাইতে চাহিলেও তাঁহার সাবেক অনুগামীরা সংঘকেই জনক বলিয়া মান্য করেন।

সংঘের প্রতি আনুগত্যের প্রশ্নেই একদা কেন্দ্রে জনতা পার্টির সরকারের পতন হইয়াছিল। সে দিনও বাজপেয়ী-আডবাণীদের সামনে প্রশ্ন ছিল সংঘকে আঁকড়াইয়া ধরার কিংবা ছাড়িয়া দিবার। একই সঙ্গে জনতা পার্টি ও আর এস এসএসের সদস্যপদ রাখা চলিবে না, যে কোনও একটি বাছিয়া লইতে হইবে, এই ধর্মসঙ্কটের সম্মুখীন হইয়া ভারতীয় জনসংঘের নেতারা সে দিন সংঘকেই বাছিয়া লইয়াছিলেন, পতন হইয়াছিল মোরারজি দেশাইয়ের নেতৃত্বাধীন কেন্দ্রের প্রথম অকংগ্রেসি সরকারের। ছাব্বিশ বছর পরেও দেখা যাইতেছে, সংঘ আগের মতোই শক্তিশালী। জনসংঘ বিজেপিতে রূপান্তরিত হইয়াছে, বিজেপি আধুনিকতা ও উদারনীতির পথে অভিযাত্রী হইতে চাহিতেছে। কিন্তু রাষ্ট্রীয় স্বয়ংসেবক সংঘ এখনও সে-যাত্রা বানচাল করার ক্ষমতা রাখে। কারণ বিজেপি এমন একটি ক্যাডারভিত্তিক দল, যাহার ক্যাডার সংঘই সরবরাহ করিয়া থাকে। হিন্দুত্ব দীক্ষিত সেই ক্যাডাররাই বিজেপির বিভিন্ন স্তরের নেতৃত্বে বৃত হন। সংঘের আবেদন বা আপত্তির মূল্য তাঁহাদের কাছে তাই রাজনৈতিক শুভবুদ্ধি কিংবা যুগধর্মের দাবি অপেক্ষাও অধিক। যদি সে শুভবুদ্ধির উৎস কিংবা দাবির প্রেরণা হন লালকৃষ্ণ আডবাণীর 'মঠে' স্বয়ংসেবক, তবুও। কেননা সংঘ নেতৃত্বের চোখে তিনি এখন প্রাক্তন স্বয়ংসেবক, যিনি সংঘের মতাদর্শ, আচরণবিধি ও শৃঙ্খলা লঙ্ঘন করিয়াছেন। আডবাণীর দুর্ভাগ্য, তাঁহার সতীর্থরা কেহই সংঘের প্রতি ছুড়িয়া দেওয়া তাঁহার চ্যালেঞ্জের শরিক নন। তবে এক হিসাবে ইহা একটি বৃত্তেরই পূর্ণতা প্রাপ্তি, যে-বৃত্তটি ঘড়ির কাঁটার বিপরীতে ঘূর্ণায়মান।

# BJP puts off Chennai executive meet

*7/1 7/97*

**New Delhi:** The RSS-L K Advani tussle took its toll on Monday with the BJP postponing this week's national executive meeting in Chennai but the party asserted that he would continue both as party president and leader of opposition for the present.

A day after an uneasy truce was said to have been arrived at between RSS and Advani, senior party leaders met here at former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's residence and decided on deferring the three-day executive from July 21 to September 16-18 in Chennai.

While BJP parliamentary party spokesman V K Malhotra maintained that the meeting has been postponed to prepare for the coming monsoon session of Parliament beginning next week, the decision is seen as an attempt to stave off any criticism of the party chief at the executive.

Malhotra said Advani would continue in both the posts during the monsoon session, triggering speculation that he may be on his way out even before the September meet.

Already, there has been a demand for Advani's immediate resignation from both the posts. A few others, including former Presi-

## UNEASY TRUCE



*g.p.p. BJP*

dents Bangaru Laxman and Jana Krishnamurthy, have sought a debate on issues like 'one man one post' and ideology, seen as a pretext to attack him in the wake of RSS demand for his resignation.

Party sources said Advani and senior leaders like M Venkaiah

Naidu were in favour of going ahead with the Chennai executive providing for discussion on all issues but other party leaders felt a postponement would avoid embarrassing situation.

After a week of defiance of the RSS directive to step down in the wake of his controversial visit to Pakistan and his ideological differences, Advani is understood to have convinced the Sangh top brass that he should not be seen as quitting under pressure and he should be given the choice of his timing to make "an honourable exit", sources said.

Meanwhile, the party has called a meeting of its office-bearers on June 23 to endorse the resolutions to be adopted at the Chennai executive. A meeting of NDA leaders has also been called at Vajpayee's residence on July 24 to chalk out the strategy for the monsoon session. PTI

THE HINDU



# বাজপেয়ীর দৌত্যে সঙ্গে সংঘর্ষ-বিবর্তির চেষ্টা

স্টাফ রিপোর্টার, নয়াদিল্লি, ১৭ জুলাই: একেই বলে সেয়ানে-সেয়ানে কোলাকুলি। এক দিকে লালকৃষ্ণ আডবানী এবং তাঁর বিজেপি, অন্য দিকে আরএসএস।

চেন্নাইয়ে ২১ জুলাই জাতীয় কর্মসমিতির বৈঠকের আগেই আডবানীর ইস্তফা চেয়েছিল আরএসএস। কড়া বিবৃতি দিয়ে আরএসএস শীঘ্রই বিজেপি-র নেতৃত্বে নতুন প্রজন্মকে অধিষ্ঠিত করার আহ্বানও জানিয়েছিল। সেই কঠোর অবস্থান থেকে আরএসএস কৌশলগত ভাবে সরে এলেও এখনও আডবানীকে তারা বিশ্বাস করছে না। আডবানীর নেতৃত্বকে আপাতত মেনে নিয়ে তারা সময় নিচ্ছে আগামী দিনে বিজেপি-কে কেন পথে আডবানী নিয়ে চলেন, সেটা দেখার জন্য। নাগপুরে আরএসএস-এর

বৈঠক হবে ১৯ জুলাই, সেখানে আবার বিজেপি-র সম্পর্কে নতুন করে মূল্যায়ন করবেন সঙ্ঘ নেতৃবৃন্দ।

বিজেপি-র তরফেও বোকাপাড়ার চেষ্টা শুরু হয়ে গিয়েছে। আডবানী আজ নিজে আরএসএস সদর দফতরে গিয়ে ৪৫ মিনিট মোহন ভাগবতের সঙ্গে বৈঠক করেছেন। জিন্মা বিতর্কের প্রায় এক মাস পরে, কাল বাজপেয়ী ও আডবানী সুদর্শনকে ফোন করে বরফ গলানোর চেষ্টা করেছেন। এবং শেষে আজ বেঙ্কাইয়া নয়ডু সাংবাদিক বৈঠকে প্রতিশ্রুতি দেন, সঙ্ঘ-কণ্ঠিত আলমগত বিচ্যুতিগুলি সংশোধনের চেষ্টা করবে বিজেপি। তিনটি ঘটনাই প্রমাণ করে, বিজেপি নেতৃত্ব দু'দিন ধরে আরএসএস-কে তুষ্ট করে সংঘর্ষ-বিবর্তিতে পৌঁছানোর চেষ্টা করছে।

এই কৌশলের পিছনে গুরুত্বপূর্ণ

ভূমিকা যিনি নিয়েছেন, তিনি অটলবিহারী বাজপেয়ী। বিজেপি ক্ষমতাচ্যুত হওয়ার পরে যে বাজপেয়ী কার্যত কোণঠাসা হয়ে গিয়েছিলেন, তিনিই আবার এই সঙ্কটে পরিভ্রাতার ভূমিকায় অবতীর্ণ হয়েছেন।

আরএসএস আজ দলে 'এক পদ-এক ব্যক্তি' নীতি কার্যকর করার প্রসঙ্গ তুলেছিল। এই প্রসঙ্গে বাজপেয়ী সমর্থন করেন আডবানীকেই।

খালিয়ারে চাননি দু'টো পদে থাকতে। বিশেষ বিশেষ যশোবন্ত সিংহও আরএসএস দফতরে পরিস্থিতিতে তাঁকে দু'টো পদের দায়িত্ব দিয়ে মিটমাটের চেষ্টা করেছেন।



আপাতত সঙ্ঘ / সংঘের সঙ্গে কথার পরে আডবানী / -পিটিআই

## পিছাতে পারে জাতীয় কর্মসমিতির বৈঠক

বেঙ্কাইয়া নয়ডু, সঙ্ঘ জোনী,

নিতে হয়। সময় এলে এর পরিবর্তন করা হবে।" তবে সেটা কখন কী ভাবে, তা নিয়ে কোনও মন্তব্য করতে চাননি তিনি।

বাজপেয়ী এ কথাও বলেন যে, জিন্মা এবং বাবরি মসজিদ দু'টি ক্ষেত্রেই আডবানী যা বলেছেন, তার ভুল ব্যাখ্যা হয়েছে। বাবরি মসজিদ নিয়ে বিতর্ক তৈরির ইচ্ছা আডবানীর ছিল না। পাশাপাশি

বেঙ্কাইয়া নয়ডু, সঙ্ঘ জোনী,

আজকের সারা দিনের ঘটনায় বলা যায় না, যুদ্ধ শেষ। এটাও বলা যায় না যে, দু'পক্ষের শান্তিচুক্তি হল। বরং বলা যায়, দু'পক্ষই কৌশলগত ভাবে এক জন অন্য জনকে কিছুটা জমি ছেড়েছে।

আরএসএস যেমন আডবানীকে সময় দিয়েছে, দলকে তিনি কোন পথে নিয়ে যান, তা দেখার জন্য। আবার অন্য দিকে সময় নিয়েছেন আডবানীও। তাঁর শিবিরের বক্তব্য, বিজেপি-র মতো শৃঙ্খলাবদ্ধ দল তেও পৃথক দল গঠিত হওয়ার কোনও সম্ভাবনা নেই। কিন্তু শৃঙ্খলাবদ্ধ দল তেও পৃথক দল গঠিত হওয়ার কোনও সম্ভাবনা নেই। কিন্তু শৃঙ্খলাবদ্ধ দল তেও পৃথক দল গঠিত হওয়ার কোনও সম্ভাবনা নেই। কিন্তু শৃঙ্খলাবদ্ধ দল তেও পৃথক দল গঠিত হওয়ার কোনও সম্ভাবনা নেই।

কৌশলগত ভাবে এই পেয়ে যাওয়া সময়কে কাজে লাগিয়ে দলের সভাপতির পদে টিকে থাকটাও তাঁর পক্ষে বিশেষ জরুরি। দলীয় সমর্থন পুনরুদ্ধার করতে পারলে তবে তিনি আবার এগনোর চেষ্টা করতে পারেন।

আজ দিনভর টানা পোড়নের পরে বস্ত্র পরিকার হয়ে যাচ্ছে যে, দু'পক্ষই এক অপরের মতো খানিকটা যুদ্ধ-বিবর্তিতে পৌঁছানোর প্রয়াস চালিয়েছে। চেন্নাইয়ে জাতীয় কর্মসমিতির বৈঠক যাতে না হয়, চেয়েছিল আরএসএস। আডবানী সেটা মেনেছেন। আগামী কাল বাজপেয়ীর বাড়িতে সংসদীয় দলের কার্যনির্বাহী সমিতির বৈঠকের আগে জাতীয় কর্মসমিতির বৈঠক পিছনোর ব্যাপারে চূড়ান্ত সিদ্ধান্ত হবে। আবার আডবানী আরএসএস-কে বলেছেন, এর পর সঙ্ঘের পাতায়

# RSS reprieve for Advani

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Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, July 17. — Giving a temporary reprieve to the beleaguered BJP president, the RSS today granted Mr LK Advani an "opportunity" to clarify his increasingly shaky position before the BJP's national executive conclave in Chennai later this week.

The Sangh, however, is clearly in no mood to give up on its demand and pressure for his resignation from the post of the party chief.

"A lot would depend on how convincing Mr Advani's argument comes across before the national executive members. This may generate heated debates among the members and anything could happen there. Mr Advani may have to resign there and then only. But it's clear that the Sangh wants him to quit," a source said.

The RSS pressure was evident today by a flurry of meetings between the BJP and RSS leaders on the issue. Late this evening, Mr Advani, along with his party colleagues, including Mr M Venkaiah Naidu, Mr Jaswant Singh and Mr Sanjay Joshi, went to the RSS' Delhi headquarters and were closeted with Mr Mohan Bhagwat and another Sangh leader Mr Suresh Soni. Mr Advani is said to have tried there to "reiterate his commitment to the Sangh ideology". The RSS leaders were, however, not "too impressed", sources said. The Sangh brass is meeting on 19 July at Nagpur and is likely to repeat its stand for Mr Advani's removal.

Following day-long parleys involving BJP leaders at Mr Advani's residence here today, the BJP vice-president Mr Naidu said the party leaders, at their meeting with Sangh functionaries, told them that they were in agreement with the concerns expressed by them and "intended to address them and then move forward". He said his assessment and understanding was that Sangh leaders were "satisfied" with the BJP leadership's views.

The BJP also told the RSS that the party intends to continue with the "tradition of exchanging views with the Sangh" periodically. Significantly, Mr Naidu parried questions on the issue of Mr Advani's resignation. He, however, said the issue of one-man one-post norm needs to be sorted out by the BJP, which assumes significance as Mr Advani is currently

## Sangh breaks silence



Mr LK Advani and Mr Jaswant Singh after their meeting with RSS leaders in New Delhi on Sunday. — PTI

NEW DELHI, July 17. — In an ominous sign of things to come for Mr LK Advani, the RSS today broke its silence and contradicted the BJP's official claim by saying that the Sangh had asked the BJP chief to relinquish his post and questioned the party if a leader (Mr Advani) with a "tarnished image" was an asset or a liability.

Disclosing that RSS general secretary Mr Mohan Bhagwat had conveyed the Sangh's decision to seek Mr Advani's resignation, senior RSS leader Mr MG Vaidya said it was "unanimously decided" at the recent Sangh meeting in Surat to seek Mr Advani's resignation over his Jinnah remarks which was conveyed to the BJP brass by Mr Bhagwat. In his weekly column in the pro-RSS local Marathi daily *Tarun Bharat*, Mr Vaidya said: "Mr Bhagwat visited New Delhi on 10 July and apprised the sentiments of (the Surat conclave of) provincial RSS *pracharaks* to top VHP leaders and, also more importantly, to Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee." — SNS

holding the dual posts of party president and the leader of the Opposition.

Mr Naidu also said: "We have not said anything whether Mr Advani would step down or not or whether the national executive would take place or not. Mr Advani is the president and we are working under his leadership."

Earlier in Gwalior, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee said: "The party is committed to one-man one-post principle which will be implemented soon."

Another report on page 4

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HINDU

# Advani must quit, says Khurana

## Bharatiya Janata Party without the Sangh is zero, says Uma Bharti

Neena Vyas

**NEW DELHI:** Bharatiya Janata Party president L.K. Advani on Saturday came under public attack from his own partymen, including the former Delhi Chief Minister, Madan Lal Khurana, signalling what is increasingly perceived to be the end game for him.

Senior party leaders were huddled at the former Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee's residence on Friday evening. Mr. Vajpayee's attitude to the growing demand that Mr. Advani resign immediately from both the posts held by him, that of party chief and Leader of the Opposi-

tion, could determine the "timing" of Mr. Advani's resignation.

Mr. Advani was at Mr. Vajpayee's residence where the two were joined by the leader of the party in the Rajya Sabha, Jaswant Singh, and vice-president Venkaiah Naidu.

Mr. Khurana, also former Rajasthan Governor, delivered the first blow by writing to Mr. Advani — he personally gave a copy to Mr. Vajpayee — asking him to relinquish both the posts and accusing him of having "betrayed the ideology" of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh.

Next came a letter from the former party vice-president, Pyarelal Khandelwal, urging Mr.

Advani to discuss ideological issues at the Chennai meet scheduled to start on July 21. He brought up the subject of "one-man, one-post" and the "ideological deviations" apparent in Mr. Advani's statements on Jinnah made during his Pakistan visit early June.

Two former party presidents, Bangaru Laxman and Jana Krishnamurthy, have demanded that the "confusion" caused by Mr. Advani's statements be "cleared." BJP sources also said parliamentary secretary Ashwini Kumar had also written to Mr. Advani.

Some senior party leaders have advised Mr. Advani to put off the Chennai meet altogether. If the meeting is held as scheduled, fireworks are expected as several senior leaders have already given notice of their in-

tention to raise the very same issues on which the RSS leadership has expressed unhappiness.

On Sunday a meeting of the party general secretaries is scheduled to be chaired by Mr. Advani and some are expecting a "bombshell" at that meeting, not ruling out Mr. Advani's resignation.

Mr. Khurana's letter set the tone for the day. He charged Mr. Advani with "sacrificing ideology" and said for lakhs of BJP workers and RSS 'swayamsevak's this was "heresy."

Mr. Advani's statement that Mohammed Ali Jinnah was secular was mentioned by him. He said Mr. Advani had surrounded himself with a "coterie of rootless people" and had "shredded" the Sangh ideology "ruthlessly."

Another senior leader, Uma

Bharti, said on a television show that the "BJP without the Sangh is zero."

Some party leaders have pointed out that so far most of the party leaders who have openly attacked Mr. Advani were those who had grouses band were presently not very active -- Uma Bharti, who was made to give up the Madhya Pradesh chief ministerial berth has not yet been accommodated as general secretary.

Mr. Khurana had only reluctantly accepted the gubernatorial assignment after the BJP lost the Delhi assembly elections.

Mr. Khandelwal has been virtually retired; and then there were two former party presidents who lost their positions before the end of their tenures.

# BJP works on exit-Advani formula

Dipankar Chakraborty in New Delhi

July 14. — Under intense pressure from the RSS, the BJP is working on a plan for an "honourable exit" for Mr LK Advani, at its silver jubilee *Maha Adhiveshan* function in Mumbai in December. Interestingly, the proposal for an "honourable exit" (an idea being sold to the RSS by Mrs Sushma Swaraj and Mr Venkaiah Naidu) during the Mumbai conclave, according to party insiders, is perhaps the best and most appropriate exit formula for the BJP and Mr Advani who, party sources told

The Statesman, is not too keen to say quits before December. However, there is a possibility that Mr Advani might even have to quit before the national executive.

"The RSS leaders during their interaction with Mr Advani early this week unequivocally told him that he did not have any option but to step down from the party president's post," sources said. Going by the mood within the party executive, an RSS majority body, it is also likely that Mr Advani may have to step down before the forthcoming Chennai national executive. The BJP central leaders are in constant

touch with the RSS, sources added.

At least three BJP leaders, Mr Sanjay Joshi, Mr Pramod Mahajan and Mrs Sushma Swaraj, virtually sat through the entire day at the RSS's Jhandelwala office here today. Given the situation, the BJP central leadership is also believed to have prepared a contingency plan in case the heat generated by the demand for Mr Advani's ouster gets too hot to handle. "Any open show of defiance against Mr Advani may not be kept under wraps for long. One of the options before the party could be to postpone the executive itself," sources maintained.

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THE STATESMAN

# বিকল্প নাই, তাই...

লালকৃষ্ণ আডবাণী আপাতত বিজেপি সভাপতির পদে থাকিয়া গেলেন। রাষ্ট্রীয় স্বয়ংসেবক সংঘ তাঁহার অপসারণের জন্য যে প্রবল চাপ সৃষ্টি করিয়াছিল, বিজেপি এ যাত্রা তাহা ঠেকাইতে পারিয়াছে বলিয়া মনে হয়। সংঘ নেতৃত্ব চেপ্টার কসুর করেন নাই। আডবাণীর বিরুদ্ধে সংঘ পরিবারের মতাদর্শগত বনিয়াদ বিকৃত করার, এমনকী শৃঙ্খলাভঙ্গের অভিযোগও আনিয়াছিলেন। দিল্লিতে বিজেপির বরিষ্ঠ নেতাদের বাসভবনে গিয়া এবং তরুণ নেতাদের সংঘ দফতরে ডাকিয়া আনিয়া দফায় দফায় সংঘ নেতারা আডবাণীর অপসারণের জন্য চাপ সৃষ্টি করিয়াছিলেন। কিন্তু সম্ভবত অন্য সব তরুণ নেতার কাছে গ্রহণযোগ্য বিকল্প নেতার অভাবেই আডবাণীকেই সভাপতির পদে রাখিয়া দিবার প্রশ্নে একমত হয়। ইহাকে আডবাণীর জয় বলা যাইবে কিনা, এখনও তাহা নিশ্চিত নয়। বলা যাইত, যদি বিজেপি নেতারা সমস্বরে আডবাণীর সাম্প্রতিক বিভিন্ন বক্তব্যের সমর্থনে দাঁড়াইয়া সংঘের বক্তব্যের বিরোধিতা করিতেন। যদি তাঁহারা বলিতেন, বিজেপি রাজনীতিতে কী লাইন অনুসরণ করিবে, কোন দিশায় অগ্রসর হইবে, সেটা বিজেপিই নির্ণয় করিবে, সংঘ নয়। কিন্তু সুযমা স্বরাজ, বেঙ্কাইয়া নায়ডু কিংবা যশোবন্ত সিংহের কাছ হইতে সে ধরনের কোনও দৃঢ় ঘোষণা পাওয়া যায় নাই।

বিজেপির সঙ্কট অতএব কাটিয়া গিয়াছে, এমন নয়। এই সঙ্কটের মূলে রহিয়াছে দলের নেতৃত্বের একাংশের ভাবমূর্তি পরিবর্তনের তাগিদ, উগ্র হিন্দুত্বের অচল পয়সা ফেলিয়া দিয়া জাতীয় রাজনীতির মূল, ধর্মনিরপেক্ষ, উদারনৈতিক সংস্কারপন্থার স্রোতে शामिल হইবার আগ্রহ। আডবাণী একদা হিন্দুত্বের প্রবক্তা হইলেও তিনিই দলকে এই নূতন পথে চালাইতে উদ্যোগী হন। বাধা আসে সংঘ পরিবারের কাছ হইতে। আর এই প্রবল বাধা এবং বিজেপিকে রাজনৈতিক ও সাংগঠনিকভাবে নিয়ন্ত্রণ করার এই অপপ্রয়াসই সৃষ্টি করে আনুষঙ্গিক একটি প্রশ্ন ও প্রতিরোধের। তাহা হইল, বিজেপি কাহার কথায় চলিবে? তাহার নেতৃত্ব নিজেরা দলীয় নীতি ও কর্মসূচি নির্ধারণের অধিকারী, নাকি সংঘ পরিবার প্রতিটি খুঁটিনাটি বিষয়ে নাক গলাইবে! আডবাণী এই লড়াইকে সংঘ পরিবারের শিবিরে লইয়া যাইতে পারিতেন, যদি দলের অধিকাংশ নেতা তাঁহার পাশে থাকিতেন। অথচ অযোধ্যায় সন্তাসবাদী হামলার প্রতিক্রিয়া দেশে তত ব্যাপক না হওয়ায় আবারও স্পষ্ট হইয়া যায়, হিন্দুত্বের দিন গিয়াছে, জনসাধারণ আর সাম্প্রদায়িক রাজনীতির উস্কানিতে উদ্বেল হননা, তাঁহাদের ভাবাবেগ আর রামলালাকে ঘিরিয়া আবর্তিত হয় না। বরং তাঁহারা জাগতিক বিষয়ে, প্রাত্যহিক সংসারযাত্রা নির্বাহের উপাদান সংগ্রহে, আর্থিক ও সামাজিক উন্নয়ন লইয়া বেশি ভাবিত। ছোট-মেজো সব নেতাই অযোধ্যাকে কেন্দ্র করিয়া নূতন করিয়া গণ-আবেগ উস্কাইবার চেষ্টা করিয়াও ব্যর্থ হইয়াছেন। তবু তাঁহারা প্রকাশ্যে বিজেপিতে গ্লানসন্ত-এর পুরোহিত আডবাণীর সমর্থনে দাঁড়ান নাই।

তৎসঙ্গেও যে আডবাণী সভাপতি থাকিয়া গেলেন, আগেই বলা হইয়াছে, সেটা ওজনদার পরিবর্ত নেতার অনুপস্থিতিজনিত। আশাতদৃষ্টিতে মনে হইতে পারে, বিজেপি এতদ্বারা সংঘের ছায়া হইতে স্বাধীনভাবে উঠিয়া দাঁড়াইল। বাস্তবে এখনই অতটা আশা করা ভুল হইবে। ইতিহাসের গতির অভিমুখ যদি অমোঘ ও অপরিবর্তনীয় হয়, তবে আজ-না-হোক-কাল বিজেপিকে সংঘের বশ্যতা হইতে গা-ঝাড়া দিয়া উঠিয়া দাঁড়াইতেই হইবে। এক দিকে যেমন তাহাকে সাংগঠনিক স্বাধিকার অর্জন করিতে হইবে, অন্য দিকে তেমনই অর্জন করিতে হইবে মতাদর্শগত আত্মশাসন। একটি জাতীয় রাজনৈতিক দল কী নীতি ও কর্মসূচি গ্রহণ করিবে, ত্রিশূলধারী সাধুসন্তরা কেন তাহা বলিয়া দিবেন? অথচ কল্পরাষ্ট্রের স্বয়ংসেবক অতীতচারী মতাদর্শ কোনও আধুনিক, ভবিষ্যমুখী দলের দিশা হইতে পারে না, যে দল একবিংশ শতকে ভারত-শাসনের প্রত্যাশা করে। আডবাণীর ছুড়িয়া দেওয়া এই চ্যালেঞ্জ বিজেপি এখনও গ্রহণ করার অপেক্ষায়।

THURSDAY, JULY 14, 2005

# Mr. Advani turns the tables on RSS

**I**n politics, unlike fiction, there can be no concluding chapter, no final victor. A month ago, defeat stared Pakistan-returned, alleged member of a forbidden fan club, Lal Krishna Advani, in the face. Under fire from party and *parivar* for his praise of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, he caved in — or so it appeared. The Bharatiya Janata Party chief withdrew his resignation and resumed presidential duties under terms apparently dictated by the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. That Mr. Advani was party to a resolution whose import was to disclaim and decry his Jinnah-appreciation indicated where the balance lay in the battle between the RSS and its no-longer-favourite son. On Monday, the Sangh, evidently under a misapprehension that the BJP would never fail to obey its spiritual controller, recklessly raised the stakes. The more or less public message to Mr. Advani was he should relinquish one of two posts — party president or Leader of the Opposition. Not that the RSS fatwa came as a surprise. Mr. Advani was assumed to be living on borrowed time ever since he registered praise for Jinnah's little-known-in-India address to Pakistan's Constituent Assembly. Indeed, Mr. Advani's supposed indiscretions were the subject matter of a discussion at the meeting of the RSS held in Surat, which "expressed serious concerns over the ideological erosion, behavioural misdemeanour and violation of organisational discipline with impunity by some functionaries of a couple of like-minded organisations." The logical progression was to seek the ouster of the "functionary" charged with causing the "ideological erosion."

However, this time the RSS was taken aback. Mr. Advani dug in his heels, now backed by a party that saw the fight in terms of its own future and survival. The BJP might be umbilically tied to the RSS but even a party so bound must know where to draw the line. The RSS, which claims to be a non-political organisation, has a 'counselling' role that it routinely exceeded in the past. It was a midnight call from Jhandewalan that ensured Jaswant Singh's exclusion from Atal Bihari Vajpayee's first Cabinet. But it is one thing for the command centre to pull strings from behind-the-scenes, quite another for it to violate the process of decision-making within the party by directly and publicly seeking a change in the BJP's leadership. Undoubtedly, even the BJP's second rung leadership sensed danger in allowing K.S. Sudarshan & Co. such extremist licence. Once the BJP caved in on the leadership issue, there was no knowing what the party would be 'counselled' to do in furtherance of the Sangh's agenda. In the altered circumstances, Mr. Advani's successor would have turned into a meek supplicant, with the party remaining captive to the RSS' reactionary and disintegrative worldview for all the world to see. Of course, the BJP cannot admit any of this. Sushma Swaraj, unsurprisingly, put a spin on the party's support to Mr. Advani by claiming the RSS exerted no pressure on him; yes, there was concern about "ideological erosion" but this did not manifest itself in any demand for the party chief's exit. Clearly, the party's response is a slap in the face for the Sangh, which invited this humiliation by adventurously seeking to enlarge its overlordism. The blame must go largely to the combative and outspoken Mr. Sudarshan. This Sarsanghchhalak misread the times and egregiously overreached his office, undermining his organisation's moral authority. His predecessors, by contrast, quietly had their way.

J.

THE HINDU

# BJP in trouble over George potshots at RSS

**Statesman News Service**

NEW DELHI, July 13. — NDA convener Mr George Fernandes' advice to the RSS "to confine itself to its socio-cultural activities" and his objection to "the RSS abrogating to itself a political role" has put the BJP in a fix.

For most of the day today, BJP leaders were busy talking to the Sangh leaders and Mr Fernandes.

"Fernandes is a well-wisher of the party. We have talked to him and drawn his attention to the statement made by him. We are hopeful things would be sorted," a senior BJP leader said here.

Mr Fernandes in his statement had expressed "concern for the NDA" and appealed to "my colleagues in the BJP to sort things out at the earliest".

He had said that the people of India were getting increasingly "disillusioned" with the UPA and BJP seemed "to be facing internal problems at a time when people were once again looking to the NDA with hope and aspiration". However it was his comments on the RSS that appear to have perturbed the BJP the most.

The BJP spokesperson, Mrs Sushma Swaraj, said: "Mr Fernandes has gone beyond his jurisdiction and he should respect the

feelings and sentiments of the party". The RSS also asked Mr Fernandes to refrain from interfering in its internal matters.

Officially, however, the BJP today sought to play down the controversy.

"His concern is understandable but he has no business to comment on RSS-BJP relationship, which is like a mother-child relationship," Ms Uma Bharati said in Agra.

Unfazed by the mounting attack from BJP, Mr Fernandes today stuck to his criticism of the Sangh saying the issue could affect the NDA in Bihar elections, adds PTI.

**Theatre of the absurd:  
Congress, page 4**

# RSS never wanted Advani ouster: BJP

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, July 12. — Seeking to set at rest all speculation over the fate of Mr LK Advani following his remarks on Jinnah, BJP spokesperson Mrs Sushma Swaraj, today said RSS leaders did not ask him to step down as party president and he would continue to hold the post of Opposition leader in Lok Sabha.

Mrs Swaraj's clarification came at a press conference at the end of the party general secretaries' meeting this morning. "Contrary to media reports, senior leaders of the RSS and the BJP yesterday did not discuss the Sangh Parivar's directive to Mr Advani to step down as BJP president and

571 1877  
implement the one-man-one-post formula in the party," she said.

On whether Mr Advani would complete his full tenure in office, Mrs Swaraj did not give a direct reply. This has given rise to speculation that Mr Advani has only a temporary reprieve and he may be asked to step down once a new leader is finalised. Mrs Swaraj, however, asserted: "Not even once was Mr Advani told to step down and there is no confusion or controversy in the Parivar or the party in this regard."

Quizzed about Mr Advani and Mr Vajpayee meeting Sangh leaders yesterday, she said she had little knowledge about what had transpired at the meetings. She said had

there been any discussion among them regarding Mr Advani, it would have figured at the party leaders' meeting last night. "I can vouch for all the leaders present that no such dis-



IN SOLITARY REFLECTION?  
In New Delhi on Tuesday. — PTI

cussion took place," she said.

The RSS today asked Mr Advani and the BJP to remain firm and follow ideology, adds PTI from Nagpur. "In the last couple of days, senior functionaries met and conveyed the Sangh's views on remaining firm on ideology and maintaining restraint on oratory and public speeches. This has been conveyed to functionaries of our like-minded organisations," RSS spokesman Ram Madhav said.

Sangh sources declined to confirm or deny whether Mr Advani was asked to step down. Reacting to Mr George Fernandes' statement cautioning RSS not to take on itself a political role, the RSS today said it did not need any advice from him.



# Advani to stay, crisis continues

## No future deviations: RSS; Don't assume political role, Fernandes tells RSS

Neena Vyas

**NEW DELHI:** The Bharatiya Janata Party on Tuesday said L.K. Advani would stay on as president but would not confirm that he would complete his three-year tenure. The official statement came amid strong indications from the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh that the crisis in the Sangh Parivar was far from over.

Commenting on Monday's hectic developments and numerous meetings, BJP spokesperson Sushma Swaraj categorically said here: "Not once did the RSS talk about Mr. Advani's resignation; the one-man, one-post issue was not mentioned even once."

RSS spokesman Ram Madhav said: "I have nothing to say on the resignation issue." Even as different voices continued to be heard from the BJP and the RSS, National Democratic Alliance convener George Fernandes urged the Sangh "to confine itself to its socio-cultural activities" and not take on a "political role." He defended Mr. Advani's Mohammad Ali Jinnah remarks and appealed to the BJP "to sort things out at the earliest".

A senior BJP leader told *The Hindu*: "Mr. Advani will have to make intense efforts to patch up with the RSS. He could make statements to prove that he has not deviated from RSS ideology."

RSS sources conceded that "this round of the battle" seemed to have been won by Mr. Advani, but hinted that the war was not yet over. RSS chief K.S. Sudarshan postponed his visit to the United States, scheduled for July 18, "in view of the ongoing crisis."

The feedback from the BJP leaders would be conveyed to Mr. Sudarshan and senior leader H.V. Seshadri, and thereafter to the "prant pracharakas," (RSS State unit chiefs).

"We have conveyed to the BJP leadership, as we said we would, that the RSS expects ideological



**CRUCIAL TALKS:** BJP president L.K. Advani at a meeting with Jaswant Singh (second from left), Venkaiah Naidu, and other senior leaders in New Delhi on Tuesday. - PHOTO: S. SUBRAMANIAM

firmness; our concern is not about individuals but ideology; we are concerned about the direction of the party," Mr. Madhav told reporters. "We are not saying that everything was alright, we told them that we disapprove of the ideological deviation from core RSS beliefs."

Mr. Advani's Jinnah remarks were a deviation.

Had Mr. Advani now got the RSS message right? The RSS answer was: "We'll see."

The RSS hinted that it would not take kindly to future ideological deviations on excuses of political compulsions or

expediency.

Earlier Ms. Swaraj, responding to a question whether Mr. Advani would complete his three-year term, said, "Should we say daily that Mr. Advani is our president?" If media reports were all wrong, as she said, why did the party not issue a state-

ment on Monday scotching these? "We did not know what transpired at the morning meetings between the Sangh leaders and [former Prime Minister] Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Mr. Advani," Ms. Swaraj said, although she herself met Mr. Advani at least twice on Monday.

# RSS delivers stern message to BJP

No deviation from ideology; Will Advani relinquish one of his posts?

Neena Vyas

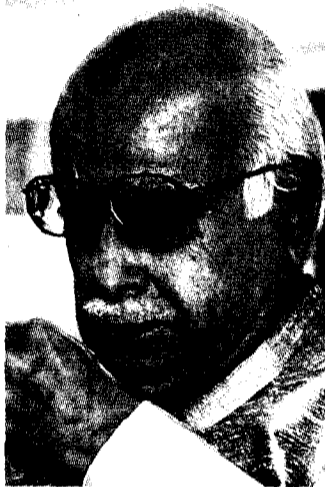
**NEW DELHI:** The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh on Monday delivered its promised stern message to the Bharatiya Janata Party leadership, especially its president L.K. Advani, that it will not tolerate any deviation from its ideology or any "ideological erosion."

The corridors in the BJP headquarters here were immediately abuzz with reports that Mr. Advani could step down almost immediately from at least one of the two positions he is currently holding — party president and the Leader of the Opposition. Several party leaders said the picture would become clear by Tuesday, but it is apparent that efforts are being made to secure Mr. Advani's resignation.

The RSS spokesperson Ram Madhav simply said that the "Sangh leaders have met party leaders according to schedule."

The BJP spokesperson, Prakash Javadekar, repeated the sentence, adding that "there is no confusion in the party and the [Sangh] Parivar."

The morning began with three senior RSS leaders — Mohan Bhagwat, Suresh Soni and Madan Das Devi — meeting the former Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, for over an hour. They reportedly conveyed to him their strong views on the "ideological deviation" witnessed in relation to Mr. Advani's "Jinnah is secular" formulation during his Pakistan visit, the later mood of defiance shown by him when he said he would, like Arjun of Mahabharat, prepare for the battle (of ideologies). Apparent-



L.K. Advani

ly, the issue of Mr. Advani holding two positions contrary to the one-man, one-post principle also came up. Mr. Vajpayee is said to have given them a patient hearing.

The RSS leaders then met Mr. Advani and were closeted with him for about an hour. They publicly declared on Saturday in a facsimile message to newspaper offices that the "elders" would soon talk to the "concerned people" to "convey the Sangh's reservations" on the recent "ideological erosion, behavioural misdemeanour and violation of organisational discipline with impunity."

Some kind of a truce was worked out on June 10, leading to Mr. Advani withdrawing his resignation as party president. But matters again took a turn for the worse when Mr. Advani's former political aide Sudheendra Kulkarni wrote articles vir-

tually suggesting that the BJP jettison the RSS baggage to become a mainstream political party. Later, he equated the recent terrorist attack at Ayodhya to the action by karsevaks that brought down the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya on December 6, 1992 and suggested that the BJP publicly apologise for that.

On Saturday, the RSS stated that the matter was discussed thoroughly at its recent Surat meeting of "prant pracharaks" (state heads of the RSS) and it was at this meeting that "serious concern" was expressed about the goings-on in a "couple of like-minded organisations."

RSS sources indicated that the reference was to the BJP and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, especially Mr. Advani and VHP leader Pravin Togadia. On Sunday the RSS leaders met the VHP leadership here where Ashok Singhal, Giriraj Kishore and Vishnu Hari Dalmiya were reported to be present.

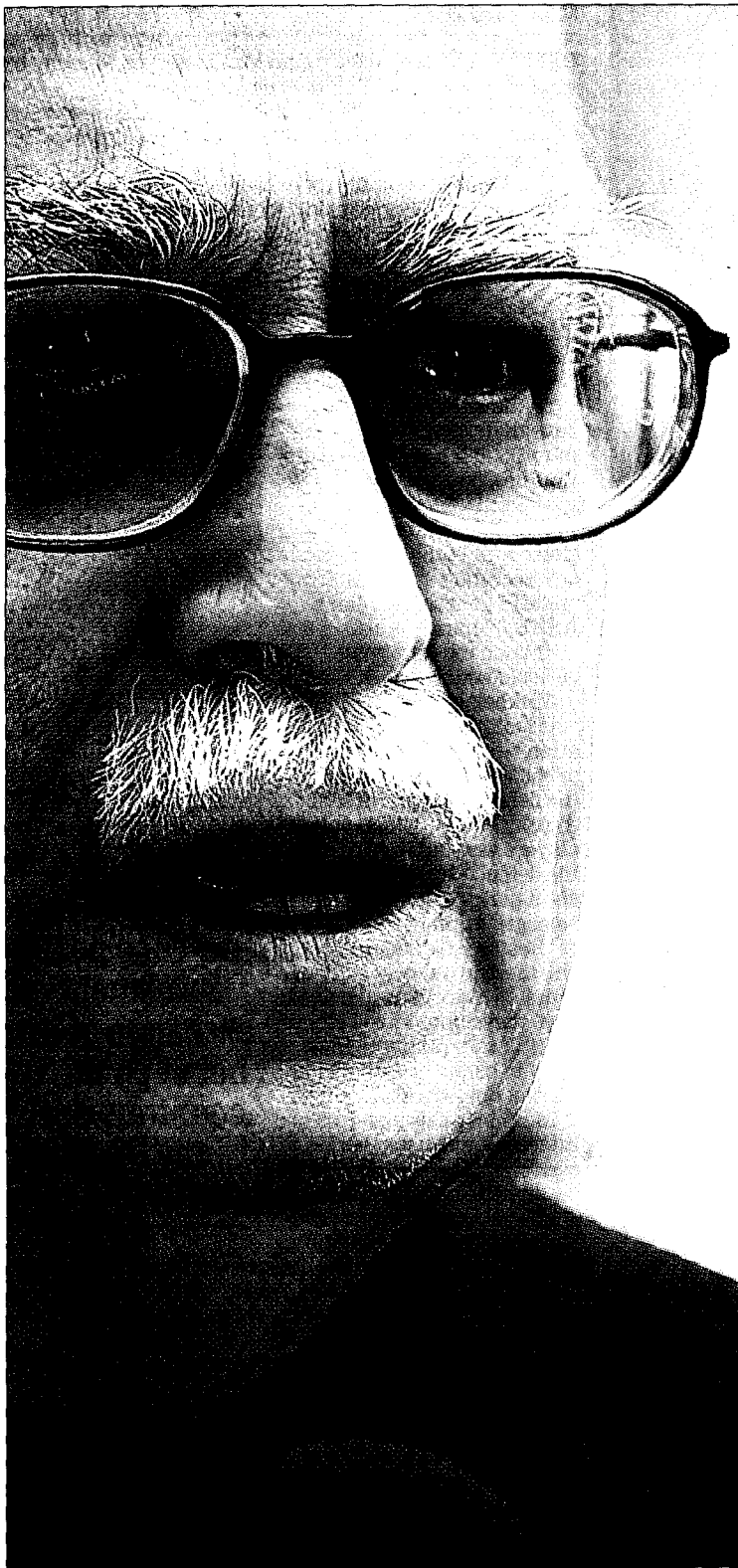
They were apparently told that Dr. Togadia's harsh language would not be tolerated.

After the RSS top brass met Mr. Vajpayee and Mr. Advani at their residences, a number of meetings took place throughout the day, both among senior BJP leaders and at the RSS headquarters here in Jhandewalan. BJP vice-president Venkaiah Naidu was among those who went to meet the RSS leaders at Jhandewalan, while Sushma Swaraj met Mr. Advani. Some party general secretaries and office-bearers met in twos and threes, basically to discuss the immediate fallout of the firm stand taken by the RSS bosses.

D.P.P.  
BSP

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# RSS rules: Advani must go



*BJP told to find a replacement; party leaders seek more time for their boss*

**SHEKHAR Iyer**  
New Delhi, July 11

*JP's BJP HFI MF*



**Monday**

**9 a.m.**

to 12 noon  
RSS leaders meet Vajpayee, then Advani. List grievances

**1 p.m.**

to 3 p.m.  
Senior BJP leaders have discussions with Advani

**4 p.m.**

to 7 p.m.  
BJP leaders call at RSS headquarters, say no deviation

**9 p.m.**

til late night  
Second meeting between BJP and RSS leaders at RSS headquarters. Advani, Vajpayee in touch

THE RSS'S wish for a new BJP chief in place of L.K. Advani came across strongly in the course of a series of meetings between Sangh bigwigs and BJP leaders which reached its climax on Monday night.

Barring two or three senior leaders, the BJP establishment seemed opposed to the oust-Advani plan. All BJP functionaries were summoned to the RSS headquarters late at night. A meeting of the party's central office-bearers was called at 11 a.m. on Tuesday.

Adding a new dimension to the crisis, Advani was said to be unwilling to continue as leader of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha if his role as the BJP chief was unacceptable to the Sangh. Late on Monday, he turned to A.B. Vajpayee for a final word.

What began as an exchange of ideas between the two sides on the BJP's "ideological erosion" — following Advani's Pakistan visit and his remark on M.A. Jinnah — veered towards the Sangh's perception that the BJP should go for an image correction. The Sangh is said to have broached the issue of Advani's future by emphasising that the principle of "one man, one post" be upheld by his giving up the post of BJP chief and continuing as leader of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha.

Senior BJP leaders — including Vajpayee and Jaswant Singh — reportedly resisted the idea, saying neither the time nor current political situation was right for a change. Murlī Manohar Joshi and Bal Apte, however, were said to be in agreement with the RSS's perception for a change. They are among the contenders for Advani's post.

Second-line BJP leaders — Jaswant Singh, Venkaiah Naidu, Sushma Swaraj, Pramod Mahajan, Rajnath Singh and Uma Bharti — were said to have pleaded with the Sangh leaders (led by Mohan Bhagwat) that Advani should not be targeted. RSS leaders were, however, keeping up the pressure as reports last came in.

The day began with Bhagwat, accompanied by Sangh's joint general secretaries Madan Das Devi and Suresh Soni, meeting Vajpayee and then Advani to discuss their "reservations" over the BJP's deviations from the Parivar's ideology.

Initially, the Sangh leaders did not ask for Advani's resignation nor did he offer it on his own. But subsequently, when the discussion enlarged to include more BJP leaders, the basic question that kept cropping up was the one relating to Advani's continuation and the BJP's future stewardship.

Another version was that the need for Advani's resignation was hinted at — and that he indicated his resistance.

On Sunday, the Sangh brass had met the VHP's Ashok Singhal, Praveen Togadia and Giriraj Kishore. A day earlier, the RSS had issued a statement expressing concern over "the ideological erosion and violation of organisational discipline by some functionaries of like-minded organisations". The other organisation referred to was the VHP, whose general secretary Praveen Togadia was most vocal against Advani at the Surat conclave. He is believed to have been pulled up for use of intemperate language.

## Party Expresses Concerns Over Ideological Erosion Of Parivaar

# RSS leaders indict Advani

Our Political Bureau  
NEW DELHI 9 JULY

**I**N what is seen as a serious indictment of BJP president LK Advani, the RSS on Saturday expressed serious concern over attempts to divest the party of its ideological moorings and the growing organisational indiscipline.

Four days after the conclusion of the meeting of its 'prant-pracharakas' at Surat, the RSS came out with a formal statement about the outcome of the deliberations at the conclave. Mr Advani's attempts to endear himself with the estranged parivar, it is clear, have failed to cut any ice. That he was dealing with a tough customer was also apparent from the tone and tenor of the short statement, and is likely to find it more difficult to continue as the party president

The RSS is expected to hold a meeting with the BJP's top leadership soon to convey its disenchantment. Even though no date has been set, it is likely to be held before the BJP's national executive, which begins in Chennai from July 21.

The Surat meeting, the statement pointed out, expressed serious concern over "the ideological erosion, behavioural misdemeanour and violation of organisational discipline with impunity by some functionaries of a couple of like-minded organisations."

Even though the sangh refrained from the identifying the 'functionaries', there was little doubt that it was Mr Advani who was the prime target. His attempts to steer the party towards an unchartered course during his week-long trip to Pakistan,



where he not only reiterated his regrets over the Ayodhya demolition, but also richly paid tributes to Jinnah, forced the RSS to call for a course-correction and a change in leadership in the BJP.

The Surat conclave saw the participants making a strong

pitch for an end to the ideological vacillation that had crept up in the BJP. Some members even favoured a more radical course — if the party failed to take adequate corrective measures, then the RSS should seriously think of severing its ties with it.

10 JUL 2006

The Economic Times

## BJP rift over 'Pak role' in Ayodhya attack

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, July 8. — Divisions in the ranks of the BJP and Sangh *Parivar* are only getting sharper. Conflicting voices and stands are emerging from within the *Parivar* even on the issue of the Tuesday terror attack on the disputed Ayodhya complex.

Bringing such divisions to sharp focus on the issue whether Pakistan is responsible for the Ayodhya strike, the senior BJP leader, Mr Murli

Manohar Joshi, today squarely held the ISI responsible for the assault on Ayodhya.

In sharp contrast, the BJP president, Mr LK Advani, avoided any reference to the neighbouring country in connection with the incident, during his visit to Ayodhya today.

"I have said earlier also that the attack on Ayodhya was supported and guided by the ISI of Pakistan," Mr Joshi told media persons on being asked why the BJP was

shying away from making any reference to Pakistan.

Interestingly, the former BJP national secretary and Mr Advani's close aide, Mr Sudheendhra Kulkarni, today praised the BJP president for his refusal to blame Pakistan for the Ayodhya attack.

"The BJP president's refusal to blame Pakistan for the Ayodhya incident is as eloquent as the Pakistan government's welcome gesture last month of inviting LK Advani to do the 'shi-

lanyas' for the restoration of Hindu temples at Katas Raj," Mr Kulkarni said in a hard-hitting article.

A known Advani-baiter, Mr Joshi, however, defended him against charges of delay in visiting Ayodhya. "Mr Advani was in Guwahati when the incident had happened.

Other leaders were already in Ayodhya yesterday. So, he chose to go today." Mr Joshi had openly taken on Mr Advani recently over the latter's Jinnah remarks.

09 JUL 1991

THE STATESMAN

# Sangh ready to serve quit notice on Advani

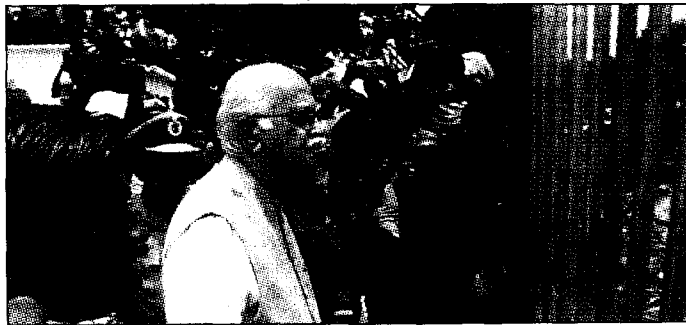
PANKAJ Vohra  
New Delhi, July 8

40-1  
9/7

AFTER THE lull the storm. In a widely-anticipated move with deep political ramifications, the RSS has decided to ask L.K. Advani to step down as the BJP's national president.

The decision, endorsed heartily by all *prant pracharaks* at the Sangh's Surat conclave, should have been conveyed to the BJP by now. The directive was delayed only by the terrorist attack in Ayodhya. The RSS feels the BJP under Advani has strayed from the beaten track of *Hindutva* and that his remarks in Pakistan had gone against the basic tenets of Sangh philosophy.

All of the 20-odd *pracharaks* who spoke at the conclave were unanimous in their condemnation of the man who had called Jinnah "secular". Some of them were so bitter that they called the Ayodhya attack an ISI-engineered move to help the BJP chief save his job. One speaker



L.K. Advani outside the attacked shrine in Ayodhya on Friday.

PTI

also described Advani as "a broker for Pakistan".

The supreme irony of all this is that whenever Advani would be criticised at such gatherings in the past, an overwhelming majority of *paracharaks* would rally behind him. But at Surat, there was not a single word spoken in his defence.

The overriding sentiment was that the BJP must set its house in order and re-tune itself to the other Sangh outfits. Indeed so

volatile was the atmosphere that a senior Sangh leader had to intervene twice to placate the agitated *paracharaks*, a source said. The *paracharaks* had to be told that they should be patient and action was under way. "Though there is no indication yet of when Advani would be served the quit notice, it could happen before the BJP's national executive meeting later this month," the source added.

More reports on P2

09 JUL 2 1992

THE HINDU

# Advani Revives Mandir, Court Revives Babri

Our Political Bureau  
NEW DELHI 6 JULY

**I**N what could raise the political temperature over Ayodhya, the Allahabad High Court on Wednesday set aside a trial court order discharging Mr LK Advani in the Babri Masjid demolition case. The development, however, could have serious repercussions for the BJP president's Prime Ministerial ambitions, as he is now saddled with a chargesheet handicap.

Disposing of criminal revision petitions filed against Mr Advani's discharge by a Rae Bareilly court in September, 2003, Justice YR Tripathi directed the former

deputy prime minister to appear before the trial court on July 28 to "receive further directions".

"The criminal revision petition filed by Haji Mehboob and Mohd Siddique is allowed and the impugned order (of 2003) insofar as it relates to the discharge of LK Advani is set aside. It is directed that LK Advani along with seven criminal revision petitioners — Murlu Manohar Joshi, Urna Bharti, Vinay Katiyar, Ashok Singhal, Acharya Girtraj Kishore, Vishnu Hari Dalmiya and Sadhvi Ritambhara — shall also be charged and tried for the offences under Section 149 and sub-section (1) of 505 of IPC read with Section 149 in accordance with

law," Justice Tripathi observed in his 45-page order.

Section 149 of the Indian Penal Code deals with intention to provoke people for rioting, arson and indulging in rioting with intention to create disorder, while Sub-section (1) of 505 deals with delivering fiery speeches which hurt religious feelings and create discord among different communities. Dismissing the revision petitions of the eight accused, other than Mr Advani, as "being devoid of merit", Justice Tripathi also vacated the interim order of stay granted by him to them against the Rae Bareilly order for conduct of trial. The other accused in the case had sought a treatment sim-

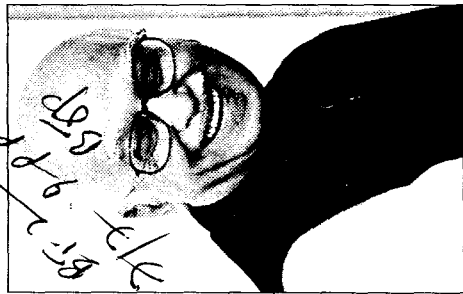
ilar to that of Mr Advani.

"The interim order, if any, shall stand discharged and the record of the court requisitioned in this case shall be sent forthwith to it with the direction that it try to dispose of this case expeditiously as already more than 12 years had elapsed since the incident took place and the case is still at the stage of framing of charges," agency reports quoting the judgement said.

The September 19, 2003, order of the Special CBI Court in Rae Bareilly headed by Special Judicial Magistrate VK Singh had held that charges under Section 149, 153-A and B (spreading communal harmony) and 505 of

the IPC were not made out against Mr Advani and discharged him. His personal bond was cancelled and his sureties were released. In discharging Advani, the trial court had then observed that a few statements of witnesses did lead to a prima facie case against him but the remaining accounts of witnesses contradicted them. "Only suspicion has been raised to implicate Advani," the court had then said.

The order then led to resignation of the then HRD minister Murlu Manohar Joshi, who had earlier taken the stand that those against whom the court upholds the framing of charges should give up their posts.



জঙ্গি ঘাঁটি ভাঙতে বললেন মনমোহন

‘জয় শ্রীরাম’ ধ্বনি দিয়েও

সংস্কারেই অনড় আডবাণী

জয়ন্ত ঘোষাল • নয়াদিল্লি

৬ জুলাই: ফ্রাঙ্কেনস্টাইনের সমস্যা একেই বলে!

লালকৃষ্ণ আডবাণী চাইছেন, দল যাতে উদার ধর্মনিরপেক্ষ পথে হাঁটে। কিন্তু তিনি চাইলে কী হবে? আরএসএস এবং বিশ্ব হিন্দু পরিষদ শুধু নয়, বিজেপি-র সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ নেতা ও কর্মীরা অযোধ্যার হামলার পর আবার কট্টর হিন্দুত্বের পথেই ফিরতে চাইছেন। আর তাই অযোধ্যা সফরের দলীয় প্রস্তাবে সম্মত না হলেও দিল্লির যন্ত্রমন্ত্রের গিয়ে আডবাণী পুরনো স্লোগান উচ্চারণ করেছেন, রামমন্দির ওখানেই হবে। তবে কী ভাবে হবে, তার ব্যাখ্যা করতে গিয়ে তিনি যা বলেছেন, বিশ্ব হিন্দু পরিষদ তা মানতে রাজি নয়। তাঁর প্রস্তাব, হিন্দু মুসলমান দু’পক্ষ নিজেদের মধ্যে আলোচনা করে এ ব্যাপারে একটা ঐকমত্যে আসুক।

যন্ত্রমন্ত্রের দলের জঙ্গি কর্মীদের মধ্যে দাঁড়িয়ে আডবাণী ‘জয় শ্রীরাম’ স্লোগানও দিয়েছেন। তবে, বিশ্ব হিন্দু পরিষদের নেতাদের সঙ্গে একই মঞ্চে তাঁকে দেখা যায়নি। আডবাণী যাওয়ার পর এসেছেন পরিষদের নেতারা। দু’পক্ষে চলছে এক অদ্ভুত রাজনৈতিক লুকোচুরি! আপাত ভাবে এটাই বোঝা যাচ্ছে, আডবাণী আবার হিন্দুত্বের প্রলেই ফিরছেন। রামমন্দির আন্দোলনের স্মৃতিচারণও তাঁর বক্তৃতায় দেখা গিয়েছে।

এই ঘটনায় কংগ্রেস এবং বাম নেতৃত্ব বলেছেন, এটাই বিজেপি-র প্রকৃত রূপ। আডবাণীর ধর্মনিরপেক্ষতার চেষ্টা আসলে এক নতুন মুখোশ মাত্র। আবার আরএসএস এবং ভিএইচপি আডবাণীর আজকের রাম নামেও সন্তুষ্ট নয়। তাদের বক্তব্য, এটাও আসলে আডবাণীর ভণ্ডামি।

অতীতে আডবাণী এই কর্মীদের একদা রামমন্দির আন্দোলনে সামিল করেছিলেন। আর আজ তিনিই যদি তাঁদের দলের অভিমুখ পরিবর্তনের কথা বলেন, তবে তা সহজ ভাবে গ্রহণ করা দলের দ্বিতীয় প্রজন্মের নেতাদের পক্ষেও সম্ভব নয়। পাকিস্তান সফরে আডবাণী যখন জিন্মা প্রসঙ্গ তুলে দলে বিতর্কের ঝড় তুলেছিলেন, তখনই দলের এক শীর্ষ নেতার মন্তব্য ছিল,

পাকিস্তানকে  
হুঁশিয়ারি  
প্রধানমন্ত্রীর

প্রধানমন্ত্রীর বিশেষ বিমান থেকে, ৬ জুলাই: শান্তি-প্রক্রিয়া শুরু হওয়ার পরে এই প্রথম সন্ত্রাসবাদের প্রসঙ্গে পাকিস্তানকে হুঁশিয়ারি দিলেন মনমোহন সিংহ। অযোধ্যা-কাণ্ডের উল্লেখ করে প্রধানমন্ত্রী আজ বলেছেন, জঙ্গি পরিকাঠামো ভাঙার কথা বলা হয়েছে ইসলামাবাদকে। এখনই শান্তি-প্রক্রিয়ায় প্রত্যাবর্তন না-পড়লেও প্রধানমন্ত্রীর আশঙ্কা, অযোধ্যার মতো ঘটনার পুনরাবৃত্তি হলে শান্তি-উদ্যোগ বানচাল হয়ে যেতে পারে।

অযোধ্যায় হামলার জন্য কোনও পাক জঙ্গি সংগঠনকে অবশ্য সরাসরি দায়ী করেননি প্রধানমন্ত্রী। জি-৮ শীর্ষ সম্মেলনে যোগ দিতে যাওয়ার পথে বিমানে মনমোহন আজ সাংবাদিকদের বলেন, “অযোধ্যায় জঙ্গি হানা একটা বিরূপ ঘটনা। পাকিস্তানে জঙ্গি পরিকাঠামো প্রায় অটুটই রয়েছে, তাতে কোনও সন্দেহ নেই।”

এর পর ছয়ের পাতায়

‘তাত্ত্বিক নেতা তাঁর তত্ত্বকে নিজেই খারিজ করছেন। এত দিন উনি আমাদের যা শিখিয়েছেন সেটাকেই ত্যাগ করতে বলছেন তিনি।’

এই উভয়সঙ্কটে চেম্বাইয়ে দলের কর্মসমিতির বৈঠকে আডবাণী যে বক্তৃতা দেবেন, সেটিই হবে দলের ভবিষ্যৎ রূপরেখার খসড়া। সেখানে তিনি দলকে সংস্কারের পথে নিয়ে যেতে চাইবেন। আবার অযোধ্যায় জঙ্গি হামলার পর আজ দলের মন বুঝে যে সমস্ত কথা তিনি বলেছেন, তাতেও সঙ্ঘ পরিবারকে খুশি করার চেষ্টা আছে। তবে, বিজেপি’র অনেক নেতাই মনে করেন আডবাণীর আজকের কথাবার্তা অনেকটাই পশ্চিমবঙ্গের মন্ত্রীদেব বার্ষিক শ্রমিক সম্মেলনে নভেম্বর বিপ্লবের প্রসঙ্গ তোলার সামিল। এ সব কথা বললেও বিজেপি’র পক্ষে আর রামমন্দির, আন্দোলনকে চাণিয়ে তোলা সম্ভব নয়।

বিজেপি নেতা ধর্ষোবন্ত সিংহ এবং আডবাণী নিজেও আজ বলেছেন, “রামমন্দির আন্দোলনকে বিজেপি আর পুনরুজ্জীবিত করবে না। এই আন্দোলন ফের শুরু করার প্রস্তুতি উঠছে না। তবে জঙ্গি হামলা রামমন্দির আন্দোলনের বিষয়টিকে ফের সজীব করে তুলেছে। মন্দিরের মধ্যে একে-৪৭ নিয়ে জঙ্গিদের চুকে পড়া এক অভূতপূর্ব ঘটনা। গোটা জাতি তার নিন্দা করছে।”

অযোধ্যা মামলায় সিবিআইয়ের চার্জশিটের প্রসঙ্গটি নিয়েও আডবাণী আর কোনও রাজনীতি করতে চাইছেন না। কট্টর নেতাদের প্রস্তাব ছিল, এই বিষয়টি নিয়েও অবস্থান ধর্না শুরু করা। কিন্তু আডবাণী তাতে রাজি হননি। তিনি বিষয়টির আইনি নিষ্পত্তিই চান। তিনি বলেন, এই মামলার কোনও

এর পর পাঁচের পাতায়



# Bandh affects normal life in BJP states

**New Delhi:** The nationwide BJP-VHP sponsored protest on Wednesday against the terror attack in Ayodhya had some impact in the saffron party-ruled states where their activists disrupted rail and road traffic and barged into the Indore airport, preventing a Jet Airways flight from taking off for over two hours.

The BJP protest turned violent in Delhi as police used teargas and water cannon to quell demonstrators as they overturned barricades near the venue of a demonstration to be addressed by BJP president L K Advani. Several BJP leaders,



including V K Malhotra and Sushma Swaraj, also courted arrest amidst slogans raised by workers.

In the twin cities of Ayodhya and Faizabad, where security has been beefed up following Tuesday's attack, VHP and BJP activists were seen forcing shopkeepers to down their shutters. Schools, banks and government offices were open although attendance was thin.

In several cities of Uttar Pradesh, markets remained partially closed but normal attendance was reported from educational institutions and government offices. No untoward incident was reported from the state, where security has been beefed up in the wake of the VHP bandh call.

Saffron activists barged into the Indore airport by scaling the boundary wall and reached the tarmac through the VIP lounge and squatted before the Jet Airways flight (Delhi-Indore-Bhopal-Delhi).

The plane took off after the police and Rapid Action Force dispersed the protestors, who caused some damage to the VIP lounge. They also stopped two trains in Indore city by blocking the railway tracks. PTI

# Kulkarni resigns from all posts

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, July 3. — BJP wordsmith Mr Sudheendra Kulkarni today finally resigned as the party national secretary, secretary to party president and also as member of the national executive.

"I have submitted my resignation from the post of secretary of the BJP and secretary to the party president. I have also resigned from the membership of the national executive," Mr Kulkarni told journalists after meeting BJP president Mr LK Advani late this evening. He said his resignation had been accepted.

Mr Kulkarni has been under attack from the Sangh Parivar for allegedly misleading Mr Advani during his controversial visit to Pakistan last month.

Last week he had written a letter to Mr Advani offering to step down but had stressed the need to recast BJP-RSS ties.

"A wholly unexpected situation has been created within my party by

the mysterious disclosure of the e-mail communication that I had sent to my party president (Mr Advani) from Mumbai on 24 June," he said. "After assessing the situation comprehensively and guided first and foremost by the interests of the party, I have submitted my resignation... My resignation has been accepted."

His resignation coincided with the meeting of the RSS leadership in Surat to fine-tune its relationship with BJP in the backdrop of Mr Advani's controversial remarks on Jinnah and Mr Kulkarni's attack on RSS and his advocacy for an image makeover for the party, away from its perceived "un-secular" character.

His is the second head to roll in BJP in less than a week over Mr Advani's statement on Jinnah. Senior party leader Mr Yashwant Sinha was removed as party spokesman following his strong criticism of the party chief.

Mr Kulkarni's exit is seen to be part of a compromise formula between BJP and RSS after the

Jinnah issue led to bad blood between the two. An unfazed Mr Kulkarni said he stood by his remarks and asserted his resignation "is purely and entirely my voluntary decision". His fate was virtually decided at the meeting of party office-bearers chaired by Mr Advani earlier in the day. He was summoned by the party president after he returned from Mumbai.

Mr Kulkarni's chosen words in describing the attitude and behaviour of RSS and VHP and his advocacy for an "inclusive approach" towards the Muslims had carried the internecine battle to a flash point.

Favouring "recast" of BJP-RSS relationship, he had suggested that BJP distance itself completely from extremist elements in the VHP that have brought a "bad name to the BJP", "weakened the larger nationalist cause" and "derailed the Hindu movement." Maintaining that BJP is in "ideological and organisational disarray", Mr Kulkarni had favoured "concerted and principled attempts" to reach out to the Muslims.

0 THE STATESMAN

# Closed-door RSS conclave to discuss Advani, Imrana

RATHIN Das  
Ahmedabad, July 2

A CLOSED-DOOR meeting of RSS Prant Pracharakas began in rain-ravaged Surat on Saturday amid speculation that it would virtually take the BJP to task over its president, L.K. Advani's 'Jinnah secular' remark, which had thrown the political wing out of gear.

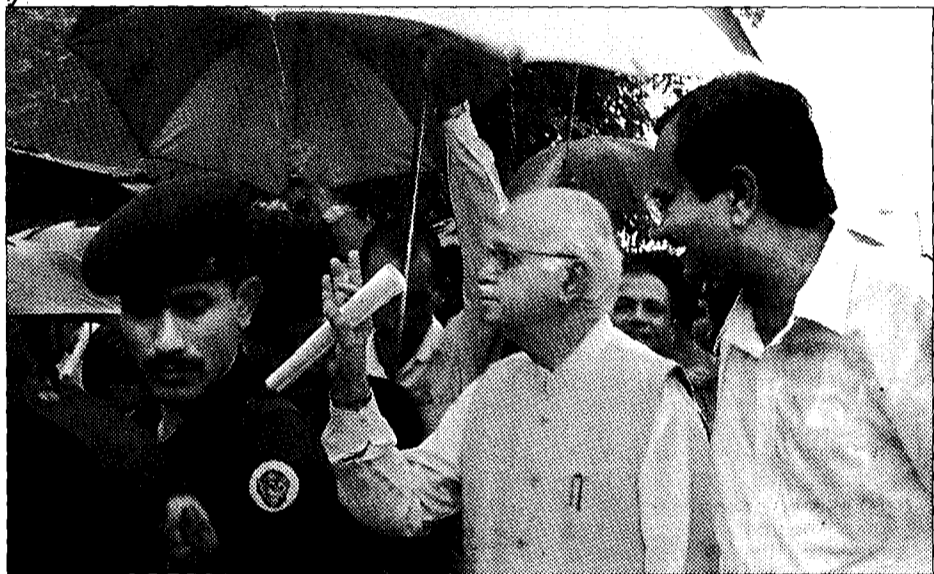
Amid differences over the stand to be taken on Advani, top Sangh Parivar leaders met here on Saturday to chalk out the agenda for the first crucial RSS conclave here on Sunday after the BJP president's controversial visit to Pakistan.

Over two dozen senior leaders, including RSS chief K.S. Sudershan, and VHP firebrand leader Praveen Togadia, met at the Eklavya Ambedkar Bhavan ahead of deliberations that could give a new dimension to RSS-BJP ties. Unlike previous RSS meetings which were attended by Advani and former party chief M. Venkaiah Naidu, this time Sanjay Joshi, Sangh pointsman in the BJP and the party's general secretary (organistaion) is the only Central leader invited.

About 140 delegates, including provincial organisers, all-India functionaries of the Sangh and important pracharakas (organisers) from Parivar outfits - who hold the key to the BJP's electoral prospects - will be attending the three-day meeting.

Although, officially, the Advani issue is not on the agenda of the RSS conclave, there are enough indications that the issue would definitely be taken up.

Advani and the BJP had not only invited the wrath of the RSS bosses, but the 'Jinnah episode' had also soured the party's hitherto cordial relations with the VHP whose leaders are likely to take up the issue of BJP leaders showing disrespect by asking them to 'shut up'. Even if the RSS meet stops just short of issuing marching orders to BJP ch-



BJP president L.K. Advani visits Asarva Aria near Ahmedabad to take stock of the flood situation on Saturday.

ief Advani, there is reportedly sufficient pressure from the VHP to at least 'censure' him and other leaders for expressing public annoyance at the sants criticising him.

A section of the Sangh leadership is in favour of giving time to Advani to set the house (party) in order and facilitate a smooth handover of the party's reins to a second-generation leader.

However, VHP leaders, including Togadia, are expected to insist on his stepping down as party chief at the earliest and his replacement by a pro-Hindutva leader. It may be recalled that some BJP leaders had publicly asked VHP leader Praveen Togadia and others to 'shut up' their diatribe against Advani following the 'Jinnah secular' con-

troversy. The RSS top brass is also not happy with the utterances of some BJP leaders, including party national secretary Sudheendra Kulkarni, who had publicly attacked the Sangh fountainhead and the VHP. Though Kulkarni has offered to step down, some leaders feel he continues to enjoy Advani's blessings.

## The other issue

The RSS meet is also likely to take up the issue of Imrana, who has been debarred by a fatwa to rejoin her husband following rape by her father-in-law. There is a prevailing feeling that the issue has the potential of being hyped to the level of the Shah Bano case.

# Kulkarni 'offers' to step down

Was he the villain of the Jinnah piece? 9/10/1

Neena Vyas

9.8.05  
NEW DELHI: In a letter to Bharatiya Janata Party president L.K. Advani, party national secretary Sudheendra Kulkarni has offered "to step down as a member of the team of office-bearers" and continue working for Mr. Advani as "an ordinary worker."

Unsigned copies of the letter, said to have been sent on June 24, were made available to the media on Friday although Mr. Kulkarni himself is reported to have stated in Mumbai that he had not resigned.

Informally, party leaders here confirmed that Mr. Advani had

received the letter. A very senior party leader told *The Hindu* that at a meeting several days ago Mr. Advani had said that he had asked for Mr. Kulkarni's resignation.

Mr. Kulkarni's sacrificial offering has been made even as the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) began its five-day deliberations in Surat where the recent storm in the BJP over Mr. Advani's "Jinnah is secular" formulation during his Pakistan visit is expected to be discussed at some length. Mr. Kulkarni was with Mr. Advani during that visit. In that speech, Mr. Advani quoted the Pakistan founder Mo-

9/10/1  
7/7  
hammed Ali Jinnah at length, to suggest that his concept was what true secularism was about and should be followed in the sub-continent, including India. A day earlier, at the Jinnah mausoleum, Mr. Advani had praised him as one of the rare individuals who had created history.

For the last one week and more — in fact, ever since Mr. Advani's resignation from the party and later its withdrawal last month — BJP leaders have been informally confirming that the "Advani camp" had advised him to "offer Mr. Kulkarni as the sacrificial lamb" to appease the RSS bosses, who would actually prefer to see Mr. Advani exit as the party chief. This camp sug-

**To make matters worse, a "paper" recently read by him in Bhopal was leaked.**

gested that Mr. Kulkarni was "the villain of the Jinnah piece" and had "misled" the BJP president. To make matters worse, a "paper" recently read by Mr. Kulkarni at an "intellectual meet" in Bhopal was leaked. That paper virtually suggested that the BJP distance itself from the RSS. And it came as no surprise to anyone in the BJP that the RSS leaders did not think this to be a matter to be dismissed lightly.

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